

- (1) The October ~~xx~~ events broke out without anyone's prompting, their main cause was the Soviet Union and the terror system brought about by the latter. The oppression increased from '49 to '53, then, after a thaw, increased again and caused a nationwide spread economic crisis. This challenged the indignation of the working classes and, on the other hand, resulted also in the intensifying of the terror. Empty slogans were invented to further mislead the workers and the peasants but the decreasing purchasing power of the money clearly indicated the decline of the living standards. The raising of the workers' norms and the delivery obligations of the agricultural workers made the situations more and more insupportable. Along with the economic ~~xxx~~ decline, the regime had to strengthen its terror. Thus, the workers - the working people - realized more and more the emptiness of the promises. The Party's ideological education of the workers and of the youth, generally, will also have to be taken into consideration. The political seminars proclaimed exactly the opposite of what was experienced in everyday life. Due to the terroristic nature of the Communist regime, a general feeling of insecurity concerning jobs and personal freedom was prevalent. The continuous fluctuation (unskilled workers were <sup>promoted</sup> ~~promoted~~ to managerial positions, but as they did not, rather could not, fulfill the expectations, were fired) aggravated the situation. Those workers who had experienced a better life and were in a way unable to adapt themselves to their

former occupations, became the most bitter enemies of the regime. The advantages, so eloquently advocated in seminars, existed only in theory but the disadvantages were the stuff reality was made of. By the end of '54 and in 1955, the large masses found out that they had been ~~xxx~~ cheated. Coming back to the original question, the West should realize that the Hungarian Revolution meant the vehement protest of the oppressed against their cruel oppressors.

- (2) In 1953<sub>a</sub> The regime wavered, it didn't know whether to go right or left.
- (2a) Six-seven months before October (Polish events, the bold attitude of the writers).
- (2b) I - VIII - all of these.
- (2c) Rakosi's replacement.
- (2d) It was in the air. From October 10th on, the claims were already published, unofficially, and they appeared in the factories, secretly.
- (2e) Their part was ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ <sup>considerably</sup> great.
- (2g) The ~~xxxx~~ defensive and offensive articles in the Irodalmi Ujság, Művelt Nép, even in Szabad Nép. "Why don't I like comrade Kuçera?" ~~xxxx~~ ridiculed the Party officials.

The discussions of the Petöfi Circle.

- (3) See question (1) plus: Gerö and company returned at the time and the Central Committee of the Communist Party didn't know what directives to adopt.

- (3a) The shootings by the AVH turned the demonstrators into Freedom Fighters.
- (3b) The Party was hesitant. The October 23rd issue of the Magyar Ifjúság published sixteen demands. Some articles of the Hetfoi Hirlap had indeed a revolutionary tone. Workers loved the newspapermen for their courage and they were puzzled by the papers not being confiscated. And yet they didn't dare read them overtly, they were passed from hand to hand under the turnbenchas. The control became hesitant. Apparently the Party waited for instructions from Moscow, but Moscow seemed to be wavering. When the instructions arrived, it was too late.
- (3c) Change the regime in a peaceful manner or at least obtain some concessions for the benefit of the people, briefly: obtain freedom in a peaceful way.
- (3d) Through the provocation of the AVH.
- (3e) Not on the 23rd of October.
- (3f) Party secretaries, Party activists and informers.
- (3g) Those whom the regime had moderately supported.
- (3h) "Death to Soviet occupants." - "Freedom for the People." - "Wine, Wheat, Peace."
- (3i) Definitely yes.
- (3j) People who stand up against violence, terror and oppression.
- (3k) Distinction should be made between Party members and convinced Communists. The owners of Party membership cards were not 100 percent Communists, actually only about 5 ~~percent~~ percent were

- convinced Communists and these 5 percent did not oppose the Revolution because they stood on the basis of the teachings of Marx and Engels. (And the old boys did not talk about tyranny.)
- (31) Not at the beginning. But on the 4th-5th day, a very small number of reactionaries made their appearance, some of ~~whom~~ whom wanted the restoration of the royalty.
- (3m) Democratic, secret, free elections would have led to a neutral, democratic regime open to all world views.
- (4) Respondent was in Dunapentele and helped the revolt with all the means at his disposal: arms, and political convictions.
- (4a) Yes. Between Ex Freedom Fighters (mostly workers, peasants, and intelligentsia) against Russians in Dunapentele. The city had been occupied by the Soviet armed forces on November 7th.
- (4b) Yes. In Dunapentele approximately 300 anti-airforce artillery sided with the Revolution.
- (4c) No, unfortunately there weren't any in Dunapentele.
- (5a) Yes.
- (5b) Yes.
- (5c) He was a fighter himself.
- (5d) Yes, at the ~~the~~ Metallurgic Plant.
- (5e) In the distribution.
- (5f) No he did not accept it.
- (6a) Workers' group. (200) But within this there were five groups of 35-40 people. And there was also a commanding group which was in ~~ex~~ charge of three groups of 200 workers.



- (6b) It was a workers' group. Ammunition was brought from the Ercsi Barracks and from artillery barracks; the nucleus of their group was the anti-aircraft group of the plant.
- (6c) Workers - from apprentices to skilled workers. There was no need of recruiting, almost everybody was allowed to join. This was wrong - that's how Captain Nag<sup>1</sup>ery got in who was the ~~commanding~~ commanding officer ~~of the garrison troops~~ of the garrison troops and partly betrayed the fighting against the Russians.
- (6d) Four (of 35-40) died, two were wounded, several dispersed and some were arrested.
- (6e) Anti-aircraft guns of medium size, hand grenades, pistols, machine-guns. See sub-question (b).
- (6f) Their leader died, stricken by the Soviet bazooka.  
There was discipline.
- (6g) Yes, he was a reserve lieutenant, a Party member, but far from being a Communist. He was elected leader by vote. They gathered in groups of ten-fifteen. "What is your speciality? What was your assignment in the army?" and "What do you think about him?" (pointing at their future leader.) "Do you really think he is okay, although he has a membership card?" All this was decided in fifteen minutes, no more.
- (6h) Those who were trusted by their co-workers and who dared stand up for the rights of the workers even before the Revolution.
- (6i) See sub-question (g).

- (6j) They even <sup>had two</sup> reconnaissance - planes.
- (7a) About 500-600 Greeks worked at Dunapentele. Many of them attacked the Hungarians in the back. On the 7th-8th and 9th of November, the ~~workers'~~ Council banished the Greeks from the area of the plant. They left by ship, some of them went to Rumania, others to Bulgaria. Those who remained joined the Russians in the attack against ~~the~~ Budapest.
- (7b) Beautifully.
- (7d) Peasants supplied the Freedom Fighters with food and the intellectuals were not isolated - workers, peasants, intellectuals were one.
- (8) Between October 23rd and November 7th, they did not come to the city with hostile purposes. They used road number six, close to the city, which led to Budapest and to Székesfehérvár. (They came from the lowlands through Dunaföldvár.) About 300-400 armoured ~~in~~ cars passed by. It happened that between November 4th and 7th, ~~a~~ Soviet armoured cars <sup>entered</sup> the town and summoned the commanding officers to surrender the city, with no result. Once an armoured car approached the defense circle of the city ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> he was forced to withdraw. As Soviet troops traversed villages, they did not contact the population, they ate raw potatoes and fodder beets. In Dunaföldvár, a Russian soldier gave a machine gun for a loaf of bread.
- (8a) No - they were all afraid. They took up quarters in Party

buildings, didn't dare communicate with the population, except with Communist and with dubious elements.

- (8b) Respondent doesn't know the answer to this question.
- (8c) The Korean students sided with the Revolution.
- (8d) Respondent ~~dk~~ doesn't know the answer to it.
- (8e) Respondent heard that in Sárbogárd fighting did occur between the Russian troops which had been stationed in Hungary and the newly arrived Mongolian troops. The Russians who arrived at Dunapentele on November 7th came from Zsitomir (in <sup>the Ukraine</sup> ~~the Ukraine~~ - East from Kiev) and were told that they were being taken to the Swiss Canal.
- (9) Radio, leaflets, press, word of mouth.
- (9a) They informed the population about the events of the Revolution; the newspapers from Budapest were brought to Dunapentele by car and they were fresh from the press. Respondent read the: Igazság, Magyar Honvéd, Népakarat, Magyar Nemzet, etc. In other words, everything which appeared during the Revolution.
- (9b) Partly from patrols and partly from reconnaissance pilots he learned about the Soviet maneuvers.
- (9c) Yes. Radio Győr, Miskolc, Dunapentele, Budapest; the foreign broadcasts Respondent listened to were: Voice of America, BBC, Radio Paris - all of them said that the Revolution produced ~~much~~ enthusiasm in the free world, but help did not arrive from anywhere.

