

- (1) I think the Western World knows pretty well, what had happened in Hungary. It knows about the Russian subjugation of the country, and the Communist exploitation. I think everybody knows about these in the west. What you need or may need actually is only to substantiate, and to prove, with whatever data available, the well known facts.
- (2) Ever since 1947 or 1948, the Hungarian people were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the Communist government.
- (2a) This increasing dissatisfaction since 1947, may be called the "incubation" period. At the time of the fusion of the Socialist and Communist parties of Hungary, many old Socialists and Communists had quitted the party. With that, the "incubation" period got on the way.
- (2b) Nagy's premiership had undoubtedly something to do with it. Also the events in Poland and Germany indicated that people were dissatisfied, and that they were not willing to put up with further subjugation. This served as a sort of an encouragement, and people in Hungary felt very strongly, that things must change. There were a few indications in that direction, for instance the establishment and operation of the Petöfi circle. In spite of these, however, a revolution as such was never mentioned or thought of.
- (2b) (1) I think Stalin's death very definitely contributed to it. It seemed (always) obvious to me that even Communism would die out, if the dictator makes his

dictatorship personalized, <sup>H</sup> history teaches us that personalized ~~dictatorships~~ <sup>dictatorships</sup> must disappear, as soon as the dictator dies. Thus it was obvious to me that Communism can not survive.

- (2b) (ii) Imre Nagy's premiership was significant to the extent, that people got a taste of certain improvements. ("A nep elott elhucphk a mezes szalegot").
- (2b) (iii) The freedom fighters hoped that Tito would give them moral, as well as material support. <sup>Were,</sup> at least, that he would exercise a sort of benevolent neutrality.
- (2b) (iv) Following the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, ~~a~~ certain concessions were given. To this extent I think the Congress contributed to the Hungarian Revolution.
- (2b) (v) I was in Czechoslovakia shortly after the Poznan events, and I met some Polish boys up there. They told me that the Poznan riots <sup>H</sup> were not <sup>was</sup> the Communist regime try to show that they were, namely reactionary fabrications, but that they were the uprising of the people. The impact of the Poznan events, <sup>on</sup> when Hungary and the Hungarian people, were quite distinct in as much as they gave the psychological <sup>1956</sup> impulses needed to demand further concessions.
- (2b) (vi) Yes, I think the replacement of Rakosi had also fitted in to the general pattern and contributed to the revolution.

- (2b) (vii) I don't think that Rajk's funeral had anything to do with the revolution. Rajk has never been a man~~x~~ for whom or about whom the people could get very enthusiastic.
- (2b) (viii) I don't think that Gomulka's return to power had a consciously realized impact on the Hungarian Revolution.
- (2c) I think personally, that Stalin's death was such a turning-point. As I already indicated, a personalized dictatorship can not survive~~x~~ the death of the dictator.
- (2d) No, I didn't<sup>3</sup> have any such feeling.
- (2e) Undoubtedly, the writers played a very important part. I think the first / . . . . . leading to the revolution were laid down by the writers. People read the Irodalmi Ujsag with great interest, they were amazed to see that the writers dared to criticize certain things.
- (2f) Yes, I think there was, even in the Szabad Nép. I considered it significant that the Szabad Nép should write in a belligerent and criticizing tone~~x~~ about the graft and the illegal activity within the planning authority, in connection with the allocation of rooms and apartments.
- (2g) Has been answered under (2f).
- (3) I think the major factor was the sup<sup>PRE</sup>pression by th<sup>E</sup> Communists of the Hungarian people. I think however that the general yearning for freedom had more to do with it~~x~~ than material conditions.

- (3a) If a political meeting similar to the one in October 1956, had been allowed in 1953, revolution would have broken out in 1953.
- (3b) I don't think that the Soviets knew what was going on, I don't think the Soviets know the Hungarian people. Rakosi always wanted to show the Russians how good the situation was in Hungary, and naturally he would present everything in rosy colors. I don't think the Soviets had realized how much dissatisfaction and hatred developed in Hungary against them, as a result of Communist policies.
- (3c) I think they wanted certain concessions, but very definitely they didn't have in mind a revolution, or a violent overthrow of the government.
- (3d) Well, they wanted first of all, the 16 points, and in this connection I might say, if the regime had allowed the 16 points to be in the radio and the AVO had not started the firing, there would have been no revolution.
- (3e) Everybody wanted the Russians to get out of the country, apart from this, depending on what you were, or what kind of a job you had, you would take more interest in certain parts of the 16 points.
- (3f) Mostly the members of the ~~MINXI~~ DISZ, those who were in high government positions, and those who were real Communists. I might say, however, that even among the Communists there were many who supported the revolution, only those Communists who were afraid that they <sup>would</sup> have to account for their sins, and who had committed crimes against the people, opposed the revolt.

