

NO. 100

"A" FACESHEET AND RATING

JLB

p. 1

May, 1957  
New York

1. IRC-1
2. [REDACTED]
3. 536 - 112 St., Hotel Belvedere
4. February 2, 1920
5. M
6. Hungarian
7. Catholic
8. Father: Reformed; Mother: Catholic
9. Divorced since 1953
10. O
11. Civil engineer
12. Since 1942
13. Middle class
14. Chief engineer
15. 1944 - 2 months
16. 1935 - Italy; 1936, Austria; 1956, twice Czechoslovakia, once Poland; 1956-57, Austria, Germany, Belgium, England
17. No
18. No
19. Graduate of the Jozsef Nador Tudományegyetem (Műszaki Egyetem)
20. Budapest
21. Budapest
- 22.
23. Has never entered any party and will never do so.
24. November 20
25. Austria (2 months), England (2 months) U.S., (1 month)
- 26.
27. Still in Hungary
28. National Academy of Sciences - Historical & Statistical Service - Camp Kilmer
29. Mr. Rostás possesses a good knowledge theoretical as well as practical, in civil engineering, particularly in hydraulic structure engineering, seems to grasp ideas quickly which indicates ability to size up new conditions and adjust to them. The man seems to know "what he is talking about."
31. "10"
32. "10"
33. "10"
34. No

(1)

Because of the economic backwardness of the country, the Hungarian mentality has always been apt to be shifted toward the right and has driven the nation to wars without giving the matter thought or consideration. Bravado and inadequate appraisal of the strength of others or their own, for that matter, characterizes the whole Hungarian history. It is characteristic of the 1848 Revolution and the recent one, too. In 1848, Kossuth started negotiations after he had ignited the country.

Presently, the Hungarians were suppressed economically and depressed psychologically. The present regime produced psychological prostitution, so to speak, because it is not only an ideology but it also sneaks into one's private life. It functioned in the homes in the same organized way as it did in the offices. Party stewards, functioning as persons entrusted with the affairs of the tenants living in an apartment house or in a block of apartment houses, persons checking on absentees because of sickness, "educators" of the people were agents provocateurs who forced everybody into a Pharisaean way of life. While these interviewers, praising the good sides of the regime, talked to the unfortunate host or hostess, they would lift the lid off the pot and look into the closet. Their mission was to tap the trapped one. They would take away the small amount of money left over after the rent has been paid and food purchased, in order that those who might have had some money left over should not be able to buy the window-shop articles, because, if they had bought them, the window shops would have been empty. ~~There~~ They were window-shop articles in the literal sense of the word because they never left the shop. Socialism has only a war economy, a war industry, it does not offer luxury articles, bourgeois pleasures. Another way to infiltrate into the home was through the children, that's why people never felt free because they knew that the children unwillingly might squeal on them and thus ~~they~~ they would.

get into trouble. The organization of the Party, through its district and zone representatives, controlled everyone, that is how they got the picture of the political reliability of the entire population. Everybody was constantly kept in evidence. The records in the different personnel departments were constantly brought up to date, that's why so many people were employed in the bureaucracy of Communist countries. The AVH, under the Ministry of the Interior, had permanent delegates in each Ministry--in the general department of the Ministries, in the directories of the Ministries, in the Trusts, in the Enterprises and in Plants and, as said, under the form of educators and sick visitors--whenever a person dared to be sick--they penetrated into the private life and home.

The faith of one's incapability of overthrowing the regime was deeply engrained in the people and in the system itself. The slightest suspicious looking movements were being reported. Stenciling machines had to be registered. The Trade Unions were covert forms of the state apparatus.

In a Communist state, the spirit of liberty exists only pro forma. This spirit slipped into Europe (the leaders of which, by the way, let an Asiatic horde penetrate into Europe in 1945) through the German and Polish example. That's where it was formulated. In August, September, and in the beginning of October, Respondent was in Czechoslovakia and in Poland. He was home for one day in the middle of September, then there was a dead silence ~~was~~ everywhere. On October 13, when he took into his hands, with anticipated disgust, one copy of the Szabad Nep, the official organ of the Communist Party, he thought that American agents provocateurs had hurled it down from airplanes. He thought long moments, did not dare comment. It was a rightist paper, in which long ago buried writers were reborn; suddenly, it became apparent to him that this was the government's disposition, that it was the clique of Gerő which had permitted this thaw in the press. Interesting to note that

this thaw happened even before in the newspapers of Szeged than it took place in the Budapest papers. The regime wanted to approach Tito and thus articles praising National Communism had appeared in Szeged earlier than in Budapest.

(2a) Irodalmi Ujság, Népszava, Magyar Nemzet, Szabad Nép-- of these the latest was the most objective, and the most rightist at the same time. Apparently, the government did not believe in the practical, rather functional strength of the press. It only ~~had~~ believed in its theoretical strength. The newspapers outdid each other. Freer articles appeared in October 1956 than there had appeared in 1945 and '46.

(2b) The critical, psychological moment was the two-months period following Stalin's death. Even the Germans were late with four- five months. Everybody expected at that time a brutal intervention which would have spread like wild-fire. The first sign of relief came when the Party started to besmirch Stalin's dogmas. This desecration had repercussions also on the economic life, it drove the country into anarchy. Anyway it doesn't take much to produce economic anarchy in a country, where, due to the planning system, periodically everything, including the food supply, is exhausted, ~~every~~ article appears periodically. If one needs nails, for instance, rather, if one figures that one will need nails in about two years, one better buy them now, otherwise one will only be able to purchase them at the black market. So, there was chaos in the economic system and there was a confusion in the ideology. The rules of the game were mixed up and the people, as people, behaved in a childlike fashion and didn't know where to turn.

(2c) Imre Nagy was a turning point. He started to develop agriculture and stopped the irrational heavy <sup>4</sup>way industry. By the way, this was all done according to the Soviet model, the Hungarians just had to imitate the Soviet system in everything. Malenkov started to emphasize agriculture and deemphasize the war industry and so the opposite number of Malenkov in Hungary was Imre Nagy. Sketch of the economic situation in Communist countries:-- in



collectivist planned economies, the work consists of so many links that something is bound to go wrong at one place or at one time. Because of the multitude of the links, it is inevitable that, for instance, the last one should not be able to supply spare parts for the first one, which could not get hold of foreign currency anyhow. Generally speaking, in Hungary iron scrap was used for everything, so everything was of poor quality, except the raw materials used in the war industry. The wool had no more than 10% wool. The Soviet Union took away whatever it could dispose of and convert into money. The balance of the trade was upset; but in the war industry substitution was impossible,-- steel had to be steel, so Hungary had to buy it from Germany, England, Switzerland and Sweden for hard currency. But in any other domain everything was doomed to failure because of the lack of adequate raw material and every failure in production became the laughing stock of the workers. Then, of course, the so-called educators would come and "explain" it.

Coming back to Nagy, he emphasized agriculture and as he had good contacts with the Party he managed to freeze the removal of the population. He dissolved some of the concentration camps and gave amnesties. People who came back from different parts of the countries after they had been removed years earlier were allowed to resettle in the Budapest area, actually at a distance of 14 kilometers from the suburbs. Budapest was overpopulated, people lived in shops, in unfinished basements, cellars rather. This influx of the population was made necessary by the administrative, bureaucratic side of the Communist Party. All in

ulation was made necessary by the administrative ~~maneuver~~<sup>side</sup>, bureau-  
cratic ~~system~~ of the Communist Party. All in all Nagy did  
follow Malenkov's directions; but, during the Revolution, the  
population remembered the amnesties, ~~remembered~~<sup>ceasing</sup> the ~~ending~~ of,  
the removal of the population and the closing down of certain  
concentration camps.

(2d) Of course, the reconciliation with Tito brought about  
Rakosi's downfall. Generally speaking ~~again~~ again, in  
Communist countries, political and personal blasphem<sup>ies</sup>es are  
going on side by side. Stalin's dogmas and personality were  
in ~~the~~ the midst of them. His dogmas were besmirched and  
he was called names. The same thing happened with Tito. After  
he was called a chained dog, the Western stooge, he emerged  
suddenly as a good Communist with a radiant personality. Of  
course, all this produced an ideological mix-up.