(9d) Those announcements would have been important which would have talked about actual help ~~xxxx~~ instead of moral support.

(10) Locally they disintergrated.

(10a) The executive organs disintergrated almost completely - everything ~~wg~~ which represented the old regime had to be abol<sup>ish</sup>ed.

The technical leadership of factories which was connected with production and life and thus was of social importance - remained. The bureaucratic ones ceased to exist.

(10b) Itx was dissolved. Buildings were used for the purposes of the Revolution.

Some of the Party members hid during the Revolution, but those who did not feel guilty sided with the Revolution.

(10c) It sided with the Revolution.

(10d) The police disarmed the AVH officers. Their ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ premises were searched by workers, students and policemen and they were told to leave the city. In case they did not obey, they were taken in custody in the administration building of the plant. The Freedom Fighters restrained from treating them as they would have deserved to be treated. None of the AVH people <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ killed. The Freedom Fighters wanted them to appear in ~~XXXXXX~~ courts and account for their past deeds.

(10e) They sympathized with the Revolution. Committees went to forced labor camps around Dunapentele (Pálhalma, Bernátkut) and examined the cases of the convicts. Those who had been imprisoned for



political or economic reasons (for having shown <sup>un-</sup> willingness to fulfill the Five Year Plan or in connection with compulsory deliveries) were released and only the ordinary criminals were retained.

- (10f) ~~The~~ Disintegrated 90 percent. Very few sided with the Revolution. (10-15-20 percent)
- (10g) He cannot answer questions pertaining to the capital.
- (10h) They ceased to exist. The president and the secretary fled.
- (10i) They were silent.
- (10j) None.
- (10k) Revolutionary Committee, National Committee, the Central Workers' Council of Dunapentele.
- (10l) They were elected by secret, democratic, balloting. Each separate unit of the plant came up with five names - ten names were suggested to begin with.
- Workers' Councils had complete power, except for the dismissal of the chief engineer and of the director. (The chief engineer, Pál Pilter, was an elected member of the plant's Central Workers' Council.) They had connection with the Workers' ~~Executive~~ Councils of Greater Budapest, Csepel, Diosgyór, and Ózd. Decisions were made on the basis of open, democratic, discussions.
- (10m) A democracy of Western type with a multi-party system.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) Yes - even from the viewpoint of the Hungarian people.

Hungary did write a chapter in world history.

The Soviet Union is aware of the fact that it cannot rely on Hungary in the case of a third world war and it will have to release it first.

- (11b) By all means - with Western help. (Anti-tank weapons ~~was~~ should have been flown to Budapest.) It would have spread to Rumania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland. From all of these countries, many people fled to Hungary and from Hungary went over to Austria.
- (11c) Yes. The Hungarian nation expected weapons from the West and it expected the free world to declare Russia as an aggressor and thus force her to leave Hungary. Thus, on a military and a political basis.
- (11d) The nation was set up with terror, the press enlightened the public, and let's admit it, the Hungarians did not need much enlightenment: they are freedom loving and hate ~~states~~ despotism by nature.
- (11e) His intentions were good but it was too bad that he was a member of a R party which was hated by the nation.

With Imre Nagy's declaration of neutrality, with his breaking of the Warsaw Pact, his popularity increased manifold.

- (11f) There is as much for Maléter as there is against him. He should have created general headquarters in time, he should have given orders in time in order to prevent the army from disintegrating - he was unable to organize a homogeneous leadership. His horizons

were not broad - he should have viewed the Revolutionary events as a unity.

(11g) Locally: I, III, V, II, IV, VI, VII.

(11h) Yes. Groups of students came to rural areas to ask for food and even the stingiest peasants offered them fat pigs.

(12) February 5, 1957.

(12a) In order to keep his personal freedom.

(12b) Yes. With his wife and a friend who has been caught in Kiskunhalas.

(12c) No, partisanship had no sense.

- (1) He was foreman in a technical department of the "Dunai Vasmű" (Danubian Iron Works.).
- (1a) Shipment expert.
- (2) October, 1949 - July, 1950, he was a railroad worker.
- (2ac) For three months he was brakeman, later, with the same wages, he did statistical work in the Traffic ~~Work~~ Office. As his superiors did not recognize his qualifications - he was considered unreliable politically - he left the railroad.
- (2b) He did the above-described work as a brakeman and was paid on a per hour basis.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) ~~By~~ Statistics were not based on facts, they were aimed to prove great achievements.
- (2f) MÁV (Hungarian State Railroads), was one of the largest organizations in the country and it worked more or less efficiently.
- (2ac)  
( 8 ) July, 1950 - December, 1952.  
24-es Állami Építőipari ~~Trükkös~~ Trust (National ~~Trust~~ Trust for Constructions, No. 24, Budapest.)
- (2b) In the beginning unskilled laborer, then clerk in charge of materials and transportation.

In November of 1952, he was demoted to the job of an unskilled laborer as he left out of his autobiography the fact that his father had been a "Vitéz" (knight). As a disciplinary measure, he was transferred to one of the firms of the trust.



- (2d) No.
- (2ef) The Trust Company built factories, industrial plants in Budapest and in the whole country. It built the Penicillin Factory, Apafa, Roller Bearing Factory, the Vacuum-Technika of Ujpest and parts of the power station of Berente.
- It was more or less efficient.
- (2ab) January, 1953 - February 1, 1957. "Dunai Vasml" (Danubian Iron Works), Dunapentele.
- In the first six months he worked as an unskilled laborer, then as a dispatcher and from 1954, on as a foreman.
- (2def) Yes, he worked, from ~~1953~~ 1954, on as a foreman in the shipping section of the Danubian Iron Works plant.
- (2g) His duty consisted of sending out basic materials needed by several divisions of the plant. He had to take care of the unloading, adequate storage of these materials as well as of the forwarding of fully manufactured or semi-finished products from the plant to their places of destination.
- (2e) It is one of the biggest shipping firms of Hungary.
- (2f) In the given circumstances, more or less.
- (3) He loved his job.
- (3a) Its complexities. Serious problems had to be solved by him and every minute he had to be aware of the production of the different divisions of the plant, etc.
- (3b) Sometimes impossible demands were placed on him which, with the

means at his disposal, he could not carry out.

(3c) It suited his personality best.

(3d) The technical conditions were bearable.

Hygienic conditions were deficient.

There was no crowding.

The equipment was up to date.

He cannot talk about the quality of products because he was in the transportation division.

(3e) For two and a half years, he went by train and it took him four hours daily.

In the last year and a half he lived in the vicinity of the plant.

(3f) In shifts of twelve-twenty-four hours.

(3g) 240 or 252 hours monthly.

(3h) Yes. 30-42 hours monthly.

Overtime was paid on an hourly basis with no allowances and no bonus.

(3i) Yes, but the firm did not stop functioning - it was a continuously working plant.

(3j) Yes. Twelve days yearly and, after every year of continuous employment, two more days were added.

(3k) Generally, this did not vary. Exceptions were those working places which endangered the health of the employees. In such cases, additional leave was given.

- (31) According to regulations, yes. In practice, this depended on the foreman of the respective division which meant that, whenever possible, lateness and absenteeism were disregarded.
- (3m) Yes, and this remembering is coupled with indignation which was not individual, but shared by all the workers. Collectively they tried to circumvent the new norms and most of the time, succeeded.
- (3n) There were regulations on paper. But, in practice, it was often possible to evade it in ~~xxxx~~ referring to the so-called ~~xxxx~~ deficiencies. ~~xx~~ All this was possible because the highest control ~~xx~~ consisted of so-called ~~xx~~ "qualified" kaders".
- (3o) None.
- (4ab) His colleagues, technical workers, were mostly decent; one of them had been assigned to the job by the Party in order to watch the rest of them. But this so-called Party member was extremely decent and never abused his ~~xx~~ power and in appreciation of his good behavior, the rest did the work for him.

The majority of the unskilled workers came from agricultural areas; due to the regime's agricultural policy they were obliged to leave their own lands. This explained their anti-regime attitude. Thus, the atmosphere among them was very pleasant, and they tried to help each other in every way.

In his division, relations between superiors and subordinates were very good because, fortunately, there were relatively few "qualified kaders".

