

- (1) During the Revolution the Hungarian people showed to the world that they have courage and a love of freedom. That was the great lesson of the Revolution. That's the main thing which the foreign countries should understand.
- (2) The revolt started in October, 1956.
- (2b) It is impossible to say what event^s contributed to the Revolution. Communist ~~politics~~ politics is done ⁱⁿ ~~behind~~ the secrecy. Nobody in the country knew what the Communist bosses were doing. ~~They~~ They delivered speeches and wrote big articles in the newspapers but all those speeches and articles were lies. The important things were always hidden before the masses. The death of Stalin caused a great joy in Hungary but it was even greater joy when Rákosi was kicked out of the government. The whole country rejoiced. Everybody expected a change. Rákosi was the most hated man in the country. On the other hand Imre Nagy was pretty much liked. During the time when he was Prime Minister, he did many good things. For example, he helped very much the so-called productive cooperatives of small artisans.
- (2c) No, it was impossible to know what was going on behind the closed doors in Budapest. People did not know anything about Budapest. People did not know what the Communist bosses were doing and people had no freedom to voice their own complaints.
- (2e) I don't know.
- (3) The most important point was the general dissatisfaction of the

population. You could talk to anybody ⁱⁿ the country, everybody complained and was dissatisfied. The peasants complained because Communism wanted to make them slaves. The workers complained because the state-owned factories were even worse than the old factories owned by the capitalists. The old reactionary elements complained because ~~they~~ they had lost their power and wealth. Everybody complained in spite of the lack of freedom. If two unknown people met, ~~and~~ and they ~~started~~ began to talk of the weather, they said we are having a bad time. And this bad time, of course, referred to the Communist system. A simple nod of the head was enough to under^{stand} the other fellow. Everybody knew what the other fellow meant. It was an open complaint against the Communist system and the police couldn't do anything about it.

(3b)

The Communist system did not ~~it~~ collapse. It is even stronger than it was before the Revolution. There was a Revolution and it showed the great dissatisfaction of the population but it did not overturn the Communist system. Even if the Russians had not interfered, the Communists alone could have ^ucrashed the Revolution. The students and the workers, taking up hidden arms couldn't have resisted the organized forces of the political police and the army.

(3c)

Those people were simply dissatisfied. I have known students who went to the University of Budapest. Whenever they came home ~~at~~ for vacation to visit their families at Balassagyarmat, they were full of complaints. They went up to Budapest with the fellowship granted

by the state, but they complained that the fellowship was not enough - that their life in Budapest was not good enough, that the students did not have the necessary freedom. Those students were placed in the so-called People's Students' Homes and five or eight of them had to share one room. This was not the right arrangement for ~~the~~ students. They were supervised in all their activities by the Party secretaries. This is not a way to satisfy students. Everybody was dissatisfied and this is how the demonstrations in October broke out.

(3d) The demonstrations turned into a fight because the demonstrators received arms. They received them from the Communists. Let us not forget that many Communists, too, were dissatisfied. There were many people in the police force, ~~but~~ ^{and} even high in the Party ranks, who did not like Rákosi and the other people who ran the Party. There were many Communists willing to support the demonstrators, there were many Communists who played ~~in~~ up the dissatisfaction of the masses.

(3e) Very much so. For example, there was a former szolgáiro living in Balassagyarmat who wanted to become a szolgáiro again and wanted to restore the old system as it had existed up to 1945. At the same time the students wanted something different. They did not want Communism, but they did not want the old system either. Everybody had his own purposes. The peasantry had different purposes than the small artisans. The Revolution was not organized and

this was one of the reasons for its failure.

- (3f) Nobody opposed the Revolution except for a few Communists. Nobody opposed it, but this situation did not mean that all the people had the same common purpose.
- (3g) There were some neutral people. For example, a doctor I know. He was not a Communist, but he had a good office, plenty of income. He was not for the system but he did not do anything against the system either.
- (3h) The most popular slogan^{was}: "Russians, go". This was perhaps the only purpose in which all the Hungarians were united. There was no unity in the other slogans. For example the peasants wanted their land back, but I know that there were many students among the Revolutionaries who wanted to keep the agricultural & cooperatives.
- (3i) Yes. It is the same thing as to be against the Russians. There is no & Communism outside of Russia except in those countries where it was put up by the occupation armies. If the Russians would move out of Hungary, Communism would collapse. This is why the Communists want to have so many Russians in Hungary.
- (3j) I haven't seen any Revolutionaries at Balassagyarmat. As a matter of fact there was no Revolution there, but the old reactionaries came out, began to speak and wanted to occupy their former offices. The szolgápiro wanted to return to his old village and run it in the same way as he had done before 1945.
- (4) There was no real Revolution at Balassagyarmat. But we had plenty

of problems because of the Revolution in Budapest. This is why I am here now. I couldn't tell you exactly what happened in those days in our town because that ^{was} the busiest ^{season} in our trade. I was busy everyday until late at night, working even on Sundays and I had no time left for dealing with politics. It was on the second day of the Revolution, that is on October 24, that I learned about it. On that day, I was working on the construction of a house. During lunchtime, I went over to a nearby tavern and there I heard that there had been a Revolution in Budapest. The radio was on and we listened to the news coming from Budapest. We did not become much more clever. We learned that Minister Gerö was kicked out of the government. Everybody tried to guess what would come now and most people guess^{ed} that Imre Nagy would form a new government. After much talk, I returned to my work. In the afternoon many passers-by stopped on the street, talked to me and told me the latest news. I returned home late in the evening and, of course, the neighbors came together and talked about ~~politics~~ politics. As a matter of fact, everybody was very much interested in what was going on in Budapest, but nobody wanted to do anything in Balassagyarmat. The people in countryside were used to the situation that things would happen in Budapest, but not in a town like ours.

Not very much happened in our town. A few students came home from the University of Budapest and they organized a demonstration.

I did not participate in it since I had to work but I know that it was a fairly large demonstration of 15,000 people or so. They marched across the town and removed the Communist signs. They stopped at the Russian monument and sang the National Anthem there. A few speeches were delivered, but the Russian monument was not demolished. Then one or two days later, a local Revolutionary Council was formed. The order to form a such a council came from Budapest through the radio. The chairman of the Council became an old Mayor of our town whom everybody trusted. He was not a reactionary but a decent honest man. Some Communists, too, were elected to the Revolutionary Council; - for example, one of the local Party secretaries. This Party secretary was an ¹alright fellow. He was a Communist, but an honest man and most people liked him. Then the Revolutionary Council announced a general stoppage of work. This was ^{again} ~~an~~ an order coming from Budapest and it did not make any sense at our place - at Balassagyarmat there were no big factories or shops. The peasants and the small shops continued to work. We, too, worked since we wanted to get money. Our work, for example, could not be stopped because of a general strike. I could not tell people that their work would not be finished before the winter because a Revolution was going on in Budapest. The strike could be felt on the railway stations. No trains were coming and the railroad workers were idling. But most of the ordinary people did their jobs as usual.

Council

Another order of the Revolutionary/dissolved the police. I supposed they dissolved the political police and the regular police as well. The volunteer Freedom Fighters (Nemzetőr) took over the functions of the police. They were civilian people wearing an armband with the national colors and with the seal of the Revolutionary Council. They were patrolling the streets mainly during the night and maintaining order. They did not have to do very much since our town is a rather peaceful, sleepy town. They were patrolling the streets mainly because of the drunkards or some occasional housebreakers. I don't know what happened to the political police. I haven't seen any of them on the streets. The regular police stayed on. One could see them on the streets, they even went into their own building. I ~~sk~~ don't think they were doing very much. Anyhow the regular police were not Communist and one of the police officers became a member of the Revolutionary Council. By the way, a Major of the Border Guards became a member of the local Revolutionary Council, too.

The trouble I mentioned before came in our productive cooperative of small artisans. An order came from Budapest that a Revolutionary Council must be established even in our cooperative. We liked such an order because right at that time, the cooperative was run by a manager sent down upon us from Budapest. He was one of those Communist who tried to ruin the ordinary people. So we were glad that we could remove him and take over the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ management

of our cooperative. We came together one evening and I was elected the chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the cooperative. I did not want to accept this job and protested against it. However, the other people said that I was one of the oldest members of the cooperative so I had to take the job. I took it, but I ~~was~~ did not like it and sensed that it would cause a great deal of trouble for me. After the election we went home, but in the meantime, we received the news that the agricultural cooperatives were being dissolved everywhere in the villages. So all of us came to think that the best thing would be to dissolve our own cooperative too. And all of us wanted to become independent artisans. The next day the radio in Budapest announced that the small shops of tradesmen and artisans will be permitted again. So we did not see any reason why our ~~own~~ cooperative should be continued. On the same evening we met again in the premises of our cooperative. The members began to talk about the dissolution but the manager who was a member of the Revolutionary Council spoke up against it. He ~~warned~~ warned us that a dissolution would be against the Communist principles. ~~They~~ ^{He} told us that so far no instructions have come from Budapest to dissolve the cooperatives of small ~~tradesmen~~ tradesmen. There was much talk and much argument. All the members were for a dissolution and the manager was the only one against it. He repeated the usual Communist words and finally I ~~got~~ got really very mad. I spoke up and used some

angry words. I told my opinion of the manager and of the Communist system. I said that we can dissolve our cooperative ~~whether~~^{whenever} we wish to do so since we had a charter and the charter says that it is a voluntary cooperative. After much talk, it was decided that the next day another member and myself should go up to the town hall and ask the local council about the dissolution. The next day we went up to the town hall and saw some people ~~at~~ from the Revolutionary Council. They told us that one member was in charge of economic affairs, but he was just out and we couldn't see him. The members of the local council talked for a little time. Some of them said that we can dissolve the cooperative. Others said no. Altogether I lost a great amount~~th~~ of time from my work and could not achieve anything. On the same evening we met again in our cooperative. There was much talk again and I spoke up a few times. I said that the idea of the cooperative was the idea of Rákosi and Geró and by now we know that their ideas were wrong. Consequently we should dissolve the cooperative. The manager protested again, jumping up several times and giving the usual Communist propaganda talk. I got really mad and announced: "I dissolve the cooperative and take my things home." I grabbed a few tools which originally had belonged to me and which I had contributed to the cooperative. The other members followed my example and the manager was left there alone. Needless to say I could not take everything that belonged to me. For example, the bench was too big for me to handle. I grabbed a hammer and a plane just to show that I meant what I

