

- (1) I lived in a village of 6000 people, 8 km from the Rumanian border. It was a very poor village. We were very happy about the Revolution <sup>on</sup> the 23rd of October. We had two collective farms and many people were lucky enough to work at the State Farm which was a forestry. On the first day of the Revolution, the land of the collective farms was divided; this made everyone happy. Then the Soviets came and threatened people. We lived 38 km from Debrecen; <sup>and</sup> we were unable to get arms. Three Russian tanks appeared and we attacked them with our hands. In the village, the people were wild. It is a very religious Greek Catholic village and that is why the Communists were never able to subdue it. People <sup>pulled</sup> ~~marked~~ down the Soviet Star at the collective farm and they burned the <sup>documents</sup> ~~papers~~ at the Council House. People got drunk and got on their wagons to look for Communists in the village, in order to kill them. Many of the Debrecen Party functionaries, who escaped from the city and came to the village in order to hide in the forest, were caught. Many of the delivery collectors escaped and were afraid to return; I left the village on the 23rd of January and they hadn't returned by then. People slaughtered their pigs and other livestock on the 23rd of October because they weren't able to do so until <sup>it</sup> then. <sup>They</sup> ~~We~~ were ~~am~~ grateful that they could grow livestock for themselves now. In the village, the freedom <sup>brought</sup> ~~caused~~ by the Revolution was more <sup>available</sup> ~~doubtable~~, because the villagers did not let the Soviets in as did the towns. People loved László Nagy, especially after his

speech announcing ~~about~~ neutrality. There was a great deal of indignation when we heard about the events of November 4th. All the village boys came back from the Army and they refused to go back; There were 25 soldiers in the Army from the village, and when they came to fetch them, the boys took to the forest in order to avoid being sent back to the Army.

- (2) In the village we didn't know about the background of the Revolution. For us the Revolution began on the 23rd. Then the Party Secretaries and other Communist functionaries disappeared from the village.
- (2b) Religious persecution and the collective farm delivery system. In ~~the same village~~ <sup>Hyracsdd</sup>, they didn't grow enough to live on. I know, I saw it. If the farmer didn't fulfill his delivery quota, the delivery organs collected an 8 or 10 person brigade which attacked the house of the delinquent and took what it could find. Sometimes they took a sewing machine in payment of taxes. Every Wednesday was delivery collection day; they collected taxes and delivery quotas on the same day. A twenty hold peasant often had <sup>debts of</sup> 80 or 90.000 forints, ~~of that~~ which he was unable to pay, and in addition he could not fulfill his delivery quotas. This situation began in 1948 and got gradually worse. It is not true that in 1953 the delivery quota became less; it ~~was~~ the same or even worse, but in a different form. This was a sandy district with a very poor soil, but the delivery quota was the same as in districts which had better soil. People were happy in June 1953 about the changes which Imre Nagy

promised, but in the Fall, Rakbei took it all back. Maybe Nagy couldn't help it. He was only a puppet. In the last period people didn't care any more, they drank and talked freely at the pub; it was usually so full, you couldn't get in for a glass of beer. People said that they didn't care, and wanted to give up working on the land because the delivery collectors were ruining them. The situation was like a ~~barrel~~ <sup>bundle of straw</sup> over which gasoline had been poured; only a match was needed to cause a fire. The reasons for the Revolution were economic. People <sup>were</sup> ~~simply~~ <sup>unable</sup> ~~accident~~ <sup>to make a living</sup> ~~living~~. People could buy sugar only if they took some eggs in return. If they didn't produce some scrap iron, they were unable to get salt. The village had to collect a certain quantity of scrap iron every quarter. The farmers put their plow shares at the top of the wall (gömselök), but the <sup>scrap iron</sup> collectors took it down, even from there. The situation was unbearable in every way. People were waiting for something, but they didn't know for what. If we had received help, we would have sent the Russians back to Moscow. People would have fought desperately, enthusiastically and would not have been afraid. It was a big mistake not to organize the villages in the Revolution. They could have contributed to the armed struggle. As it is, we sent four carloads of potatoes and wood, and half a carload of eggs to Debrecen to help the Revolution.

The country was united. Of course there were no counts or barons in the village, but there were some wealthy peasants. There was no class difference now between the various people in the village.

Everyone suffered equally. Ours was the poorest village of the Nyírség.

(Interviewer's Note: I asked respondent about the possible influence of the events listed on the check-list in question (2b). Answer: we did not feel these events in the village. We had to attend classes every Thursday night. <sup>We often asked</sup> Why it was that they were only now beginning to blame Stalin for his mistakes? They were always embarrassed and said they would answer next week, but the answer never came. The whole thing was like a rotten hurdy-gurdy. <sup>by the way</sup> It played the same song whether it was started at the beginning or at the end. It was none of these events which caused the Revolution. God gave it just as it was; it can't be explained. Nobody knew about it in advance or prepared it.)

(2c) None before October 23rd.

(2e) None. I don't know. There were teachers in the village and they didn't talk about any writers. I had some friends among these teachers and the doctor was my friend. He never said anything about it either. We knew only about the students' demonstration and that this began in Szeged.

(2f) I got only Szabad Hírlap had the County Paper, Hajdúszög. I had to buy Szabad Hír, but I didn't read their papers. I read the stories about accidents and so on in the local paper and then I threw it away. There was nothing in these papers except stupid talk about collective farms, the Five Year Plan etc. I was sick

of  
of it. I never heard Arodalmi Ujság. The village intelligentsia didn't read it either.

- (2g) No. I never heard of Patófi Circle. We had only ~~these~~ <sup>Disz</sup> I never went to Budapest and the village had no students in Budapest who might have told us about these things. It was a poor village.
- (3) See Question (1) above.
- (3b) I can't explain it. It is impossible to say why it happened. No one was prepared and no one knew. People groaned and suddenly it happened. Even the students didn't know. If the AVO had not shot at the crowd and if the demands of the people had been granted, then there would have been no Revolution.
- (3c) They demonstrated in order to have their demands granted, that the Soviets should leave Hungary according to the Peace Treaty. They demonstrated for the legitimate demands of the Hungarian people.
- (3f) Only the Party members opposed the Revolution. In the village nobody opposed the Revolution. There were few Party members here and they disappeared when the Revolution started. The people were united against the Soviets.
- (3g) I don't think there were any. Even the small children were happy but afraid of the Russians. Until November 4th, nobody saw the Party members or ~~the~~ the Council President.
- (3h) To return the land received in the Land Reform to the people,

the Russians should go home, and the collective farms should be dissolved. Also, Iure Nagy and Mindszenty were hailed.

(3i) Yes. It was anti-Communist.

(4) I worked in the shop. We were very busy; people bought everything they could get their hands on, because they were afraid that their money would not be good later on.

When the three Soviet tanks came to the village, we attacked it without arms. I was among the first to do so and I got in trouble about this later on. The tanks stopped on the square and they said that if they heard a shot, they would burn the whole village. I jumped on the tank and pulled down a Russian soldier. Other people did the same thing. The women were especially fierce. They kicked them and pulled them and spat on them, you know how it is when a woman beats you up. They called them dirty names and shouted things like "that's why I could not slaughter my pigs". The Russians shot in the crowd with hand pistols, the crowd moved back and the Russians got on their tanks and left the village. The people <sup>then</sup> abused me for starting the whole thing.

(5) He.

(7) I don't know.

(7a) I don't know.

(8) See question (4) above.

(8a) I don't know. This could have happened only in Budapest.







of the revolutionary Council. He was a smallholder with 12 holds of land. He was respected by the people and they demanded that he become the president of the revolutionary Council, although he didn't want to take the job because of his old age. The members of the Council, were chiefly people who had held some sort of offices before 1945. The people in the village knew who was worthy of a leading role in village affairs. The revolutionary Council members were elected on the street by the people.

The National Guard was also established and consisted of unmarried chaps. The head of the National Guard was <sup>a</sup>former gendarme who must have been a decent person because he was not taken away by the Communists. It was he who organized the National Guard but unfortunately without weapons. The members were chiefly younger men who had deserted the Army.

(10 l) I don't know.

(10m) People didn't want the past back. The Government should have developed in the same spirit as the 1946/47 regime, until 1948. That was quite good. The old was not healthy either. The thousand-year-old desire of Hungary was fulfilled with the Land Reform. But the result was that they gave with one hand and took it away with the other.

(11) Yes, unfortunately I do. I didn't leave Hungary gladly. I would have been glad to stay and fight the Russians if it had been possible.

- (11a) Yes, it was very useful. The Hungarian people showed the whole world what had hurt <sup>it</sup> for 12 years and how <sup>it</sup> felt. They went <sup>in</sup> without arms, ready to die. It also showed the Communists at home, how many there were against them and that they can count on getting the same thing at any time.
- (11b) Yes, the Revolution could have won if we had gotten help or if the Russians hadn't interfered. If the Russians hadn't interfered, they would have needed no help since the Revolution had <sup>one</sup>. Everything was in the hands of the counter-revolutionaries. (sic).
- (11c) Yes, we expected armed help from the West.
- (11e) Generally, we were satisfied with Imre Nagy, in spite of the fact we knew he had a machine gun in his back. In spite of this, he behaved <sup>with</sup> in character.
- (11f) Maléter had a leading role. I don't know how he managed to get such a leading role so quickly. We hadn't heard of him before, that was the trouble. It seemed strange to the people. But they were very enthusiastic at his courageous role. I don't know of any others except Imre Nagy.
- (11g) In the following order:
- (i)
  - (v)
  - (ii)
  - (iii)
- the soldiers together with youth. The workers had the leading role since the peasants were unfortunately un-organized. I believe

however, that they would have taken part in the Revolution, if they had had the same opportunities as the worker class in Budapest, Győr, etc. Youth also made its contribution, and the intelligentsia too. There were no irresponsible elements in our village. I don't know what their role was in Budapest.

- (12) I decided to leave when they started to look for me on the 8th of January. Till then I hoped I would be all right. They also molested my brother in Budapest because he had been in a Workers' Council. I left Acsád on the 8th and went up to Budapest to join my brother. We left together, with his son and wife. They caught his wife and so my brother also returned to Budapest. I haven't heard from him since. We left Budapest on the 22nd of January and entered Yugoslavia on the 25rd.