(2e) One, the confusion was handled on an ideological level. Two,  
theoretical discussion with many pro's and contra's took place.  
Three, precedents were created proving "good" Communists to  
be wrong.

(2f) Of course everybody knew about it. In Hungary everybody is  
~~changed in~~ <sup>the</sup> chained to <sup>the</sup> radio. His own viewpoint was that it  
is a shame to bother with propaganda--pro and contra-- when  
meanwhile one could assimilate culture. For him it sufficed  
to go out in the street and he knew exactly where the country  
stood.

(2g) He and his group sized up the situation. The fact is that  
the Polish people were ~~maybe~~ ~~more~~ more suppressed than any  
other satellite nation. ~~He was not a satellite nation.~~

~~the picture~~ picture of the suppression: The least ~~were~~ ~~the~~ suppressed were the East Germans; then Czechoslovakia; three; Hungary; four; Rumania; five; Bulgaria; and six, Poland. So one extreme is East Germany and the other ~~extreme~~ extreme is Poland, and Hungary was about in the middle of this charming picture.

(2g)

In the Tito affair, he was the most exposed and of course Tito now had conditions, one of them being the removal of Rakosi. It is worthwhile to note that the most vulgar forms of slang are used when describing politicians who do not correspond to the taste of the momentary Communist leader. Rakosi committed also this type of bone, ~~and~~ ~~was impossible~~. He was made impossible by the new situation and Gerö <sup>the one who was</sup> sent to confer with Tito.

(2h)

Is a strong question. ~~Max~~ Yes, there was a turning point, for the West it was when the Hungarian revolution broke out; and for the Hungarians the turning point was Stalin's death.

(2i)

In the Communist system, one either agitates against <sup>the West</sup> or one praises domestic conditions. When suddenly the Communist leaders started to agitate against <sup>themselves</sup> ~~this system~~, this <sup>respondent</sup> ~~we~~ could not size up. By "this" he means the instigation against <sup>the</sup> ~~them-~~ <sup>system</sup> ~~system~~. The goal was to come closer to Tito, but who directed it? Whether conscious or not, this he doesn't know because he couldn't look at the situation from above.

(3a)

It is a national characteristic, the so-called national bravura, to act without preparation. The Hungarians could not size up the heterogeneity of the 9 million population.

In 1940, for instance, it was "proven" by a public opinion consensus, public opinion of the classes which alone mattered at the time, the aristocracy and the middle class, that the Hungarians are the second <sup>strongest</sup> ~~largest~~ nation in the world, the first being the Germans. This attitude was prevalent during the last 500 years. The first 500 years were all right. The guidance then was first class; but then came the disasters of Mohacs, of the Kurucz Wars, of <sup>the</sup> 1848 Revolution, of the two world wars and finally November 4, 1956. When repeatedly the Hungarians fought the Russian army they didn't bother to look at the consequences. Half a year economic invalidity does not matter much but the destruction of Budapest should have mattered (although, in all fairness, Respondent must admit that in Aug Austria and in England there are still places which show considerable war damages, while everything was repaired in Hungary years ago). In one word, the mentality ~~is~~ behind the cowboy movies and the Hungarian mentality are extremely similar. The Hungarians have been living for the last centuries in the Wild West dramatic state of mind and mostly ~~and~~ mood.

(3b)

This psychological affinity toward the Revolution was present in the Hungarian people-- while other nations expect diplomatically that somebody else should pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Aspirations striving toward the Western world, they didn't yearn after a Utopia, their craving was for a given reality. They knew that this Western world existed ~~somewhere~~. They expected the Messiah, he didn't come, so they tried to help out. The German-Polish vibrationsfurn-



ished an example, plus the bankruptcy of <sup>the</sup> political doctrines and the agitation carried on against the regime by the regime <sup>itself</sup> ~~papers~~. Everybody ~~had~~ believed in the ~~un~~irrefutability of the regime and everybody got suddenly drunk when they realized that it was not as strong as they believed it <sup>to be</sup> ~~was~~. They went from one key position to the other, <sup>P</sup>parliament, <sup>R</sup>radio, Ministry of the Interior, Defense Ministry, and suddenly they realized the system was on the defense <sup>ive</sup> and that it couldn't anymore direct the provinces, ~~administrations~~, not talking about Budapest.

(3c)

The three week press incitement hastened it. On October 22, they drew up the claims; 10-12-14-16-32--; new claims were added every minute; the Russians should leave, the uranium should be taken over by the Hungarians government (the uranium mines were at Kovagoszöllös in the Mecsek and the Russians had been transporting it to the atom research centers, the goal being that they should be able to detonate <sup>so strongly</sup> ~~only~~ that this should be measured on American instruments). After a while, ~~even~~ the attitude consisted in rubbing <sup>papers</sup> ~~papers~~ under the Russians' nose. <sup>This</sup> ~~so~~ proved insatiability and lack of organization. Of course there <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ strong deviations in the importance of the claims. Then, the demonstration was once forbidden and once allowed, <sup>a</sup> again forbidden, and again allowed, <sup>so</sup> the typically Hungarian attitude of "in spite of" broke out. The provoking speech of Gerő only showed what a bad politician he had been (he should have told the freedom fighters to <sup>name</sup> ~~remain~~ <sup>their</sup> representatives, he would talk with them; he could have

conferred with them and then sent them home), ~~and then~~  
Imre Nagy's speech started out with "Comrades", It was  
booed; Following with "Fellow Citizens", he was booed again;  
and finally arriving to "My Friends", -this was accepted. The  
AVO's shot because it was their profession to shoot, and the  
youngsters considered the "fireworks" more or less as a game.  
The fact is that the country was armed to the teeth and the  
population was able ~~was able~~ to use their light arms. Fort-  
unately, for the Russians, <sup>Hungary</sup> ~~they~~ did not manufacture anti-tank  
arms because <sup>the Russians</sup> ~~they were not~~, they had not been preparing for  
an offensive warfare.

(4a)

The people who had written up the claims were acceptable by  
the Communist system, but those who had leading parts during  
the Revolution were those who had been in contact with the  
crowd, and that's how they were placed in preeminent positions,  
at different moments. There ~~was~~ <sup>were leaders</sup> no reason, during the early  
moments of the Revolution, and later on those became leaders  
who were at the most "exposed" points, the 8th and 9th districts,  
being industrial focal points, would pour out the fighters.  
As a matter of fact, focal point was any public building, ~~or~~  
a school, <sup>the</sup> movie theatre, places where the neighborhood could  
gather. Unfortunately, <sup>these districts</sup> ~~they~~ had only one radio station, ~~ROKA~~.  
The ROKA station from the Kilian Barracks. It could not give  
concrete instructions because <sup>the announcers</sup> ~~he~~ didn't what the situation  
of the persons <sup>they were</sup> ~~he was~~ informing against was.

(4b)

The events moved the crowd, and the crowd moved the events.  
The Revolution broke out from a succession of events. The  
events and the components were heterogeneous. Bending

slightly toward ~~major~~ pogroms. Until there was hope ~~that~~ for Western help everybody was sitting on his tongue, - so to speak; but around the 10th of November this exaggerated deviation of nationalism broke out. The Jewish middle class was well placed within the regime. ~~Then~~ The commercial <sup>fraction</sup> ~~fraction~~ was used in the Food Ministry, in the Ministry of Internal and Foreign Trade / <sup>these</sup> ~~which~~ Ministries had tremendous <sup>numbers</sup> ~~large quantities~~ of Trusts, ~~and~~ Enterprises, <sup>plants</sup>. The opposite number of this Jewish middle class, ~~the Christian~~, that Christian stratum equal to it economically during the Horthy regime, <sup>has been</sup> ~~was~~ labeled as unreliable politically. The Jewish lawyer could become a legal counsel in the new regime, while the Christian lawyer, or municipal official, had to become a night watchman. This did not apply to doctors, dental technicians and engineers, they were equally needed in both regimes. The Christian middle class fell into <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>depravity</sup> ~~tragedy~~, ~~which the Jewish bourgeoisie, for instance, became chief~~ ~~accounts~~. The system "Trusts the Jews" really meant that it was obliged to use them in foreign trade. It could not use the village idiots, they could only become Colonels in the AVH, but nothing else. The Jews, as a class, were not resettled, were not removed, whether the system used them or not. Actually, only those people had to <sup>enter</sup> ~~accede~~ the Party who were replaceable.