- (4c) Yes.
- (4d) Politics was discussed only in intimate circles of friends, ~~xx~~ although everybody was aware of the fact that the views of the majority of the workers coincided - they were anti-regime, they were anti-Communist 100 percent.
- (4e) There were decent peo~~ple~~ and indecent people; some of the Party members were decent and many of the non-Party members were indecent.
- (4f) Limpingly.
- (4g) Yes, they ceased to represent the workers' interests and were placed ~~xx~~ completely under the control of the Party.
- (4h) Yes. When, as a disciplinary measure, he had been demoted, he made an appeal to the ~~m~~ Mediation Committee which judged that he was right; but the leadership of the firm had to disregard the verdict, due to the pressure exercised by the Party and by the personnel office.
- (4i) Yes, its sphere of interest was limited to questions of minor importance. The decisions brought, unlike those brought by shop triangles of other enterprises, were rather impartial.
- (4j) Yes, in some cases.
- (4k) Yes.
- (4l) Yes, in a limited form, and very cautiously.
- (4m) Yes. In 1955-56, it was realized more and more that instructions counter to rational operations were rather expensive to national



economy; thus, they were applied less frequently.

(4n) Those who supported the policies 100 percent.

(4o) Background and the relationship with the regime.

(4p) The "built-in" AVH's worked apparently as common workers, but it was known that they watched their fellow-workers' discussions and actions.

There was a "built-in" group leader, a former "blue" AVO officer who, supposedly, "voluntarily" had left the AVH and decided to work in their plant. But, he obviously continued to report to the AVH about the "atmosphere" in the plant.

(5) They were bad. The firm had the right to dismiss the employee without any reason, at any time, with a fourteen day notice. But if the employee wanted to get a better job, his notice was disregarded.

(5a) In both cases by necessity.

(5b) He would have loved to become a physician.

(5c) In a very limited way.

(5d) Yes. The majority through honest means, the rest: through the Party. He still would love to study and become a doctor and he would like to conduct experiments in laboratories. In Hungary he had dreams, in case he wasn't too tired even for dreaming, but also there he dreamt to be a doctor one day. He bought a little toy hospital for his elder child and taught her how to nurse the dolls, how to give them injections. Maybe he thought one day

she is going to fulfill ~~her~~<sup>his</sup> dream.

(5g) Every child should be more advanced in culture than his father.

(6) Generally, his/<sup>financial</sup> conditions were acceptable.

(6a) From '46-'48, '49 unchanged, '49-'52 rapidly decreasing, '53-'55 slightly decreasing and '55-'56 unchanged.

(6b) He could not afford citrus fruits, chocolate, and he couldn't even think of giving his wife the clothes ~~as~~ he would have loved to shower her with.

(6c) Yes, under the conditions in existence and if compared to the majority of the population.

(6d) Yes, by the state.

"Exploited": not to receive adequate wages for the work rendered.

(7a) 1) '49-'50 - 350 forints.

2) '50-'52 - 1,200-1,400 forints.

3) '52-'55 - 1,800 forints.

(7b) See question number (6), sub<sup>b</sup>-question (c).

(7c) It was equal.

(7d) His wife was also working. As a young couple, they tried to furnish their home as comfortably as possible under the given circumstances.

(9a) In 1955, thirty-four hours monthly.

(9b) Yes, ~~as~~ especially meat, flour and sugar.

(9c) Government stores - 60 percent.

Market - 15 percent.

Blackmarket - 5 percent. (Cocoa, western nylon stockings, etc.)

- (9d) There was fluctuation.
- (10) It was sad to see that while the Bureau of Statistics reported that the nation's living standards was constantly increasing, the opposite was experienced in every-day life.
- (10a) No.
- (10b) Definitely.
- (10c) It did not satisfy the needs of the nation.
- (10c2) The situation was tragic.
- (10d) Compared with the previous five years, some improvement~~ment~~ was noticeable. This proved to be temporary. The fact is that the living standards of large groups of people were raised.
- (10e) Yes.
- (10f) He could answer this question in detail.
- (10g) It was relatively better then in '56. The general economic bankruptcy was not felt as much as it was in '56.
- (11) Extremely important.
- (11a) Equally important.
- (11b) Oppression by a foreign power, strong limitation of the rights of freedom, ignoring of the national character and consciousness.
- (11c) Intellectuals, workers, peasants.

- (1) He graduated from secondary school in Székesfehérvár.
- (1a) 1934-49.
- (1b) Denominational and state schools.
- (1c) Yes, one month at the medical faculty of the Péter Pázmány University from where, due to his political unreliability, he was expelled.

Starting from 1948, the teaching in secondary schools was cetero-orating.

His class was the last for which religion was a compulsory subject and the pupils of which had on their graduation certificates the Kossuth coat-of-arms.

In 1949, he finished a two year course in nine months. He became a telegraph and transportation specialist. The course was given by the railroad company.

In 1954, he again qualified as a transportation specialist. The subjects were navigation, air transportation, car and truck transportation, etc. He did not attend any course, just passed an examination from the subjects in Dunapentele before a ministerial examination board. (It was not composed of political kaders.)

- (1e) Since his childhood he felt a particular inclination toward the medical profession but, unfortunately, the Hungarian regime made it impossible for him to fulfill ~~himself~~ his childhood dreams.



- (5i) His wife and two children.
- (5k) It did hurt him as his father was a "Vitez" (he was knighted after World War I).
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) His wife was a high school teacher.
- (6b) Since 1951.
- (6c) Two.
- (6d) Four and a half years old.
- (7) Couldn't have been better.
- (8) Yes, with his wife.
- (8a) They talked about freedom, about patriotism and about economic difficulties.
- (8b) Yes, living conditions became more and more difficult.
- (9 & 10) Not applicable - they were small: three and four and a half years old.
- (11) Their relationship was good.
- (12) Yes.
- (12a) Same problems were discussed as with wife.
- (12b) Same as with wife. Not at all. They would have loved him to become a doctor.
- (12b) No.
- (12c) His parents were persecuted by the regime - his father for having been knighted and for having been a small landowner.
- (12d) No.

- (12e) No.
- (12f) No.
- (14) They lived a perfectly happy family life, he and his wife tried to solve together the everyday problems in the interest of their children.
- (14b) It was not typical.
- (14cd) He played with his children, worked around the house, and ~~he~~ went occasionally to a movie with his wife.
- (14e) An average of 10-11 hours per day, including sleeping time.
- (14f) Experimental work (electronics, radio, chemistry,).
- (14g) Yes, except in case a production or technical meeting was held afterwards at his plant.
- (15) They loosened. Even the relationships between parents and children, not talking about the frequent divorces.
- (15a) This varied. In the majority of cases (90 percent), yes.
- (15b) Yes.
- (15c) Not in the cases where parents took care of their education.
- (15d) The loosening was more frequent in cities.
- (15e) Yes, the family had to make up for what the child was exposed to in everyday life.
- (15f) The number of divorces increased considerably.
- (16x) Yes.
- (16a) They marry at a younger age without giving it much consideration.
- (16b,c,d) Somehow the feeling of responsibility disappeared. The ~~most~~ sexual behavior became more loose by the very indifference people

felt toward their own lives. Somehow nothing mattered anymore. Why should it have mattered for a girl to keep her virginity for the right man? And the young men, due to the worry and strain they had to undergo in everyday life, somehow passed by the right girl, without noticing her. They only wanted pleasure, they did not believe in happiness anymore.

- (16e) God yes! And it was not restricted to the street <sup>o</sup> either.
- (16f) Less strict.
- (16g) He and his wife were for birth-control. They believed in having only as many children as they could raise properly.
- (16h) Their number increased considerably due to the fact that the system, for a couple of years, made efforts to increase the number of Hungarians, whether born <sup>e</sup> legitimately or illegitimately. Apparently the Russians needed more workers and soldiers.
- (16i) It did change <sup>g</sup> to the worse. As one breadwinner is not enough in a family, the woman had to go out and work herself. This actually means that, under the aegis of equality, the woman in Hungary does a double job. In addition to being a housewife, and mother, she is the second bread-winner of the ~~family~~ family.
- (17) It deteriorated considerably <sup>y</sup>.
- (17a) Adultery was widespread and practiced openly so to speak.
- (17b) Yes, it was done by practically the whole Hungarian nation because the whole nation was willfully impoverished by the state.
- (17c) Yes, mostly in connection with getting adequate bribing and with

compulsory deliveries in agricultural areas.