- (1) I am a machinist, although before I left Hungary I worked as clerk in a store.
- (2) I lived in Sub-Carpatho-Ukraine until 1945. Here I worked as a machinist from 1936 to 1939, then from 1939 to 1945 I was the owner of a grocery store, a pub and a mill. I also had my own <sup>2</sup>thrashing machine. From '38 to '39 I was a member of the ~~a~~ Partisan group, fighting the Ukrainians, and in '45 I was in the Czech Legion, fighting on the Czechs' side. Then I returned home, I was in danger of arrest from the Russians and so I disappeared. I crossed the Hungarian border on <sup>the</sup> 1st of November 1946, <sup>and stayed</sup> ~~remained~~ in Hungary until January 1957. From 1946 to 1950 I worked as machinist in the Cooperative Distillery of the <sup>(Központi Párty)</sup> Agricultural Cooperative in the village of Ióca in Zemplén County. I left this village, because the police started to look for me and I was afraid they would take me away. It was the police commander, a friend of mine, who warned me about this and told me to leave. They must have discovered that I <sup>had</sup> crossed the border illegally from Carpatho-Ukraine. From 1950 to 1954 I worked as chief machinist on a State farm, in the village of Acsád near Debrecen. They wanted to transfer me 30 km away to a district full of sandhills. I didn't like the idea and wanted to stay near the village where I had made many friends. Therefore, in 1954, I found a job as sales clerk in the Cooperative shop of the village. In August 1956 I was made manager of the No. 3 Branch of the Cooperative Shop.

(3) & (4) Acsád State Farm.

I earned 1100 forints a month and received a premium of 5 to 600 forints when I worked as chief machinist on the State Farm. This was a <sup>pig</sup> breeding farm and had 28,000 pigs. It was formed just before I got to Acsád. The land had belonged to a Jew named Farkas, who lived in Debrecen. The farm had only 300 holds of land. Machinists were needed to handle the grinding machines which prepared the pigs' fodder. When the State Farm was first established, the former manager of Farkas, the Jew, was head of the farm, but then, when the regime's policy tightened, they put Kádár<sup>s</sup> in the leading positions. A man named KIS, an upholsterer from Budapest became the manager. We thought he was quite ridiculous. He said at first that he wouldn't interfere in the running of the farm, because he didn't know anything about pigs, but later on <sup>he</sup> changed his mind and started to interfere. He was like a mad dog. Once we had some trouble with <sup>the</sup> machines, and I insisted that it should be replaced because I couldn't take the responsibility for it any longer. <sup>He refused</sup> Then as I <sup>had foreseen,</sup> foresaw, the machine exploded. The manager was fired because of this and got 5 years in prison, and I received a fine. The new manager was a woman, a worker kádár<sup>s</sup> from Budapest. The personnel manager at the State Farm was the wife of a Communist Army officer. <sup>with</sup> She was <sup>also</sup> a Communist Party member, too. In spite of this, she was liked because she was a sincere and honest person. The State Farm was part of a Trust run by the Ministry of Forests. Later it was not called <sup>C</sup> Trust but a directorate.

~~Decidedly~~<sup>It</sup> was under the direct supervision of the office of the Hajdu-Bihar County State farms. There was no special AVO organization, but the State Farm belonged to the jurisdiction of the district AVO which had a free hand and could come at any time to check up on what was going on. The AVO often took advantage of this and would arrive at any time of day or night to see what was going on. The State Farm had a separate Party organization which held its own meetings, but was part of the village Party organization. The Party recruited some of its members from the poorest, most uneducated peasants; a practically illiterate swineherd at the State Farm would enter the Party and after a short course would become a manager, etc. The Trade Union existed but didn't do anything, except collect membership fees.

#### The Cooperative Store.

I worked as a sales clerk here and earned 670 forints a month and received about 300 forints premium. I worked from 7 a.m. to about 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening. We had no cash register and, therefore, the sale slips were always in confusion. We had to stay late in the evening in order to straighten it all out. We also had to prepare the <sup>warehoused</sup> goods for the next day. I worked six days a week and we had to keep open on religious holidays. My job was selling groceries and chemical products. I sold about 40 to 50,000 forints worth of goods daily. There was a premium paid for selling a certain quantity of a limited number of goods such as textiles, some kinds of shoes, hats and some other

articles. I never could figure out the logic of how they decided what goods would pay a premium. In addition, there was a premium of 5% if we fulfilled our sales plan 100%, and if we over-fulfilled it, we received a premium of 1% for each ~~one - thousand~~ <sup>one - thousand</sup> 1000% of over-fulfillment. There was a separate sales plan for each quarter of the year, and there was an additional monthly sales plan. In the summer, i.e. the second quarter, we were unable to fulfill our plan because this was the worst season for the peasant. The third quarter was better and the fourth was very good.

- (30) I received no benefits from my job. Very often I was not even allowed to take my ~~summer~~ vacation because I was needed in the shop.
- (4) My boss was a Party member, a spiteful and disagreeable person. In spite of this I managed to be quite friendly with him. He was very often drunk in the shop.
- (4f) The Trade Union meant nothing except that we had to pay 3% of our pay as membership fee.

\* \* \*

It was impossible to steal from the shop because we were responsible for the inventory of the shop. Often agents provocateurs were sent into the shop to check whether the prices were correct, they wanted to make sure that we were not overcharging. We didn't overcharge, but occasionally we did not return change from round sums. This made only a difference of a few pennies in each case, and we needed it to pay headquarters

for spoilage and for what the mice ate. <sup>etc</sup> They were held responsible for such spoilage, <sup>and</sup> it was obvious that we were unable <sup>to</sup> pay for it from our own money.

Merchandise Supply:

We always had trouble before the holidays because we never had enough of certain goods. There usually was no yeast when it was needed and sometimes one could get only cube sugar or confectioners' sugar. As for clothes, they always supplied us with merchandise which did not sell so we couldn't fulfill the plan. For instance they sent us material for bathrobes which was not needed in a poor village like ours. The few ladies, the wife of the minister or the doctor who had such things made, bought the material in Debrecen. Then, when the merchandise was sent back, <sup>to manufacturers</sup> we had to pack it, make an inventory etc. This took a long time. The flour supply was very bad. People demanded 1-kilo packages of flour, <sup>but we received 36-kilo sacks, usually 3 kilos were lost, shaken out in the hands on the way over. If we asked for 20 quintals of flour we thought we received 40, and if we asked for 10, they sent 20.</sup> Actually there was never any problem about getting rid of the flour. We had to establish a rule of that we could only sell 5 kg of flour per family. Then <sup>the people</sup> they tricked us by going to various shops to get more, or else 5 members of a family came and each bought 5 kg. During the Revolution people were very disciplined but one had to be patient with them. They besieged the shop for a variety of goods and we were so busy that we told them to measure the flour, salt etc. themselves and pay for it. They were very honest and always paid for what they took.



If the shop received some rice or lemons for sale - this was a very rare occasion, - the shop manager and the book-keeper would buy this rare merchandise and the people, the customers, never saw it.

- (5) There was no opportunity to change jobs. One was either fired or else received <sup>disciplinary</sup> disciplinary punishment for leaving the job. It was difficult to leave without permission. Of course, one could get around this. For 50 forints one could buy a new work-book in Debrecen and then, they didn't know what one's previous job was. When I was in the Cooperative Shop, I looked for a better job, but they didn't allow me to leave. If I had left without permission, they would have subtracted 15<sup>0</sup> from my pay.
- (5b) I was very satisfied with my occupation. I am a machinist, I like my trade and it paid well. The reason why I worked as sales clerk was that I liked the village and the <sup>pe</sup>ople.
- (5g) Yes, I would be very happy if my children were either machinists or if they were merchants with their own shops. (I owned a store before 1945).
- (6) I lived very badly in the last few years. The best period was two or three years after the war.
- (7) a. (i) in 1947 - 600 forints monthly and quarters.  
600 forints was a great deal of money at that time.
- (7a) (ii) In 1952 - 1100 forints plus premium.
- " (iii) In 1955 - 1100 to 1200 forints, including premium.

600 forints in 1946 was worth more than any salary I <sup>gained</sup> made since then.

- (9) I rented a very nice room in a former school-building which was used as an apartment. I paid 30 forints per month for a nice corner room. There was no bath and only a little kitchen which I shared. I ate very badly. I had lunch at the Agricultural Cooperative which was quite good and fairly cheap; it only cost me 5 forints 12 fillers. I was friends with the cook and ate quite well. But I prepared my breakfast and supper myself, which was not too satisfactory.
- (10) In the last few years, ~~the~~ Hungarian economic conditions were very poor; there was not even hope of any improvement or progress. Neither the collective farmers nor the nor the independent peasants had anything. In the collective farms nobody worked; the members fought in the yard until noon and went to the pub in the afternoon. The independent peasant had to give up his good land to the collective farm and received poor land in the hills in exchange as a result of the <sup>collectivization</sup> ~~communist~~. This was the trouble in the village.
- (10c) I don't know. I do know that there was plenty of bread and bacon.
- (10d) Except for the first two years, the situation has gradually deteriorated. For the first two years it was wonderful. People received land, they bought ploughs and wagons and equipment. The smiths were busy making new wagons and it was a pleasure to see the new landowners with the new wagons. And then they were ruined. Then the collective farms came.
- (10e) In our village there was nothing like this. In our village there

had been twenty<sup>thirty</sup> small artisans until they were put out of business by the regime. The Agricultural Cooperative opened branch shops where their businesses formerly existed. These people were unable to make a new start even when the Government allowed it again. They were far too poor.

(10G)

It was worse.

(11)

Material conditions had a very important role <sup>in</sup> along the general ~~course~~ <sup>cause</sup> of dissatisfaction. In the village the people were unable to buy clothes and even food because the taxes and delivery quotas were so high. There were clothes in the shops but people couldn't afford to buy them. The economic complaints were the most important.