- (3g) I don't think that there were any neutral people.
- (3h) The withdrawal of the Russian troops from Hungary, and free elections, these were the most important slogans. I don't recall any additional slogans which were later formulated.
- (3i) If Geró was representing Communism in Hungary, then it was entire Communistic, otherwise if free elections had been about, the Communists could have participated in it. Thus if Communism was represented by Geró's clique in Hungary, then undoubtedly the people wanted to get rid of him, but Imre Nagy was also a Communist, and yet people wanted him.
- (3j) I think the people meant, the anti-Geró and anti-Rákosi views.
- (3k) Many Communists opposed the Rákosi and Geró type Communism.
- (3l) It depends on the interpretation of the word reactionary. Under the Communist regime everybody is a reactionary; if you mean by reactionary a return to the feudal system, or the big estates, then I don't think there were any reactionaries among the rebels.
- (3m) I think Nagy would have continued at the helm and free elections would have been held in which the Communists would undoubtedly have been defeated.
- (4) In October the 23rd, I participated in the demonstrations, I went with a crowd to the Bem Ter and to the Parliament Square. From the October 25th to October the 29th, I participated in the Revolt as an actual fighter. From October the 29th to November the 4th I was a member of

the Revolutionary Council of the first district.

I believe, that the firing by the AVO into the crowd, and the first enthusiasm of the youngsters had brought about the revolution.

- (4a) Yes, I participated myself in the fights. Many Russian troops, which were stationed in Budapest joined us between October the 25th and the 29th, and fought with us against the AVO. Apart from this there were some smaller skirmishes between Hungarian revolutionaries and Russian troops.
- (4b) I recall in the Bem barracks, all the soldiers joined the revolution on October the 23rd, most of the soldiers were the sons, brothers or relatives of those in the crowd, they didn't want to fire on their own relatives. Also, many of the officers joined the revolution, but there were some who went home and withdrew entirely.
- (4c) I didn't see any myself, but I had heard that some AVO's were hanged.
- (5) Does not apply.
- (6) I fought in a group, but the group was not an organized group.
- (6a) On the evening of October the 25th we were in front of the Margithid, there were about 50 of us, and our purpose was to protect the bridge. For a while there were two Soviet tanks, standing there, we did not fire at them and they did not fire at us. Later some new Russian units came, and the two tanks left with them.

- (6b) They just caught together in a haphazard fashion, someone would say that there are arms to be found in the cellar of a particular house, and would yell "let's get the arms", then many people rejoined<sup>ed</sup> and rushed down into the cellar to get the arms. This was the way, how our group got started.
- (6c) There was no particular recruitment, usually you had workers, soldiers, youngsters and students in the group, and if there was an army officer in the group, he would take over it's command. This was quite natural, because a soldier or an army officer knew about the handling of guns, whereas most of the civilians were inexperienced, and had to be shown and taught how to handle the guns and rifles. Once a group was formed, other people could also join in, but only if they were known personally to someone in the group, or if he could identify himself.
- (6d) I don't know, everybody went where he wanted to go.
- (6e) We had arms and ammunition, most of them from storage houses, which were stored by the army. Others we got from the AVO centers, and from party offices where they were stored.
- (6f) There was practically no organization, this was an ad hoc group. Usually there was some discipline in view of the fact that people realized that without that, they could easily be defeated and might even lose their lives.
- (6g) Usually the leaders were army officers. The civilians realized that they can not, and don't know how to direct military operations, and they usually <sup>AC accepted</sup> ~~accepted~~ the experienced military leadership, without much questioning.

- (6h) During the fights the army, the workers, and the students showed the most initiative for leadership.
- (6i) In our group the leading officer made the decisions, but of course he could do this <sup>only</sup> in agreement with the group, and then ultimately with the people. To give you an example, when we were guarding the Margit bridge in Budapest, we called upon every person who wanted to cross the bridge, to identify himself. If a Red Cross vehicle came along, and the officer wanted to let him go through without identification, members of the group as well as other people standing by, would demand that the driver of the vehicle identify himself, in such cases the officer had to comply with the group's and with the people's wishes.
- (6j) This occurred only occasionally. Usually what happened was, <sup>as to</sup> that people asked questions what is going on here, or what is going on there. We would receive information some times by telephone, and other times by word of mouth.
- (7) I don't think that you really can talk about authority, from point of view of actual word <sup>even</sup> of giving. What I mean is that there was no supreme command, or <sup>no</sup> overall direction of the revolution. <sup>in</sup> A view of the fact that the revolution came about entirely spontaneously, there was a great deal of incoherence, and there was no systematic or organized fighting. However, among the various fighting groups, the fact that General Maletier held out in the Kilian barracks, gave the necessary psychological impetus to the other fighting groups.



- (7a) There were no particular conflicts so far as I know, but there was no ~~a~~ complete or full agreement. To give you an example, some people said, let us go on strike, and some others thought that this might not be the best way at <sup>5</sup>the proceed.
- (7b) They were in complete agreement.
- (7c) I was a member of the National Workers Council of the planning offices, which was formed on October the 28th, and had contact with the other members of the Council.
- (7d) I was also a member of the Revolutionaly Council of the first district in Budapest, to which many university students, soldiers and factory workers were deli<sup>g</sup>ated.
- (8a) There was no ~~a~~ general rule, but I would say that about 50% of those Russian army units, which were stationed in Budapest joined the revolution, <sup>1</sup>in most instances they showed their sympathy by not firing at the freedom fighters.
- (3b) I don't know.
- (8c) I don't think they knew what to do, so far as I could see, they were all scared.
- (8d) The Russian political police was watching them, and kept after them.
- (8e) I don't have any specific facts at my hand, but I would say that about 50% of the Russian troops stationed in Hungary joined the Revolt.
- (8f) Before October the 23rd, and after November the 4th I think the Russian influence was 100%. During the victory

of the revolution there was no Russian influence at all.