- (18) Yes, he met him in 1940 in Transdanubia.
- (18a) He was a student at the time, now he is a physician.
- (18b) Yes.
- (18c) They ~~xx~~ used to study together and discuss political and economic events.
- (18e) ~~that~~ ~~(that)~~ NO.
- (18f) His friend stayed in Hungary and he had to leave. Thus, greater forces <sup>a</sup>then they were able to control separated them.
- (18g) Backbone.
- (18h) It was just a matter of meeting the person who resembled one.
- (18i) The restricted circle of people of his own kind ~~who were~~ who all agreed in their ~~view~~ views of politics, economic and sociological problems.
- (18j) A human being is made to make friends - he is a social animal.  
Although he personally has the strength to be alone, he prefers to share his solitude.
- (18k) Maybe he would have had less confidence in him. However, ~~it~~ he did have a rather close friend who was a Party member, but he used this membership to pass on information, received at restricted Party meetings, to his non-Party-member friends.
- (18l) 95 percent were non\*Communists. Actually it would be closer~~to~~ to the truth if he said that 100 percent were non-Communists but 5 percent were Party members.

- (19) Roman Catholic.
- (19a) There were no differences.
- (19b) It is a basic human right to practice the religion of one's choice.
- (20) Yes.
- (20a) The Catholic and Protestant religions were affected more than the Jewish one.
- (20b) ~~Historians~~ Ultimately the Communists wanted to liquidate all religions but temporarily they tried to use them for their own goals. That's the reason for them trying to gain the support of the lower clergy, especially the ones in the provinces. They knew perfectly that in rural areas the word of a priest carried more weight than that of fifty Party secretaries.
- (20c) Unfortunately such priests did exist. They were opportunists and psychologically unbalanced.
- (20d) It either persecuted them or tried to gain their support.
- (20e) They tried to deter them from leading a religious life, partly with sweet-talk and partly with threats.
- (20f) Church services were attended by those who didn't have anything to lose or were not afraid of consequences. Thus, in his opinion, the church <sup>ers</sup> ~~go~~ had either lots of courage or were derelicts.
- (20g) Fear of getting into trouble was a strong factor in keeping part of the Hungarians away from attending church services. But, at the same time, the majority of the people attended due to that "in spite of" feature of the Hungarian character.



- (20h) ~~xi/20h~~ Yes. "In spite of".
- (20i) Elder generations - men and women alike, young women who were not bread-winners, and those young men who wanted to protest against the religious persecutions carried out by the regime.
- (20j) 1) Persecutions affected mostly the Catholic church.  
2) Christians got along fine among themselves.
- (20k) Religion became more and more a fortress. It preached the truth in the midst of a spider-web of lies.
- (20l) It would be very hard for him to answer this question precisely. The fact is that some sermons, in a concealed form, gave strength and confidence to the congregation. The imprisonment of priests increased the hatred and resistance against the regime.
- (21) Some practical profession (in the field of medicine, chemistry, electronics, mechanics).
- (21a) These professions assure the future of the person practicing them, under any political system.
- (21b) Work, be very cautious. But, at the same time, keep his self-esteem, his integrity, not sell himself to the regime.
- (21c) In terms of higher education, the offspring of Party ~~functionaries~~ functionaries, in terms of average education, the offspring of workers and peasants.
- (22) Best/<sup>off</sup> ~~known~~: Party officials and those favored by them.  
1  
A small group of workers who sympathized with the regime.  
An even smaller group of peasants, members of the collective farms, who, allegedly, sympathized with the regime.

Worst off: those who were declared "class aliens", due to their background or political crimes.

Intelligentsia.

Small peasantry.

Small craftsmen and small merchants.

(22a) Intelligentsia.

(22b) Intelligentsia.

(22c) Well, way above the average.

(22d) Well, way above the average.

(23) Workers, peasants, intellectuals and a group above all these classes who presently enjoy most of the privileges.

(23a) Based on his personal experience.

(23b) The Communists proclaimed the elimination of class differences, but actually they sharpened them.

(23c) Couldn't be worse.

(23d) Actually the only group which maintained the barriers was that privileged one which reigned above the others.

(23e) The common oppressor united people of different social classes.

(23f) Couldn't be better.

(23g) Compared to the past, the ~~xxx~~ situation is worse as good behavior was considered a remnant of bourgeois capitalism, the well-mannered people were marked as petty bourgeois, capitalists.

(24) No.

(24a) No.

(25) Although they had apparently been deprived of their factories and capital, in practice they lost nothing because due to peculiar ~~circumstances~~ "coincidences" they were always near to the "greasy pot". They were the ones who enjoyed the most of the material goods with the least of work.

(25a) They supported the regime 100 percent.

(25b) Leading and directing role.

(25c) Not many. They accepted the regime as their very own.

(25d) Passively or misleadingly.

(A Jew instigated an armless group of would-be Freedom Fighters to assault a garrison in order to procure arms. The incident ended with five-six dead and twenty-twenty-five wounded people; while the fighting was going on, the Jew disappeared. Later on, he was the one who was in charge of taking Red Cross <sup>S</sup> supplies to Budapest. But, as it was found out later, he did not deliver it to the designated places but disposed of it as he saw fit - in other words, he sold it. Now the Jew is in the United States.)

(25e) They were generally hated because of the part they chose to play within the Party and in the AVH.

(25f) It increased considerably.

(25g) The increase was due to their repulsive attitude.

(25h) If they continue to act as they did in the past years, no future awaits them in Hungary.

- (1) Yes, he has been, is and will always be interested in politics.  
Why? The question is ridiculous. Actually not being interested in politics is also a policy in the 20th Century.
- (1a) It took up 20-25 percent of his free time.
- (1b) Not really.
- (1c) He was the youth organizer in certain rural areas of the Hungarian Independence Party, the party of Sulyok; the latter was the only one at that time who claimed that Hungary's permanent neutrality be inserted in its constitution and the renewal of relations with the West.
- (2a) Yes, see question (1) sub-question (c).  
He was always willing to fight for a free, strong, democratic Hungary.
- (2b) Yes, to the party of Sulyok.
- (2c) Yes.
- 1) He definitely became disappointed in the West in the years '50-'51, when nothing was done to relieve the terror in the satellite countries.
  - 2) The second blow came when after the Austrian state treaty, the Russians did not leave Hungary within 90 days as stipulated in the peace treaty.
  - 3) The non-intervention of the West in the Hungarian Revolution.  
If the Soviets supported the People's Democracies' few leaders to the extent as the West supports millions of suppressed people,

then, by now, one could not speak anymore of People's Democracies.

(2d) His feelings toward the Communist Party did not change. He always found it utterly impossible to support a Party, the goals of which cannot be put into practice. There is no equality in nature either.

(2e) Family traditions, Communist and Soviet policy prior to 1944, and after 1945, his personal experiences.

(2f) II.

(2g) The majority of the Hungarian nation, including those who were members in the Party.

Who did not? Those who wanted to live well without working.

(2h) How can one make such a statement? Doesn't the West know that appearances are deceptive?

People outwitted and misled the Communist authorities, as often as they could.

Workers circumvented norms. (Most of this was never detected). Peasants eluded compulsory deliveries, intellectuals slept through political seminars and left them without making the "obligatory" comments.

(2i) It was a way of keeping humans on a sub-human level.

Their contents were mostly forged or based on false implications.

The remark: "He is inclined to live an individual life," was killing in the true sense of the word.



(3) <sup>is</sup> Hypocrisy, without which it was impossible to live, general mistrust which became the everyday accessory of the regime. He personally was unable to pursue higher studies and thus obtain a degree which would have suited his abilities and skill; advancement was not decided by one's work but by one's Party relations and the latter's opinion of the respective individual. Living standards compared with the work performed were extremely low. One of his main grievances was that he was unable to support his small family - his wife had to work and undergo the same humiliations he had to in his place of employment. He could not protect her - this helplessness gave him sleepless nights. The impossibility of exercising one's basic human rights ~~is~~ enraged him.

(3a) IV, VI, VII and XII.

(3b) VIII, II, XIV.

(3c) ~~IX~~ XI, VI, V.

(3d) VI, XV, I and II.

(3e) XV, III, V.

(3f) The fear of being arrested overshadowed one's day and night.

It was painful to sit through a production conference and be afraid of oneself - be afraid of not being able to listen to the enormous quantities of nonsense professed; in other words being constantly afraid of giving oneself away.

(3g) Yes, with friend<sup>s</sup>. But one had to do one's own screening, as

far as friends were concerned, too.

(3h) No - the smallest resistance was punished with imprisonment.