- (1) I attended elementary school in Tiszaszirma, a part of Czechoslovak-Carpatho-Ukraine until 1939. I attended the elementary school from 1924 to 1928. From 1928 to 1932 I went to secondary school in Nagyszőlös, where I attended Junior High School ("polgari") for four years. This was a Czech State School. Because the Czechs wouldn't give my father Czechoslovak citizenship, I was unable to get a higher education which required citizenship. Therefore, I became a machinist<sup>I</sup> apprentice in Nagyszőlös; I was always interested in machines. Then I attended the Metal Industries Technical School for <sup>two</sup> three years and became a machinist.
- (1a) See above.
- (2) No. I wanted to attend a Teachers' College. Actually the educational system in Czechoslovakia was excellent and everyone who wanted to, could study. The trouble was our lack of citizenship. Otherwise they didn't make us feel like a minority and we liked it in Czechoslovakia.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) The sole aim was to make Communists out of the young people. They didn't allow free religious practice; if a student received religious training, he was not allowed to get a higher education.
- (4b) It was not successful.
- (4c) The young people were not affected by the Communist training, they hated it.
- (4g) Communism didn't change the attitude of young people. They hated

it so that they didn't even want to study their roles for the DISZ Community Plays. Even children were very religious and at religious pilgrimages small eight year old kids would go on foot to the Shrine at Mésiapócs. The youth is <sup>not</sup> different to-day. DISZ was not capable of handling them. Many young people got good jobs in the wagon factory in Debrecen, but they preferred to come home to hoe the fields, because they didn't want to get mixed up in DISZ, and all the other Communist things which were forced on them.

- (5) My father was a tobacco grower in ~~SAR~~-Carpatho-Ukraine, he owned three holds of land. He died two years ago.
- (5f) We lived very well when I was a child, <sup>In Hungary</sup> you heard many bad things about Czechoslovakia. Actually it wasn't bad there for anyone who was willing to work. If you were willing to work, you were able to do well for yourself.
- (5g) There were my two parents and three of us children.
- (5h) My sister is still in Carpatho-Ukraine, and so is one of my brothers who is a machinist in my former mill, which had been nationalized. My third brother is in Budapest.
- (5i) None.
- (5k) My social origin was neither to my advantage nor to my disadvantage. Actually, however, I couldn't reveal that I had once owned a mill and a shop. This would have been very bad for me.
- (6) Yes.

- (6c) I have one child, a boy <sup>of</sup> 13. He knows only Russian, because my wife works on a collective Farm and doesn't have the time to teach the boy Hungarian. I left the Carpatho-Ukraine in 1946, because the Russians would have arrested me for having been a partisan. My family was unable to leave the Carpatho-Ukraine because of the difficulties involved in crossing the border ~~legally~~ <sup>illegally</sup>. They are still there.
- (15) Family bonds have loosened since 1945 because the regime didn't allow church weddings and because ~~they~~ <sup>is made</sup> divorce ~~is~~ <sup>is made</sup> easy. At the end it was enough to go the head of the village Council and say "I am not living with ~~Stasia~~ <sup>Stasia</sup>" ~~and her husband~~ <sup>in order to</sup> get a divorce. An additional factor was the difficult living conditions which made people simply get up and leave their wives or husbands.
- (15a) No, they didn't trust each other because the terror was so great. This was not so in Nyírség where I lived, but in the city the son was afraid of the father and vice versa. It was all because of bread - it forced people to do things they wouldn't have done otherwise. In the village this was not so.
- (15c) In our ~~children~~ <sup>village</sup>, children have not grown estranged from their parents, with a few exceptions. Respectful <sup>for</sup> parents and older people exist still.
- (15e) In the village: no.
- (15f) See (15) above. Divorce became more prevalent in the village too, but especially in Debrecen. It was especially the young people, ~~who were~~ now allowed to marry at 18, who got mixed up in

divorce. They are more thoughtless and irresponsible.

- (16) No, not in the village except that people get married earlier. There were no changes morally.
- (16b) In the village people followed the old courtship customs because they ~~are~~<sup>were</sup> afraid of Aunt Mary and Aunt Julie<sup>gossiping</sup>. It was especially the girls who were afraid of getting a bad reputation. Girls still didn't go to a ball without their mothers etc. The old customs were retained. In the evening a mother didn't allow her daughter to the movies alone, only in the afternoon. In the evening it was mostly the boys who went to the movies alone, because the girls were not permitted to do so.
- (16d) Not in the village.
- (16e) Not in the village.
- (16f) The Communists were stricter and their strictness increased gradually from 1946 to '56. They didn't allow the young people too many amusements, camp fires and bacon fries, parties and similar occasions where youth could get together.
- (16h) I didn't notice any change although the regime tried to be lenient regarding illegitimate children. People in the village, however, condemned illegitimacy in spite of the fact that the regime paid 3000 forints for every illegitimate girl born and 5000 for every boy.
- (16i) In the village: no.
- (17) Generally moral standards are lower, especially regarding drinking. Because the regime didn't give people the opportunity to live

better, they turned to alcohol. This was true in the village too. But otherwise moral standards didn't deteriorate in the village.

- (17)b) Yes. Acsád is famous about <sup>for</sup> its thefts. People were forced to steal because of their poverty. Szabolcs County was known throughout the country about <sup>for</sup> the prevalence of <sup>its</sup> thefts during the Communist regime. Szabolcs County consists of a great many sandhills and is very poor as a result. That's why people stole so much. They stole cows, horses and potatoes <sup>etc.</sup>.
- (18) I had six close friends in Acsád; one was a neighbor, ~~the~~ <sup>and</sup> other crossed the border with me and eventually went to Canada. I met him in 1950 when I first got to Acsád. He was a farmer, and had his own little land.
- (18c) We played chess and cards. We also listened to the radio.
- (18d) Yes, we talked a lot about politics but it didn't do us much good.
- (18g) A good friend is worth more than a brother. He will stand up for one, which a brother won't always do.
- (18k) Yes, the village Party secretary was a friend of ours and a neighbor. <sup>(was coerced into becoming)</sup> He ~~became~~ a Communist out-of-~~of~~ coercion. It was a woman who got him mixed up with the Party, but he didn't care about the C.P. He often discussed Party meetings with us. In the village there were only three Communists of whom we had to be afraid.
- (19a) My father belonged to the Reform <sup>ed</sup> Church, my mother was a Greek Catholic.



- (19b) I am a member of the Reform<sup>ed</sup> Church. I am quite religious and always liked going to church. The minister was my friend. I believe one can't learn anything bad in church, but I am beginning to think that there is no God since he allows all these horrors to happen.
- (20) The Communists oppressed the church.
- (20a) It touched all religions without exception.
- (20b) Religion is incompatible with Communism. Therefore the Communists wanted to destroy it.
- (20c) We had no peace-priests in the village. I don't know.
- (20f) Those who held no important functions could go to church freely.
- (20g) Yes, there were many like that, even those who held only little jobs. For instance, the night watchman of the village Council stopped going to church although he <sup>was formerly a churchgoer,</sup> has formerly attended church. I don't think there was anyone who warned him against going to church, he was simply afraid to do so.
- (20h) I attended church every Sunday. I would have been ashamed not to go because the wife of the minister would have said something. In the Carpatho-Ukraine I used to walk 4 km to go to church.
- (20i) In our village the young people went to church too, without fear. When they left the church after the Service, they got together on the square and walked and chattered until lunch. There was even a Sect called the 'Believers' <sup>which</sup> held religious Services without a priest. People are made so that if they are forbidden to do

something, they persist in doing it all the more. The more the regime campaign<sup>ed</sup> against the church, the greater was the reaction<sup>e</sup> against this campaign. People went to church especially because they were not allowed to do so. There were many Greek Catholic holidays on which nobody came to shop at the store although we had to keep it open. We had beautiful church weddings in our village. On these occasions the whole village attended church, *and* even those who were otherwise afraid to go, mixed with the crowd. The State employees were usually too worried to get married in church, but the peasants didn't care.

(20k) In the village religion is just as important to young people to-day as it was to their parents.

(20l) The church had no role in fostering political opposition because it didn't dare to do so. Priests were persecuted anyway, without this. There was a case in nearby Pöcspetri, where the priests supposedly incited the people to attack the local Party Secretary. The priest was condemned for life and the village was occupied by soldiers. This sort of thing <sup>2</sup>intimidated the church.

(20m) Religious instruction went on. The priest and the minister secretly held religious instruction in the church or in the church-yard. People gladly sent their children. This was done by the Greek Catholics, the Roman <sup>Catholics</sup> ~~Sacrament~~ as well as the Reformed *ad* Church. The authorities knew about it and tried to persecute the priests for it, but <sup>the priest</sup> they said that the parents demanded it. The authorities overlooked it because they would have gotten in

trouble with the people if they had tried to stop it.

- (21) It is best to be <sup>a steel</sup> ~~an iron~~ worker especially to-day. <sup>Steel</sup> ~~Iron~~ workers are needed everywhere.
- (21b) I would tell him to become a Party member, otherwise one can't get ahead to-day.
- (22) Farmers and peasants are worse off than anyone else, the next are the lower ranks of the police who are badly paid and work very hard. The starting salary of a policeman is only 7-800 forints per month. The next group are the miners who are also very badly paid and have to work with obsolete equipment. Next in order, still badly off, are the factory workers. The trouble with them is the impossible norm-system. Some stakhanovites are paid very well and supposedly fulfill their norm 2500%. When one of these, Muska, came to Yugoslavia, we wanted to kill him in the camp. He will never be able to make amends for his crimes even if he was on the side of counter-Revolution (sic). These were the groups which were worst off. As for who was well off: only those who were in leading positions.
- (22a) I belonged to the group which was very badly off although I did all right while I was a machinist.
- (22b) (Laughing) {naturally I would have liked to belong to the group that was better off}. Actually I would have been happy with what I ~~have~~ had at home, before the war, in Carpatho-Ukraine. I would not have changed with a factory-owner. The Czechs didn't interfere with how you made your money.