said. The next ^{day} of course, I had to go back to the cooperative since all my tools and belongings were still there. We used the premises but we regarded the cooperative as dissolved. The manager was not there. He did not show up for the next three days. Other-~~wise~~ wise our work went on as usual. Then three days later the radio announced that the Russian troops occupied Budapest and we knew that the Revolution was over. The next day the manager showed up in the cooperative again and he delivered one of his Communist talks again. He explained that we, the members, had acted unwisely and against the best principles of Communism. However, he said, he could understand our emotions and he said that the Party will pardon our acts. It was easy to see that he wanted to act as a manager again and take over running the affairs of the cooperative. We couldn't say a word against him after the latest news we heard. Then on November 6, the Russians appeared at Balassagyarmat. They arrived one morning ~~at~~ ⁱⁿ the early hours with about ten tanks and fifty Russian soldiers. For awhile everybody stayed in his job. For example, the Revolutionary Council of the town was running the affairs of the town. In our own cooperative the manager consulted me and the other members of the Revolutionary Council. But as the days passed, it could be seen that the old Communists were returning. For example the AVO people could be seen on the streets again. I felt more and more uneasy. I knew our manager. I knew that he would report on me ~~at~~ ^{to} the secret police. Thus, of course, I was

thinking of escaping from the country and ~~kk~~ talked it over with my wife. We made ~~xx~~ certain preparations. Then on December 6, the chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the town was arrested. He did not do anything against the Communists, neither against the Russians and he was arrested simply because people trusted him. When I heard about it the next morning, it became clear that I could be arrested very soon. I thought that I might have been the second or third person after that. So I returned home ~~xxx~~ from work and in a few minutes I prepared myself and the family for the trip. We were fortunate enough since just at that time a truck was ~~loading~~ ^{leaving} Balassagyarmat for Budapest. The driver was willing to take us up and we got a ride to the city of Vac. From there we continued our trip and on the 9th of ~~December~~ ^{December,} we arrived in Vienna.

(5b) There was no strike in our cooperative. We talked it over and decided that we cannot stop our work. Everybody was working as usual.

(5c) There were no fighters and no fights in our town. One day some miners and workers came over from ^a Salgotarjan and wanted to recruit fighters. I know that some youngsters signed up and they took a truck to go over to ~~xxx~~ ^t Salgotarjan. Later on, I saw one of the youngsters who had come back. He had been badly wounded during the fight. He couldn't go into the hospital and he was ~~kk~~ nursed at home by his parents.

(5e) The students and the miners distributed some leaflets which came from Budapest or from Salgotarjan. The leaflets contained the Fourteen Points and the *manifesto* of the Miners' Councils. I got

a few leaflets but I heard their content on the radio before I got the leaflets.

(7) I don't know.

(7a) There were no rebels at Balassagyarmat. But there was a great disagreement among the people. Nobody knew what should be done. For example, when we went up to the city hall and asked them about the dissolution of our cooperative, there was a complete disagreement among the members of the Revolutionary Council. Some people were for it, others were against it. The opinions were equally divided concerning the dissolution of the agricultural cooperatives, too.

(7d) Many peasants are living in our city or come in every day from the neighboring villages. The peasants really hated Communism and they were very much for the Revolution. However, peasants never participate in a Revolution. They were waiting for the outcome and they hoped that the outcome would be good.

(8) There were no Russian soldiers in our town before the Revolution. It was an insignificant small town. When the Russians arrived in November, 1956, they were rather friendly. They did not try to molest the Hungarians or behave in any unjust way. Russians and Hungarians were talking on the streets. The Russian soldiers did not know that there was a Revolution in Hungary. All they knew was that a ~~small~~ detachment of them was sent to our city. They did not behave like hostile people.

(8e) No.

- (9) Everybody listened to the radio. I could do so only in the evening hours, when I came home from my work. But there was a talk going on all day long. Everybody stopped, even unknown people, and ~~talked~~^{spoke} about the latest news.
- (9a) We had a local paper called Nogradmegyei Hirlap, but nobody ever read it because it was a Communist paper. I think it stopped publication when the Revolution broke out. I have never subscribed to newspapers coming from Budapest because they did not tell the news but only the Communist lies. In the last few years I did not read newspapers except for the weekly Magyar Föld which was^a weekly published for the peasants and other country people.
- (9b) You know the Hungarians, they talk about politics all the time. It was even more so ~~in~~ during the Revolution. When there was news coming from Budapest, people stopped on the street or in front of houses and talked openly about politics. Everybody told his opinion. Everybody said what he had heard on the radio.
- (9c) Yes, see above. I did not listen to the foreign radio stations. One needed a great deal of time to listen to them. For a working man as I was, it was impossible. I had to be satisfied with the news coming from Budapest. By the way, the foreign stations were not more reliable than the news coming from Budapest. All of them lied, but lied in a different way.
- (10) I don't know what happened to the Party during the Revolution since I did not go into the Party building except once a year when it was

a must. Some of the Communists escaped from our town. I suppose they went to Budapest where nobody knew them. But many other Communists stayed on. The local Revolutionary Council had at least four Communist members and two of them were Party secretaries. The Party itself did not function ~~in the town~~ for a few days, but it was all the time ready to resume its ordinary work. As soon as the Russians came in, the Party building was buzzing again from their regular activities.

- (10a) Nothing collapsed because the time was too short. In case of a real Revolution or a real change, the cooperatives would cease altogether but under those conditions everybody was ^{cautious} ~~informed~~ of dissolving the cooperatives, - Even I tried to be ^{cautious} ~~cautious~~ ^{although} ~~the~~ cooperative had been the greatest injustice inflicted by the Communist Party upon me. Even when I took ~~my~~ ^{home} tools from the cooperative, I was thinking of the possibility that by tomorrow the Communists might be back. I was rather cautious about it, but at the same time, I was awfully mad. I think it was exactly ~~x~~ the same with the peasants and their cooperatives.
- (10b) See above.
- (10c) The police stayed on, they even did some work.
- (10d) The AVH people went into hiding. They stayed at home and did not show up on the streets.
- (10g) I don't know.
- (10j) The Revolution established the Revolutionary Councils and the trouble

was that too many councils were established and none of them knew what to do. If any problem came up, nobody could expect any solution from the Revolutionary Councils. Then the Freedom ~~Struggle~~ Fighters organization~~s~~ was another thing established by the Revolution. The youngsters volunteered for it, but it was ~~h~~ planned for a short time only. The plan was that the Freedom Fighters would maintain order~~s~~ for a few days and then the regular police could step in again.

(10k) The Revolutionary Councils and the Freedom Fighters.

(10l) I know only of the Council~~s~~ that existed in our cooperative. It was made up of all kinds of people. It included non-Communists too. As a matter of fact, the non-Communists were in the majority. They were organized on the basis of experience, age, and so on. I was elected the chairman of it, because I was a member of the cooperative for six years by that time. I was one of the founders of the cooperative.

(10m) It's hard to say. As long as the Russians ~~are~~ are our neighbors, nothing else but Communism can exist in Hungary. Most of the Revolutionaries wanted something like there is in Yugoslavia or something like there is here in England. Nobody wanted to restore the old regime in Hungary except for those few reactionaries whom I mentioned.

(11a) It was not usual. Revolutions are seldom usual and particularly this one was not good. It caused a lot of trouble and mainly

to ~~the~~ innocent people like me.

(11b)

It could not have succeeded. How could a Hungarian Revolution, ^{have} been successful against the Russians? The ~~the~~ American army can stand up against the Soviet Union, but not a handful of Hungarian Revolutionaries.

(11c)

I did not expect any help ~~from~~ from the West, but there ~~was~~ were many people who hoped for such help. Particularly the University student and the miners were talking about help coming from Germany and America. They thought of military help - that the American army would appear in Austria or Germany or Hungary. I don't know what the basis of their hope was.

(11e)

In the last ten years or so, nobody did so much for the small artisans as Imre Nagy. When he became the prime minister, he issued a new order that stopped our exploitation by the cooperative. He ordered that from now on, the members of the cooperative should receive a fixed salary every month. I must thank him ~~for~~ that I did not starve with my family.

(11f)

~~He~~ Kiraly was important in the Revolution because he organized the resistance in Budapest. Tildy was an old opportunist in politics. He will always turn toward that direction from ~~where~~ ^{where} the money comes. He will do anything which brings him money.

(11g)

The youth and the miners were most important in the Revolution, ~~at~~ least in our province. There are no real workers in our district since there are no factories there. Of course, in Budapest the

workers ~~were~~^{were} very important in the Revolution.

- (12) I wanted to leave Hungary for quite a long time. In 1950 and 1951 many people escaped through our town by crossing the Czechoslovak border and going to Bratislava and from there to Vienna. At that time I was thinking of escaping with my family. One day we went out to the border to explore the possibilities. We arranged everything as if we were making a picnic near the border line. However, we were caught by the border guards. Nothing happened to us, but they warned us that we should not come so near to the border. This happened in 1952, after that I did not have the courage to repeat the excursion~~s~~ to the border. Moreover, because of my family ~~was~~ situation it ~~is~~ would have been too hard on us to ~~leave~~ leave Balassagyarmat. But in November, 1956, I became really afraid that I would be arrested by the police and I ~~was~~ would be deported to Siberia. By that time, my daughter was married and my oldest son dead. My younger son was old enough to come with us. This is how we decided to leave the country.

- (12b) I did not discuss my plans with anybody except my wife. Of course, we talked about it with my son, too. He, particularly, was eager to come.