(4c)

Talking about Jews and demonstrations, Respondent recalled another demonstration, which took place ~~p~~ in 1937, it was





in the Revolution--there <sup>naturally was also</sup> ~~was a great part of idealism in it~~,  
 an idealistic stratum ~~as to speak~~. There was the aspiration  
 toward a beautiful, <sup>free, peaceful</sup> the Western way of life. ~~This was the~~  
~~reality in the past. It was not due to any propaganda~~  
~~whatsoever. It was this idea made a matter~~, - <sup>this</sup> it was a living  
 reality in the souls of many. It wasn't instilled through  
 propaganda.

(4e)

They were against physical and psychological exploitation,  
 against which there didn't seem to be any protection in the  
 Communist regime. This regime had sold all the goods of the  
 country. And for the remnants a horrible scramble took place.  
 The worst part in a Communist system is that it whips up the  
 worst instincts in the human animal. "He undermines the /system",  
 was the accusation people would bring up against each other.  
 Communism showed the way how to give full bent to one's most  
 basic lowness, meanness. This only fortified the century-old  
 Hungarian potentialities. (I wonder whether ~~you mentioned~~  
<sup>I am making clear</sup> ~~what~~ Respondent's <sup>attitude, namely</sup> ~~is talking about~~, why he is so  
 much against Hungarians. I would say that he belongs to  
 the best group of Hungarians, those who hate their nation  
 because it isn't as good as it could be. He hates the  
 present Hungary because he sees an ideal picture of what  
 he could be, - so he is deeply nationalistic in a sense, <sup>Respondent</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>the one</sup>  
 Szechenyi had been. If I hadn't made this clear from jotting  
 down his observations, it is my fault.) Everybody was stealing,

<sup>they</sup>  
~~the~~ would steal bulbs, ~~they would~~ pull the nails out of the walls. <sup>you</sup> Final analysis,-- the system was responsible for ~~all~~ this.

(4f)

For <sup>in a</sup> peaceful, secure, stable life Central Europe where the small nations would not be toys, puppets of the big nations.

(4g)

Freedom, capital F. Independence, capital I. ~~The assurance of a Federation.~~ ~~(Interpretation:)~~ Capital I said with all the enthusiasm of a twelve year old suppression, you can say it this way only ~~if~~ if you have been suppressed 12 years, then ~~independence suddenly~~, ~~therefore~~, the concept of independence suddenly gets its full meaning. And that's what they meant when during the Revolution they said "Freedom" and "Independence". The assurance of a Federation which would unite the small states, eliminate the territorial claims, give birth to a type of nationalism which would not burn like hatred toward other nations, and <sup>throw</sup> ~~go~~ further back the demarcation line of the Russians. Actually, it was the 20th Century's projection of the <sup>Austro-Hungarian</sup> ~~Central~~ monarchy, the desire of a Danubian Federation, with Vienna as its capital, German language being used officially. All these could have been saved along traditional lines--people are susceptible to honoring existing traditions-- but the restoration is difficult, of course.

(4h)

Even those who were moderate desired, strongly desired, the lifting out of the country ~~mixing~~ from the Russian sphere of interest. The thought in everybody's mind was: the West won't let the Revolution fail; but when the West did let

the Revolution fail, anti-Semitism came as a revenge. In December there were the various atrocities in the provinces, namely in Nyiregy<sup>L</sup>haza. ~~People~~ Jewish people, would come by the hundreds to Budapest, where, of course, they had no apartments and no hotels in which they could stay, so they didn't stop <sup>and</sup> ~~they~~ went further on to Vienna.

(41) 100%. It was the unique end, the common idea. Refute the Soviet system, - they didn't look at consequences.

(4j) They joined because they had served the regime, and either their eyes were opened or, at one moment, it wasn't practical anymore. - They were betting on a losing horse; <sup>A</sup> and those <sup>the Revolution</sup> joined who had only possessed emblems and insignia, meaning that they had <sup>entered the Party</sup> ~~joined~~ for financial reasons.

(41) It would have shifted in an exaggerated way to the Right. A bourgeois democracy could not have evolved. Hungary is not mature politically, and if during the Horthy regime it hadn't become more clever, why should it have become more clever now? The pendulum would have oscillated in the opposite direction; <sup>B</sup> but there is no such thing that the Russians would not have intervened. <sup>they</sup> ~~the Russians~~ had to intervene under given circumstances, for different reasons. First, they have strategical airfields in Hungary which are equally necessary for offensive and defensive warfare, and ~~is~~ indispensable in the Suez problem if ~~Russia, that is~~ the Soviet Union, wants to step into the scene with the proper weight. England, unfortunately, diverted the attention. <sup>if</sup> It uncoupled the English and French public opinion; and America had to concentrate its whole energy to the remedies <sup>4</sup>

~~the~~ the wrong step. This situation, - this is number two - gave Russia the right to ~~removext~~ a move, with two moves a war might have broken out; but according to the rules of the chess game, she had the right to make one move. ~~And~~ Before the Revolution, the situation in Hungary was much better than it is going to be in Poland now; and another thing ~~which~~ one should take into consideration is that in a Communist regime every confession is only apparent, there is no middle way.

And being satisfied is a difficult problem for a modern,

~~Samuel~~ <sup>Faust like</sup> man. There are people who are not satisfied in America either.

(4m)

The leaders, <sup>did</sup> ~~yes, the leaders~~. Maleter was a Horthyist officer who had embraced the Communist cause in time. He is 38 years of age, has been used up and worn out. It is a known fact that the regime is always ungrateful. There are no acquired merits one could lean on, and, as the second line was ready to take over, Maleter knew that all he had was two years maximum, so he had not much to lose. As a matter of fact, he stood up ~~against~~ against the revolutionary crowd for <sup>two days</sup> ~~two days~~, and only the events "convinced" him. The pitch of the crowd was there, so almost automatically the situation developed as it did. The Russians, the AVOs went to <sup>the</sup> Kilian Barracks. So, he became the leader in an unorganized sort of way. ~~The military~~ The contact between the military command and the fighting soldiers was not established because the staff of officers did not act as an intermediary. They did not <sup>short</sup> ~~show~~ <sup>either</sup> at <sup>Freedom Fighters but</sup> to the crowd that they did not support the Revolution ~~against~~.



- (4o) ~~the Russians~~. Maleter's ~~and~~ was a local dispatcher and not a Defense Minister. He could not maintain modern tactical communications. <sup>even mention</sup> Under this chapter he doesn't ~~talk~~ about Communist <sup>is</sup> ~~affairs~~. It meant the ~~end~~ and it meant death to the AVOs. And ~~he~~ <sup>there</sup> was always afraid, and always <sup>ready to</sup> compromising bourgeois stratum. Those who had a position, those who were afraid of the risk involved, those who said that it would be so much better to put the milliard in the cooking pot, these would have stopped at any moment, their attitude being: rather nothing than something which is risky.
- (5)a) He took part in organizing the Workers' Council at his plant.
- (5b) He would wander around in the streets, ~~would~~ look at the damages, at the burning, <sup>3</sup> (the ~~three~~ Horizont shops which were supposed to spread Soviet culture, — they were selling Soviet books, records, etc. — were burned down to ashes). He would listen to the radio and check the foreign news against the <sup>ones</sup> domestic news.
- (6) Organized the Workers' Councils at his plant. <sup>Earth</sup> ~~From~~ moving machinery/Concerned under the Construction Ministry. This Council voted decisions and took care of the problem of the concern. They <sup>figured</sup> ~~thought~~ that there was going to be a <sup>lack</sup> ~~flat~~ or loose Tito-like system and that the concern which ~~was~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~was~~ making yearly, an annual income of 100,000 forints would not be given into private ownership: they <sup>removed</sup> ~~believed~~ the objectionable elements and then setting up plans to operate the concern economically. There were no atrocities and the <sup>"Krdar"</sup> ~~files~~ files were not made public, which was a lucky

thing because otherwise boxing each other on the ears would have resulted.