- (23) There is the worker class, which has a leading role. There is the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. The workers and the intelligentsia are more united, closer to each other than to the peasantry. A city worker is the equal of a village teacher in education, and development. That's what is wrong with the peasantry. Everything would be all right if the peasants were as educated and cultivated as the workers. As for the aristocracy, I don't think it exists any more. They disappeared or they were made to disappear; I don't know. I haven't heard about them for 12 years.
- (23b) Yes, undeniably, social barriers exist between people because of their different class backgrounds. These barriers between workers and peasants and the intelligentsia were always present and will always be present until the world exists. This is true regardless of their mutual sympathy and their common aims. The intelligentsia doesn't live like the peasant or the worker; an intellectual carries his learning with him.
- (23c) There is greater equality to-day. If it continues like this, everyone in Hungary will be equal sooner or later, except the Communists, because they are <sup>the</sup> masters.
- (23g) In the village there have been no changes in manners and rules of conduct. The Hungarian people has preserved its rules of conduct, including the young people. They are not like the hooligans in Budapest. The parents teach their children and demand a strict adherence to the old-fashioned rules of conduct.
- (24) We had no minorities in the village and I don't know the situation

in the country. However, there were some Rumanians in the neighboring village; Nyirabony was a pure Rumanian village and here I ~~experienced~~<sup>saw</sup> no discrimination against them.

- (24a) The Communists were the only minority group which received any advantages.
- (25) Communism affected the Jews very favourably. In the village there were many functionaries, people in good positions, who were Jews, one was a manager in the Cooperative Shop, one was an agricultural lecturer at the Town Hall, two were heads of branch shops, etc. The regime was theirs. During the Revolution, they all hid in one house and were afraid. They were not harmed, however, but I hear that they have left the village since then out of fear. Some of them were Party members, two were political officers in the Army, and ~~one~~<sup>one</sup> was a Party Secretary. It was the Jews who caused the greatest trouble in Hungary. It is not only I who believed this, but a great many of the peasants in my village; they feel that the Jews helped the Communists to power and they were the leaders of Communism. All the leaders of the Communist Party are Jews. We didn't have a single decent Jew in the village.
- (25c) Yes, I knew all the Jews in the village, I knew a Jew named Vandor, who came from the neighboring village and who was a Party Secretary at the Ministry of War. He patronized the village, came down all the time and for the propaganda festival on August 20th, he brought down the ~~war band~~<sup>War Ministry Ensemble</sup>, led by Uncle Gergely, of the ~~Ministry of War~~. He tried, unsuccessfully, to make us a socialist village. He

No. 545

"A" INTERVIEW

SECTION "S"

ML

p. 31

helped people who were imprisoned for cutting <sup>wood</sup> ~~was~~ illegally  
and so on, but the people were not fooled. He <sup>had</sup> once ~~had a~~ <sup>owned a</sup> ~~shop~~ shop  
in the village. All my Jewish acquaintances were of this type.

(25d)

See above.

(25f)

Yes, the attitude towards the Jews has changed. Everyone was  
calling them names. When they returned to Hungary in 1945, they  
didn't have a penny and in a year they were all doing well for  
themselves. I don't know how they did it.

(25g)

There <sup>is</sup> a great deal more anti-Semitism to-day than before the  
war. This can't be denied. <sup>It</sup> is all the fault of the Jews  
because when they returned in 1945, they started a campaign against  
people, Christians, who allegedly had been functionaries in Jewish  
forced Labour Camps. These Christians then disappeared, as a  
result of the revenge taken by the Jews, and the people were angry  
about this.

(25h)

It would be better if the Jews emigrated from Hungary. This is not  
just my own opinion, but the general opinion in the village. It  
would be better if they left the Hungarian people alone. If I  
thought that they suffered, together with the Hungarian people,  
I wouldn't say this, but they lived much better than the Hungarian  
people; <sup>we never seen</sup> ~~I never saw~~ a poor Jew.

- (1) I don't like politics because people who get involved in politics usually end up in Markó Street or in Andrassy Avenue 60. It is like the watchmaker who takes the watch apart and can't put it together again, <sup>of course,</sup> ~~although~~ one does need a certain amount of information and perspective.
- (1a) None.
- (1c) No.
- (2) Since I was homeless, I didn't have much to do with politics. I abstained from politics, and was reserved, because I didn't know with whom I could talk freely. I knew that this regime was not healthy, that it was not led by Hungarians, and that it was forced on us. As for the changes since 1946, which was when I came to Hungary, in 1946 came the forint and then the people were satisfied until 1948. Small artisans were allowed to function. That's why people trusted Imre Nagy, <sup>thinking,</sup> ~~they thought,~~ when he came to power <sup>in</sup> 1953, that it would be the same way as it was from 1945 to '48 when democracy started in Hungary. After 1948 everything turned <sup>to</sup> ~~the worse;~~ <sup>the worse!</sup> ~~quite,~~ (the Communists came to power, the land was collectivized, they introduced the Five Year Plan etc. Both in 1953 and in 1956, when Imre Nagy came back, we felt <sup>that now we would</sup> ~~we would~~ again have a Hungarian leader who <sup>would</sup> ~~would~~ lead the country in the spirit of 1946 and '47.
- (2a) I sympathized with the <sup>S</sup> smallholders because they supported the peasantry.
- (2e) I never liked Communism. My uncle had been a prisoner of war in Siberia and he returned in 1925. I always remembered what he told me when I was a child. By then there was religious persecution

in the Soviet Union, though it was not yet as advanced as later. It developed gradually as in Hungary. In 1944, the Russians came in, <sup>and</sup> we saw what Communism was like. This was in the Carpatho-Ukraine. Also the Ukrainian teacher in our village, who escaped from Bolshevism, told us all about it. <sup>We</sup> ~~They~~ also saw in Czechoslovakia what sort of people were the supporters of Communism. In Czechoslovakia the Communist Party was legal; only the rabble, which didn't like to work, joined the Communist Party. You could see what sort of people came out for their demonstrations. You never saw a decent worker there.

(2f) (1) and (ii).

(2h) Because they had to obey. There was no choice.

(3) There was a great deal of poverty; the people grew wheat but had no bread. They were unable to buy clothes. The young people didn't dare to establish a family, or marry, because they had no money.

(3a) (xii), (vi), (ii).

(3d) (v), (xiv).

(3j) It was a source of satisfaction if they arrested somebody else and not me. Of course, the next evening one went to bed even more terrified. The power was in the hands of the Soviets, the AVH, and the Communist leaders.

(4f) Yes, bureaucracy flourished.

(4h) At the beginning, until 1948, they were decent people, but afterwards they were all <sup>e</sup> kadars. They were people trained by the



Communists, in the Soviet Union, who were never sent to their own village as functionaries, nor were they allowed to stay in the same place long enough, in order to prevent them from getting to know the people,

- (5) In our village there was no advantage in belonging to DISZ.
- (6) The C.P. members I knew were not decent working people, on the whole. They couldn't get young Party members. There was one Communist Party member who had been in prison for murder under the Horthy regime. One came back from Russia in 1944; he was quite a bit older too. Two were illiterate. In the village there were only two or three who were any good, for instance, the Deputy Council President. These people were careerists. Most of the C.P. members didn't want to do any work. That is why everyone had contempt for them. In our village of 6000 we had only 28 Party members. Most of them were uneducated, and you can't ~~lead a~~ <sup>lead a</sup> village with an elementary school education. Most of these were taken to the Party school for half a year, but this didn't make them suitable leaders. People didn't respect them, whether they were good or bad. I never knew of a <sup>sincere</sup> convinced Communist, I don't think there were more than two or three in Hungary and in our village there were none.
- (6f) There were many such people in the Revolution too; they were even more eager to ~~side~~ <sup>get rid of the regime than we were</sup> ~~of the Communists~~ <sup>on our side</sup>. Those who participated in the Revolution were respected by us. We had some in the village too, but we didn't forgive those Communists who escaped.

the country and then got into the United States and Canada. Even the Communists, many of them, realized that the inhuman way in which the regime was treating the people was terrible and wrong. It was the Communists, who, in our village, were the first to pull down and destroy Stalin's picture. Many Communists became disillusioned when Stalin was degraded. In those days, they held a Party meeting every week, but they couldn't get the people to attend. For instance, the District Party Committee went to the manager of the Cooperative to get him to the meeting; the manager had been a partisan but he disliked the Communists so much by then that he hid under the bed in order to avoid having to go to the Party membership meeting.

(6h) No.

(6r) Locally, there was a ~~village~~ <sup>district</sup> ~~Committee~~ which had an instructor for every two or three villages. As for the country, it was the Soviet Union which ran the Hungarian Party as well. Many of the Party members didn't like to work against their own people, their own kind, but by then they couldn't get free.

(7) I was a Trade Union member, because I had to be.

(7c) To collect membership fees - nothing else.

(7d) I have been a Trade Union member since 1946; at the time membership was not compulsory, ~~except~~ <sup>but</sup> it was said to be helpful. Finally the Trade Unions were nationalized and they took 3% of ones' pay.

(7e) Nothing.

(7g) They didn't think anything of them. <sup>The organizations</sup> ~~They~~ were good for nothing.

- (7m) The Trade Unions weren't worth anything. If one had some injury or problem, they didn't help, they existed only to collect fees. I don't know how it was in the factories, but this is the way it was in the village. They were supposed to help their members when a child was born, for instance, but this help was too little to be of any use. For instance some of the Trade Union members, who worked on the State Farm, paid 300 forints in membership fees yearly and only received 50 forints when their child was born. So naturally they cursed the Trade Union. If a worker had a problem, they promised to look into it and in the end nothing happened. On the State Farm they used the Trade Union funds to buy Soviet books which nobody read. Some of the funds were used to buy *Record - players* which were used by the personnel manager and not the workers. *district*
- (8) In the village only a few Jews were <sup>^</sup>convinced Communists I think. They were the only who could be; but I am not sure whether they were <sup>really</sup> convinced Communists or whether they did it to get political advantages. As for the Christians, I don't think any of them believed in Communism. It was typical of the Jewish Communists that they agitated to establish a collective farm, but none of them joined it even to serve as an example. I think they weren't really convinced Communists, but merely wanted power and position. They held <sup>out</sup> all the high positions in the country, the County, the District and the village. I don't know what percentage of them really believed in Communism.
- (9) DISZ never was a stalwart Communist <sup>The organizations</sup> ~~organization~~. All the young people in the village disliked DISZ very much.