- (9) Through listening to foreign radio stations, and domestic secret stations, as well as by calling up people, who were living in various sectors of Budapest.
- (9a) I don't know, I don't remember. Maybe I read the Nemzetor.
- (9b) When the trucks came up from the country side to Budapest, bringing food for the population of the capital, we learned about the events in the country.
- (9c) I listened to foreign radio broadcast, as well as to some secret stations in Hungary. From the foreign radio broadcast specially The Voice of America and the BBC, I found out about the fights that were going on in various parts of the country.
- (9d) I think the foreign radio stations, and the secret domestic stations were more important. You could not rely on what you have<sup>d</sup> heard by word-of-mouth, because there were quite a few exaggerations.
- (10a) All Communist political institutions were abolished.
- (10b) The Communist Party was abolished or rather disintegrated, the party offices frequently served as food centers, and in our district the Communist party secretary received police protection, under the instruction of the Revolutionary Council<sup>y</sup> of the first district of Budapest, of which I was a member. He came to us and asked for protection, and we wanted no atrocities and gave him the protection.

- (10c) The (blue) police remained mostly intact, however, they had to turn over the arms to the Revolutionary Council.
- (10d) The AVO was abolished, some of them died in the fightings, some others were summarily executed, but still others were hiding or continued to fight.
- (10e) So far as I know, nothing happened to the courts, <sup>Some</sup> members of the AVO turned themselves over to the courts, for trial and protection.
- (10f) The army disintegrated, and ceased to function, as soon as the soldiers left their barracks.
- (10g) Many Communist functionaries and government officials stayed home during the revolution. Apart from this the government offices and ministries formed employees' councils. In view of the fact however, that these employees' councils were formed from among the former Communist officials, Nagy issued a decree, that only physical laborers <sup>could</sup> form revolutionary councils.
- (10h) The local councils ceased to function, and instead revolutionary councils were set up.
- (10i) The churches regained their complete freedom of action, there were no religious persecution, and they could organize freely.
- (10j) Those institutions, which were established or set up for the purpose of providing the population with food and medicine, were maintained by the rebels. The departments which did social work, were not abolished but were used by the freedom fighters, since there was a great need for social

services. In such departments were government offices, the Revolutionary Workers Council would determine who was reliable, but usually they did not remove or fire someone, in spite of his Communist Party membership, or background, except in all too obvious cases, where the party member had committed crimes against the people.

(10k) Members and delegates of the former political parties in Hungary presented themselves before the Revolutionary Council, and asked the Council to allocate premises for party headquarters. The Communist Party ceased to function, and was entirely non-existent. Party officials did not even bother to ask the council for premises, at any rate they did not function openly. In addition to the emergence of the political parties, the re-organization of the Trade Unions also got under way.

(10l) There were two types of councils. We had a Revolutionary Council in the first district of Budapest, this was formed and elected by the inhabitants of the first district of Budapest. In addition the factories and colleges, or universities in the first district have also sent delegates to the council.

In addition to the Revolutionary Councils in the various districts of Budapest, we also had workers councils, which were formed by the workers in the various factories. These workers councils were elected by secret ballot. In order to indicate the representative nature of these elections, I might mention that for instance in one planning office out of

260 workers, we had about 70 candidates for membership in the Workers Council. I should also mention the fact, that in many instances the former party secretary himself was elected to the Council, in places where he was not disliked by the people and by the workers. (Prior to the revolution, the manager, the secretary of the UP and a representative of the local Trade Union directed all the affairs of the factory). The Workers Councils then decided, who were the unreliable elements, and informants, and those were relieved of important posts they held. But even informants and members of the AVO were not kicked out, they were just relieved of higher positions and posts, if they held such positions. The trouble was, that the revolution threatened them too gently.

I should also mention, that the former Communist Council of the first District of Budapest, was abolished, and from among the personnel, and the workers a Workers Council was formed the same way, as in factories.

The Workers Councils and the Revolutionary Councils of the various districts in Budapest, elected from among themselves a steering committee, and this ran the affairs of the Council. In our Council, out of 36 members 5 were chosen to become members of this steering committee.

(10m) I think a coalition government would have been merged from from the Revolt.

(11) Yes, I have had.