(1) I was a carpenter and cabinet maker in Hungary.

(2) I can tell you what the Communists did ~~x~~ to me and to many other people. It will show you why Communism is not a good system. My father was a simple laborer, but he wanted a better future for me. So he apprenticed me at the age of 13. Every since that time, I have been working which means now 34 years and the Communists called me a capitalist and an exploiter. You know what apprenticeship meant in old Hungary? We had to work from six o'clock in the morning till eight and nine o'clock at night. I ~~had~~ had to work in the shop and in the household of the master. I had to watch his kids. If anybody has a proletarian origin - I have it and I was not good enough for the Communists. When I became a journeyman, I went to different cities looking for work there. I worked in Budapest, ~~at~~ Miskolc and Vac. When I returned ~~I returned~~ to Balassagyarmat, it was in the bad times of the 1930's. It was difficult to find a job. It was even more difficult to get one's own money. I was working with different masters, but it happened that they could not pay me at the end of the week. ^{Although} I was ~~also~~ a carpenter and joiner, I took up odd jobs as a charman. Those were hard years indeed. And when the situation improved a little bit and it was possible to make some money, I was called up in the army and had to serve two years. By that time, I was married and had a child and my wife had to work to care for the family. After my discharge from the army, I worked as an independent joiner and

carpenter. I worked in our town and in the neighboring villages. Our trade is not a very good one because we have^a seasonal work only from spring to late fall. Then from November or December we have hardly any work up to March or April. But I liked to work and worked long hours and I was able to get ahead. I accepted all kinds of jobs and there were times when I employed ten people. In 1941, I was able to construct a home for myself. For a few years I really got ahead,^{although} ~~also~~ in the meantime I was called up in the army again and had to serve another year. During the war and even a few years after the war, the business life was quite alright and the small tradesmen like myself could work. For a while, not even the Communists bothered us. It came only later that they began to call us capitalists and ~~not~~ exploiters. The trouble ~~started~~ started in 1949, when a new order came out. According to this order anybody who employed two employees had to pay double taxes, ~~and after~~ ^{up to} three employees, the taxes trebled, and so on. Now in our trade, if a job comes in, for ~~an~~ example, a house has to be constructed, the master has to hire two, three or ^{MVIC} helps for a few weeks. Without their help the job could not be finished. So the order meant a death sentence for us. For awhile I tried to work without any help, doing everything alone, but the taxes became stiffer and stiffer. The tax office sent me a new notice every month demanding more and more taxes. It happened that one month I paid 600 forints which was a tremendous sum at that

time. Then the next month I received another notice from the tax office telling me that I have arrears of 3,000 forints. Then in 1951, all the independent tradesmen were called up to the town hall. One of the Party secretaries told us there that from now on we cannot work as capitalists, as independent tradesmen. We have to form the so-called productive ~~organisations~~ cooperatives of small tradesmen. We tried to protest but it was impossible to protest against the orders coming from Budapest. We had to establish the cooperatives as it was dictated ~~from~~^{by} the Communists in Budapest. This establishment meant that I had to give in all my tools and equipment, all my capital, but I did not become the owner of the cooperative. I had to work there with my own tools, but the money we ~~was~~ received went to the state. It was simple robbery - a robbery from the small people. It was not the same thing as the nationalization of large industry. All ~~that~~ I had was ^a very small shop which I had built up from my own ~~and~~ hard work during a few years and I had started out as a real proletarian.

From 1951 up to my escape from Hungary, I worked with the same cooperative and my life was nothing but a misery because of the cooperative. The ~~was~~ constant troubles we had there were pretty similar to the troubles the peasants had ~~in~~ in the agricultural cooperatives. We had to ~~to~~ go in with everything we possessed and we became just plain workers of the cooperative. We had no right to run the cooperative, but had to work for the state. If we made

money through our work, it belonged to the state, but if we had to buy something - a tool, equipment or other expenditure, we had to pay for it out of our own money. It is not easy for me to describe the organization of the cooperative because it changed so often. During those six years, we had at least six important changes in the organization of the cooperative. For example, the name of the cooperative changed three or four times. At the beginning it was a so-called mixed cooperative, whereby different kinds of small tradesmen were put together. For example, we had not only bricklayers, carpenters, joiners, but also mechanics and even barbers under the same cooperative. Then later on, a separate so-called cooperative of the building trades were established which contained only people in the building trades. Then even that cooperative was ~~xxx~~ split and ours became number one and another one was established at Balassagyarmat. Then for awhile the name of the cooperative was Madach. The number of the members of the cooperative changed even more often. When we began our cooperative, we had perhaps 30 members, then when it was split up several times, there were only six members left in the number one cooperative of the building trades. Many people left the cooperative because they got fed up. They went to Budapest and took up jobs there with the different factories. At the same time, some new people came and wanted to become members of the cooperative. Most of those newcomers were no tradesmen at all. They did not have the necessary

apprenticeship and the necessary qualifications. For example, if a peasant boy came to Balassagyarmat and he had some good connections with a Party secretary, he immediately became a member of the cooperative ~~though~~ ^{although} he ^{had} never worked in any trade. There was a time when ~~approximately~~ all laborers were members of the cooperative. If somebody ~~had~~ worked for a few weeks in construction, that qualified him for membership in the cooperative.

The management of the cooperative was even more confused and changed just as often. At the beginning, one of the local Party secretaries became the acting manager of the new cooperative. This fellow was a former carpenter and was one of the honest Communists. He played a great role in our town and we thanked him for many good things. I'm ~~xx~~ sure that he saved me several times from being arrested because I said my opinion ~~fr~~ frankly. He was a man of good will and as a manager, he listened to us. However, most of the time, he had to do as the orders coming from Budapest told him to do. Later the cooperative ~~wq~~ was split into two or three parts, and each of them got a separate manager. At that time we were supposed to elect a manager. Of course, it was a Communist election since the Party told us whom we should elect and so we did. In such a way a carpenter became the manager again and he was a likable person, too. However, he was a carpenter and not a manager. He did not know anything about the office jobs and here is where the trouble started. In a cooperative it was necessary to keep books,

and the orders coming from Budapest prescribed what kind of books should be kept. He did not know anything about bookkeeping. Then one day a commission appeared at our premises and wanted to see the books. There were no books and he was accused of sabotage and embezzlement. There was a great scandal. We tried to defend him and told the committee what the situation was. The committee, however, did not listen to us. Those people did not know anything about the small trade, but they were good Communists and this is how they became members of the committee. The result was that our manager was arrested by the police. After a few days, he was released but a court trial came up and he was given a sentence. He was sentenced to a few weeks of jail, but later he got amnesty. Actually he never went to jail, but he was branded for his whole life.

After this incident, we had no manager at all. One of the local Party secretaries became the supervisor of the cooperative, but for a long time there was great anarchy in our cooperative and everybody did as he liked. Then one day the local council told us that we had to hire a bookkeeper who would run the office of the cooperative and would do all the necessary paper work. We tried to protest and explained that a bookkeeper is necessary in a big business only. Our words could not achieve anything and from this time on, we had a bookkeeper. Actually, we had many bookkeepers since few of them lasted for any length of time. One of the

bookkeepers was a student who came home for the summer and wanted a job during the summer. Another bookkeeper was a girl who did not know more about bookkeeping than I did. We had to pay high wages to all these people and their most important job was to fill in different ~~jobs~~ ^{forms} and sent ^{them} it up to Budapest. Then in 1954, a new manager was sent from Budapest. He had some experience in business, I suppose in old times, he had owned a lumber yard. He knew something about construction, about carpentering and about how to run the business. But he was a great Communist. He wanted to get ahead. He wanted to get a bigger job. So he did everything to please the Party secretary. He was pushing us all the time and he was the worst boss I have ever had in my life. He was our manager when the Revolution broke out.

The work of the cooperative was organized as follows. In the town of Balassagyarmat and in the neighboring villages, if anybody wanted to have a construction job done, he had to come to our cooperative. He had no free choice and nobody else could have done the job. Then he was supposed to give a written order to the cooperative entrusting the job to the cooperative. The job itself could be carried out by any member of the cooperative and he was billed by the cooperative and was supposed to pay the cooperative. We hadn't received any money. Everything went into the purse of the cooperative. Now the trouble was that none of the private citizens, and particularly none of the peasants, were

willing to give a written order to the cooperative. They came to us individually. For example, they came to me in my home. So we had to do a great deal of ~~ix~~ black work, which we did in our spare time in the afternoons, or Sundays or in the slack season. The railway company and the state enterprises, of course, went to the cooperative in the official way ~~but~~^{and} did not care for the fact that we could have done the job much cheaper and much better. The system of how we were paid was the worst type of exploitation I have ever heard of. When the cooperative was established, we were promised that at the end of the year all the profits would be distributed according to the capital the members put into the cooperative. So we started to work. We worked and several weeks past and we hadn't received ~~any~~ any money. Our money we had privately was spent and there we stood without one penny at home, unable to buy the necessary food for the family. We almost revolted and went up to the town hall complaining ~~loudly~~ loudly. One of the fellows almost beat up the secretary of the local council. There was such an uproar that even the local council had to give in and finally it was decided that we should get an advance pay which should be an advance from our annual profit. So one day we got 150 forints which was nothing at all. We got a few more advances but always such paltry sums as 150 and 200 forints. The situation was that we, the independent tradesmen, had no money whatsoever. The laborers of the railway had more

money than we, ^{although} ~~also~~ we worked much longer hours than they did. When our first year in the cooperative ended, it was announced that instead of profit, we lost money and no money would be given out. We got awfully mad and we declared that in that case we would not work. A few people promised the local Party ^{secretary} that they would murder him. So finally they decided that they would give us those advanced payments. So we lived for a long time without any money and I had never thought in my ~~life~~ life that an independent tradesman could be so poor as the tradesmen of the Communist system. Then finally Imre Nagy came and he issued a new order concerning the productives cooperatives. According to this new order, every member should get a monthly salary and at the end of the year if any profit is left, the profit should be distributed among the members. From this time on, we got a regular monthly salary in the same way as the other workers got it. At the beginning it was 600 forints a month but later it was increased ~~in~~ several times. In 1956, I was getting 1,100 forints.