*He*

(6c) ~~He~~ looked around.

(6d) Nobody thought about consequences at the time.

(6e) Nothing. Psychological expulsion.

(6f) In the organizing of Workers' Councils.

(7a) He saw the Ministry of the Interior defended by its employees, about 150 of them. He lived across the street. It was not occupied by freedom fighters. The employees left on October 28th and then the next day at 10 o'clock the freedom fighters moved in; but starting from 23, the Russians came to the defense of those who were inside the buildings and green AVOs, about <sup>80</sup> ~~100~~, were brought in, - rather they weren't brought in because they were stationed on the outside, around the building, ~~and then~~ in the building were elite Hungarian troops, <sup>cadets</sup> ~~gathered~~ from the <sup>M</sup> ~~Military~~ <sup>A</sup> Academy, - the old Ludovika. At one time, everybody suddenly became policemen. - Many uniforms were brought. The cadets <sup>their</sup> ~~were~~ changed ~~to~~ uniforms; and the employees of the Ministry put on uniforms; but the poor green AVOs did not receive any uniforms and they bitterly complained about it. The idea behind it being that the policemen would not be bothered by the freedom fighters.

(7c) No.

(7d) Many, many confused situations.

(8) Not applicable.

- (9)(a) Yes.
- (9b) Yes. Starting from October 23, but he does not know when they took up work at his plant again. The strike consisted in not working, but everybody went into the office and would get supplies of potatoes, fat, meat and of course their salary. Each plant had a purchasing unit-whenver public supply is faulty ~~xx~~ that's how the food provisioning ~~happ~~ happens. That is how ~~it happened~~ it happened in 1945. ~~disappears~~
- (9c) They cleared the way with excavators, towing away ~~with~~ vehicles, freed people, in other words, they did what the circumstances demanded.
- (9d) The Workers' Council decided to take off the Red Star from the building and to put out <sup>from</sup> the Kossuth flag.
- (9e) The leaflets were sent over <sup>from</sup> the university and he had them read ~~publicly~~ publicly and took care of their being typed and then spread. ~~xx~~
- (9f) Yes.
- (9g) Repetitious.
- (9h,i,j) Do not apply.
- (10a) All types of newspapers were printed. Long ago seen or never seen papers sprang up. Parties were founded. The usual heterogeneousness manifested itself also in this field.
- (10b) They devoured the papers, which were beautifully edited.
- (10c) There ~~was~~ <sup>has always been as far as he</sup> ~~can remember~~ <sup>always</sup> a "whispering propaganda" going on in Hungary. People usually do not talk about baseball or cricket, they somehow have always vital questions to think about and talk about. This, of

course, was much more intensified during the Revolution; but, generally speaking, ~~during the Revolution~~ <sup>in a</sup> Communist system ~~all~~ <sup>oral</sup> communications ~~were~~ had an important part because one had to publish those things the system did not want to publish. As a curiosity, Respondent mentions that this whispering propaganda was going on, was allowed, even during bridge parties. Everybody who knows bridge knows that people seem to have taken a vow of silence. Well, the silence was interrupted to talk public matters over, before, during and probably after the Revolution.

(10d)

Yes, he checked the domestic radio with the foreign radio. Radio Free Europe by the way would ~~give~~ broadcast all day the news about the Revolution; but Radio Free Europe is a chapter apart and Respondent says he feels very comfortable and relaxed now and does not want to work up his blood pressure by talking about Radio Free Europe. He would listen to the Czechoslovakian and Rumanian broadcasts, and of course Yugoslavia and Russia. Generally speaking, the radios of the satellite countries were in ~~the~~ <sup>citing</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>state</sup> ~~late~~ and everywhere mobilization of troops was going on. Yugoslavia behaved negatively. The third day of the Revolution already exceeded Yugoslavia, - past beyond the ~~late~~ <sup>state</sup> Yugoslavia had been in. The Hungarian Revolution was rising toward a ~~in~~ freer system ~~than~~ than had been allowed in the ~~so-called~~ Yugoslavia. And Yugoslavia was afraid. There is no doubt about it. Nehru condemned Tito's behavior. The English, Austrian, German, and French radio would read some parts of ~~the~~ <sup>he</sup> articles which had appeared in India. In Hungary it was also known that France was the country



10 e which, at the news of the Hungarian Revolution, produced the most vehement <sup>Can</sup> ~~promotion~~, - Due to the Latin temperament of the French people. # Of course, The telephone communication was mainly used by members of the same family or close friends, and the topics were, "Are you still living," "Do you have anything to eat," "Are you, by any chance, trapped in your building?" <sup>Thus</sup> ~~So~~ questions inquiring about one's physical fitness; about the ~~g~~ political background one would speak only ~~briefly~~ veiledly. ~~As~~ <sup>was he no</sup> the foreign radio which could pass news material through the barbed wire, ~~the news~~.... ~~communication~~... Even the contrary of the news brought by the Communists' newspapers was not true. As far as oral communication was concerned, if the person did not happen to be an eye witness, it was not reliable. And, any way, it was not essential because one would relate only local episodes through this way of communication. During the Revolution, ~~the posters were adequate~~ the posters and the leaflets were adequate. They would demonstrate point by point, Why not believe Gerö, for instance. And inform the population to which ~~the~~ government proclamation <sup>gave</sup> ~~freedom~~ credence.

(10g)

The officials of this enterprise would report to the Workers' Councils from the viewpoint of the enterprise, but the background was <sup>the</sup> Revolution.

(11)

During the first days, Gerö would dictate to Imre Nagy. The clique of Gerö ~~wanted~~ tried to make the freedom fighters abandon the fight. Announcements, posters,

*would make* appeals: "If you do not put your arms down until 5 o'clock this afternoon there is going to <sup>be</sup> martial law." Nobody listened. Then another radio announcement ~~announced~~ and <sup>new</sup> posters <sup>would</sup> appear.

~~(11a)~~ "The martial law will go into effect <sup>at six</sup> ~~announced~~; <sup>it would be</sup> ~~but it takes~~ followed by another radio announcement, which said: <sup>"11</sup> martial law will be put into effect at seven and so on and so on. The informant doesn't know how this dictating to Nagy happened. Under normal circumstances, the Prime Minister's office is in the Parliament and the Council of Ministers would be in session also in the Parliament. But under ~~the~~ unusual circumstances, they would use the cellar, the Szikla, ~~meeting place~~, <sup>cellar</sup> in ~~the~~ the Gellert Mountains. They had telephones centered <sup>there</sup> there and radios. When the Russians left, Gerö disappeared and never came back. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He was a <sup>forfeited</sup> ~~four~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~small~~ cart. The Ministers didn't dare go into the Ministries, neither did the Assistant Secretaries, nor did the Department ~~in~~ Chief. ~~At~~ Otherwise, the Revolutionary Councils were in action. They had <sup>temporary</sup> temporary transition parts and <sup>so-called</sup> ~~so-called~~ purifying parts.

(11a) The Party organization was completely dissolved. This was demanded in view of the future ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ free elections—  
*in order* That the other parties should not start out in the race with a handicap, they did not even have offices while the Communist Party was completely organized. Various ~~burns~~ <sup>done</sup> burnings were going at Party quarters, ~~then~~ either by the

members themselves or by the freedom fighters. The membership lists were ~~ma~~ saved and many of them turned up in Austria. Many of the members would turn up as freedom fighters, as a matter of fact. This was relatively easy to accomplish, as they had no uniforms to take off, ~~and~~, or to put on.

It was easy to throw the insignia in a nearby toilet.

(11b) The police <sup>men</sup> were assimilated, so to speak, by the Revolution. Many did not go ~~a~~ back after the Revolution and many of them left the service ~~in their uniforms~~ and fought ~~by~~ side by side, in uniforms, with the freedom fighters; but the majority of them took their uniforms off. The place of the police was taken, as it usually is in similar circumstances, by the military people. They were considered to be more or less reliable and so were asked on the radio to take over the job of maintaining order.