- (11a) I think it was a useful thing, but the Hungarian people had to pay a tremendous price for it. The revolution showed the world<sub>x</sub> the extent and cruelty of the Communist subjugation. Demonstrations in countries like Poland, and East Germany were important all right, but they were not enough. The Hungarian revolution furnished undeniable and tremendous evidence and <sup>F</sup>prove against Soviet Russia.
- (11b) I think the revolution could have succeeded, I believe, <sup>if</sup> if Nagy had ordered the Hungarian population to resist with arms<sub>x</sub> the entry of new Russian troops into Hungary, ~~and~~ ~~that~~ the Russians would have desisted from making a full scale war on Hungary from the outside.
- (11c) I did not expect an armed intervention by the West, because I knew this would have led probably to a III World War. However, I had expected that the United Nations would send observers. I had too much faith in the United Nations.
- (11d) Because the greatest political oppression took place in Hungary, this was of course due partly to Rákosi's stupidity.
- (11e) I would characterize him as a Hungarian Communist, he served first of all the Hungarian people, and he would have been able to carry out the people's wish, in spite of the fact that he was a Communist.
- (11f) Maléter and potentially Kovacs.
- (11g) At the beginning the students and writers were the most important, <sup>the</sup> from/point of view of starting the ball rolling. Secondly the workers were the most important, thirdly the soldiers, fourthly the intellectuals, and finally, the

peasants. I should say however, that the peasants gave substantial support, not with arms, but with food supplies, and they stood ~~full~~<sup>WHOLE</sup> heartedly for the success of the re<sup>v</sup>o-  
lution.

- (11h) It seems to me that this was more or less natural. In Hungary it was always the university students, who initiated things and kept abreast of times. This to me is quite natural, because they receive a higher education, they are independent, they have no fear of losing their jobs, they are young, and temperamental.
- (12) When the Kadar regime started its political persecutions, and imprisonments, I decided to leave Hungary. This was around November the 20th.
- (12a) The fear of political persecution and imprisonment.
- (12b) We discussed it in general with my friends.
- (12c) No, I did not.
- (12d) I received a Ford fellowship to Germany, and I would like to go to study there, and after that if possible, I would like to go to the United States.

- (1) I was a senior officer in the planning office<sup>x</sup> for Light Industry. This operated under the auspices of the Ministry for Light Industry.
- (1a) I am a machine and textile engineer.
- (2) I completed my education in 1950, when<sup>I</sup> received my diploma from the machine engineering section of the Technological University of Budapest, since then I have held the following positions:  
From July 1950 on to May 1952.
- (2a) I worked in the investing enterprise for Light Industry, where I was assigned to the mechanical engineering section.
- (2b) I was a junior officer in my capacity, as a mechanical engineer.
- (2c) From July 1950 up to May 1952.
- (2d) No.
- (2e)  
&g) The purpose of this enterprise was the carrying out and execution of the investment and development programmes for the Light Industry, all over Hungary. If the planning office decided for instance, that a new shoe factory should be set up, then we would see to it that this plan<sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ carried out.
- At the beginning, we had about 35 or 40 people working for us, later on about 120. Most of these people were experts in technology and engineering, some of them in economics. There was lots of work, and our<sup>R</sup> salary wasn't bad. All in all, it was a well functioning and serious enterprise.



Three of us, (my boss, myself, and another engineer) did the whole investment and development program, all over the country, in the field of general mechanics.

I personally, was responsible for development and investment projects in 20 factories throughout the country. My particular job involved ~~in~~ <sup>the</sup> following items:

- (i) The determination of the site, of a new factory or enterprise.
- (ii) The general direction of planning, (the details in this connection were <sup>E</sup>worked out by the planning offices, in the Ministry of Construction and Building).
- (iii) The supervision of the plan.
- (iv) The approval of the plan.
- (v) The conclusion of a contract, with the constructing enterprise.
- (vi) The supervision of the work, done by the constructing enterprise.

The manager, the chief engineer, and the chief bookkeeper in a new factory were appointed by the respective Ministry. They were usually reliable party members. The skilled workers on the other hand, were recruited by our personnel office, the representatives of which went down to the respective locality, where the new factory was going to be set up, and they recruited the skilled workers primarily in that neighborhood. If they did not have enough skilled workers, they would organize training courses, and would assign the prospective workers into various factories,

which were already in operation. So that by the time the new factory was going to be ready for operation they could start with a group of skilled workers.

From 1952 to 1953:

- (2a) I worked as a chief engineer, in a textile factory.
- (2b) Chief engineer.
- (2c) From 1952 to 1953.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) When I started to work at the factory in 1952, it was ready only in 25%. By 1953 the factory's capacity and readiness reached 80%.
- (2f) We were manufacturing textiles, with brand new Soviet machines. We had very strict rules<sub>x</sub> in regard to the maintenance of the machines, but from a hygienic point of view, the situation was not too good.
- (2g) I have been directing<sub>x</sub> both the construction and the operation of the factory, as soon as its readiness and capacity were increased.

From 1953 to 1956:

- (2a) I worked in the planning office<sub>x</sub> for light industry<sub>x</sub> in the Ministry of Light Industry.
- (2b) I worked there as a senior officer.
- (2c) From 1953 to 1956.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) Light industry and a planning office in the Ministry of Light Industry. There were about 300 employees in this section, mostly experts in engineering, mechanics and economics.