When the cooperative was established, it was announced that it should be an independent business in the same way as we had had our own independent business. However, there was no independence in the cooperative. The local ~~council~~ council supervised it in every activity. One of the secretaries of the local council was in charge of the cooperatives. He had too the right to decide on everything, even in ~~the~~ small affairs we had to see him and ask

for his permission. Then, of course, the cooperatives were supervised from Budapest. Commissions came from there and the members of the commission put their noses in everything. Every day a new order came out. The mail of the manager was heavy every day and it contained every day orders and forms to be filled out. We, the members, had to fill in many forms. For example, a daily worksheet putting down how many hours we worked and on what jobs. We had to fill in another form concerning the material used in our work. For example, I had to put down every piece of tile or shingle I used. If we needed any material, for example lumber, we had to fill in a special requisition form in three copies. It was sheer nonsense what happened then. The requisition forms were sent down to the lumber yard. Then for a long time we did not get any material. Finally when we received it, it was the wrong type. For example, if I asked for two inch boards, I certainly received one inch boards, and so on. It was of everyday occurrence that we started a job on a Monday and Tuesday afternoon we had to break it off because we had no raw materials. Then a week later we received the lumber, so we could work for a few days on the job again. Then we had to stop and take up another job or idle for a few days because the lumber was not delivered again.

The Communist cooperative was a monkey-business, because small business x cannot be done by the state. We worked hard and we lost money because of the monkey-business of the Communists. Of course,

the main aim of the Communists was to ruin the small independent tradesmen.

(2a) See above.

(2e) See above.

(3) I liked my trade since I have spent a lifetime in it.

(3b) According to the ~~the~~ rules, every member of the cooperative was supposed to work 48 hours a week and six days a week. However, this was one of the rules which had never been kept. We worked either more or less because of the seasons of the trade and because of the black work we did. For example, in the summer we worked 56 and 64 hours a week. In the winter we did not work more than 20 or 24 hours. Then again if somebody had a black work to do, he simply took off a few hours every afternoon. For example, he finished at two o'clock in the afternoon and went over to his own job. We had to fill in the time sheet but otherwise it was impossible to supervise how much time we spent on the different jobs. In our trade we do not spend much time in the shop, particularly not in the high ~~season~~ season. ~~Now~~ Needless to say that whenever we worked on a job of the cooperative, the work ~~was~~ was rather poor. However, any job done as our black work was as good as in old times. I remember ~~the~~ a constructing job we did for the railways. We had to build another warehouse for them - the work started out with the bricklayers. They built a wall and two days later it collapsed. We were lucky that it collapsed at night when nobody was nearby and

nobody was hurt. Then the wall was rebuilt and finally the roofing came. When we had to do the carpentry work on the roofing it turned out that the state lumberyard sent us two inch beams ~~extra~~ instead of the four inch beams. It was impossible to get the proper beams. So we used the poor ones. After our job the roofers came and put the tiles on. The building was hardly finished, when one of the beams broke and the roof collapsed. This is how the cooperative did its job.

(3f) See above.

(3g) See above.

(3o) Since the time of Imre Nagy we got the same benefits as the other workers. We had the health insurance and the paid vacation. The health insurance system was really good. It was the only good thing the Communists did for the tradespeople. Not only my wife but two of my kids were covered and when my son had the flu, the doctor came out three times. The paid vacation was good too, but we got it during the winter time. There was not much work to be done at that time so it did not matter much to the cooperative whether we stayed at home for two weeks or not.

(4a) ~~Most~~ Most of the members of the cooperative were tradespeople such as carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, mechanics and so on. The poor tradespeople ~~who~~ who were not good workers liked the state cooperatives. There was a shoe-maker at Gyarmat who was a drunkard and a no good fellow all his life. All the money he made went into

the *tavern* , so he simply loved the cooperative because it meant that every month he got 600 forints and he could spend it on drink and ~~his~~ his work ~~is~~ was poor anyhow. He did not care for his customers or for making money. The average, ordinary tradespeople, however, hated the system of the cooperative. They wanted to be independent

(4b)

There were some quarrels and ~~at~~ ^{disensions} ~~discussions~~ since the tradespeople are used to independence. They do not like to be bossed. Let's suppose that I was on a job of the cooperative, working there together with another carpenter or with a bricklayer. Now which one of us should be the boss? There were many bad feelings on this point, ^{although} ~~that~~ our cooperative did not fare too badly. I have heard many stories about the cooperative of the barbers. They had constant fights and quarrels there. It happened once that they got into a fight ~~at~~ when the barbershop was full of customers and beat up each other in the presence of so many people.

(4f)

I joined the trade union way back when I was a journeyman working in Budapest. It happened in 1931, or so perhaps. From this time on I have always been a trade union member. After the war, the Communists took over the trade unions and at that time the real trade union work stopped and it became just one extended branch of the Party. From that time on the trade union meant another place where the Party secretaries could rant about Communism. Meetings were held once a month ~~at~~ but I have never attended them. In old

times, I mean before Communism, I had several offices in the trade unions. I was librarian, I was educational secretary and so ~~on~~ on. In those times I liked the trade union work. Of course, after the Communists came in, I did not want to have any office. But they would not have elected me anyhow since suddenly I became a capitalist and an enemy of the system.

(4e) No information.

(41) The local council interfered with the cooperative all the time. For example, they sent us instructions that on May 1st, we had to ~~March~~ ^{with} ~~for~~ the demonstration and we had to be, at seven o'clock in the morning, at a certain place. Needless to say, most of us worked on May 1st, and did not show up for the demonstration.

Then two days later we received a letter from the local council reprimanding us for ~~our~~ our lack of cooperation. The local council interfered with the cooperative in every way. For example, the managers were actually appointed by the local council, or the bookkeepers were hired by the local council. In the same way the local council decided which one of the jobs should be done first. This was one of the great troubles why the cooperative could not work profitably.

(4p) I'm sure that the Communist manager I have mentioned was an informer for the secret police. He was eager to use every possible method to promote himself. I saw him personally in one of the local restaurants sitting together with the AVO people.

- (5) There were no possibilities for changing jobs unless somebody left Gyarmat and moved to Budapest. There he could easily get a job because there was a scarcity of skilled carpenters. The wages were much better in Budapest. For awhile I was thinking of moving there too. The main reason I did not do so was that I had my own home at Gyarmat and in Budapest it was impossible to get a place to live in. Otherwise, it was impossible to change jobs. For example it was not permitted to leave the cooperative or to join another cooperative or to go into ~~another~~ another kind of occupation. For example, I knew a roofer who wanted to take a job with the railway company but he was not hired but told that he should go back to his cooperative.
- (5b) My trade is good enough if there is no Communism.
- (5e) I don't know myself. I don't know right now whether I can ~~save~~ save any money in my present job and if I save ^{it} what shall I do with it.
- (5g) There are many better jobs but they depend on education. My older son became a mechanic. My younger son is too young yet to make a choice but I suppose he will become a skilled worker or so.
- (6) The first few years after the war were good enough. We could make a lot of money. There was plenty of work. The trouble started only when the Communists took it over, ~~and~~ independent tradesmen usually can make money in every system except for Communism.
- (7) People in the cooperatives are the most exploited people of ~~the~~ the Communist system. There were long years when we couldn't make

money to live on, at least we couldn't make money in the cooperative. We lived only ~~x~~ because I did black work.

(8) See the two budget schedules attached.

(9) Food was plentiful in our town. In most cases we bought right from the peasants. If I did some private work, I got my pay in some kind of food, for example, in flour, meat or wine. There was a scarcity of industrial commodities. For example, it was difficult to buy shoes. It was just very bad when our children needed them the most. It was a shame that Hungary which has a great ~~big~~ leather industry was unable to provide enough shoes. This alone shows the shortcomings of the Communist system.

(10) The Communists ruined the independent small businessmen who are very important in every country. At the ~~same~~ same time they could not provide the population with the necessities.

(10c) Hungary had a great prosperity during the war but at the same time the government was against the small people. Between 1938 and '41, there was plenty of money everywhere but the peasant was still exploited, exploited by the large ~~x~~ landowners and by the archbishops.

(10d) Deterioration.

(10f) The leading Communists and the newspapers were talking all the time about the re-emergence^c of the private sector. They announced that new trade licenses were being given out. All I know is that at Gyarmat, nobody could receive a trade license. We would have been all too glad to leave ~~behind~~ the cooperative and get a license for

private trade. It was impossible to get it.

(10g) There has been a great improvement since the time of Imre Nagy. The time of Rákosi was the worst.

(11) People were exploited by the Communist system and this was one of the main reasons of dissatisfaction. If people are well off, they are willing to accept any kind of government. Here is the ^{example of} Hitler. He gave jobs to the Germans and the Germans followed him faithfully up to the defeat.

- (1) I have six years of grade school. I was just in the seventh grade when I was apprenticed. After that I had to attend the Trade School for three years. This trade school did not amount to very much. I'm still sorry that I could not obtain more education. Under the present Communist system nobody can be apprenticed before finishing at least eight years of schooling. This is again one of the good innovations of the Communist system.
- (1e) I attended the local grammar school, as I was supposed to.
- (2) I have not received as much education as I wanted. The old system in Hungary had many faults. Schooling was open for the rich middle class only. My father was a laborer. He had no money to send me up to higher schools.
- (2e) No, there was no equality in old Hungary.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) What Communism wanted was that all the students in the eighth grade should become good Communists. The schools did not teach anything else but Communism. The most important thing was that somebody should be a good Pioneer. The kids in the school did not learn anything out of arithmetic. But they had learn very much about Marx and Lenin.
- (4b) It was pretty effective. One could see the changes in the youngsters. I mean none of the students became real Communists but their way of thinking became thwarted anyhow.
- (4c) The school children did not like Communism - not because of the

school but because of their parents. For example, my younger son went into the school under the Communist system. In the school he was told all the time how good Communism was. He ^{got} free milk, free books and particularly many books about Comrade Rákosi there. Then he came home school and at home he had to see what the Communists did to his father. He had no reason whatsoever to like Communism, in spite of the free milk and the free books.