(11c) Those who had been in uniform disguised themselves in police uniforms by taking the high ranks of buck sergeant or sergeant. The civilian AVOs simply disappeared and left together with the Russians, ~~and many of them left together with the Russians~~ on October 28.

(11d) They did not function. One could not register births, one could not get married, etc. The courts could not be in session, as the jury members, the witnesses, the accused or accusers could not be brought together at one time.

(11e) ~~The officers were undecided, and they did not support the cause, they supported the revolution. The officers were undecided, even if they did not support~~

the system, they did not help the freedom fighters. One could not ~~xxxx~~ count on them from any viewpoint; but the soldiers wholeheartedly took up the cause of the Revolution. They would give ~~thexxxxxx~~ to the freedom fighters arms from municipal arsenals, then they would take the freedom fighters <sup>arms and</sup> to munitions factories and bring out for them <sup>freedom fighters</sup>

*the stored* arms and munitions stored in arsenals. — And <sup>Trade Union</sup> the officials

disappeared in view of the fact that the majority of them <sup>P</sup> were Party members and the Trade Unionists <sup>itself</sup> ~~were~~ <sup>was</sup> under the Party.

(11g) Due to the fact that the <sup>P</sup> police did not function, the <sup>P</sup> public administration did not function either, the only department functioning was the one of Public Health (First Aid). The people would go into their offices to strike, which meant; to receive ~~their~~ food and salaries but not do any work.

(11i) There were services. Known *atheists* would go to church and wait for the speech of Cardinal Mindszenty. 7

(11j) ~~The controlled mechanisms restricted their activities to gathering information.~~  
The controlled mechanisms restricted their activities to gathering information.

(11k) Newly formed parties--Smallholder Party, Democratic Party, Peasant Party, etc., etc.

(11,l) The freedom fighters had no concepts of organization. Life only lasted three days. Workers' Councils and organizations <sup>he</sup> started ~~to~~ function, <sup>of which was stopped</sup> in 1948 and were being organized <sup>a new</sup> again.

*11 m* ~~Connections between the government and the~~ And a government <sup>A</sup> decree was responsible for their creation. They were supposed to take over the duties of the Administrative Board of Factories and Enterprises during the <sup>intermezzo</sup> ~~interregnum~~.



~~So~~, their duties were not restricted to the <sup>protection</sup> ~~perfection~~ of the workers' interests; they had a free hand in everything, including the right <sup>of suspension of</sup> ~~excluding~~ undesirable elements.

(11n)

~~Therefor~~ <sup>A</sup> democratic form of government with a Constitution and Parliament, similar to ~~the government in~~ <sup>ies</sup> Western democracy.

~~However, it is not possible to say that the new Hungarian regime would have shifted to the right under these circumstances--~~ There is no way of telling how much, under this covered name, the ~~Hungarians~~, the new Hungarian regime, would have shifted to the right. ~~There is no way of telling how much the new regime would shift~~ ~~the right~~. ~~The fact is that there is a very strong in-~~

~~clination in Hungary, from a Rightist Rightist, connection--~~ <sup>It is a</sup> the fact is that there is a very strong Rightist latency in the Hungarian mentality. <sup>another</sup> And ~~the~~ fact is that the Hungarian nation did not have a homogeneous political conception. Everybody ~~projects~~ <sup>ed.</sup> his own interests.

(12(a))

Is there anybody in Hungary who hasn't <sup>5</sup> seen Soviet troops?!

(12b)

The occupational troops did not commit atrocities, and only fought when absolutely necessary. The adopted attitude was a neutral one. The ~~provincial~~ <sup>stationed in the provinces</sup> troops were demoralized. The supplying of food of the Russian army is based on robbery. There is no American abundance, nor ~~a~~ German efficiency (where "nothing" was always meticulously divided). One had to secure food, so they sold their arms in view of the fact that they were not fighting the population. <sup>For one</sup> ~~one~~

loaf of bread they <sup>would give</sup> gave a Tommy gun, and for one pig, a tank.

Because of their unreliability they were withdrawn, and instead of them, ~~troops~~ elite troops, from around Moscow ~~were sent~~ and Mongolian and ~~Kam~~ <sup>Kalmik</sup> Kalmik troops were sent in.

They were the ones who looked for Berlin, for the Suez, and for the sea. Allegedly these troops had been on their way since October 23, and it isn't excluded that they were originally directed to the Suez Canal. They were <sup>savagely</sup> shooting like ~~thieves~~ <sup>thieves</sup>, and did not respect International Red Cross regulations.

After the shooting was over, they started the deportations with the aid of Hungarian civilians,

<sup>the</sup> ~~who~~ <sup>re</sup> turned AVOs. As long as they didn't want to leave

guerrilla fighters, they also gathered the children. The

Russian is half an animal. He is simple-minded. ~~He is~~

~~beaten down.~~ <sup>beaten down, in trance,</sup> And he is entranced when taken prisoner,

and if he ~~has~~ <sup>is</sup> arm, ~~he is~~ <sup>he is</sup> a raving animal mad ~~man~~

The minute he starts to think, he is <sup>shipped</sup> ~~taken~~ back to Russia.

(12c) Answered immediately above.

(12d) There were few civilian Russian organizations in Hungary. They had given back the aluminum industrial plants and the air travel companies, but they had kept the oil (Standard) and the uranium. ~~After November 4, 1944, approximately~~ <sup>arrived</sup> ~~approximately~~ a week after November 4, a committee ~~arrived~~ <sup>held</sup> of Russian civilians and ~~had~~ sessions in the Ministry of the Interior. This was the Hungarian government. There were probably many Russian civilian observers in Hungary during the Revolution, but they made sure that they should not be observed.

(12e) Their function was ~~interrupted only with~~ interrupted only with

tankhead functions. They probably went to a protected place, namely the Russian Embassy.

(12g) They kept the government in check. Until the very last minute, the Defense Ministry and the Ministry of the Interior ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> directed by the Russians. They ~~did not~~ were not visible during the Revolution. Afterwards they filled in the functions of the Kadar government.

(12h) Be alert! was the motto during the Communist system. One had to lock up bad typing ~~xxx~~ machines because saboteurs might come during the night and ~~would~~ ruin the letter "b". That was the attitude for years and years, and, apparently, while they were hunting fleas an elephant walked through the door left open.

(13) He thought of leaving temporarily, Hungary, when he had heard that people arrived safely in Austria. This was between October 23 and 27. Truck convoys would go for drugs, for plasma, for clothing, for food. The border was open, the Communist ~~leaders~~ leaders had disappeared, the administration wasn't functioning. But this was, ~~just~~, as said before, <sup>just</sup> an impulse to go ~~toward~~ toward the West. He didn't think of leaving Hungary at the time.

(13a) On November 10th, he went out into the street and looked around. There was 100 percent insecurity, and he had started life <sup>from the very beginning, already,</sup> too many times! Another twelve years, - he couldn't have faced them. Life in Hungary had shrunk to 5 hours, - between 10 and 3 o'clock. Why should he be there at the burning down of the <sup>a</sup> world? The leaving finally became a mass hysteria. Thousands were going

because thousands had gone already. But there were good reasons for this hysteria. The fact that the people were hermetically sealed in, - one just <sup>would</sup> like to breathe <sup>once in ten years</sup> a little free air. ~~He recalls that there are problems~~ <sup>though,</sup>

*connected with this breathing of fresh air*  
Somehow one <sup>is a</sup> child again. His English vocabulary corresponds to that of a one year old. He has to learn new

customs. He has to use <sup>all</sup> his energy just to find a place.