One of his best friends was sentenced to two years of jail in Szeged because of a joke he told about Rákosi in an espresso. He had six semesters at the faculty of chemistry, but after being released from prison he had to work as an unskilled laborer and later on became a swineherd.

(3i) Compulsory seminars and meetings; the megalomania of Party secretaries, the nasty habit of the Party officials of poking their noses into everyone's business.

(3j) Exclusively family life. This meant that some colleagues of his who were not fortunate enough to be happily married like he was, had nothing.

(4a) It was definitely not in the people's hands. Had it been, they would have used it.

The power was deposited in the dirty hands of the Moscovite agents - Rákosi, Geró, Farkas, Rajk, Hegedűs, Révai, M . . . . . , and so forth.

(4b) It put into effect the decisions of the Party.

(4c) The Kremlin.

(4d) Puppet show. The wires were pulled in Moscow and the puppets danced in Budapest.

(4e) Propaganda toward the West - show a result of 99.8 percent demonstrating that they are ruling by the "people's will".

- (4f) Enormous.
- (4g) There was more corruption in rural areas than in the cities. †  
In the cities it was mainly centered around housing allocation boards. 100 percent reliable, promoted, qualified kaders, Party officials.
- (4i) Promoted kaders, the offspring of the president's of collective farms, county & Party secretaries. ~~They~~  
They received high salaries without exerting themselves and good-looking uniforms, and - and this is really what mattered in many cases - they could boast with their power.
- (4j) Promoted kaders, Party officials with an exceptionally good record.
- (5) Ordinary members did not enjoy any privileges, only the functionaries did.
- (5a) No, except the dullness of the meetings. From a parent's viewpoint, an exaggerated club life resulted in a moral "slough".
- (5b) Joining was not obligatory but it was advisable.
- (5c) Delaying tactics were always useful.
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) He had to join at the age of 28. It was done collectively in December '55 - the whole division had to ~~join~~ join; one of the technicians was 42 and yet he had to join as a "patronizing" member.
- (5f) None.

None.

- (5g) He had to pay monthly three forints membership fee.
- (6) Financial privileges, more "legal support", the assurance of a career.
- (6a) Nobody was ~~annoyed~~ compelled.
- (6b) Convinced careerists and those who had a stained past.
- (6d) 99 percent joined due to the pressure of circumstances.
- (6e) They became more reserved and professed the false doctrines with apostolic zeal in the beginning and, as time went on, they became more and more blasé.
- (6f) <sup>T</sup>They realized that they had been misled, there was a gulf between the dogmas taught in seminars and the experiences of real life.
- (6g) In a given job, one could achieve 50 percent more if one was a Party member.
- (6h) No sir.
- (6p) Yes.
- (6q) Yes. The salary he was earning was not commensurate with the responsibilities of the position. Had he been a Party member, he would have earned 400 forints more.
- (6r) Moscow.
- (6s) They were obliged to lie in order to keep their positions. This ~~was~~ constant lying made ~~it~~ them repulsive looking. They were dreaded. Everyone was glad ~~to~~ not to see them.
- (6t) It changed as many times as it was required by the momentary

situation. The goal was to mislead the masses. And this goal was achieved in different times, with different means.

- (7) No.
- (8) Rarely, very few.
- (9) The youth movement was never a stalwart Communist organization. Actually the political convictions of the members were in contrast with the beliefs of Communism. Thus, the youth movement did not become transformed, it was born transformed.
- (10a) It was manifested everywhere and every single minute. Everybody was exposed to being dragged away during the night on a forged charge - an anonymous denouncing letter sufficed.
- (10b) It was through the work of the AVH that the will of a few was forced on millions.
- (10c) It had political and economic divisions.
- (10d) It was the most perfect secret police system of modern times. AVH agents were built into the various groups of working people in order to get information about any utterance of opinion; these agents usually provoked the people in "denouncing" the regime. What was most frightening was the fact that even though those who allegedly sympathized with the AVH were occasionally arrested and tortured. Just to repeatedly show people that they were at the mercy of the powerful AVH.
- (10e) He does not know. He assumes that many of the AVH officers were the offspring of reliable Communists.



- (10f) Desperate, mostly irresponsible, unscrupulous, sadistic elements. Their age range was from 20-40. The leadership was composed of Jews.
- (10g) What privileges did members of the AVH not possess?
- (10h) If he executed without condition and thoroughly the orders received from above, he was considered reliable. If he had even momentary doubts, he was practically a lost man.
- (10i) Secret informers were more human - one had the impression that they performed their work unwillingly; while, as far as the AVH officers were concerned, one had the feeling that they thoroughly enjoyed their dirty work.
- (10j) The relationship was far from being good. The blue police dreaded the AVH, but even in its ranks there were built-in AVH men.
- (10k) The AVH was under the command of the highest Party leadership. But the majority of the Party members feared the AVH just as much as ordinary humans did.
- (11) Yes.
- (11c) Being hanged by one's hands, fixing one's eyelids on powerful reflectors, being locked into a closet where one could neither stand nor sit, medicated cigarettes and food, being starved and obliged to watch another man eat, injecting <sup>io</sup> into one's spine.

(One could clearly see that this knowledge given by Respondent was not theoretical. He ~~has~~ himself had been exposed to them. While talking about them, his hands started to ~~t~~<sup>r</sup>emble and his

eyes filled with tears. Without telling me explicitly anymore, it was pretty clear that all of the enumerated abuses were used on him.)

- (11d) Those who were considered criminals because of their background and so-called anti-state attitude, but almost everybody, even Party members and functionaries, if their kader was not "clean".
- (11e) Does not know.
- (11f) With great difficulty.
- (11g) No, luckily. He had been in the basement of 60 András<sup>1</sup>sy Street, though.
- (11h) Does not know any details. And, according to his knowledge, there weren't any after the Revolution in Dunapentele.
- (12) Starting from 1949-1952 he was occasionally arrested by the AVH, tor<sup>tor</sup> ~~ntured~~ for a couple of days. They charged him with anti-regime attitude.
- (13) Leave Hungary.
- (13a) In Hungary it wasn't even safe to be an informer.
- (13b) Temporarily, yes.
- (13c) Yes, with Party functionaries.
- (13d) To a very little extent.
- No one can conceal, permanently, an unfavorable class background.
- (13e) Much money might be, occasionally, a help, but people who needed help, didn't have any money.

- (13f) Not really. Informers did not usually ~~wait~~ wait for a person to open his mouth. They made believe, in their reports, that he had opened it.
- (13g) The Christians were worse off than<sup>a</sup> the Jews.
- (14) Yes, the fluctuation in the extent of the forms of terror made life so excitingly beautiful in Hungary. They were loosened only to be tightened again.
- (14a) Yes, the so-called rationalizations. The important factors to be considered were the respective persons' relation to the Party and not his working capacity.
- (14b) One could breathe a little deeper.
- (14c) During the summer uncertainty or hesitancy on the part of the leadership was very noticeable.
- (15) The role played by the Soviet Union was decisive and directive.
- (15a) In ~~the~~ Hungary the directives given by Moscow were executed.
- (15b) From everyday experiences.
- (15c) He wishes he could name one aspect of life where the Soviet pressure was not felt.
- (15d) No, thank God.
- (15e) The Moscovite agents were "more Catholic than the pope." This was true in every single field. Not even a touch of the national character was maintained. Every order was carried out according to Soviet patterns.
- (15f) Soviet advisers were in industrial and commercial key positions.

- (16) Exclusively in a closed circle of friends.
- (16a) The expression of feelings would have meant loss of personal freedom.
- (16b) Many <sup>i</sup> friends of his were imprisoned for years for having told jokes about Rakosi and his clique.
- (16c) Only with reliable, old-time friends.
- (16d) One could talk more freely about economic difficulties, production deficiencies. (For instance, inadequate machinery, increased work requirements.)
- (16e) Yes. Starting from ~~in~~ 1949, the terror's grip became more and more strong; in '53, there was a brief thaw, followed by a tightening; after the 20th Congress, a new thaw followed.
- (17) Yes.
- (17a) Concerning norms, by eluding regulations. The controlling board was composed of so-called promoted kaders whose only quality was their good background. Actually, it was so easy to mislead them that it wasn't even funny.
- (17b) Yes. Peasants regularly blackmailed the registrar and the rest of the controlling organs.
- (17c) Not very much. Maybe by proving some outstanding activities done on behalf of the Party.
- (17d) He would try to ask for his transfer by using his contacts. (Of course, a Party member had better chances than a non-Party member.)
- (17e) Mostly by doing a favor to the Party or especially to the AVH.
- (18) Its strength lay in the use of terroristic methods.