- (2f) We prepared the detailed plans for construction and development of factories, in the field of light industry. In 1952, the investing and developing enterprise for light industry was abolished, the management for construction and development remained in the Ministry of Light Industry, whereas the carrying out of the actual development and construction was taken over by the factories themselves.
- (2g) Already answered under (2f).
- (3) I liked my job in the planning office, which I have held from 1953 to 1956.
- (3a) I liked it, because it was a many-sided job, you had to do planning, installations, *and so on*, economic supervision, and so on.
- (3b) I didn't like the nepotism and favoritism, toward party members.
- (3c) In terms of salary, it pays less than the chief engineering job.
- (3d) Certain norms were set up, but otherwise we were comparatively free to proceed, as we saw fit and proper. The planning office all in all, functioned very well.
- (3e) By bus.
- (3f) In the planning office, I had to work 8 hours a day, which was much less than the time spent with work, when I was a chief engineer.
- (3g) Six days in the planning office, and frequently 7 days, when I was a chief engineer.

- (3h) Yes, without pay. I received a basic salary of 2000 fts. and in addition 24% premium, if the plans were fulfilled.
- (3i) Yes, a few.
- (3j) I received 15 days paid vacation.
- (3k) Yes, I believe it did. We received one day after each month's work, and in addition 3 days in my job per year. A civil servant in the Ministry, would get 2 to 3 weeks paid vacation.
- (3l) Yes, many people were fired, if they were notoriously late. Sometimes they had to pay 100 fts.
- (3m) I know that the norms always increased.
- (3n) On certain occasions the Ministry would say, that we would receive 10,000 fts. for speed-up work.
- (3o) We received the OTI benefits, and there were also summer trips organized and arranged by the Trade Unions. I went only once in 1951, on a summer trip, in addition we also got 50% reduction on train fares once a year, when you took your vacation.
- (4a) They were mostly engineers, drafters, drawers, economists. They belonged mostly to the 20 to 40 age <sup>group</sup> and there were quite a few Jews among them.
- (4b) Quite well. There wasn't any pushing, everybody had his own job, and knew what he had to do. I knew that my boss held his position, because <sup>of</sup> his political reliability, therefore I did not aim at his job, on the other hand he didn't interfere too much with my work, since it was mostly of a technical nature.

- (4c) Yes, I did, mostly in connection with sports, games, excursions and other types of entertainment.
- (4d) Yes, we frequently discussed politics in the office, such discussions centered around mostly technical criticism of various plans. 60 or 70% of the people there were honest, however we had more of such technical criticism during the Nagy regime. In a sense we were in a privilege position throughout my participation there, because we had access to foreign periodicals, mostly German and English journals, so that we could keep abreast of times.
- (4e) Yes, there was, specially in terms of salary, those who were party members received higher salary, even if they were in the same category. There were quite a few Jews among the leading personnel, such as the chief of section, the managerial chief engineer, and many others. However I must say that there was no anti-Jewish sentiment, we all got along fairly well.
- (4f) The organization of the Trade Union in our office wasn't too bad, there were some informers in the Union, but apart from that they did not interfere with our work.
- (4g) I don't know the situation that existed in the Trade Unions after 1945, but during<sup>the</sup> last 3 or 4 years, while I was there, the personnel of the Trade Union did not change, they submitted yearly the same list for the various positions, and you couldn't vote for anyone else, since no one else's name could appear on the list, except the names of those, who had been approved by the party.

- (4h) I think the mediation committee operated under the manager, but I don't know too much about it.
- (4i) I think there was, but I don't know too much about it.
- (4j) It would be extremely difficult for someone to get ahead, if he was not politically reliable.
- (4k) Yes, there were quite a few.
- (4l) In our office there was very little dispute in this connection, because we always did whatever the political officials wanted us to do. If the plan was not technically feasible, ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> would emphasize this to the political officials, but if they still insisted on our carrying <sup>it</sup> out, then we went along and the responsibility was theirs.
- (4m) In this respect, the situation I believe was worst, during the years from 1950 to 1952, after Imre Nagy became the premier, there was much less political interference in our technical operations.
- Incidentally, I might mention that, there was a planning office of the engineers, placed under arrest, we used to call it "lenti" (letartogatott mernokok te'veco irodaja) this was an excellent source of cheap labor for the government.
- (4n) Anybody who constantly repeated, like a parrot, whatever he was told from above.
- (4o) First of all you had to be poor, secondly you had to be a good informer.
- (4p) Yes, there were about two or three people in our office, we had a suspicion that they were informers, and later on:

during the revolution, it became obvious that they were informers.

- (5) There were practically none, except perhaps in cases where you had personal contacts. If one left his job, on one's own, this was regarded as a sabotage of the Five Year Plan, and was accordingly threatened.
- (5a) I didn't want to change positions, but I was transferred to a factory in Kaposvár, where I worked as a chief engineer. I recall that I was extremely upset, because I didn't want to leave Budapest, but I couldn't do anything against the transfer.
- (5b) I liked my work in the planning office, I also liked factory management and research. In general I like my profession.
- (5c) Not really.
- (5d) I think they want to succeed.
- (5e) I would do research on technical developments, I would study languages, learn more about art, and would participate in sports and games.
- (5f) They were the same.
- (5g) Not necessarily. I think this is up to the children to decide, I think they should do the kind of work they like best.
- (6) I was O.K.
- (6a) I wasn't too well off, when I was studying at the university, but after completion of my studies I was fairly well off.

if I compared myself with others who lived in Hungary. Otherwise I could satisfy only 50% of my demands.

(6b) I could afford whatever I needed for food, for dwelling, but I could only afford about 50% of what I wanted to for my entertainment and during my leisure time.