- (10b) All I know is that everyone hated and feared the AVH.
- (10e) I don't know how they recruited the members of the AVH, and no one knew where they came from; their origin was unknown. The members of the AVH were never from the village or from the district. I only found out after the Revolution that the leaders of the AVH were Soviet G.P.U. officers who spoke Hungarian. Before this I hadn't realized that they were not Hungarians.
- (10j) I know a little bit about the relationship between the police and the AVH because I discussed it with the police commander who had been a policeman in Ungvár in the old days. The police didn't like the AVH because of the way they treated the Hungarian people.
- (10k) There was <sup>a</sup> close bond between the AVH and the Party. We often noticed that there were two or three AVH men present at Party membership meetings, to make sure that no one could get in, who didn't belong there. I don't know whether the AVH was more powerful or the Party, but it always seemed as though the Party were over everything. I don't know which one was stronger.
- (11) Neither I nor my close friends were arrested.
- (11b) Everyone in Hungary was liable to arrest. No one knew why they took him away or where. They arrested many people in the village and we never found out why. When they came home after two years, they didn't talk about it because they were afraid. They may have told their families about their experiences.
- (11b) One man, who was arrested, weighed 92 kilos when he went away and was 52 when he returned. He was arrested in 1955. He had 15

holds of land, was well off, was always first to pay his taxes and his produce-deliveries. And yet they arrested him. That was the trouble, if someone was well off. They tried to make everyone equal in misery. He returned in 1956 after his family made a big fuss and ran around, <sup>to get him freed</sup> etc. He was quite well to do and politically well informed. Perhaps they were afraid that he would enlighten the people politically. From the village they took about 15 or 18 people <sup>during the time I lived there</sup> since I lived there. Mostly ~~they~~ didn't talk about why they had been taken away; on the whole they didn't know why they were arrested. They were imprisoned for a year or so. I noticed that they always took people who were politically better informed or who tried to give political explanations to people at church or at meetings.

(11g)

No.

(13)

It is very simple; one should not talk politics. Politics is a trade too; one has to learn it the way a machinist or a <sup>wheelwright</sup> has to learn his trade. Many people don't realize this and they later have to pay for it.

(13c)

Yes, many people were <sup>saved</sup> ~~saved~~ by personal connections.

(13d)

I haven't noticed anything about this.

(13f)

It is quite obvious that one can avoid trouble by keeping one's mouth shut. But <sup>one</sup> can't always avoid trouble this way. If one does not have some sort of strong supporter, one should not have anything to do with politics. It is best not to tell one's friends about anything because it is easier to get out of trouble

alone.

- (14) Yes, we felt fluctuations in the extent of terror. We noticed a relaxation in 1953 when Imre Nagy came to power. After Stalin died and they admitted that he had been wrong, they eased up a little. They allowed people <sup>to leave</sup> the forced labour camps. But it only lasted a short while; it was over in a month or two and afterwards it was worse than before. Perhaps this is their policy: they <sup>curtailed</sup> ~~relaxed the extent of~~ terror and allowed people to talk freely and ~~where~~ <sup>where</sup> people made use of this new freedom given them, they were blamed for it; they had to pay for it.
- (15) I think the Soviet Union was the Star of the play. For instance I think that it was the Soviet Union which provoked the Revolution; otherwise they would have had to leave Hungary. I think they guided the AVH and ordered it to start the fight by shooting at the unarmed crowd <sup>at</sup> before the Radio Station. The demonstration could have been carried out peacefully; but if the people had been allowed to express their desires peacefully, then the Soviet Union would have had to leave Hungary, and it was to avoid this that the Soviets provoked the armed revolt.
- (15e) Soviet influence was felt everywhere. It was not stronger nor weaker in any single place. Debrecen was a second Moscow. The Russians had the greatest <sup>a</sup> airfield there and the largest number of Russian troops. Debrecen became a completely Russian town; the Russians had their own schools, streets. The Russians brought their families there too. That was the trouble in Debrecen during

the Revolution: the town couldn't participate in the Revolution because of the prevalence<sup>a</sup> of Russian troops there.

- (16) One could show one's feelings only passively, but one couldn't talk about it. For instance, the Communists held demonstrations on May 1st, April 4th and other Communist holidays. In 1950 everyone in the village was there, but recently it had become shameful to appear. Only Party members and some of the employ<sup>e</sup>es of the Agricultural Cooperative marched in these parades and by the time they reached Petöfi Square, they had slowly detached themselves from the parade and there was no one left. The Party organized Party days and invited the entire village, but only the teachers who were compelled to be present, were there. The peasants didn't go, even out of curiosity. On such days there was no-one on the streets; ~~but~~<sup>and</sup> the entire village went into hiding. Another thing which people started doing in the last few years was to go to the pub to drink and to complain.

- (16c) In the last two years people started to feel closer to each other without national or religious hatreds. I don't know how it happened. Before this people were afraid of each other. Then the Communist Party functioned better and one had to be afraid of Party members and even their families. At the end even the Party members were united with the rest of the people against the regime. But even before this, one could discuss politics freely with one's close friends.

- (16d) Except with one's closest friends, one could not talk freely about politics unless one praised the regime.

(17)

It was very difficult to circumvent official orders because people were closely supervised. If a farmer failed to fulfill his delivery quotas in the first quarter, he was caught in the second quarter of the year. But people managed to get away with a number of things. For instance, if a farmer was given permission to slaughter a pig, his friend would slaughter his own pig, on the same fire without permission. The veterinarian often helped by giving a certificate, <sup>stating</sup> saying that the pig was dead. He did it as a favour not for money. He was a very decent young chap who helped people whenever he could.

(17b)

The farmer can deliver less than he has to, by <sup>stealing</sup> ~~saving~~ his own grain from his land and taking it on the neighbor's land who has already fulfilled his delivery quotas. Then the neighbor can thrash the grain and keep it at his house until it is needed by the owner. Most people in the village helped each other out when needed. The thrashing machine was supervised by a man from the village who would record that 8 quintals had been thrashed when actually it had been 15, <sup>and the farmer could keep the difference,</sup> ~~That was helpful to the farmers too.~~ The veterinarian helped <sup>circumvent</sup> ~~out with~~ the cattle delivery quota, because he gave a certificate that a cow was with calf, and then the delivery collector didn't take it. But in the Spring of 1956, the farmers simply said: take it all! They didn't even care to cheat any longer. A transfer brigade took away everything it could find if the delivery quota was not fulfilled. The delivery collector didn't dare to go out to a farm at night, he was so afraid. They brought in gypsies who <sup>had to</sup> ~~were used~~ to remove every-



find  
 thing they could/ from the house if the delivery quota was not fulfilled in three days. This system was begun in 1955/56 in spite of the promises of Rakósi and Imre Nagy that the farmer would not have to worry about the <sup>b</sup> bailiff in his yard. In '56 it was worse than ever. The gypsies were paid 100 forints per diem to work in the transfer brigade, because the village people refused to take their neighbors' property. Even the delivery collectors couldn't <sup>saw</sup> bear to see the situation and when/ they <sup>know</sup> that the transfer brigade was coming, they told the farmers to take the cattle out into the woods to save it.

- (18)a) The terror.
- (18b) The weakness of the regime was the stupidity, inefficiency and lack of training of the young cadres who made a great many mistakes. And of course, the hatred which the people felt for the regime.
- (19) In the village there was no resistance. An agricultural village is never like a city in this respect.
- (19b) Everyone opposed the regime, even the poorest peasant who lived in an earthen hut and even those - there were three in the village - for whom the regime built houses which were to be paid for in twenty years. In the village everyone was against the regime.
- (19c) Only the Communist Party functionaries, the leaders did not oppose the regime, the Council President, his deputy etc.. And of course the Jews were for the regime. It was the Jews who most condemned the Revolution.
- (19<sub>E</sub>) to I haven't heard of resistance or opposition within the Party, the  
 j)

Army or among students and writers . The Rajk trial shocked the entire country. People didn't dare to think of opposition since then. (continued on page 44.)

(19 1)

I don't know anything about the emergence of PetSfi Circle, <sup>and</sup> all I know about Mefess is that it began in Szeged ; I heard about it during the Revolution, but we didn't know anything about it in our village. But I can understand why it was the young people, the students, who revolted. The poor kids were sent to school in the city, by the regime; when they finished their schooling they came home and couldn't get jobs. They were sent to the collective farm to become brigade leaders; you need no schooling for a job like this. They found no jobs as technicians, for which they were trained and therefore they were extremely dissatisfied. This contributed to the discontent of the young people. The students saw that the recent graduates were unable to get a job, <sup>and</sup> this circumstance contributed to their resistance to the regime. Then, the young people were taken to the Army and made Army officers. Six of them came home to the village when they left the Army; they had no training, they had families to support, and had to begin everything from the beginning without a profession. Even the peasant children had less and less opportunity to make careers for themselves. ~~Then~~ <sup>but</sup> they took young people from the village to attend trade schools in Debrecen, <sup>and</sup> At the end the whole thing disintegrated; <sup>and</sup> in 1955 three boys from the village were sent home without having finished the school. The entire training programme was discontinued apparently. I simply don't understand the

regime's policy. They dragged the people into this with a big hue and cry and it turned out to be much ado about nothing. This is only what I saw in the village, so I can imagine how bad it must be in the city. I think this situation got gradually worse. The students started the Revolution because they saw that the regime did not take care of them. The State must always make sure - this was so in the past, both in Czechoslovakia and Hungary - to enroll ~~except~~ only as many students at the University as can be placed later on. The education system of the regime was badly planned. It was a trick - they wanted to catch the young people this way. But after all, everyone can't attend the University. They said "the youth is the gold reserve of the Party". This was bunk.