Its weakness: it had no credit, no prestige.

(18a) Terror and fear.

(18b) Hatred and yearning for freedom.

(19) Circumvention of regulations, silent protest.

(19a) It was concealed.

(19b) Intellectuals, technical personnel, workers, peasantry.

Why? Because "they drank wine and preached water."

(19c) Those groups the financial advantages of which were assured by the regime.

(19d) It increased.

(19e) It increased.

(19f) It was individual and collective. Actually, everybody was a member of an unorganized group, as strange as this may sound.

(19g) Yes.

(19h) Yes.

(19i) Yes.

(19j) Yes.

(19k) Yes - norm frauds, circumvention of regulations, after a completed work: verifying of a higher quantity at the expense of the quality; deliberate delay in deliveries; unjustified lateness, absenteeism.

(19l) These were spontaneous manifestations; everybody felt them to be justified. Everybody expected them but nobody knew in advance  
in  
/ what form resistance will finally appear.

(19m) Yes. A free, democratic, independent Hungary.



- (1) Radio, balloons (went from hand to hand).
- (1a) Voice of America, BBC, Paris, and partly Radio Free Europe.
- (1b) Moscow - what was denied, he knew it to be true. And much could be guessed from their lamentations: "the Communist Party is accused of being rotten inside, however..." They also ~~never~~ boasted about big scale constructions - so they made it known that there was something definitely wrong also in the industry; their threats betrayed their weakness.
- (2) Szabad Nép - a subscription was obligatory.  
Élet és Tudomány  
Természet és Társadalom  
Képes Sport  
Automotor  
Ifjú Technikus  
Ludas Matyi
- (2b) Partly, yes.
- (2c) Partly because he was interested in scientific and technical articles, partly ~~was~~ because he could read between the lines.
- (2d) In the political section he adored the contradictions, the ~~was~~ voluntary bitter humor; in the scientific sections he loved the efforts with which they tried - in vain - to keep ~~was~~ up with the West.
- (2e) Yes.
- (2f) Wall newspapers were changed every six to eight weeks, newspapers

daily. Their contents were the same, regardless of the time period.

(2g)

Yes.

(2h)

Der Abend, Daily Telegraph, Manchester Guardian, The New York Times. (The translation of interesting articles was enclosed.) They arrived at the plant secretly.

Embassy bulletins (United States, British, French) also came to Dunapentele and, with the help of decent Hungarian newspaper men, made available - illegally - to the workers. Their contents never appeared in the Hungarian newspapers, though. In ~~1948~~ 1949, in Székesfehérvár, in '51-'52 in Budapest and from '54-'56 in Sztálinváros.

(2i)

They were appreciated as precious things which could be obtained rarely.

(2j)

Yes, see sub-question (h) and in Dunapentele there were mimeographed pamphlets which explained the foreign policies, especially the Western news. Many of them were published by the Hungarian Committee for Resistance (Magyar Ellenállási Bizottmány).

(3)

Yes, once a week.

(3a)

Western or Hungarian movies.

(3b)

Entertaining or scientific.

(3c)

See sub-question (a).

(3d)

He saw Italian, French, English, Indian movies.

(3e)

Whenever the companies of Debrecen, Pécs, Kecskemét, Miskolc and Budapest toured in Dunapentele, he always attended the

performances. Sometimes even the opera sent a ~~XXXX~~ touring company and he also ~~see~~ saw and enjoyed the performances of the Popular Dance Company ~~☛~~ (Népi Tánc Együttes).

- (3f) About once a month; he and his wife never saw Soviet plays, though.
- (4) This was his favorite type of relaxation.
- (4a) Fifteen-twenty.
- (4b) Zola, Victor Hugo, Dostoevsky, Tolstói, Cronin, Shaw, Bromfield, Steinbeck, etc.
- (4c) These were his favorite authors.
- (4d) The works of Cronin and of Margaret Mitchell were difficult to find.
- (4e) Móricz, Mikszáth, Jósiké<sup>a</sup>, Zola, Hugo, Shaw, Cronin, Petöfi, Tóth Árpád, Babits, Kosztolanyi, Heine, Schiller, Shakespeare, Goethe.
- Why? Their names speak for themselves.
- (4f) Yes, see subquestion (e).
- (4g) To a small extent. They were available only by pulling strings.
- (5) Yes.
- (5b) Yes - Orion, all wave, five plus three tubes.
- (5d) Music (opera, mostly), scientific lectures, good radio plays, and especially "Sziv küldi szívnek" (best Hungarian folk-songs).
- (5e) One-two hours including the foreign broadcasts and mostly in the evenings.

- (26) Yes.
- (6a) See question (1).
- (6b) Everyday, late in the evening.
- (6d) If BBC, Voice of American and Radio Paris broadcast the same news, then he believed it.
- (6e) He heard rumors about this.
- (7) Yes.
- (7a) Political.
- (7b) From reliable friends.
- (7c) They were equally reliable and equally unreliable.
- (7d) There was news spread by the Communists themselves only to enable them to prove later that they had been false.
- (7e) Where didn't I hear them? They were whispered openly.
- (7g) The professional agents, provocateurs.
- (7h) News was discussed at home, at work, everywhere.
- (7i) No.
- (8) About 15 percent.
- (8a) News about deaths and about dismissal of Party ~~ix~~ functionaries.
- (8b) Those which were supposed to prove the "rotteness" of Western capitalism.
- (8c) It decreased.
- (8d) He was able to infer from Western broadcasts.
- (8e) Paris was generally considered reliable and among the papers:  
Irodalmi Ujsag.

- (8f) Yes. Starting from the spring of 1956, he read it regularly. It improved more and ~~more~~ more. (Once, in September, he paid 20 forints for one issue.)
- (8g) Yes, daily. He believed the weather forecast.
- (8h) Yes, he read every number. It had a new free tone, it could have ~~been~~ become a good newspaper.
- (9) Definitely.
- (9a) The majority of the workers did. They constantly expected a change ~~was~~ and with this an improvement of their situation.
- (9b) Those who were <sup>the</sup> privileged of the regime and didn't want to hear or see the signs of an impending change.
- (10a) It was a necessary evil.
- (10b) North Korea upon Soviet instigation.
- (10c) It was <sup>pro</sup> ~~propaganda~~ - if it occurred at all, it was put in effect by the Communists in order to deceive the world.
- (10d) This is a very important, actually a decisive factor. It is a necessity for all those who really want peace. It would be senseless to sit and watch the Soviet re-armament.
- (10e) He saw them himself at Dunapentele and he even read the leaflets. They did <sup>not</sup> endanger either air transportation or the peasants' homes.
- (10f) It was a freedom fight stirred up by the longing for freedom and ruthlessly oppressed by the Soviet Union.
- (10g) Soviet attempts to mislead the world opinion and their military preparations with the peace dove.



From the part of the West, it is an effort to ease the international tension.

- (11h) As they are divided into small groups, they are unable to achieve anything significant.

- (1) The terror and the suppression.
- (1a) The sport and cultural fields, with adequate changes.
- (1b) To a small extent the organized recreation and vacation. (If for nothing else, but for propaganda's sake, the workers enjoyed almost free vacations.)

Great industry should remain nationalized but the methods should not be those of the Communists. (I asked Respondent, at this point, to be more specific; the additional explanations he made, did not make his former statement clearer.)

- (2) Yes - there can be no coherent government policy without taking into consideration the suggestions of the opposition.
- (2ab) The Communists should not be allowed to form a Party. (See the Hungarian case, where a small minority grabbed the leadership with terroristic methods.)
- (3) Yes, with some restrictions. (Irresponsible speeches should not be allowed.)
- (3a) Irresponsible statements.
- (3b) The majority of the nation.
- (3c) No.
- (3d) No, if they happened to be true.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes. In case ~~the~~ the government doesn't serve the interests of the nation but those of a <sup>foreign</sup> power and if it doesn't rule by the will of the people.

- (5) A complete balance should be established between industry and agriculture and the production should be based on the given possibilities.
- (6) Definitely.
- (6b) The small factories (up to 200 employees); thus, the quality of consumer goods would be improved in the interest of the population.
- (6c) Yes, it furthers progress.
- (6d) In Hungary, there is a place for both.
- (6e) Yes.
- (6fg) In Hungary monopolies like Vasért, Keravil, Kózárt excluded competitions which resulted in the deterioration of the quality of the products.
- (7) No. See question (6b).
- (7a) Free trade serves progress.
- (8) As carried out in Hungary, it was bad.
- (8a) He does approve of long-range plans which, in case of absolute necessity, can be modified.
- (8b) <sup>Not</sup>  
at all.
- (8c) He is all for the exploitation of a country's natural resources. (He read about a watering plant in the area of the Five Lakes and he also heard about the Canadian government's plan to build a new power station next to Niagara Falls.)