- (4f) Communism does everything to conquer the youth. I am sure that after a while the Communist efforts will bring ~~their~~ results. If Communism lasts for another ten or twenty years, the youngsters will become really Communists at the end of their schooling.
- (4h) Yes. One can see it in every way. The children spent a lot of time in the Culture House and in the house of the local Youth League. They played ping pong there or participated in the soccer team, but each time they had to attend a lecture which extolled Communism.
- (4i) Propaganda is most effective in the young years. It has no effect on people in the middle age group. I never believed one word that the Communists said, but many of those youngsters - 15, 17 year olds - were willing to believe in the Party secretary. It was a duty of the parents to explain the real situation to the children. In many cases no great explanation was necessary. What the children saw at home was the best lesson for them. Butx there were

many children who did not see the right example at home. I could mention the example of an old buddy of mine who was a carpenter and became a Communist Party secretary. He was an honest fellow. He didn't do any harm to the people but he believed in Communism. His kids became Communists too. They became Party members at the age of 18, which shows that they must have been really very good Communists.

- (5) My father was a laborer - a very poor laborer at Gyarmat. We used to ~~live~~ live behind the brick factory, as it was called. If anybody has a proletarian origin, I have it. My father died twenty years ago.
- (5f) We were really poor.
- (5g) I had three sisters and two brothers.
- (5h) One of my sisters died in her childhood. The two other sisters and the two brothers are married. One brother lives at Gyarmat, the other ones moved away and they now live in Budapest and in the mining area.
- (5i) No.
- (5k) As you see, it hurt me.
- (6) I got married in 1936, shortly after my return to Gyarmat. We had three children out of the marriage. The oldest one is a girl. She is now married and has a child. She and her husband stayed at home. Her husband is a good skilled worker working in one of the big factories. His lot was much better than mine. He stayed at home

and did not want to leave the country. The second child was a boy and I lost him because of Communism. He was called up by the army and in the service he lost his life in an accident. The truck he was riding with many other soldiers, overturned and he died there on the highway near to Szeged. It was a great blow to us since he was a very good boy - that kind of boy of whom every father is proud. He wanted to become a mechanic and had his apprenticeship finished, when he was called up by the army. When he died, we were called to the town hall and there we were told about his death. The secretary of the local council spoke a few pious words and he promised us that we should get railway tickets to attend the funeral. Needless to say, we never got them. He was buried at Szeged. We visited his tomb and want^{ed} to erect a tombstone. Then the Revolution came, we escaped and nothing came of the plan. Now I would like to send some money to my daughter so she can take care of the tombstone. Our younger son is now 16 years old. In Hungary he was attending school and not working except for the last two summers. He came with us to England and is attending school here. He still has many difficulties with English, but in a short time he will speak it just as well as anybody else here in England.

- (7) Yes, this was something where Communists could not interfere. All our children were very good.
- (8) Yes. We talked about current matters at home whether the children

were present or not. Needless to say we could speak freely before the children. It would be really bad if a person could not open his mouth even in his own home.

- (9) We had no troubles.
- (9b) No troubles either.
- (9c) Nothing at all.
- (10) Yes. The schools or the Youth League wanted to turn them into good Communists. They had to be in school. They had to listen to the Communist talk but they did not believe what the teacher was telling them.
- (11) It was a long time ago when I lived with my parents. At that time we got along alright.
- (12) Not applicable.
- (13) Not applicable.
- (14) Our family life was as it should be. I worked hard all my life and wanted to get my pleasure out of my family. I cannot complain on that point. My wife and the children gave me everything I wanted to get.
- (14b) I think this was pretty general.
- (14c) I did not have any leisure time except for the winter. Usually I worked 60-64 hours a week. I worked on Saturdays and Sundays and late in the evening to ^{do} the private jobs- the so-called black work. When I had some time for myself, I had to look for my own home, since there was always something to be done there. As for entertain-
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ment, we had many friends who came to visit us or we ~~were~~ visited them. My wife liked the movies and we saw all the movies that came to town except the Russian ~~movies~~ ones. Usually we went to a movie once a week - to the night performance which started at 9:20. It was not necessary to dress up for the movie. I just went there as I had come home from work.

(14g) I did not have leisure time, but the Communist Party could not interfere with that short time I spent leisurely.

(15) Any ~~at~~ time there are good families and bad families. In the bad families the family ties have loosened, but the good families kept up the old family life in spite of Communism. I mentioned the Party secretary whose children became Communists at the age of 18. Everybody was a Communist in that family, but they were honest and good people. Their family life was alright. On the other hand, there were many parents who did not care for their children and did not control them. Those children ran off, they went away to Budapest or to ~~St~~ Sstalinvaros to work there and got into ~~mischief~~ mischief. If a girl became pregnant, it was her fault or her parents fault. It was not a fault of the Communists. If the morals are looser now in Hungary, one should not blame the Communist system. One should blame people and particularly those parents who did not fulfill their duties.

(15e) The Communists wanted to change the ways of rearing children, but they could not achieve their main aim. Children are still reared

in the good old ways.

- (16) It did not change except for the Communists. If a student goes up to Budapest from a small town like ours, he can stay a good boy or a decent girl, but if he joins the Communists there, he will live accordingly and he will have many love affairs.
- (16b) Yes, they changed. In my time, a young man was supposed to have a certain existence before courting a girl seriously. Now-a-days ~~anybody~~ nobody has an existence. The youngsters get married at a really early age. They do not have any jobs, any money. They do not even have a will to work. Boys at the age of 18 or 19 are getting married. They do not have one cent, they do not have a place ~~where~~ to live. They do not know anything about the duties of the parents.
- (16c) Yes. For example, the gypsy ^{now} ~~was~~ did not change at all. If anybody wanted to find a gypsy girl, all he had to do was to go out there and he could find a girl any time of the day or night. Then the same goes for some of the taverns. That has been an old tavern custom. The servant girls in some of the taverns were simple prostitutes. This has been the situation up to the time I left the country.
- (16f) In this matter, the Communists are the same as the old authorities were. There is no great difference between the two of them. Both of them speak of high morals and practice something else. In old times the count had his lovers and now-a-days the Communist bigwig

in Budapest has his lovers too.

- (16h) Now-a-days there is no difference between legitimate and illegitimate children. This was again one of the achievements of Communism. I remember when I was a young man, one of the Social Democratic members of the Parliament made a motion that illegitimacy should be abolished and should not be put down on the birth certificate. After his speech, the whole country was in an uproar and the Social Democratic Party was accused of immorality. Then twenty years later the Communists carried it out and everybody accepted it. After all, it is alright. The kids are innocent and they should not suffer because of the fault of their parents.
- (16i) Yes, there is a certain kind of equality between men and women. Women are getting important jobs which were not open to them in old times. Women are working now in the local council or in the ministries in Budapest and so on. Of course, the change can be seen in Budapest but not in our town. I suppose sooner or later the ~~male~~ equality will be achieved everywhere,
- (17) It is a consequence of Communism that morals deteriorated. It cannot be otherwise under that political system. Just imagine an independent tradesman^a who is used to independence gets 150 forints^{as an} ~~in~~ advance from his cooperative. It is not enough for food for his family, so what does he do? He accepts a black job. Of course, he needs some raw materials to do the job. He cannot buy the raw mater

because the state owned stores } simply do not sell to him. There
is nothing else left for him but to steal from the cooperative.
He can ~~do~~ do it easily since no supervision is possible in a
small cooperative. Or let's think of a barber who was forced into
a cooperative. He takes two forints and forty fillers from the
~~customer~~ customer but instead of the cash register, he puts ~~in~~ the
money into his own ^c pocket. Everybody steals in the Communist sys-
tem and the higher somebody is the more he steals. The poor bar-
ber could not steal more than a few forints. The bookkeeper of
the large state enterprise could embezz^{le} 10,000 forints. And
the bigwigs in Budapest could steal millions.

(17d) I don't know of that.

(18) I have spent all my life at Gyarmat and my father lived there too.
I knew almost everybody in the town and I had many friends there.
My best friends were people whom I knew since childhood. We met
in the school or even before that. We had spent our whole life
together. Most of my best friends were tradesmen as I was.

(18c) We were visit^{ing} one another and we played cards. In winter, when
I had some time, I used to play two or three times a week. From
spring to late fall, I did not have much time left for friends.

(18g) He should be honest, frank and straight forward.

(18i) See above.

(18k) I had a good friend who became a Communist. He was a carpenter,
too. And we agreed pretty much on politics and on everything. In

1945, he joined the Communist Party as many other Social Democrats did. He was an honest Communist and really believed what he said. He did not harm the people, but tried to help them. I am sure that he helped me many many times and saved me from being arrested by the police since I was never able to keep my mouth shut. I think we were good friends even after 1945. We did not get together so often as in old times, simply because ~~he had been~~^{was} so busy. Membership in the Party does not prove alone that somebody is a bad man. There are some good men even among the Party members.

(19) We were ~~members~~^{Lutherans} from my father's side. However, my wife is a Catholic.

(19b) I am Lutheran.

(20) In religious life, Communists did many bad things and some good ones too. For example it was bad to preach against religion. Everybody should have freedom to go to church and to attend the services. The trouble was that Communism was instigating the masses against the priests all the time. On the other hand, let's not forget that Communism has its good points too. I remember the large estates of the Archbishop ^ZEstergom. ~~xx~~ Those estates were ~~situated~~ situated near to Gyarmat and in old times I used to work there pretty often. It would be impossible to describe the poverty in which the peasants of ~~xx~~ the Archbishop lived. They lived in shacks not in houses - in mud-brick buildings and two families in one building. They did not receive any^{cash} pay but only the pay in

kind. They never had one cent. If a child got sick, they could not see a doctor because they did have two pengoes to pay for the doctor. Here is the case of Kemence which was the richest parish of Hungary. The parish ~~were~~ priests there made ten thousand pengoes a year and the peasants of the archbishop did not make 100 pengoes a year. When the Canon came out from ~~Esztergom~~ Esztergom to visit the peasants, the peasants had to kneel down in the street and kiss the hand of the Canon. This was no good and whoever did it, it was right to end this system.