13 B. ~~Yes, at the Enterprise with the engineers~~ <sup>one of</sup> ~~he came~~ <sup>they left</sup> by car, <sup>one</sup> of the five cars of the company, two were always given injections to be ~~able~~ capable of being driven; but

~~this one~~ surprisingly the one he was on, ~~he~~ behaved quite well. It took him to Magyarovar, the place of his destination, ~~he came with an official paper, in addition,~~

13 C. ~~He had an official paper and he was, allegedly, on a field trip.~~  
~~He had an official paper and he was, allegedly,~~  
~~He had an official paper and he was, allegedly,~~  
~~He had an official paper and he was, allegedly,~~  
He had an official paper and he was, allegedly,

d  
(138)

Whatever the West said proved to be true. The only difficulty was that many Hungarians came out from Hungary, - meaning that they brought out with them the manners he was trying to escape from. <sup>There</sup> That type of speech and manners developed during the last ten years made life unbearable, and here he was surrounded by them again in Austria. ~~They~~ <sup>There</sup> were, he felt at one time, more Hungarians in Vienna than there were Austrians. He knew, of course, that no card and checkbook will be waiting for him; but he'll be provided with clothing. But, of course, he didn't think of little details, such as the fact that ~~suits~~ suits will not be sewn for him, that he will feel uncomfortable in them. Big attraction lay in the fact that it was publicized that people would be taken

*the different, they would choose to go to*  
 to ~~many~~ places, so he went to England, just to look around; and  
 now that he <sup>has</sup> seen England he <sup>knows</sup> that he wanted to live <sup>in America</sup> elsewhere.

He has no nostalgia but he has an insecure feeling and economically  
 his situation is precarious. <sup>#4</sup> He had thought about other possi-

13 e. bilities,--funny question--for nights and nights, hundreds of  
 thousands of people couldn't sleep because they were turning around  
 possibilities in their heads. One thing he knew; he could not stay  
 because of his activities in connection with the formation of the  
 Workers' Council. He knew that the regime will have to revenge  
 the AVOs, <sup>in order to</sup> ~~just~~ not to take their appetite away from serving it  
 again.

(14a)

*horrible*  
 Terrific ~~the~~ price, ~~towards~~ the ruin. No, as far as the  
 country is concerned, it wasn't worth it. It did make possible for  
 200,000 to leave the country; but 200,000 compared with 8,000,000 is  
 a small number. ~~Thisxxxxxxx~~ <sup>though</sup> It was extremely useful from the  
 viewpoint of the whole world. It did give a knifing to Communism;  
~~but this about this is like asking about the funeral of a man who is~~  
~~feeling that this is a very difficult question to answer. It is just~~  
~~like the funeral of a man who is asking~~  
~~himself the question, and the answer is that it is a very difficult~~  
~~of the question and answer by the interviewer.~~ He feels embarrassed  
 answering this question. <sup>is similar to the one</sup> It is similar to the situation which would  
 arise when a man would be given a questionnaire at the funeral of  
 his father, and it was extremely useful to the Communists. They  
 learned an awful lot. They now know what to do, that it should  
 not happen again <sup>in</sup> any place.

(14b)

Only with external help, but ~~He~~ does not think of diplomatic



discussions because you can't get very far with the Russians <sup>at</sup> ~~around~~ the table. They ~~to~~ <sup>draw</sup> the discussion into insophistication. So, the only way to have dealt with <sup>the</sup> ~~situation~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~was a matter of power~~ <sup>was through a politics of power.</sup>

(14c)

<sup>One does not</sup> ~~We don't~~ do much in a Revolution. The Revolution does things to <sup>one</sup> ~~you~~,

and the Revolution was inevitable. <sup>V</sup> The Hungarian <sup>"Virtus"</sup>, meaning in

modern language, 'bravado,' or in other words, the Hungarian make up

and the <sup>press campaign</sup> ~~that campaign~~ directed against the regime by the regime <sup>itself</sup> ~~which~~

didn't happen <sup>in the other satellites</sup> ~~like this~~ to this degree. Imre Nagy

was a sympathetic character; but he wasn't strong enough, which is

explained by his state of health. Respondent often thought of one

thing (he is thinking about many things ~~by~~ but now he is referring to

one): if the people would have asked for Kadar then, at this point,

Imre Nagy would be Kadar. So they would have reversed parts.

(14f)

He has talked about Maleter and he does not know Kovacs. About Tildy

his opinion is not too flattering. He <sup>had served</sup> ~~observed~~ the regime.

(14g)

The university youth and that youth which isn't quite well dressed,-

in other words,- the hoodlums, the roughnecks, they were the ones who

committed the real heroic deeds. They would jump on armored cars and

smear the windows with tar. They would,- oh, but there is no end to

<sup>the heroic deeds accomplished during</sup> ~~the heroic~~ of the Hungarian Revolution. He ~~doesn't want to go into it further.~~

(14h)

Students, <sup>lose the more</sup> ~~then~~ unskilled workers, the least somebody had to do ~~was more~~

<sup>involved he could become</sup> ~~important~~ <sup>skilled workers, soldiers.</sup> In the provinces

there was no resistance, there couldn't have been any resistance.

He had heard that in one village a tank went <sup>had</sup> ~~in a diagonal~~ through

<sup>the village.</sup> ~~I don't know~~ <sup>the tank</sup> destroyed

every house <sup>single driving</sup> ~~from one point of the diagonal~~ to the other ~~(the tank)~~

~~was through~~

through the whole village.

~~went through the house.~~ Then the intelligentsia and writers, and the white collar workers were sympathizing.

(14i)(14j) ~~It~~ It didn't surprise him but it sure surprised the regime because they <sup>had</sup> spent the most money on the youths and they wanted to form <sup>it</sup> them according to their own image.

(14k) The Petrofi Circle was in close contact with Mrs. Roy and <sup>Roy K. correspondent</sup> she has covered the subject before, ~~when he has talked about the (Circle) (secret)~~ and ~~has been~~ <sup>and has been</sup> ~~in the past~~ <sup>in the past</sup> ~~about the same thing.~~

(14l) He has said what his opinion about the peasantry <sup>but</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>it</sup> they could not have resisted <sup>actively</sup> ~~even if they~~ <sup>it</sup> had wanted <sup>to</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>it</sup> but they did support the Revolution.

\*

(1)(a)

Civil engineer.

(1b)

Post officer, auditor or comptroller.

(2a)

State building industry. He stayed mainly at the same enterprise, having legal continuity, but through transfers or split up into trusts, the address and firm name changed yearly. In 1949 dredging hydraulic construction; in 1950, hydraulic construction; in 1951, civil engineering of the region of Borsod; In 1951-1952, 34th trust; 1952, hydraulic construction; 1953, water works construction; 1954-56, agricultural mechanization firm. chief-calculations divisions, chief-technological division, chief planning division.

(2c)

Chief-division planning.

Budget estimates

Preparation of preliminary project

Preparation of annual, and operational quarterly, and monthly plan of the enterprise

Evaluation of progress of the plan

Presentation of project statistics to government authorities (ministries, government departments).

(2d)

1949-1956

(2e)

~~Értékelés~~ It was an "A" enterprise with a budget of 100-150 million forints. Yes, with the exceptions of smaller depressions (~~the government~~ January 1955-June 1955) It was constantly with considerable, 115-140%, of plan accomplishment, and it would occur that it would pay during 5 quarter years ceiling premium of 75% to the technical workers of the firm.

(2f)

If the offices were in the middle of town, then they were damp, antiquated, and dark. The modern buildings were in the suburbs; if the buildings were in rural areas, then, they were temporary mobilization barracks. The director, chief engineer, <sup>and</sup> chief accountant had their offices in the front of the building, which was light. There were separate rooms for secretaries, conference rooms, offices for the Party, shop committees. The chief of personnel was in a tremendous sized room all alone. The rest of the workers, around 180-230, tried to work in the midst of great confusion in an inner yard room, 6-8 in one locality, ~~were~~ <sup>where</sup>, even during the summer, electric light was needed.

The director's rooms were furnished with persian rugs, furniture (antique), tropical plants, painting, neon lighting, etc. The other workers did not have even proper desks or chairs. Only the director had a private line, because the five lines available could not carry the demands of the other 200, and had to wait in turn, in order to accomplish their call.

(3)(a)

Since there <sup>was a</sup> ~~were~~ constant reorganization, this gave me <sup>an</sup> ~~the~~ opportunity to utilize my ability to organize. Because of the constant changes in personnel, <sup>because of</sup> ~~and~~ the confusion accompanying the reorganization, very few people were familiar with the system, and those few could easily avoid the obstacles presented by the administration, and jockey advantageously during these waves of reorganization. There ~~is~~

(3b)

There was no room for advancement. One could learn very little, and one could utilize only a small percentage of his technical knowledge. Therefore, as a net result, he forgot more than he learned.