(6c) No, I didn't.

(6d) Yes I did, I was exploited by the state of the Rakosi regime if you like, or the Communist run government, ultimately enforced by Russians, because they stood behind the government.

By exploitation I mean, a situation where you get less than you deserve, though your employer could pay you more.

(7a) (i) In 1950 and '51 my monthly salary amounted to 1400 fts.

(ii) In 1952 my salary amounted to 2800 fts.

(iii) In 1955 my salary was 2000 fts. per month.

(7b) I think I had better, than most other people.

(7c) If they were good kaders, they received more pay than I did, otherwise our salaries were the same.

(7d) Does not apply.

(8) In general there were extremely difficult living conditions in Hungary. (The budget questionnaire is attached). I have no family, I lived all by myself.



- (9) There was a great deal of overcrowding, usually two families had to share 4 rooms. Some of the apartments were in extremely poor condition, in terms of plumbing work and appliances.
- (9a) I lived all by myself, and I didn't stand in lines, I usually ate in the restaurant.
- (9b) The quantity of food and clothing supplies improved especially after 1953, during the Nagy regime.
- (9c) I did all my purchases in state stores, to be more precise I would say about 95% of my purchases were from state stores.
- (9d) No, there weren't any substantial changes in this.
- (10) I don't think it was a healthy development, it only promoted the backwardness of the country.
- (10a) I consider it as a retrogression.
- (10b) There was no free enterprise system, there were lots of controls and too much restriction. You can not run an economy like that.
- (10c) I think the economic situation in Hungary before 1941 was much better, than after 1945.
- (10d) I think they were a definite deterioration in every respect, I am referring in particular to the higher prices, and to the poor quality of the products.
- (10e) Yes, I have heard that there were discussions in the government, about the production of consumer goods. However, I think that this was just a window-dressing, and a cover up,

in actuality the Soviet Union determined everything in connection with the production of consumer goods or other items in Hungary. In other words, there could have been no serious discussion of this, this was just a gesture toward the people, but there wasn't anything serious behind it.

- (10f) They operated in a very very limited field, and it didn't make too much difference.
- (10g) During the post-war years, I believe the 1946 to 1947 situation was the best, whereas the 1952 year was the worst from a material view point. The first relates to the time of the stabilization of the ft., whereas the second date refers to the time of the peak of the Rakosi regime.
- (11) I think they were extremely important as far as the workers were concerned.
- (11a) To some extent they were also important for me, specially in the sense that I did <sup>less</sup> ~~last~~ work, naturally if don't get a fair return for your work, there is little incentive to do more work, so I worked undoubtedly less, than I would have worked under other fairer conditions.
- (11b) I think the most important were the lack of personal freedoms, freedom of expression, freedom of speech, freedom of travel, and so on.
- (11c) I believe material conditions were more important for the workers, whereas the peasantry and the middle class felt

both the political pressure and the poor material conditions, in which they were living.

- (1) I attended a grade school, high school, and the university of technology in Budapest.
- (1a) From 1932 to 1937 I attended grade school, from 1937 to 1945 I went to high school, and from 1945 to 1950 I went to the university of technology.
- (1b) The high school that I attended from 1937 to 1945, was a parochial school of the Evangelical Church in Bekéscsaba.
- (1c) Only the university of technology in Budapest.
- (1d) I attended no other school apart from the university of technology.
- (1e) I choose the university, because of my interest in engineering.
- (2) No, I didn't.
- (2a) I would have liked to do some research, and some post-graduate studies.
- (2b) I was specially intersted in fine mechanics, unfortunately however, I could not study fine mechanics, I was not admitted to that department, they compeled me to take textile engineering.
- (2c) No, I don't think so.
- (2d) Mostly above average, and average.
- (2e) No, I did not, I joined the Social Democratic Party in 1947, However, after the fusion of the Social Democratic and the Communist Parties, I was expelled from the United Workers Party in 1949.
- (3) Yes, there were. At the university we had to take political

economy, which was nothing else but the study of the Communist Party and of the party line.

- (3a) I liked very much the technical subjects and I very much disliked those, who were not technical nature.
- (3b) No, I did not.
- (3c) We had only one ideological subject, political economic. Most people disliked it, because it was a propaganda course.
- (3d) We had one hour per week national defense training.
- (3e) Yes, it was, you had the "Be ready for work and fight" movement.
- (4) I believe the main objective of the Communist educational system in Hungary, was to alienate the people from each other, so that they would have very little, or no relation with each other. This way they would become more fearful, and the whole Communist system is based upon fear. Dictatorships are based on the psychology of fear.
- (4a) All those were stressed, but it was emphasized over and over again, that the greatest value is man, of course, this was just propaganda.
- (4b) I don't think it was effective at all.
- (4c) School children remained mostly under the influence of the parents. The Communist educational system has not been able to overcome the influence of parental rearing, children saw, of course what conditions they were living in, how difficult the fight of their parents was. Apart from this, the parents usually discussed the bad political and economic situation,

at home, in front of their children, usually telling them, "don't you dare to say anything about this in school".