In Hungary: the industry of bauxite and aluminium should be

developed instead of the iron industry.

- (8d) The market.
- (9) ~~Exc~~ Private lives.
- (10) Yes.
- (10a) There are, no doubt, public expenses, but individuals should not be crippled by taxes.
- (10b) Is a necessary evil.
- (10c) If they are brought by a democratic legislative corps, they should be obligatory.
- (10d) See sub-question (c)
- (10e) Yes, the government's duty is to secure the legal rights of the citizens.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) Generally, everybody.
- (11b) The privileged classes enjoyed special medical ~~care~~ care, to the rest of the population relatively good medical care was given.  
conscientious.
- (11c) Private physicians are necessarily more ~~conscientious~~
- (11d) ~~Exc~~ Basically they were good.
- (11e) His child had been cured of a very serious illness - it is true that he had to spend 6,000-8,000 forints for foreign drugs.
- (12) Yes - it was the only possibility to escape the dullness and the miseries of everyday life.
- (12a) Yes.
- (12b) Yes.
- (12c) Almost everybody, except people from rural areas, although theater

companies gave pretty good performances sometimes also in villages; some of these performances were often of a propagandistic nature, but the public reacted by not attending them. So decent plays had to be performed.

- (12d) No.
- (12e) An ~~index~~ improvement along these lines was generally noticeable.
- (13) No.
- (13a) Yes.
- (13b) No.
- (13c) Yes, according to their income.
- (14) No.
- (14a) Yes.
- (14b) No.
- (14c) Same as question (13c)
- (15) Yes. Forcing of raised production.
- (15b) Heavy industry, mines, building industry.
- (15c) It was detrimental.
- (16) In ~~M~~ Hungary, workers cannot be excluded anymore. Production, work and wages will have to be balanced in the interests of the production as well as that of the workers.
- (16a) The Trade Union's duty should be the protection of the rights and interests of the workers.
- (16c) It should not be compulsory.
- (16d) A distinction should be made between state-owned x and private



factories.

The management should be composed partly of qualified leaders, x appointed by the owner, whether state or private, and partly by the delegates of the workers.

- (16e) To the owner - private or state - as well as to the workers.  
(For instance, it should not be allowed that decisions be made which should be contrary to the interests of the consumers and of the workers.)
- (17) They did not work out.
- (17a) In Hungary, most of them were bad.
- (17b) In Hungary, the majority did not work out.
- (17c) The present ones should be dissolved and eventually new ones formed on the basis of voluntary membership.
- (17d) The members themselves, but not under pressure.
- (17e) After dissolution, the land should be returned to the previous rightful owners. in case their property might be too big, parts of it should be put on the market.
- (17f) Yes. 200-500 acres.
- (17g) No.
- (17h) If the former owner claims it, then up to the limit specified under sub-question (f), the land should be restored. If he does not claim the land himself, he should be re-imbursed.
- (17i) Yes. See x sub-question (f).
- (17j) A just distribution should be made, either in the form of reimbursement or restoration of land.

- (17k) If some peasants want to work collectively, cooperatives, based on Danish patterns, should be established.
- (17l) Yes - short and long range credits should be given.
- (17m) They might be run by the state, in case a certain competition could, somehow, be established.
- (17n,q) It would be preferable if they were kept in government ownership.
- (18) They should not interfere with each other's affairs and yet have no hostile attitudes toward each other.
- (18a) Yes.
- (18b) NO.
- (18c) Yes, in order to serve the cultural progress.
- (18d) There should be no religious persecution or discrimination, but the churches should not interfere with public education.
- (18e) It should be optional.
- (18f) He would send his children to denominational schools because in Hungary their scholastic level was higher than <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>that</sup> of the public schools.
- (18g) The schools should be returned but the land should be kept in state ownership; the state should finance the cultural activities of the churches.
- (19) They should account for their activities.
- (19a) ~~Of~~ Of course not.
- (19b,c,d,e,) They should account for their activities in independent courts.

- (19f) Members of the AVH: they should also be asked to account for their activities in courts, but their trials should be made public.
- (19g) Their participation in the Revolution should serve as an extenuating circumstance.
- (20) The answer to this question could fill a book.

He is at <sup>a</sup> loss as to what important events to pick out: adoption of ~~xxx~~ Christianity (1001), the invasion of the Tartars (1241), the Turkish wars starting from the disaster of Mohács to the leaving of the Turks, the War of Independence of 1848 and '49, the defeat of a Council's Republic in 1919 and finally the revolt of October, 1956.

In one word, Hungary served as a shield to the West against the Eastern barbarian attacks.

- (21a) Yes.
- (21b) Very much.
- (21c) Love for freedom is a tradition also in America.
- (21d) Yes, it increased, partly as a reaction to the ~~xxx~~ oppression.
- (21e,f) Yes.
- (22) The government of Pál Teleki, which showed an effort toward neutrality.
- (22a) Does not know.
- (22b) Does not know.
- (22c) ~~xx~~ Hungary had a semi-feudal society till 1945.

- (22d) Very bad.
- (22e) 1) Actually he wanted Communism so it was bad. Z  
 ) It did not have any effect on the forming of the post-war Hungarian society.  
 ) As its aim was the establishment of Communist rule, it was bad.
- (22f) Very much.
- (22g) If the Horthy regime had not been semi-feudal, Communism<sup>m</sup> could not have been installed in Hungary.
- (22h) No, it should have stayed neutral.
- (22i) It was deceptive. Some people were under the impression that democracy will finally be born in Hungary.
- (23) Yes.
- (23b) ~~Yes~~ Yes, the Felvidék, Transylvania, Bácska. The rights of these ~~territories~~ territories to belong to the body of Hungary date from one thousand years ago; today, the majority of their population is still Hungarian.
- (23c) The Soviet Union wants Hungary to become its satellite.
- (23d) No. The existing antagonism has been stirred up artificially.
- (23e,f,g,h,) Well, if they are given equal rights.
- (24a) Respondent believes that a Danubian Confederation might solve the problems of Eastern Europe.
- (24b) Hungary, Austria, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria - these countries would form a strong block between the antagonisms of Eastern and Western Europe.

- (24b) The way the United States of America operates.
- (24c) Hungary should be a member with equal rights.
- (24d) No.
- (24e) Unnecessary.
- (25) His opinion is bad.
- (25ab) Yes, occasionally some good ones can be found among them.
- (25c) No, ~~xxx~~ maybe 10 percent are, the rest 80-90 percent is also waiting for liberation.
- (25d) He knew some soldiers in '46, they seemed to be merely instruments. He objects to the behavior of the majority of the ~~soldiers~~ soldiers though on the basis of his personal experiences.
- (25e) Hostile.
- (25f) See sub-question (d).
- (25g) Everybody prayed that they leave the country as soon as possible.
- (25h) See sub-question (g), but the intensity of the prayer increased.
- (26) A theory ~~xxxx~~ which cannot be put into practice. In addition<sup>c</sup>, today it is obsolete.
- (26a) He is still looking.
- (26b) Nothing makes sense.
- (26c) None.
- (26d) Not at all.
- (26e) Tito is a good Titoist.
- (26f) They didn't know Marx personally, but they knew and feared Stalin.



- (26g) If Stalin had ordered so - why notx?
- (26i) Never.
- (26j) In Hungary, officially democracy is equated with Communism.  
In the real sense of the word, democracy stands for the basic human rights, for the freedom of speech, press, religion, etc.
- (27) It means the putting into practice the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on a more or less nationalistic basis.
- (27a) <sup>In</sup> \* Large groups of people, there are bound to be mixed-up elements - so, probably there were National Communists in the revolt, too.
- (27c) Gomulka is a double-dealer. He tries to keep his regime alive at the cost of compromises, although he does not have the support of the majority of the Polish people.
- (27d) By all means. If not, then he is a scoundrel.
- (27e) Communism and Hungarian patriotism are in contradiction. The slogan: "Proleterians of the world, unite" excludes patriotism. Basically, Communism is the carrying out of the Kremlin's will. Soviet and national interests are incompatible.
- (28) After a very short period of time, Imre Nagy would have been obliged to resign, due to the fact that he had been a Communist. A multi-Party system would have been established in Hungary.
- (28a) Under the leadership of the Party, thus on Marxist-Leninist ideology, <sup>a</sup> ~~his~~ coalition system was his aim.