19-j (continued from previous page)

It was a funny thing about Rajk. At first we thought him an enemy, since he allied himself with Gero's crowd. Finally, when the work of Gero's was unmasked, Rajk was rehabilitated at the pressure of the people. People realized that he wanted the good ~~of the country~~ of the country, and wanted the Russians to leave. Many were disappointed in Rajk at the beginning, and only changed their minds about him when he was executed, but especially, after his rehabilitation. His rehabilitation was a big turning point.

(1) I received most of my information about world events from the Western Radio <sup>by radio</sup> Station. Our Press was less than useless. I received Szabad Nép and ~~Kis-Híradó~~ <sup>Hajdúság</sup> which was our County paper. I never read Szabad Nép and subscribed to it only because I had to. In ~~Kis-Híradó~~ <sup>Hajdúság</sup> I read only the accounts of accidents and threw it away. I read no periodicals. I would have liked to do some more reading but I knew that our Press was full of lies, <sup>and</sup> there was no point in spending money on it. In the papers I read about the terrific doctors' surgery they built in the neighboring village; at the same time I knew that the doctor in that village cried that he had to receive his patients in the kitchen because he had no consulting room. This was a disgrace, this mess of lies. They could serve <sup>up</sup> such a story in Transdambia; there they would believe it, because they didn't know it was untrue, but they couldn't fool us. This sort of thing was bad for the nerves because it made one so angry.

(2g) No.

(3) I saw a lot of movies because I operated the movie projector in the local movie house. As a result I was forced to see everything. I was mostly interested in sports, and in the news reels; the sports-movies were quite good.

(3b) The movies were mostly about collective farms or about the Soviet Union. We received a great many Soviet movies. Of the Hungarian movies we received about one good one each year. The movie reels were worn out by the time they got to Acsád and we had to paste them together all the time. There were some good movies in

Debrecen, but they never sent us these even if we requested them. We had to play whatever we received. <sup>^</sup> Nonsense about Michurin and the Soviet kolhoz<sup>s</sup> peasant.

(3c) I never saw any foreign movies until I got to Yugoslavia.

(3e) We had no theatre. I saw the yearly performance of the Ensemble of the Ministry of Defence; folk dancers and one-act plays. Even these plays were all about Uncle John at the collective farm. The dancers were the nicest, they were performed in ~~some~~ Hungarian folk costumes. People also liked the fireworks in the evening. (This Ensemble performed in our village yearly on August 20th.)

(4) Unfortunately I read very few books <sup>because</sup> it was very difficult to get good Hungarian books. I was unable to get good new books and the old ones were worn out. I read Zeig<sup>o</sup>nd M<sup>o</sup>ricz, Pet<sup>o</sup>fi. A friend of mine had a nice collection of books and I used to borrow from him. I don't know the Hungarian writer<sup>s</sup> too well because I received a Russian and Czech education in Carpatho-Ukraine. I had to buy books on book-day, but I never read them because they were Communist books.

(5) I only listened <sup>to</sup> music over the domestic radio; ~~there~~ <sup>to the</sup> morning music, and ~~limited~~ <sup>to</sup> gypsy music from 10 to 11 o'clock in the evening. I also listened <sup>to</sup> the news in the evening.

(5b) Yes, I had an Orion battery radio.

(5e) I listened to the radio in my home, from 8 to 12 in the evening, in the company of my friends.

(5f) At home.

- (6) &  
(6a) I listened to B.B.C., the Voice of America, Ankara, R.F.E., Paris and Belgrade. My friends and I compared and debated these various broadcasts in the evenings.
- (6b) Quite often. In the evenings.
- (6d) We believed in these Western broadcasts; they told us a lot of things which we didn't hear from domestic news sources. Politically <sup>these</sup> the Western broadcasts encouraged the Hungarian people; but this encouragement was only over the radio. They didn't help us when we needed it. The B.B.C. was more factual, <sup>and</sup> we thought it was very just. We liked Ankara the best, because it was truthful and stood on the side of the Hungarian people. It was difficult to receive because it was jammed. In general, we trusted and believed what the West told us over the radio, but the Revolution did not break out because of this, because they encouraged us. At the same time, however, these broadcasts did influence us. We told ourselves: "after all, the big powers are interested in us, they have not abandoned the Hungarian people." We didn't like R.F.E. because it told us a great many lies. They told us some things about Hungarian events which we knew to be untrue. They were badly informed or something. R.F.E. used to get us all excited; we thought they would help us, but it turned out to be empty talk.
- (6a) The AVH agent, who was responsible for the district, used to knock at my window when he heard us listening to the Western radio stations, but I never got into any trouble. I used to help him with his motor bicycle. Usually when we listened to the Western

broadcasts, someone looked out the window to see if anyone dangerous was coming. This was necessary because I lived on the main floor. Listening to Western broadcasts was not forbidden, though it was not exactly approved. If there was anything interesting over a Western broadcast, soon the whole village found out about it. There were only a few people in the village of whom we had to be afraid and we watched ourselves with these.

(7) I very rarely got any information by word-of-mouth; I received most of my news through the radio and the newspapers. I used to get some information from an Army lieutenant who was a friend of mine while I was in Zemplén County. But not in Acsád.

(7h) We discussed politics mostly at home among friends. Friends usually got together at somebody's house who had a radio which could receive Western broadcasts. On Sundays, groups of people met on the square both before and after the church and here even those got to hear the latest news, who did not listen to the Western broadcasts. At the pub, after a few drinks, people had a tendency to talk too freely. When this happened, the sober ones asked the drunks not to talk in order not to get into trouble. It is not that people were afraid of each other, but they were afraid of strangers in the pub. Very often, AVO agents and detectives would sit in a corner wearing ragged clothes. Nobody knew who they were, they listened to people, and arrested them if they said anything against the regime.

(8) a.  
(8b)

I didn't believe anything in the Hungarian newspapers.

- (8e) None of the newspapers were trustworthy; about broadcasts see questions (5) and (6) above.
- (8f) I never read Irodalmi Ujság.
- (9) Yes, on the whole people did try to be well informed.
- (10a) I saw a movie about the bombing of Hiroshima and what it did to the people. People condemned the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima, but even the children thought that the same thing should be done to the Soviet Union. At the same time people were very sorry for Japan and felt that they didn't deserve what they got in Hiroshima. I will never forget this horrible movie; many people wept. The same thing should <sup>be</sup> done to Moscow. I think the atom bomb will win the next war.
- (10b) We were told that Chiang Kai-shek started the Korean war and hence the Americans are responsible for it. Later we found out that this was not so, but that actually it was the democratic side, (sic) that is the Communist side, which started the war.
- (10c) I don't know very much about this. I only know the little I heard over the radio and what I read in the newspapers. The Western bombs polluted the air; I don't know whether America did this. Germany did something similar with Kassa; they dropped bombs on Kassa and then claimed that the Soviet Union had done it. That is how they incited us to declare war on the Soviet Union. I don't know the truth about the German warfare business; some people may know, but <sup>the</sup> radio didn't give us enough information about it.



- (10d) I know that German re-armament exists; Germany didn't lose World War II. This is just an Armistice and we may expect the beginning of World War III from here. The Germans are a State of 80 million people; Germany is a big country.
- (10e) Unfortunately I saw and picked up many "Free Europe" balloons. We didn't have any trouble about it; most people saw some of the leaflets. Unfortunately they only incited and encouraged the Hungarian people and finally we received no help.
- (10f) We heard about the Berlin riots over the radio. It wasn't a very dangerous business. It was easy in Berlin; all one has to do is walk across the street and one is in the West. I wish it had been like that in Hungary; then no one would have stayed in Hungary.
- (10g) We cursed the Geneva Conference. If curses were effective, then Geneva wouldn't exist any longer. We expected much more of it, we thought that <sup>three</sup> ~~two~~ countries could prevail over one.
- (10h) We hoped and trusted that Hungary was represented abroad by leading exiled politicians. We had heard that they demanded freedom for Hungary, but they were ineffective. They demanded the liberation of Bela Kovács and Mindszenty, but then they forgot about it and nothing happened. They should have demanded it more firmly and seriously.

- (1) It was a mistake to make <sup>an</sup> industrial country out of an agricultural country. Hungary should stop these tremendous economic, industrial efforts. Although a light industry is necessary, heavy industry should be slowed down because of the lack of raw materials in Hungary. The country should concentrate on agricultural production; Hungarian fruit is among the best in the world. Politically Communism should be legal as in the United States and in Czechoslovakia before the war. This would be all right since only the scum would join. It is necessary to allow the Communist Party to organize, because then one can see who the Communists are. In addition there should be a multi-Party System and the ones with the most support, the strongest ones, should get the leading role in the country.
- (1a) The State farms should be kept. Hungary has had State farms in the past and I think every country has them to experiment in agriculture. I don't think all the State farms should be maintained however. The State farms under Communism were very productive because people were paid for their work, not like the collective farm members who didn't get any value for their labour. Because people are paid, the State farms are a healthy development. We should not keep anything else; of course we have had *Green Cross*, and State nurseries before the Communist regime. These should be kept.
- (2) Yes.
- (3) If you have freedom in a country then everyone has to be allowed to talk freely. Sometimes a person one wouldn't expect it from

says something good. That's freedom. On the other hand if a person says something bad, one can be contemptuous of him. And that's freedom too. At any rate, everyone should be allowed to say what he wants to. When I lived in Czechoslovakia I would go to see the County's Chief Constable and curse him in Hungarian; he would curse back at me in Czech. This was democracy, a second America. I am surprised that the Czechs didn't join us in the Revolution; many Hungarians expected it.

- (3c) If the Government is elected by the people ~~as~~<sup>as</sup> it used to be in Czechoslovakia, then the people should not ~~allow~~<sup>be</sup> to criticize it. There were laws in Czechoslovakia against denouncing the Government.
- (3d) Yes.
- (4) Yes, everyone should be able to express his own opinions.
- (4b) If it doesn't serve the interests of the people.
- (5) The emphasis on heavy industry should be decreased, light industry should be fostered, State farms should be kept, but collective farms should be dissolved. Hungary doesn't have the raw materials for heavy industry.
- (6) There are two sides to this question; it all depends - - - . The advantages of private ownership are that the owner has more initiative and will try to succeed more. <sup>e</sup> If a factory is nationalized, then it doesn't belong to the people who run <sup>it</sup> and therefore they don't care so much. The A factory after all can't be managed by a whole country. The disadvantages of private ownership are that the management tends to become irresponsible and not serve

X the public need. They might just produce products which was not needed so much; for instance sandals, instead of winter shoes. This was done by the Bata Factory in Czechoslovakia. But actually I don't think any factories should be nationalized; nationalization is not healthy. I don't think monopolies are anything to worry about either.