Characteristic of the way how children felt about Communism, were their little slogans they devised. To give you some examples, the following slogans were characteristic:

"Megnyertük a szén csatát, bezárták az iskolát" (we have won the coal battle, they have shot the school), "nincsen villany, nincsen gáz, a mi házunk békeház" (there is no electricity, there is no gas, our house is a peace house, or a ~~king~~ ("no gas or lights are working in our house, a peace dwelling"). (This was the interviewer's translation).

- (4d) They have always liked to be disrespectful toward their parents at a certain age. The Communists have tried to teach them, how to be disrespectful and to some extent they liked this. To some extent they liked to be independent from their parents.
- (4e) Beyond a certain point however, they disliked even disrespect and immorality.
- (4f) Perhaps there has been a little improvement in morality.
- (4g) I think we took the future somewhat more seriously, we also took our moral responsibilities more seriously, and we had a greater attachment to our family. Today, this attachment is much weaker, and there is more disrespect by the children, toward their parents.
- (4h) Beyond the disrespect toward the parents, in general I might say, that Communism has undermined the morality of the children.

- (4i) I think it was most effective, between 12 and 20 in ~~the~~ account the girls, and 14 and 22 in account the boys. Beyond these age limits, I think it has been less effective.
- (5) He was a land registrar.
- (5a) No, he did not.
- (5b) I think it was all right.
- (5c) He completed 4 years in high school.
- (5d) No, there were none.
- (5e) No, we didn't own any property.
- (5f) We lived modestly on the income of a lower rating civil servant.
- (5g) There were 9 people.
- (5h) My parents died, two brothers and four sisters got married, I have no news about them.
- (5i) No, they did not. I was entirely on my own. My parents died and my brothers and sisters have their own families.
- (5j) The ascendants and the descendants as well as the brothers and sisters.
- (5k) I don't think it had any effect.
- (6) Does not apply, respondent was not married.  
Question numbers 7 to 10 don't apply.
- (11) Very well.
- (12) Yes, I did.

- (12a) We discussed the general political situation, as well as the economic situation at home.
- (12b) No, there weren't.
- (13) No.
- (13a to 13f) The answer is no.
- (14) Does not apply, since after 1944 the respondent did not live at home.
- (15) They have loosened.
- (15a) In general they can.
- (15b) I think they are less dependent.
- (15c) Yes, they are.
- (15d) This is perhaps less true of peasant families.
- (15e) There were some changes. Parents in general were trying to adjust more to the modern situation, they interfered less with their children's activities.
- (15f) Yes, there has been. It is much easier to get a divorce, and as a result the number of divorces has increased.
- (16) Yes, I think it has. In general you might say that immorality has increased.
- (16a) People usually got married around 23 to 28. During the recent years, the age bracket has been 21 to 25.
- (16b) To some extent they have. Courtship in general is more immoral, and marital relations are looser. Parents in



general, have less to say about what their children should do, whom they should court, or whom they should marry.

- (16c) I don't think this is right, because it gives free <sup>leeway</sup> ~~leeway~~ to the temperament of the youngsters, who don't have the wisdom and experience of their parents.
- (16d) Yes, there was. A young girl of 16 wouldn't wait until she gets married, but would much easier submit to a young man than before. This was the general result of the war, and was undoubtedly encouraged by the Communists.
- (16e) Officially there was none. However illegally it still existed. It was an extremely unhealthy situation, because there were no medical check-ups on the prostitutes, and V.D. could easily spread.
- (16f) They were less strict. Specially through <sup>the</sup> DISZ, they encouraged loose sexual behavior by organizing Sunday excursions, for young boys and girls, and in such cases there was no supervision of the youngsters.
- (16g) At first abortion was prohibited, but later on the patient and in certain cases the doctor were not punished. I think abortion and birth control were wide spread.
- (16h) Yes, I think it has. To the extent that the responsibility of the father has been stressed by the Communism. Yes, there are many illegitimate children.
- (16i) Yes, I think it has changed. They have to work much harder, and they don't like it. This was the meaning of Communist equality of men and women.

- (17) Morals have become looser.
- (17a) The various forms of stealing have become wide spread, also the misappropriation of funds and property were quite frequent.
- (17b) People steal, because they can not live on their earnings. The general view of the people is, that if they steal actually they do nothing else but take what they consider rightfully belongs to them anyway.
- (17c) There has been quite a bit of bribery and graft, in connection with the allocation of planning houses and apartments. If you had enough money ~~xx~~ to bribe the officials in the planning office, you could get an apartment.
- (17d) I don't know too much about it. The news papers were not permitted to write about it.
- (18) I met him when I was a student at the university of technology in Budapest. We lived together in the student dormitory.
- (18a) He was a senior officer in the ministry, and dealt with economic matters.
- (18b) In general it was the same, but he was somewhat older than I am.
- (18c) Usually we went out together.
- (18d) Yes, we did. I had several other friends as well, and we would get together and hold political discussions. One of them was in the Peasant Party, another one in the Communist party, still another one in the Smallholders Party, and in the Social Democratic Party. We would have full sessions and discuss <sup>the</sup> general political and economic situation of the

country, completely freely as you can do among good friends.