(3c)

During the period 1945-1948, he was an assistant professor at the school of engineering. There <sup>he engaged</sup> was a dry, one track scientific work, ~~located~~ in a war torn university, where even in 1947 a demolished gun <sup>still stood</sup> ~~was located~~ in the middle of a hydraulics laboratory. Because of the inflation, which continued until August 1946, he worked almost for nothing. After that, he received a minimal wage of 240 forints per month.

In 1948-1949, reparations office. Technical advisor. procurment and surrender <sup>ing</sup> of reparations, in conjunction with representatives of Yugoslav Soviets. The agency cut down during 1949-1950 because of the **LACK** of deliveries to the Yugoslavs, <sup>because of</sup> and the reduction of reparations to the Russians <sup>as a</sup> ~~after the~~ result of commercial agreements.

(4a)

240 forints.

(4b)

Base of 1200 forints plus 700 for over time plus 400 bonus which makes a total of 2300 forints.

(4c)

Base 2400. 1500-1750 forints bonus, totaling approximately 4000 forints per month.

(4d)

2400 forints.

(4e)

Peace loan 10-15%. Other deductions (tax for no dependent plus social insurance) totaling 7%.



- (4f) For category "A" enterprise and year, too, and Party members and Kader 400-1000 forints. Bonus--the respondent received such a bonus in 1954 totaling 600 forints for a quarter year.
- (4g) Occasionally (a small amount of clandestine side line planning). This was usually not permitted, and if discovered, the planner, under whose name this was released, would be punished.
- Also,* ~~in~~ in the ordering of technical books for studies, it sometimes was possible to make about 800-1400 forints on the side line.
- (4h) His salary was from 4000-5000 forints per month, as compared to 850-1200 forints for others.
- (4i) Those who were timid, or clumsy, would earn approximately 1800-2000 forints as a base pay, plus a bonus of 600-800 forints per month. However, those colleagues, who had the right contacts or were Party members, could <sup>ASK</sup> require 6-7000 forints per month. In addition, <sup>They</sup> were chosen to represent the enterprise in delegations traveling abroad, for example, to ~~each~~ Egypt.
- (5a) 8-4:30 or a workday of eight hours including a half hour for lunch.
- (5b) 5 days times  $8\frac{1}{2}$  equals 42 hours a week, plus five equals  $47\frac{1}{2}$ . On Saturdays, if the worker did not eat in, he did not have to remain on the job .

(5c)

There were no overtime payments for anybody earning ~~2000~~ 1550 or more. Here, too, ~~and~~ for persons earning less than 1550 forints, a ~~maximum~~ <sup>only</sup> of 8-10 forints <sup>per</sup> month, <sup>and this</sup> could be paid for overtime <sup>only</sup> in the event that 77 highly placed authorities (for example, chief engineers or director of the plant, etc.) approved it, and after that 77 various officers approved it afterwards.

(5d)

The Communist calendar recognized, and <sup>paid</sup> ~~payed~~ holidays.

All director positions carried a 24 day per year vacation.

(5e)

If the worker was not a division director, he received a vacation on the basis of 12 days per year, and in addition was given one day of leave for each two years of service. The respondent was entitled to 19 days leave in 1956. Another basis was figured on 12 days per year plus 6 a day plus six days for section chiefs of a total of 18 days per year which really was a more advantageous set up.

(5f)

About 6-8 persons played around with this task. They listed tardy workers on a blackboard and called them into the personnel office. Pay, equivalent to one half hour's wages, was deducted, without regard to the number of minutes of tardiness, that is, up to one half hour's tardiness.

(5g)

The question as written is translated first. Was there a 10 minute movement? Answer: As with all movements in Socialism, ~~and Socialism~~ <sup>2</sup> also periodically this flared up <sup>5</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>

and after that died down again.

- (5h) One could be absent from his work only with prior permission (signature) from 77 high authorities (this was chargeable to his annual leave or to leave without pay). Otherwise he had to submit a doctor's certificate, which indicated that he was found to be ill, <sup>by</sup> before the "Sz T K. authority", to receive a 50-75% reduction in pay.
- (5i) The Socialistic objective was to enforce scientifically developed wage contractions or restrictions. Wages had to be diminished because there were always skillful workers who were able to obtain the 100-250% norm. ~~next~~ For this reason, the budget for wages was constantly changing. That <sup>to say</sup> ~~is~~ the budget had to be indexed on the 1950 wage rate base. Since there was always a certain percentage of hourly rates assigned with each raise of pay, <sup>which</sup> ~~they~~ based on output, there was plenty of opportunity to introduce norms.
- (5j) There were two changes during 1950 in the norm. The wages were not taken from the calculated estimate (budget). In The calculated estimate (budget), not the actual paid-out wages from the norm ledgers were included, but from the earlier norm ledgers. Instead of using the wages prescribed in "Building Sciences Institutes", budgeted norms issued in 1952, the projects used norms developed by norm sections of the enterprises.
- (5k) The work competition was a systematized movement, created for this purpose, with all the accompanied manifestations (like the Stakhanov movement, which advocated "produce more today than

yesterday," machine maintenance, etc, etc.). They <sup>conferred</sup> ~~conferred~~ various types of honors, and, if the worker maintained the Stakhanov's level for one half year, he received one half month's extra pay. If he maintained the pace for a full year, then a full month's pay was received.

(51)

The building trade firms worked strictly on a piece work basis, using a work authorization voucher system, (naturally this only applied to <sup>manual</sup> ~~physical~~ workers). In 1956, they experimented for months with a one value (total) assignment, which means that for the entire establishment, (or for a larger unit), they supplied a common piece work assignment, in order to minimize the possibility of fraud. At the end of this summer this was still in the experimental stage.

(6a)

The projects (earth moving equipment) machine storage lot was filled with completely deteriorated machinery, which periodically (3600 hours) underwent general overhauling. For the most part ~~the machines~~ machines consisted of worn out soviet dredgers and bulldozers, for which the Russians had supplied no spare parts, or replacements. The transportation vehicles (Csepel copies of the English Muir Hill dump trucks) were made of such poor material, that one third are in operation, and two thirds are in the parking lot unavailable for use.

(6b)

See answer for 2f

(6c)

See answer for (6a)

(6d)

Nobody cared about the maintenance of quality in the work.

(6e)

The products were poorly made, and <sup>WERE</sup> made only so that the worker could appear busy. Traveling <sup>took</sup> ~~utilized~~ one hour to get to work, and one hour to get home again. The buses and trolley cars during the rush hours were completely filled. The people were so crowded, that they were constantly stepping on each other, or were even hanging off the steps.

(7a)

There were very few trained graduate engineers. Some ~~were~~ of the employees were lawyers who had changed professions, and some were former officials of the Horthy regime. (They had hopped over to the booming, better pay <sup>ing</sup> building trade). The greatest number of employees came from the lowest social strata, <sup>Kader, Cadre</sup> ~~(Kader material)~~, who tried to make up through night school for the lack of professional knowledge or training.

(7b)

Those of similar rank feared each other, and observed each other. Because of the type of hierarchy, there was a split between superiors and their subordinates. (Subordinates were constantly kept waiting <sup>for to see</sup> ~~for~~ their superiors, who never seemed to have time for them.

(7c)

Of course. Respondent had engineering colleagues who were nice, intelligent and well mannered.

(7d)

One could never confide in others about his private affairs, or about the economic situation, because everyone was spying on each other.

(7e)

Certainly. Their fate, circumstances, and problems were identical.

(7f)

The chief engineers ~~played~~ bridge in the office after working hours. Otherwise, it was customary for two or three close friends to ~~join~~ together, after work, at an espresso.



(7g)

The political talk was limited, ~~to~~ to the possibilities of the future, and also to the baseness, blunders, and failings of the Communist Party.

(7h)

It was the local chapter of the Communist Party at the Project, with a party representative placed there, as a 1600 forint per month technician. There was also a Communist Party office at the establishment.