- (28b) Temporarily yes, until ~~the~~ the free elections would have taken place.
- (29a) The one molded on Soviet patterns is bad.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad.
- (29d) Is non-existent.
- (29e) Bad.
- Very good. (In a bourgeois democracy, the worker can realize his goal: become a bourgeois himself.) Actually, it does not exist.
- (29i) Had a turncoat policy, thus very bad.
- (29j) His aims are not clear.
- (29k)1) Doesn't know anything about ~~him~~ them .
- 2  
 (29m) She keeps talking about Socialism but actually Respondent failed to see the difference between her aims and those of Communism.
- (29n) During the Revolution, his speeches seemed outdated and yet he does enjoy the sympathy of the majority x of the nation. (Six and a half millions).
- (30) A bourgeois, democratic party proclaiming the rights of the workers.
- (30a) It would be rather difficult to answer this question now.
- (31)a) Less.
- (31b) More.
- (31c) Less.

making in numbering

(31d) Much less.

(31e) Less.

(31f) Were taken care of adequately.

(31g) Much more.

(31h) - These ~~groups~~ <sup>two groups:</sup> should be divided in ~~these~~ the free tradesmen and those employed by the state. The latter category got less, the former was adequately rewarded.

(31i) Same division is valid as in sub-question (h).

(32)a,c,d,e,f,h,i, - Better.

(32b,g) Worse

He objects to the groups a,c,d,e,f,h, i, getting less than they deserved.

(33)a) Conflict.

(33b) Conflict.

(33c) Conflict.

(33d) Conflict.

(33e) Conflict.

(33f) Conflict.

(33g) Conflict.

(33h) Conflict.

(33i) Conflict.

(33<sup>j</sup>) Conflict.

(34) He is sorry to say that the United States disappointed the Hungarian people. The slow actions of the United Nations, its

indecision to deal with the Soviet Union, their not sending political and military help, should rest ~~heavily~~ <sup>and</sup> heavily on the conscience of the free world, ~~and~~ especially on that of the United States.

(35) 5 percent of the population. (Party leaders, AVH men, in one word: the aristocracy of the regime.)

(35a) 95 percent of the population.

(36) Yes. He had confidence in the West even on February 7th when he left his country, but the indolence with which the problems of the Hungarian refugees in Yugoslavia and everywhere were ~~handled~~ handled disappointed him deeply. He and his friends had confidence in the West, they adopted an attitude of hope beyond hope, they waited for help even when rationally, ~~they~~ they kept telling each other that the help would never come. And yet they delayed their leaving their country till the very last minute. At that time, it was impossible to cross the border toward Austria. The only possibility was Yugoslavia. They ~~were~~ were shocked when the West, including the U.S., declared them Communists and at the same <sup>time</sup> accepted those pseudo-Freedom Fighters who fled Hungary at the end of October and in the first days of November, caring little for the <sup>cause</sup> ~~of~~ of the Revolution.

~~The~~ A problem apart is the way the Hungarian refugees are treated in Yugoslavia. The camps they are kept in have all the characteristics of internment camps, they are deprived <sup>of</sup> ~~from~~ their basic human rights. (Their movements are restricted, there is

ensorship of mail.)

Some camps - Bajnabasta, Gerovo, Ečka - are even worse than others (Niskabanja, Mataruskabanja). He happened to be in the best: Mataruskabanja - and yet he had the feeling of being in an internment camp. (Barb<sup>ed</sup> wire surrounded the camp, guard towers were functioning and search-lights were constantly used during the night.)

The food situation between February 9 and May 1st was disastrous (they didn't receive anything else but cabbage and very seldom beans). From May to June 6th a slight improvement was noticeable and from June 7, the food was definitely better, but it was far from being sufficient in quantity and calories. At the same time, the Red Cross packages which had arrived for the refugees were sold in Yugoslav shops for the Yugoslav population.

He himself was beaten up by policeman number 17845 because he left the camp to sell his coat and thus buy some food for himself. The policeman hit so hard on his head that an X-Ray examination was deemed necessary by the doctor of the camp. After a couple of days, he was released from the so-called hospital of the camp and told that he was cured. But ever since, he has had terrible headaches.

The Serbian AVH (UDP) was constantly stirring up antagonism between the population and the refugees: the refugees were not allowed to leave the camps "in their<sup>own</sup> interest" (they were told



that the population disliked them) and the population was told that the refugees hated them and don't want to leave the camp.

Of course, the situation changed rapidly for those few hours when United Nations delegates and Western visitors came. But, unfortunately, those visits occurred rarely. Then, propaganda films were taken, in the presence of <sup>the</sup> Serbian AVH. Hungarian refugees were shown at different ticket offices buying tickets for football matches and movies. In reality, this was a show window policy. They were not allowed to go to movie theaters or football matches for that matter. Those few Hungarians who were photographed while buying tickets, received a good meal for their services.

During his four-month stay in Yugoslavia, he did not receive one penny, not even toothpaste. He bought the necessary toilet articles by selling his <sup>5</sup> <sup>1</sup> personal property. For instance, he sold his winter coat ~~xxx~~ worth about 45,000-50,000 dinars for 5,000 dinars and a Doxa watch worth 12,000 dinars for 3,000 dinars, a suit worth 20,000 dinars for 2,000 dinars.

He learned in France that his father-in-law, who lives in the United States, had sent him letters six times containing ten dollar bills - he never received them.

Compared to the Yugoslav situation, as far as the refugees are concerned, the situation in French camps is unquestionably better. (Respondent, at the time of the interview, was living in

the French camp in Domfront sur Orne.) And yet, although he has been in Caserne sur la Harpe (the name of the camp) for more than two months, never was he given a chance to work and make some money. (I talked about this situation with the mayor of Domfront and he complained about the Hungarian refugees being unwilling to accept agricultural jobs - they want to be placed only in their respective professions.) The French peasants exploit those Hungarians to whom they give agricultural chores - they make them work sixteen hours per day during the so-called season and then practically throw them out from one day to the other. Many elderly people who did go out to make a couple of pennies, are now hospitalized.

(Two of my colleagues and I had lengthy public discussions with some of the inhabitants of the camp - around 30-40 and they all complained about <sup>how</sup> the West treated the Hungarian question, generally, and their particular situation, specifically. Great mistrust reigned toward us the very first day and the second day we were told that the majority of the inhabitants of the camp did not want to have anything to do with us because they considered us Kádár agents. This would not have been the first time, they said, that agents from Communist Hungary visited camps and provoked people to make statements against the present regime in Hungary and, at the same time, find out whether they still had relatives in Hungary. I must admit that my Respondent, although at the beginning was one of the loudest accusers of the United States

and instigated the inhabitants of the camp against us, "Americans", completely changed in a very short time after the actual interview had started and I felt that his answers were 100 percent sincere. Actually, he asked me to forgive him for having been unpleasant and distrustful in the very & first minutes.)

- (1) What has the West done in order to liberate the nations in the People's Democracies from oppression?

How long is the West going to wait? Why doesn't the United States stand up for its proclaimed principles, namely to help people from all over the world <sup>to</sup> live under human conditions?

Is the United States so naive as to believe ~~xxx~~ that the Soviet Union will not start a third world war and use atomic weapons the minute it feels that it has, militarily, the upper <sup>h</sup> hand?

If America had helped Hungarians, it would not have been kind to them but to itself. <sup>The</sup> Great loser, in the Hungarian case, is not Hungary but the United States. Hungary will live oppressed again. Actually by now it should be used to it, but the United States will be very uncomfortable, when it also will be oppressed. Actually Hungarians may survive it, but the people's of the United States will not. They will not be able to take the omnipotence of a secret police. They won't be able to work and make money, when constantly watched. Actually, they are the losers. Poor Americans.

What is America's opinion about the United Nations, which in some cases, is able to put into effect its decisions, in others, is unable to do so?

- (1a) He <sup>is</sup> convinced that they are useful because, in his opinion, they serve understanding-thus progress.

- (1c) Be extremely cautious that the data be not made available to

Communists.

- (1d) This depends entirely upon the interviewer -- whether he or she will be capable to "dissolve" the mistrust which is in every Hungarian's heart.
- (2a) Yes, he would love to go back and fight with arms for the liberation of his country.
- (3) No. How could he, a simple worker, give suggestions to a world wide known university?