- (6b) A great many factories should be restored to their former owners. Not the armaments factories, which had been in the hands of the State anyway. These should be kept nationalized because they serve the interests of the country. Big foundries should be nationalized too. I don't think Manfred Weiss should get back his factory; I think he only got this factory because he was a relative of Horthy's. I don't know actually how he got this factory and if he got it through his own work, then it should be returned to him. But such a big factory is the heart of the country; one would have to think very long to decide what to do with it, but actually I am more concerned about the land, about the villager. I don't worry much about the factories.

X (6c) Private profit is good.

(6e) The State should not have any monopolies except in armaments.

(7) No.

X (8) It depends on the type and direction of the planning. In an agricultural country like Hungary, you can't tell the peasants to grow wheat if the soil is suitable for potatoes, but a certain amount of planning is needed to know how much can be exported.

The State should know how much the country can grow of each crop; the State has to know the <sup>quantity</sup> amount of various <sup>products</sup> goods the country can produce especially in an agrarian country. But this should not be done in Communist fashion.

- (9) The State should not interfere in the daily life of the people unless they do something to hurt their fellow citizens or the State.
- (10) The citizen has certain sacred duties toward the State;
1. To pay taxes.
  2. To perform military service.
  3. To obey the laws of a healthy democratic country.
- (10a) It is the duty of the Government to uphold the rights of the people; to see to it that the laws and the constitution, protecting the people, are carried out.
- (11) ~~The~~ <sup>the</sup> medical care has improved a great deal; before the war there were no ambulances. Fortunately medical care to-day is far better than before. Villages which never had a doctor, have one now. You can't take this away. There was an ambulance 38 km from our village and an hour after they were called, they were there. The only trouble to-day is with the medicine supply; there is a great medicine shortage to-day.
- (12) People have a greater opportunity of going to the movies to-day; there are travelling movies which reach even those villages which don't have their own movies. This serves a propaganda purpose. In our village we had no theatre or concerts.

- (13) The situation is worse to-day.
- (13a) It was better in 1946; everyone could slaughter a pig. The situation was good until 1948.
- (13b) It was better in 1950 than in '56.
- (14) Before the war only the highest ~~strata~~ could afford to dress well. The situation is better to-day because of the considerable industrial progress. <sup>that was ~~was~~ ~~made~~</sup> Ten to twelve years ago there wasn't such a large supply of standardized ready-made clothes. True, the quality is poor to-day.
- (14a) People clothed themselves very poorly in 1946; after all it was just after the war. It's better to-day.
- (14b) People dress better to-day than in 1950. In 1950 the girls in Acsád went barefoot. Today even the poorest peasant girl has nylon stockings. The peasants spend all their money on food or clothes because they were unable to buy land <sup>and</sup> <sup>B</sup> because to-morrow was insecure ~~and therefore~~ they spent everything to-day. They <sup>were ~~unable~~ ~~to~~ ~~buy~~</sup> couldn't buy a house or land to-day. <sup>In the past</sup> The peasant has always put back all his earnings into the land, and therefore he never spent any money on clothing.
- (15) It was an up and down business. In terms of consumer goods, when we had anything, we had too large quantities a quantity or else none was available. This was due to Communist planning. It was difficult to tell what mistake they committed; did they export it all, or did they simply not expect such a large consumption?

We didn't know anything about heavy industry; all the heavy industrial products were sent to the Soviet Union. Increased production in heavy industry affected us only to the extent, that they needed more workers; It was the workers who gained by it. <sup>Yes,</sup> There was an increase in heavy industrial production.

- (16) The worker should not interfere with the running of the factory. The worker doesn't understand these things. The factory owner is better equipped to decide what should be produced; he knows what he can sell and will <sup>do</sup> his best because it is to his interest.
- (16a) Experts.
- (17) Collective farms are bad, all bad. There are some model collective farms which function with a great deal of Government help and exist for propaganda purposes. But these don't count.
- (17b) See question (1a) above.
- (17c) Collective farms should be dissolved and the land returned to their former owners. The collective farms were an unhealthy development; those who joined voluntarily were unreliable elements, people who didn't want to work or were crazy. There were two collective farms in our village.
- (17f) The limit should be 200 holds; this is what people agreed <sup>should be</sup> ~~was~~ the maximum at the time of the Land Reform.
- (17h) Yes, but only those should be given land who are actually farmers and who love the land and ~~who~~ are willing to work on it themselves.

- (171) Yes, but only up to 200 holds. No land should be given to absentee landlords.
- (17j) There were no new buildings in our collectives; all the existing buildings should be returned to their former owners. The life-stock should also be divided among the members.
- (17 l) Yes, the farmers need State help. The State should provide loans for artificial fertilizers and equipment. Of course, the farmers should also be able to get loans through private sources.
- (17a) The machine tractor stations should be transferred to the village, and smallholders with less than 2 or 3 holds of land, should be able to hire machinery from the village. Most people in Acsád thought that this was the best solution. The smallholder should not be forced to work for the richer peasant during the harvest in exchange for the use of the richer man's machinery. Or else, the tractor station should be transferred to free cooperative ownership, so that everyone in the village could be a <sup>member</sup> and could own stock in the cooperative.

Question: Which do you think is more efficient, <sup>and</sup> ~~these~~ productive, <sup>large-</sup> ~~large~~ scale or small scale farming?

Answer: I think the small peasant produces more per hold because he works much harder. The small peasant doesn't just work to grow enough to cover <sup>his</sup> own needs, but he <sup>also</sup> produces for the market. This is natural; necessity forces him to produce some things for the market in order that he may buy clothes and other consumer goods.



No. 545

I don't think <sup>large</sup> ~~high~~ scale agriculture is necessary to increase the amount of marketed produce. But in a healthy economy no farm should be less than 10 holds. Those owners who have only two or three holds, should also have another occupation.

- (18) The State should allow everyone to practice his religion freely.
- (18a) Yes.
- (18c) I don't approve of State churches with huge estates. In the past the Catholic priests received monthly salaries in addition to owning a great deal of land. This was a very bad system. The State should give financial support to the churches, but not to the priests. This money should be used to build churches.
- (18d) Yes.
- (18f) I don't know. I myself went to a public school, and I don't <sup>know</sup> /the difference between the public and denominational schools.
- (18g) If the church receives aid from the State, it has no need of land. The church lands should be divided among the people, <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ In the past the church ~~used~~ <sup>used</sup> to work its land with estate servants. The time for this sort of thing has passed. The whole world is against it, why should we have it?
- (19) Everyone should get what he deserves; Party members should have <sup>to</sup> answer for their deeds before a Court, the People's Court. I don't think they should be attacked and beaten up, just like that. Many innocent people would get hurt, if this were done.

- (19d) The young people were forced to be members of DISZ. They should not be held responsible for this. a
- (19e) It's best if the members of the AVE disappear, leave the country with those who trained them, i.e. the Russians. One should not take away that which one cannot give: a life. No one has a right to do this. Those who killed anyone should pay for their crime.
- (19f) Very few members of the police were Communists. They should be examined to see if they are blameless.
- (19g) They paid for their crimes by being on the side of the Revolution. They should be forgiven. I don't know any of their names except Maléter.
- (20) I know very little Hungarian history because I was educated in Czechoslovakia. I never studied Hungarian history.
- (21) Yes, there is a Hungarian national character, in fact every county has some special characteristic, a different peasant costume. In general, the Hungarian is kind-hearted and loves his country, although he fights too much. He is proud of his honour and revengeful. He likes to have a good time and to live well. He likes to work hard.
- (21e) There used to be differences in character among Hungary's social classes, but lately they have not been noticeable. The people became united, regardless of class, under Communism. I can't think of any of these differences. The worker is more intelligent and better educated. The city people used to have contempt for the

peasant, but this has <sup>not</sup> been evident lately.

- (21f) There were more differences before 1945 than to-day.
- (22) The Horthy Government was better than Communism. The best Government was the one we had between 1945 and '47, but one can't count this because it was such a short period. The people in the village ~~themselves~~ <sup>generally</sup> thought that the Horthy Government had been the best. I don't know much about Hungarian history, but in Acsád the people used to dream about some Otto; after the war people thought that Otto would be crowned king. (It was the older, wealthier peasants who thought this way). As for Horthy, people were angry at some of those counts and barons, but otherwise they praised Horthy. Otto was expected after 1945; there were rumours that they are bringing him to Hungary and that he is already in Budapest.
- (22e) Hungary had a feudal society until 1944. This meant that a minority of big barons and counts dictated to the majority. This is the sort of question we used to discuss in Communist seminars. <sup>S</sup> They always used to bother us with questions about Feudalism.
- Question: <sup>praise</sup> How do you reconcile your ~~praise~~ of Horthy with the statement that there was feudalism under the Horthy regime?
- Answer: Well, at any rate, Horthy was better than Communism. All the people in Acsád said that they lived better under Horthy. In those days Baron Vécsey had an

estate <sup>IA</sup> Acsád; the people who ~~have~~ <sup>had</sup> been estate servants on this estate, preferred the old days to Communism. The peasants refused to join the collective farms and said that they had it better in the old days; at least in those days their children were able to go to work and earn some money when they were 13 years old, to-day they can't do this.