(20b) The Communists tried to use religion for their own ends. Religion is always used by the political government for its ~~own~~ own end. The same thing was done in old times by the Hapsburgs who stamped out Protestantism in Hungary. They made the whole country Catholic and poor. Even in my time, Horthy used religion for his own political ends. If you went into the church, the priest was talking about how good it was to live under Admiral Horthy. Communism is not ~~x~~ worse in this respect than the other political systems were.

(20c) I have heard about them but I haven't met them.

(20f) Yes, except for the Party members.

(20i) The women, my wife went to church every Sunday. I never went to church. Then, of course, many people went to church as a political demonstration. It became a fashion to go to church. Many people who in old times, had never visited the church now turned

up at every service in order to show that they were against Communism. They were listening to every sermon in the hope that the priests would preach against Communism, but the priests did not preach against Communism. There were ^{very} few Mindszenty's who preached against religion. In ~~u~~ most cases the sermon was about non-political matters so after awhile the great fashion of church going slowed down.

(20k) There hasn't been any great change in this line.

(20l) It was not necessary to ~~we~~ foster political opposition. Most people turned against Communism because they had to suffer under the Communist system. People did ^{not} become anti-Communist because of the sermons of the priests. Let's not forget that the pious people who go to church every Sunday, listen to the sermons, but do not follow the advice received there. I remember those years when the priests were talking against birth control all the time. The women went to the church, listened to the sermons, but still practise birth control. It was the same concerning Communism.

(21) There are many good occupations, particularly for people with a good education. Then again there are many good occupations for Party members.

(21a) Any skilled work.

(21b) To join the Party or at least to keep his mouth shut.

(22) Most of the Party members were well off. Everybody else was badly off.

- ^a
(22~~h~~) All the people who were forced into a cooperative had a miserable life - peasants and small tradesmen alike. The workers in the city were better off - particularly the skilled workers. The educated people such as engineers and doctors had an even better life - and finally the Party secretaries and other bigwigs were on top of everything.
- (23) There are no social classes in Hungary now-a-days. There are people who still have a great income but nobody ~~has~~ has wealth anymore. Even the doctor who is making a lot of money has perhaps a few hundred forints tucked away in his home, but nothing more - there are no more capitalists.
- (23b) The old social classes were abolished by Communism.
- (23d) No more.
- (23e) People are more equal.
- (23g) There is a much greater equality now-a-days. In old times the peasants kissed the hands of the Canon or of the count. Something like this couldn't happen now-a-days. It is ~~not~~ true that people are less polite, particularly the young people. But it would be impossible to compare the Hungarians to the Englishmen.
- (24) No information.
- (24a) No information.
- (25) This ~~has~~ has been a very difficult problem in Hungary. In the Horthy regime, there was very great anti-semitism in Hungary and they did horrible things to the Jews. During that time, the Social

Democratic Party was the only political party which regarded the Jews as equals. Then came Communism and the leaders of Communism turned out to be Jews. Consequently many people said that anti-semitism was right. I think one cannot judge the people on such a basis. It is not right to be an anti-semite because of Rákosi, Geró and Revai. The old anti-semitism was just as bad as Communism, but again it is true that during Communism, the most hated people of the country were Jews.

- (25c) No. After 1945, there were no more Jews at Gyarmat.
- (25g) Less.
- (25h) I don't know.

(1)

In my time young people were interested in politics. In those times around 1930, all the young men, all my friends, became members of a trade union, of the Social Democratic Party. I became a member of both during my stay in Budapest and I like the trade union work very much. For many years I was active in the trade union and I was a member of the Social Democratic Party. In the Party I was elected to membership in the local executive committee. The government hated the Social Democratic Party and wanted to obstruct our work. We had to fight the local authorities every day. In 1938, the government began to suppress the Social Democratic Party ^{all the way.} At that time, one of the city councilors, himself a great government man, called me into his office and asked me about my membership in the Social Democratic Party. I told him that I was for the Party. He warned me that the best thing for me would be to leave the Party and to join the government party. At that time I was an independent tradesman and I couldn't leave such an official warning unheeded. So I gave up my membership in the Party and renounced my subscription to the paper ~~Magyar Nemzet~~ Népszava. I still tried to support the party and whenever it was necessary, I donated for the funds of the party. In 1945, I became a member of the Social Democratic Party again, but soon I noticed that great changes were going on in the Party. The old Social Democrats were pushed aside and new people appeared on the scene. - For example, Marosan. It was easy to see that those new people were

no real Social Democrats, but the stooges of Communism. By 1947, they were talking about a merger of the Social Democratic and the Communist Party. This was a thing which I did not like. So, I slowly dropped out of the Party. When the merger^{came}, the old Social Democrats were supposed to turn in their old membership books and receive the new membership books of the Communist Party. I did not turn in my membership book and I never became a member of the Communist Party.

- (2) Right from the beginning, nobody liked Communism^m. The Russian troops which came to Hungary in 1945, gave us a good lesson as to what Communism meant. We did not want it in Hungary.
- (2a) See above.
- (2e) It was determined by the Russian troops and what I saw in ~~1945~~ 1945. I have ~~xxx~~ never trusted the Communists. None of the real Social Democrats trusted them. They remembered what had happened in 1919. The real Social Democrats, for example, Peyer, ^{Ban}~~Am~~, or Kethely, never trusted the Communists. The same goes for the labor party in England. I want to make this point clear because I know that in America many people think that Communism and Social Democracy are the same. The truth is that the Communists have no greater enemies than the Social Democrats. This is the reason why Communism ~~it~~ ruins first of all the Social Democratic Party as they did in Russia after 1917. So they did in Hungary in 1919 and then in 1948.
- (2f) I was always always ~~sk~~ ^t against Communism.
- (2h) I must tell you an example. In 1944, 600,000 Jews were murdered and

none of them revolted against the government. After 1945, nobody could revolt either against Communism.

- (3a) I do not see the most important complaint listed here. The Communists ruined my existence. It is not listed here.
- (3b) Interference with religious life, interference with family life, inadequate food.
- (3c) For the intellectuals, at least for the Social Democrats, the most important grievance was a lack of freedom to speak and write, I do not see it listed here.
- (3d) Their greatest grievance was the same as ours - the cooperatives.
- (3e) Low wages.
- (3g) The Communists had some good points, too, as I mentioned. The Communists carried out some reforms which were overdue in Hungary. For example, they ~~put~~ put an end to the large estate system. Needless, to say, a non-Communist Party for example, the Social Democrats could have done those reforms in a much better way. There are many good points in the Communist system, but all the good points can be found in the program of some other political party as well.
- (4) The Communist Party.
- (4f) Yes. For every trifle detail, we had to go to the local council. it was impossible to work because of the interference of the local council and the great amount of paper work.
- (4h) The Party members.

- (5) No information.
- (6) At the beginning everybody could become a member of the Communist Party who wanted to. Quite a few small tradesmen signed up because ^{they hoped} for many advantages. Then when the Social Democratic and the Communist Parties were merged, quite a few innocent people found themselves members of the Communist Party. Later on these people were purged, some of them even jailed. A few people did as I did and avoided joining the Communist Party.
- (6e) Some of the Party members could get big ~~ju~~ jobs. The interesting thing is that not always the best Communist got the bigger jobs. For example, the honest Communists I knew remained always in small jobs and they were not promoted. On the other hand, there was a no good drunken janitor with the railroads at Gyarmat. He was an alcoholic and almost illiterate. Then the Communists gave him a big job in one of the ministries in Budapest. The reason for it was that he was a cousin of Minister Kossa. ^{By the} ~~right~~ away Kossa and his family came from our neighborhood, but most of them did not become Communists. I knew one of his brothers living nearby who always referred to his brother, the cabinet minister, as the "tramp".
- (6f) Many Communists became dissatisfied because Communism is good only for those few big Communists who run the business in Budapest, but the dissatisfied Communist~~s~~ couldn't do anything. He had no voice in Party ~~and~~ affairs. This is one of the great differences between the Communists and the Social Democratic Party which people

so often overlook. The Communist Party is not a democratic party. The ~~px~~ Party organization at Gyarmat cannot have an opinion of its own.

- (6h) No.
- (6r) The few bigwigs in Budapest.
- (7) I was a member of the Trade Union. It was a craft union ~~xy~~ at Gyarmat. The membership varied with time. In the 1930's it had no more than twenty or thirty members, in the 1950's almost everybody was a Trade Union member because membership was a must. At that time, our craft union had at least three hundred members. However, when a meeting came up, only twenty people were present.
- (7c) Under the Communists, the Trade Union lost its main purpose - that is the representation of the workers. It became a tool of the Communist Party.
- (7d) I joined it perhaps in 1931, in Budapest.
- (7e) I held in old times, several offices. See above.
- (7g) As long as trade unions were voluntary, people liked them. When the Communists made them obligatory and made them Communist, they became very much disliked. They were just another burden on the population like the ~~taxes~~ taxes.
- (7l) The Trade Union held monthly meetings and whenever big Communist demonstrations came, the Trade Union was supposed to march together with the other mass organizations. As a matter of fact, not many Trade Union members turned out on such occasions.

(7m) See above.

I had to join the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society and had to pay something like three forints a month. On the other hand, I received their ^{monthly} ~~weekly~~ magazine - telling me how beautiful life in the Soviet Union was. I got it every month, but I never read it. I cannot even recall its title right now.