- (18e) No.
- (18f) Yes.
- (18g) Honesty and truthfulness, and unselfish helpfulness.
- (18h) It depends on the kind of society you belong to, and the kind of contacts you made.
- (18i) They were very truthful and honest people, and were extremely unselfish, until the time they got married.
- (18j) It meant, that you aren't alone, that you could discuss your problems with others.
- (18k) Yes, I mentioned it already. I had a good friend who was a party member, he was chief of section and senior officer in one of the ministries, but he was extremely honest and a good natured guy. As a matter of fact he had also escaped from Hungary.
- (18l) Does not apply.
- (19) I am a Roman Catholic, and my parents' religion was the same.
- (19a) We all had the same attitude toward religion, in as much as we were all Roman Catholics.
- (19b) I should add, however that I disapproved of the big estates held by the church.
- (20) Communism has attempted to suppress religious life in Hungary.
- (20a) I think the Roman Catholics were <sup>hate</sup> more, largely because of the attitude of ~~Miksa~~ God in all ~~Windszenty~~. The other

faiths did not raise their voices so baldly against Communist oppression, as he did.

- (20b) This is a relationship of means and ends, first they want to use it for their own ends, with the aim of stamping it out completely. Communism and religion simply can not coexist for long.
- (20c) I don't think they were sincere. Usually they were those people, who had some disagreement or conflict with their superior authorities.
- (20d) There was a ~~ministerial~~ ministerial decree, which did away with the various orders. Many clerics were imprisoned, others had to go to work, still other could live only on whatever they received in their parishes from the people.
- (20e) It depended on where he worked. If they found out about it, it was indicated in his dossier, and he could not hold any important position.
- (20f) Yes, you could, but you had to be careful that no informer would see you.
- (20g) Many people attended church services, elsewhere because of such fear and some of them stayed home.
- (20h) Yes, every Sunday.
- (20i) Mostly the older people and the workers attended church services more frequently, whereas the younger people attended them less frequently.
- (20j) (1) Yes, I think so, Because the Catholic church is a world church, whereas most of the other faiths are national churches.

(ii) They got along quite well, there weren't any disputes or arguments. They all sympathized with each other.

(20k) I think the younger people care less for religion. This is largely the result of the Communist system.

(20l) The church was the only institution that opposed the regime. I think the imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty and the bishops made this quite obvious.

(21) I would tell him to take the kind of job that he liked best.

(21a) Life is much easier if you pursue a profession, or if you take a job which you like.

(22b) I would have told him, to train and teach himself at home, in his spare time.

(21c) Anyone who was unskilled, could actually train himself in his spare time, if he really wanted to. You could get some technical books, and the necessary readings you could do, if you really went after it.

(22) The best off, were the members of the AVO, and the Communist Party officials. Whereas the worst off were, the members of the former gendarmers, the officers of the old Hungarian army, the peasants, and the workers.

(22a) Being an engineer, I belonged to the intelligentsia. My position was a good average position.

(22b) I would like to be a free man.

(22c) If the person was a sports talent, and was also a good kader, then he fared extremely well. If he was not a

good kader, but was a good sportsman, he could not get above the average pay.

- (22d) Those artists who were fellow travellers, and supported the regime, fared well.
- (23) I think there are four classes, the workers, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the party members and functionaries, including the members of the AVO, and the army officers.
- (23a) It seems to me quite apparent, that these distinctions do exist. For one thing the workers talked much more freely than the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. And the middle class is ready to lean in any direction. The fact that the members of the Communist Party are privileged, is of course obvious.
- (23b) I think the common subjugation of the people as a whole, had brought the peasantry, the workers, and the intelligentsia closer together.
- (23c) I don't approve the subjugation.
- (23d) Not in itself. Only the Communists try to divide the people, by creating the group of class alliance.
- (23e) If you exclude the members of the Communist Party, that is the ruling clique, then I would say that people were socially more equal.
- (23f) I don't think this is good.
- (23g) I think manners and etiquette have become looser, people are much less polite, and more selfish and rude.

- (24) I think the kulaks and the old army officers, and members of the former gendarmer<sup>y</sup>, and <sup>the</sup> police, and the members of the former Hungarian aristocracy have suffered most, because of the constant Communist attacks upon them.
- (24a) I think the members of the Communist Party, who belong to the ruling clique, benefited most, because they were part of the regime.
- (25) They fared well.
- (25a) After 1945, the Jews have soon realized that they have missed the target, because the situation was getting out of hand. This was specially true, in connection with the nationalization of the various enterprises. At first, only the big enterprises were affected, but later on small industry and businesses were, in which the Jews had a substantial part.
- (25b) There were quite a few Jews, both in the government and in the party.
- (25c) Yes, I did. I think the greater part of the Jews were cursing the regime. Many of them left the party ranks, and others immigrated.
- (25d) Many of them escaped to the West, while the revolutionary events took place at home.
- (25e) There was no Jewish persecution in Hungary. But those Jews who were in leading positions in the government, were <sup>in</sup> attempt along the other leaders.
- (25f) No.
- (25g) I don't think, there was any substantial change in this

respect. The Hungarian people have never blamed or persecuted the decent Jews.

(25h) That would depend, on what part the Jews would play in the post-revolutionary era in Hungary.

This is the end of this interview. The interview could not be concluded, because respondent had left on a trip.