- (22e) 1. I don't know much about Károlyi, except that he divided his own land among the peasants.
- " 2. Wasn't Bela Kún a Jew too? I don't know anything else about it.
- (22f) I don't know anything about this from personal experience because I lived in Czechoslovakia at the time.
- (22i) The period between 1945 and '48 was the best in Hungarian history. Then the people were satisfied, the tax was bearable, there was no produce delivery, there were no collective farms, and the peasants <sup>received</sup> got land.
- (23) The entire country mourns the loss of the 1000 year old boundaries of Hungary and everyone hopes that Hungary will get back her lost territories. Without Transylvania, Hungary doesn't exist; she has no woods for her industries, and is torn from the Szeklers, who are Hungarians. The same is true about the territories which are now part of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. This is a justified demand on the part of Hungary. Of course, the Rumanians, Serbs etc. in these territories should be given their own schools and

the right to maintain their national character. Carpatho-Ukraine should also become part of Hungary; We were never better off than between 1939 and 1945, when it was Hungarian territory. Hungary sent food there and treated the population very well. Until then there will be no peace in that region; Hungary can only be pacified if her territorial demands are met. The Soviet Union would not have been able to conquer Hungary if she had had her old boundaries. The entire world now agrees that Trianon was wrong .

(23d)

Yes, there is obviously a deep-seated natural conflict between Hungarians and some of the neighbouring nations. This is a racial conflict. Hungarians and Serbs will be enemies until the end of the world. The way they treated us now, when we were refugees in Yugoslavia, proves this, and we heard how they treated Hungarians in the last war. I can't explain the nature of this conflict, but I know that it has always existed. As for the Czechs, there is a conflict between Hungarians and Slavs in general.

Question: But I thought that you liked it very much in Czechoslovakia and approved of the Czechs?

Answer: The fact that I liked it in Czechoslovakia doesn't mean that I wouldn't beat them up if I had a chance. I didn't get Czech citizenship for twenty years. Also, look what they did to the Hungarians in Slovakia in 1946. They put them in Ghettoes as though they were Jews; I will never forget it. The Hungarians didn't treat the Czechoslovaks this way in the Carpatho-

Ukraine. The Hungarians didn't hurt them, but simply put them in wagons and sent them home nicely without hurting them. If they don't like it in Hungary, they can go home. (Respondent was quite excited at this point).

Question: But <sup>what about</sup> ~~suppose~~ some of these people, the Rumanians in Transylvania for instance, <sup>who</sup> have been living in Transylvania for as many centuries as some of the Hungarians? Should they be made to leave their homes?

Answer: The Ruthenians in Carpatho-Ukraine know the Hungarian language and like the Hungarians. During the six years that they were under Hungarian rule, they received many advantages, their own schools etc. There would probably be no trouble about them. I think that the Transylvanian Rumanians can also live together with the Hungarians without conflict. I think that Hungary should at least get back what she received through the Treaty of Vienna, and there should be an exchange of populations. Hungary needs those territories like a piece of bread. It is like breaking off the corners of a table and leaving only the middle. We can thank King Bela IV. for this, who brought in all kind of races and nationalities.

(24) I heard about this question of federation a long time ago. Perhaps a central European Union might be the healthiest solution. There should be a single language for this whole area or perhaps for the whole world. It is disgraceful that nobody knows Hungarian and it is we who have to learn all the languages. Why don't they learn

Hungarian? There should be a Central European Union <sup>with</sup> ~~where~~ Esperanto as the common language, with a single Government, chosen by each component State, and a united, economic system. It should include Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland, which is Hungary's biggest friend. And of course Hungary.

- (25) I would wipe the Russians off the face of the earth. The Soviet Union should isolate herself and live in Communism if she wants to. As for the people, I <sup>have known</sup> ~~might know~~ quite a few Russians. I know that many of them were forced to become Communists, they don't like it anymore than we do. I have talked to soldiers, Army officers. 70% of them are enemies of the regime. They are afraid to do anything because the terror is very strong. They are afraid of their fathers, their brothers etc. The regime scattered the families in many directions and as a result the Russians have no normal family life. Many of them are educated people; I have talked to engineers who are very well-trained experts. They were fantastically misinformed about conditions in our part of the country. <sup>(Carpatho-Ukraine)</sup> They asked us to show them the underground holes, where our servants lived, and they thought that the servants ate nothing but pumpkin seeds. Were they surprised when we told them that nobody lived in underground holes in Carpatho-Ukraine! They were also surprised when we told them that our land was privately owned. These Russian occupation troops, who had been to Hungary and Czechoslovakia, were interned when they returned to the Soviet Union, because otherwise they

would have told everyone what they saw in the West.

In Russia the children are taken from their parents and indoctrinated. The longer the West waits, the greater will be the number of Soviet-trained Communists in the Soviet Union who grew up from a Communist seed.

- (26) I don't agree with it. They make claims on paper which are impossible in reality. I hated even the sound of it.
- (26e) It is difficult to say what Tito is. He lit ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> candle for the devil as well as for the angel. He exploited the Soviet Union as well as the United States. He took in the Hungarian refugees only out of self-interest. His is<sup>a</sup> hypocritical, double-dealing policy.
- (26h) The two can't be reconciled. The democratic person does not think in Marxist terms. A democrat doesn't have Marxist principles.
- (26i) Hungary was a democracy in 1946 and 1947. Anyway, if it wasn't a democracy, it was something similar. It was a sickly sort of thing even then, the democratic leaders were made to escape, etc.
- (26j) In a democracy people say what they want; democracy means freedom. A democrat lives in a democracy, expresses his own opinions freely and joins ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> Party if he wants to, or expresses his opinions in the press. Czechoslovakia was a democracy.
- (27) I simply can't imagine such a concept as national Communism. Does it exist? Communism can cook with an electric stove or with a gas stove; the recipe remains the same. I don't understand the concept of national Communism. (Interviewer explains concept



of national Communism). Answer:

If the Hungarian people had autonomy and independence, then they would reject National Communism, <sup>and</sup> if they are not independent, then they are ruled by the Soviet Union, so what happens to your National Communism? Hungarian mothers would curse the tongues which invented the phrase of "National Communism."  
(Respondent said this quite violently).

(27e) They are not compatible.

(28) Everybody expected that Imre Nagy would establish a Government in the spirit of 1946 and '47. In 1953 he promised that people could leave the collective farms, that there would be no more delivery quotas etc.; in other words he promised a return to the policies of 1946/47, <sup>and</sup> that is why people expected that he would establish this sort of Government after the Revolution.

(28b) That would have depended on his policies and behaviour. If he had established the sort of Government I described before, <sup>with</sup> (the multi-Party <sup>system</sup>, then he would have been kept at the Head of Government. But even then, the Communist Party would not have been successful in the elections.

(29) a) Bad; one step towards the Communist society.

b) I don't know.

c) It is a Communist thing, it is not needed in a democracy.

d) It's a Communist sort of thing; just a different name for the Communist regime. It misleads people. To vote with a single list of candidates is equal to nothing. That sort of thing is not for to-day but for the tenth century.

- (29) e) Bad.
- g) The middle class is needed, it is a necessity. Good.
- h) Kulak is a mock name. The concept is bad and evil.
- i) He is one of the leaders of the peasant Party. He is good; the Peasant Party members in our village liked him. About 30% of our village were members of the peasant Party. The Peasantry in general was for the peasant Party; it was artisans and smallholders who supported the smallholder Party. The Smallholder Party was middle of the road, neither right nor left. The Peasant Party was more towards the left. The smaller peasants supported it.
- j) Only the Communists talked about him in Hungary. I don't know anything about his principles.
- k) I wish Masaryk were still alive to-day. He was a man to be respected and honoured; there was no trouble in Czecho-slovakia until he died. He was a politician with world reputation. The oppression of minorities started in Czecho-slovakia when he died; he was against the persecution of minorities. Bónes was bad; it was all right until he was a Minister next to Masaryk.
- m) I don't know her; I have heard little about her. Hungarians don't like women in politics. They had contempt for U.N.D.Sz. too.
- n) Good. He is very much respected in Acsád, which is a very irreligious village. He is respected as a priest and as the Primate of Hungary.
- (30) The <sup>S</sup>smallholders.
- (30a) I don't know yet. We will have to see. It will depend on who will do the most for Hungary when the time comes.
- (31) a) Less.
- b) Less.
- c) Less.
- d) Less.
- e) Less.
- f) I don't know.
- g) In the village, less.
- h) Less.
- i) Less.

(32) The peasants were better off than the workers between 1946 and 1948. The peasants could grow their own food, while the forint pay of the workers was not very satisfactory. Tradesmen and artisans were better off too.

(33) a) The interests of the workers and peasants coincide. The Communists are responsible for this who tried to incite the workers against the peasants, but they didn't succeed and the workers found out what the regime had done to the peasants.

(33b) They coincide.

(33c) They coincide. The Hungarian people were united. Doctors made friends with peasants as though they had been their colleagues. Contempt for other classes has disappeared.

(33f) They coincide.

(33g) I don't know very much about Hungary before 1945.

(33i) In Carpatho-Ukraine where I lived we had no large estates; *because there had been a land reform*  
~~we had no large estates.~~ *land reform - (not capital)*

(34) The United States didn't help us when we needed help. To-day, in the 20th Century, slavery should not be allowed. All nations should be autonomous. The United States should have been more concerned about the life of the Hungarian people.

(35) The AVH would fight for the present regime. *d*

(36) No.

- (1) What do we go home?<sup>2</sup>
- (1a) I think we may be able to help the Hungarian people with that.
- (2a) Yes.
- (3) Home?<sup>2</sup>

Interviewer's Notes on Respondent:

Respondent is a pleasant, polite, somewhat primitive old-fashioned man. He is not at all unintelligent, but understandably limited in his outlook. He has a rather disorganized mind which goes galloping every-which-way before it can be made to go in the direction of the question. He is a kind and tolerant person, although he became quite violently excited when we discussed Hungary's relation with her neighbors. I don't quite know how to reconcile his pro-Congress attitude and democratic instincts with his rigid irredentism. There are two possibilities:

1. The village where he lived in Hungary and his elderly peasant friends, must have been extremely conservative politically, or
2. There are probably many conservative and Chauvinist elements at the French Refugee Camp where he was interviewed and their influence might have caused such a violent reaction. I am told that this conservatism - carefully fostered by certain exile groups - seems to be prevalent in French Refugee Camps. In evaluating interviews obtained here, one should take this into consideration, together with the fact that the frustrations and irritations of camp life may result in certain exaggerated reactions. The morale of this camp appeared to be extremely low.