As long as my son went to school, I had to be a member of the so-called Work Community of Parents. It was another mass organization for the parents of school children. We supposed to meet once a month and some months even more frequently in the building of the school. The meeting was around eight o'clock ~~at~~ at night - exactly the time when most people would like to be at home with their family. Their usual program was a speech delivered by one of the teachers or by a Party functionary. The teachers spoke moderately since they were not Communists, but the Party functionaries tried to convince us how good Communism was. From time to time ~~we~~ we had to pay some money in order to provide free milk or food parcels or toffee for the school kids. For five years I attended only two meetings of the Work Community of the Parents, but my wife went more often. She attended perhaps ten meetings over the five years.

(8) Very few.

(9) The Youth League was one of the mass organizations. And membership in the mass organizations was compulsory. The members were just

ordinary people and very few of them were Communists. Let's say one or two percent of the members were Communists and everybody else was against Communism.

- (10) The usual case was as follows: people began to drink and talk politics. Then they continued to talk politics even on the street. Somebody overheard them and reported it to the police. So they were arrested. In some cases they were kept by the police only in the cells of the police ^{headquarters} and released after a few days. It is true that in many cases they were beaten up. In other cases those people were hauled before the court where they were sentenced for a few weeks of jail.
- (10b) Fortunately enough, I do not know very much about the work AVH. Neither I nor any member of my family was arrested. We drank only moderately and never lost our senses ~~and~~ we never talked politics in public places or with strangers.
- (10e) No information.
- (10g) No information.
- (10k) The AVH was the servant of the Party. If the Party wanted any dirty job done, it was given to the AVH. It was exactly the same relationship as ~~is~~ existed between the SS and the Nazi Party.
- (11) No.
- (11b) See above.
- (11g) No information.
- (12) Not applicable.

- (13) To keep his mouth shut.
- (13c) Yes.
- (13d) No.
- (13f) Yes.
- (14) It was the worst in the time of ¹Rakosi. Let's say between the years of 1950-1953.
- (15) The Soviet Union dictated everything in Hungary. If Hungary wanted to build a road in our county, she had to ask Moscow and the road could be built with the permission of Moscow only.
- (15d) No.
- (15e) In military affairs and in everything related to the military affairs. For example, the ~~xx~~ transportation and railroad system was important from a military point of view. There were ~~Soviet~~ Soviet commissioners at every important ^{directorate} ~~director~~ of the Hungarian railroads. Then again the ~~Soviet~~ Soviets were leading all those branches of industry which had a military importance.
- (16) No.
- (16c) One could be frank with his friends. One should not be frank with unknown people.
- (16d) The best thing was not to be candid about anything unless you faced good, trusted friends.
- (17) All the laws have been circumvented all the time - partly out of necessity and partly out of a political demonstration. I mentioned the case of stealing. Many honest people were simply forced to steal in order to be able to work. If one cannot buy a necessity in the store, ^{he has to} ~~they would~~ steal it. On the other hand, everybody

hated the system and did everything to circumvent the laws and orders issued by the system. For example, I have noticed that a neighbor working with the railroads was stealing coal from the railroads. I shut my eyes and everybody did the same - nobody reported him because everybody approved the stealing. Stealing was pretty much the same kind of political demonstration as going to a church.

- (18) Communism is a strong dictatorship. It cannot be easily overturned. No revolution can overturn it. It is well organized from their own point of view and the Communists hope that they will rule the country forever.
- (19) Everybody was against the system but no opposition^{could be organized}. No political parties were permitted, no papers could be published. Nothing ~~was~~ could be organized.
- (19b) Those who were forced into the cooperatives.
- (19c) The white collar workers and ~~other~~ similar people who were were afraid of losing their jobs.
- (19l) No information.

- (1) I got most of the information through talking to people.
- (1b) This gossiping was the most important.
- (2a) Once a Party member came to our house to do his propaganda work and sold us a subscription to the weekly ~~Szabad Fold~~ Szabad Fold. Since that time I was subscribing to this weekly, and I read it ~~was~~ when it came on Friday. We bought the weekly Szinhaz Mozi, every week but this was for my wife who liked it. We did not buy any daily newspapers. However, when I went into a tavern to eat my lunch, I could pick up one of the newspapers and have a glance at it. Nobody liked the newspapers because there was no reading material in them. They were full of Party propaganda. My wife liked her weekly because it gave the radio program for the week and she liked to listen to the radio.
- (2g) No.
- (3) My wife liked the movies and we went to the movie house whenever a good picture was playing. We liked the Hungarian pictures the best, but there were many good foreign ones. We never went to see a Russian film. They were very poor.
- (3b) We were looking for entertainment in the movies.
- (4) I haven't read any books for the last few years. I did not have the necessary time and there were no good books available.
- (4e) In old times, when I was a youngster, I liked to read in my spare time. At that time my favorite writer was Kassak and the other Socialist writers. At that time, we had many good writers, for

~~my~~ example, Moricz and Zilahy.

- (5) I listened to the radio rather seldom. We had a radio at home for many years but it was mainly for my wife and the children. My wife liked to listen to it and even in Communist times she liked the musical programs. The music was usually very good on the radio. The children liked the sport programs and sometimes ~~was~~ on a Sunday afternoon, I listened to the soccer game too.
- (6) No. Our radio was good enough to receive the foreign stations - for example Vienna. My son listened to music coming from foreign stations but I was not interested in them. I know that there were some ~~wise~~ people who listened to the foreign radio stations. However, I think that they did not become any more clever than I was.
- (6d) I have heard that the foreign radio stations were just as unreliable as the Communist ones.
- (7) At Gyarmat everybody knew everybody else. Whenever people met on the street or at private places, they began to talk ~~and~~ and to exchange the news they knew. For example, it was not necessary to listen to the radio, since when the radio announced any important news item, the acquaintances told you about it in a few minutes.
- (8) The Communist newspapers were unreliable. Nobody believed in them. And nobody believed in the newscasts of the radio either.
- (8b) Political items could not be believed.
- (8e) There was not much difference between the papers ~~and~~ and the broadcasts.

(8f) No.

(9) There was one main question on peoples' minds: ~~whether~~ whether Communism will end one day or it will last on indefinitely. Consequently they were eager to hear any news which ~~forecast~~ forecast the doom of the Communist system. There was no news of this kind, so people invented it. One could hear many many rumors all the time. At one time people were talking about a war between China and Russia. Some people already knew that Russia had lost all of Siberia. Everybody listened to such rumors, but very few people believed in them.

- (1) The cooperatives would go immediately. The police system should be changed and the political government of the country ~~too~~,
(1a) ~~is~~, For example, the nationalization of the the large industry should be kept.
- (2) Political parties are necessary and the best is to have two parties as the case is here in England. If there were a free election in Hungary, many political parties ~~would~~ emerge ~~there~~. But I think only two or three of them would become important.
- (3) Yes.
- (3c) No.
- (3d) No. I think we should follow the English example.
- (4) If people are not free to participate in meetings, they are not free at all.
- (4b) An armed uprising is justified in the case of a dictatorship^s. For example - it is justified against Communism. On the other hand, one must ask the question whether it is clever to organize an armed uprising. The Hungarian Revolution shows ~~is~~ that an uprising might be justified but still a rather useless adventure. The country suffered very much during the Revolution, ^{it} And ^{it} did not achieve anything. The same changes, or perhaps even more changes, could have been achieved without a Revolution.
- (45) Freedom should be restored. The state cannot run the whole economy of the country. The state cannot be the storekeeper or the small

artisan for the country. The small business man must be given a chance to be independent in his own business. It should be as it is here in England. The large enterprises are nationalist^{UD} but the store owners or the small people have their own business and can run them as they like.

- (6) Definitely yes. There is no need that the ^{Chorins,} ~~Manfreds~~ Kornfelds, Weiss, Manfreds should own one half ^{of} ~~the~~ the country. In 1940, when I was in Budapest, I was working in the Lang Factory which was owned at that time by the Baron Wolfners. The owners were millionaires and at ~~the~~ the same time they paid 25 fillers to the workers. I had to work one hour to earn my ^{streetcar} ~~railway~~ ticket to come to the factory. I had to work another hour to earn the other ^{streetcar} ~~railway~~ ticket to go home. Out of my weekly wages I could not buy food for myself and I was a single man. That was not good. That system must have been changed.
- (6b) As a rule, none, but there might be some ~~a~~ exceptions.
- (6c) It is good.
- (6e) It depends on what you call state monopoly. For example - if the tobacco or liquor business is in the hands of the state, that's alright but the state should not monopolize, for ~~an~~ example, the movie industry. The result would be that we would have the same poor movies as we had in Communist Hungary.
- (7) There are some parts of light industry which should be nationalized. For example, the textile factory of Gold^bmerger must be nationalized.

The nationalization of a factory should be decided on the size of it or on the size of the capital or on the size of the ownership. For example, if a family owns a factory employing 1,000 people or more, I don't see any reason why it should not be nationalized.

- (8) There is one kind of government planning which is good. There is government planning here in England and it works here. On the other hand, the planning done by the Communists was not good. I couldn't explain exactly what is the difference between the good planning and the Communist plan^{ning}, but there are many people who could explain it really well.
- (9) The state should not interfere with human affairs ~~at all~~ at all. By human affairs I mean that the state should not interfere with family life, religion, leisure time, mass organizations and so on. Everything should be left up to the individual. He should decide about what he wants to do with his leisure time.
- (10) Every citizen should pay his taxes and discharge his military duties.
- (10e) The state is for the benefit of the citizens - that is the right principle, but the Communists turn it around and they say that every citizen is here for the state.
- (11) Medical care has improved very much. Now-a-days there are at least three times as many people covered by the health insurance system

than there ~~was~~^{was} before 1945. The health insurance system is really good. It's good even under the Communists. Also the Communists ruined it the same way as they ruin everything. The health insurance system is one of those things which will survive Communism.

- (12) There are more opportunities to go to the movies, but there are less good movies. I don't know anything~~ab~~out the theater and concerts.
- (13) It might be so in Budapest. But in our county they did better.
- (13a) Better.
- (13b) Better.
- (14) No.
- (14a) Better.
- (14b) Better.
- (15) Industrial production increased, but the trouble was that it increased in those branches of the economy which were important from a military point of view and not in those branches ~~we~~ which were important for the average citizen. For example, the steel industry increased very much, ^{although} ~~Also~~ Hungary does not need such a steel industry. On the other hand, the production of lumber or clothing industry did not increase, ~~and~~ although the people would need such kind of products.
- (15c) Generally speaking, the Communists ruined Hungarian economy.

- (16) The idea of Workers' Councils is a very good one. Workers' Councils exist not only in Yugoslavia, but in many countries. It is a very healthy development that the Workers' Councils and the management should get together and decide together on the important points.
- (16d) A good expert and a clever man. It happened several times here in England that a worker was promoted to manager and he ran a factory quite alright. But the Communists promoted a worker because he was a good Communist - not because he was a good worker and a clever man.
- (17) The collective farm was the same kind of suffering as our cooperative. It was run on the same basis. The peasants were supposed to work and the state took away the results of their work.
- (17c) The land should be restored to the peasants. The important thing in Hungary is that we should have a great and rich peasant class. We shouldn't have any large estates, but many peasants who own 20, 30 and 50 yokes. This system alone would insure the economic welfare of the country.
- (17h) Yes.
- (17i) No.
- (17l) Yes.
- (17m) They should be turned over to voluntary cooperatives of the peasants. There were such voluntary cooperatives in old times, too, and they functioned pretty well. What happened was that three or four peasants got together and purchased a tractor. They

used it and they hired it ~~out~~ out. They made a lot of money out of it and ~~it~~ ^{it} was a good system.

- (18) Each of them should do his own business. The church should stick to religion and should not interfere with politics. The church should not strive to obtain worldly ~~worldly~~ goods. It should not strive to obtain large estates, apartment houses and money. In old times the Hungarian priests were awfully rich. Every bishop was a millionaire.
- (18e) Teaching of religion should be restored, but it should not be compulsory.
- (18f) I would send them to public school. I think denominational schools are not necessary.
- (19) This is a hard question indeed, because not every Communist is the same kind of Communist. The bigwigs of the Party deserve everything. They deserve the death sentence. On the other hand, there are many ^{honest} ~~simple~~ people ~~among~~ among the Party members. Everybody should be treated individually. Let us not forget that there were more than one million Party members, in Hungary. It ~~was~~ would be impossible to jail all those people. Those Party members who had some important office should go before an independent court and be judged according to justice. If they harm the other people, they should receive their punishment, but if they did not harm anybody, they should go free.
- (19e) My children were members of the Youth League, too. Since they

had to join it, none of them were Communists. They cannot be judged at all.

(19f) Even the AVH people must be judged individually. Some of them were drafted, others were real scoundrels or common criminals.

(19g) They should be judged individually, too.

(19h) Most of the police men were for the Revolution. At ~~the~~ the same time, the AVH people were fighting the Revolution. ^{For} ~~the~~ example, we know what happened at Moson.

(20) With my poor ~~mix~~ education it is very difficult for me to answer this question. I think the most important contribution of Hungary was its constant fight against the Turks and against the German suppression.

(21) I don't know how to answer this question. Many Hungarians would say that there is a Hungarian national character and it is quite different from the character of the Slovaks. I have seen many Slovaks living nearby and actually I do not see any difference^{ce} in their character and the character of the Hungarians, ~~but again~~ if I think of the Russians or the English people, I see that there must be a national character.

(21e) There are no social classes at the present time.

(21f) Yes, there was a great difference. There was a great difference between how the poor people and the counts and bishops behaved.

(22) Perhaps the best government was in the time of Francis Joseph. But I know that time from books only. It's really hard to say

which one was the best government in Hungary because Hungary usually had a very poor government.

- (22f) There was no equality in Hungary. I have told you a few examples and I could mention a few more. For example, there was no equality between the count and the poor peasant girl who went to serve in the castle of the count. And there was no equality between the peasant and the lending agent either. The lending agent bowed deeping before the count and the peasant bowed deeply before the lending agent.
- (23) The trouble is that the border lines are important, but they should not be important. It is of great importance for the future of Europe that the countries of Europe should come to a common understanding. They should put away the old hostility and try to cooperate in a peaceful way and establish freedom and welfare. There is no reason why Europe should be much poorer than America. The only reason that accounts for it is that the European states could never agree and made one war after the other. Finally the whole of Europe was defeated in those wars and it was occupied by the Russians which is an Asiatic power.
- (23b) In old times every Hungarian was educated to hate the Slavs, on the other hand every Slav was educated to hate the Hungarians. That was the real root of all the troubles. For 25 years we couldn't hear anything but ~~about~~ revisionism and now we can see how far we got with those revisions.

- (24) Hungary is a small state, and a few small states, for example Switzerland or Denmark or Norway, could achieve peace and prosperity. Unfortunately enough, Hungary and the neighboring states could not ~~do~~. Neutrality would be the best policy for all small states, particularly for Hungary.
- (25) Here again we have to make a difference between Russian and Russian. The big-wigs of the Kremlin are the real culprits and they should be punished, but the average ~~is~~ Russian is not bad at all. He is good hearted and friendly. I have seen the Russians in 1940, when I was stationed with the Hungarian army in Karpotho-Ukraine. I spent a few months there and since I speak a few Slovak words, I could talk a little bit with the Ukrainians. They were ~~fr~~ friendly people, but very uneducated. ~~From~~ Their houses were so dirty and infested with vermin that we could not use them for our own sleeping quarters. They did not know anything about cleanliness and health care. The Ukrainian women milked the cows - then she filtered the milk through her ~~own~~ ^{own} apron which was full of the cow's manure. I saw it once, and never touched milk any longer, as long as I was there. When the Russians came to Gyarmat, in November, 1956 they were not hostile at all. They were just common people carrying ^{out} the orders coming from the superiors, but they were uneducated. They slept on the bare floor in the school building and ate nothing but cabbage soup. When the Hungarians offered them food, they refused it, because they did not even recognize good food. The

Russians are uneducated and this is the reason why Communism could have been established there. The same goes for China, too. Since the Chinese is uneducated and illiterate and cannot be judged by European standards, they have Communism and they even like it.

(26)

^{although}
~~Also~~ I have been a member of the Social Democratic Party for 25 years. I am not very good in Marxism because of my poor education. However, I don't know that the original teachings of Marx had to be changed because the economic conditions of the European capitalist countries changed. That form of Marxism which is now accepted by the Social Democratic Party or by the Labor Party in England is good. Communism is not a real Marxism. What happened was that Lenin misunderstood Marx and he mixed him with Russian ideas. The result was the Communist system which is something tailored for the Russians. I cannot tell you very much about it, but I know that there are many good books written on this topic. For example, there is a very good book written by Böhm, Vilmos.

(26e)

I don't know.

(26h)

For example, the Social Democrats are Marxist to a certain extent and are democrats.

(26i)

Never for any length of time.

(27)

I don't know exactly what people mean under National Communism. If I think of Tito, I must think that it's still better than Russian Communism. I don't even know whether Imre Nagy was a National Communist. He was liked by many Hungarians but I do not

think that he would have gotten the ⁱvictory in ~~the~~ case of free political elections.

- (27e) There are some honest Communists who mean good to the whole country. There are some of them but not too many.
- (28) Yes, he tried to change the conditions ~~it~~ way back in 1953, too.
- (28b) Yes, at least for a while.
- (29a) Good.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad.
- (29d) I don't know.
- (29e) Bad.
- (29f) There are many forms of capitalism. Some of them are good, ~~and~~ other ones bad.
- (29g) Don't know.
- (29h) Bad.
- (29i) Good.
- (29j) Hard to say.
- (29k) Good.
- (29l) I don't know.
- (29m) Good.
- (29n) It's hard to say.
- (~~29~~30) I think the Social Democratic Party would get the majority in case of a free election.
- (30a) That's the trouble - the leaders of the Social Democratic Party ~~will~~

were first jailed by the old system then by the Communists. Most of them have died by now and the remaining leaders are not well known in the country. I cannot think of any other name but those of Imre Nagy and Anna Kethly, as possible leaders in the future.

(31a) Less.

(31b) Less.

(31c) Less.

(31d) Less.

(31e) More.

(31f) Don't ~~know~~ know.

(31g) More.

(31h) Less.

(31i) Less.

(32) In the years from 1945 to '48, all the groups were much better off in spite of the great destruction caused by the war. The main troubles came after 1949.

(33a) Coincide.

(33b) Coincide.

(33e) Coincide.

(33f) Conflict, particularly if I think of the bishops and the peasants.

(33g) Conflict.

(33i) Conflict.

(34) Only the Communists said that the United States was dangerous. ~~But~~ Nobody believed them. The United States made many great mistakes

in her policy. She made a great mistake in 1919, and then again in 1945, but she never wanted to conquer and exploit Hungary.

On the other hand, I am sure that she would be willing to help the country with loans and other aid in the economic field.

(35) Nobody, except for a few Communists.

(36) I don't think my opinion changed.

- (1a) It was a really a great pleasure to talk to you. My great trouble here is that I do not see any Hungarians and I cannot talk to people, and it was a good feeling for me to revive so many old memories and tell my sincere opinion. The trouble is that I cannot tell my opinion here because I cannot make myself understood to the Englishmen. They are very interested in the situation in Hungary and ask different questions. I do not understand their questions, but even if I understood, I could not explain to them what I would like.
- (2a) This a hard question again. I have left a home and a shop in Hungary. It would be really good to get it back, but I'm sure that in the meantime the Communists confiscated both. I have no real hope of getting them back. I don't know yet what our future will be. We have spent such a short time here in England, that it is too early to make an opinion. Moreover, it is impossible to return to Hungary as long as it is ruled by Communism. I do not believe that Communism will collapse in the near future.
- (3) No suggestions.