(7i)

Certainly. Party members could fill highly paid positions without adequate competence. Certain jobs could be filled only by Party members. Non-Communist Party members could not hold certain sensitive positions.

(7j)

The respondent visited a project being done by laborers in the provinces during a Communist Party holiday (this was not a meeting of Party members). It could be easily observed, that that section of laborers placating the Communist Party were shady characters. If other persons, with more skill, tried to show that they favored the Communist Party, and made constant comments, to try to prove, that the problems connected with production were close to their hearts, then, it was obvious that they were opportunists, who either wanted to get ahead in spite of their shortcomings, or wanted to succeed in spite of the lack of the prerequisite qualifications.

(7k)

It was common knowledge that the trade union was the second arm of the Communist Party. (not publicly acknowledged). The trade unions represented both the government and the Communist Party interests, cloaking

them in a guise of acting in the workers interests.

(7l) It was constantly reorganized (the leaders were replaced). Members attended the meetings only when forced to do so.

(7m) The respondent did not join until 1949. After that the union's operations became aggressive. About this time the Communist Party had taken over the <sup>control</sup> ~~role~~ of the union and, based on well planned programs, even forced professionals to join.

(7n) The respondent was a member of the conciliation committee from 1954-December, 1955. Every decision had to be cleared through the director of the enterprise.

(7o) The Communist Party and a shop committee discussed political instructions with the director of the enterprise. If he was authoritative, the Communist Party shop committee would interfere in the technical matters only. If the director was weak and lacked courage to interfere.

(7p) Engineers, with proper training and knowledge, could easily earn to obtain a 2400 point per month job.

(7q) Neutral workers were constantly criticized, "stamped", and "attacked".

(7r) This was one of the great curses of the regime.

(7s) Until 1949, experts maintained controlling position without political interference. Since then controlling positions were tied to political stipulations.

(7t)

There was a complete file on everyone (10-30 opinions) and once or twice a year people were called in for "discussions".

This enterprise was not important enough to require a permanently stationed AVO; a representative visited occasionally, as a representative of the AVO, and made his reports to the AVO, based on the information obtained from the Communist Party secretary, director, and one or two "built in" informers.

(7u,v)

"They were dancing on eggs. " They usually filled about 10-20 minutes of the minutes of their daily meetings but the enforcement of the decisions made at such meetings were usually only partly fulfilled.

(8a)

With some skill one could maneuver around the regulations.

(8b)

The respondent would have liked to become a planning engineer.

(8c)

There was no progress possible in the job held by the respondent.

(8d)

Material regards, lack of responsibility.

(8e)

Bio-chemist.

(8f)

The respondent believed up till 1951, that he could make a career in Hungary.

(8g)

About 70% of the make up of man consists of vanity. Everyone is inflated with his own ability, and feels that he can fill important positions.

- (8i) The respondent would spend it exactly in the same manner as previously. In addition, the respondent would purchase a car. He would like to travel abroad, and would not like to "robot" (Russian word for slave or work) until his death. In Hungary, engineers 78 years of age were still working.
- (8j) The respondent was plunged into an infinite freedom-- so vast that the respondent does not know what to do with it. However, because of economic considerations, he must commence from the beginning again.
- (8k) Has no children.
- (9) The respondent's parents worked more after the war, for less money.
- (9a) Father, mother, sister (parents worked prior to war)
- (9b) The respondent began to work only after the war.
- (9c) The respondent could purchase articles costing one half to one month's salary. He could not buy for example an automobile, refrigerator, music system, television, paintings, or rugs. (Definitely could not purchase a home/ co-op apartment ~~which~~ which costs 25,000-40,000 forints)
- (9d) 2400 forints base pay plus 1600 forints bonus, total 4000 forints per month. Sister was a teacher of physical education earning 950 forints per month. Mother, post master, earning 700 forints per month. Father, pensioned since 1948, pension 750 forints per month.

Under (9d)(I,LL, III) see (4c,d,e,f,g)

Under (9d) (IV) net income, 4200-4500 forints per month.

(9e) 350 per month including heat.

(9f) After divorce respondent was a co-tenant with ex-wife.

Residence was at the Gresham apartments. Excellent building, English property.

(9g) 450-500 forints per month. Respondent's mother spent a considerable amount of time in order to obtain food (especially on Friday to obtain it for Sunday dinner)-

(9h) Almost nothing. He had a completely filled wardrobe. (12 suits, 5 coats, 6 trousers, 40 shirts, 14 pair shoes, 50 pairs of socks.) To fill in on this wardrobe was not a significant expenditure. Previously, from 1949-1951, the respondent spent 40-70% of his salary on his wardrobe.

(9i) Respondent bought almost everything in state stores.

(9j) Heat was included in the rent. The rent, 170 forints per month, paid over a 10 month period. Electricity and gas were 10-15 forints per month.

(9k) There was central heating. Experienced no difficulty with ~~electricity~~ <sup>electricity</sup> and gas.

(9l) His medical expenses were limited to dental bills. Dentists were not expensive. Cost was 30-40 forints per filling of cavity.

(9m) 24 days vacation per year.

(9n) Radio, 10 forints per month (the price of radio was 1800 forints, to be paid in 9 months.) Movies twice per week. Price of admission, 5 forints per person, spent about



100 forints per month, for two people. Attended theater and opera about twice per month. Charge of admission, 20 forints each. Spent about 80 forints per month on these. He purchased no books or newspapers of this regime. He did not pay for sports, because the tennis courts and equipment ~~he~~ he used were provided free. He never utilized trade union vacation resorts. He spent about 10-20 forints per day on confectionaries at the espresso. This totalled about 300-600 forints per month.

- (9o) Travelling abroad (Czechoslovakia, Poland) 2000 forints per person.
- (10) The respondent's income was fair. The rest of his family's income was not fair.
- (10a) Yes, but only to the extent that he allowed them to.
- (10b) Yes.
- (10c) Yes.
- (10d) The entire effort of the poor country (Hungary) was placed into the service of the Communists and the Soviet Union.
- (10e) There were no financial conflicts between the laborers and the white collar workers.
- (10e) The peace loans were utilized as a means of siphoning off the excess purchasing power so that the window display articles would not be bought up. Or, in other words, to prevent the purchase of these as goods available.

- (10f) See (3c)
- (10g) In 1948-1949, respondent participated in compulsory seminars given by the Communist Party trade unions.
- (11a) The development of the Hungarian economic life was forced, and did not consider the needs of the people.
- (11bc) Disorganized development of heavy industry was unnecessary, and heavy military expenditures were detrimental.
- (11d) The problem of the 3.5 million agricultural proletariat, the agricultural shares, low agricultural prices, lack of consumer goods, importation difficulty, and the 600-1000 million pengos removal by Germans as war booty (1941-1943).
- (11e) The land reforms and nationalization of large firms helped the situation. But because of heavy reparation payments and other ~~robberies~~ robberies, under various labels, unfavorable results were obtained.
- (11f) It was prepared during the period of only light Russian pressure. There was a realistic approach contained in it, a concept worth trying, because of its primarily short term provision, it was easy to evaluate.
- (11g) It was characterized by investments drowned in chaos.
- (11h) The Nagy government pulled into the foreground, the previously suppressed agricultural program, in order to win the acclamation of the oppressed millions of agricultural workers.

- (11i) Because of the constantly increading dissatisfaction, this was one of the major problems.
- (11j) Since 1949, the situation was improved, and, in general, one could obtain most everything. The government worked strongly to inflate the economy, and Hungary occupied the distinguished third place among the "people's ~~democracies~~ *democracies*."
- (12a) Everyone lives from the market, and measures the operations of a regime through his stomach.
- (12b) The absence of freedom of thought, the enforced planning of the ideology, the lack of objectives in life, and the robbing of the most precious asset,--the people's time.
- (12c) The middle class, which had been the backbone of the previous regime.
- (12d) They hoped in secret.
- (12e) The workers, skilled and unskilled, were generally better paid than the white collar workers. Thus, the workers' dissatisfaction was directed against the slave-driving, and against the Soviet Socialistic work methods, and the always most unpleasant manifestations of Communism.
- (12f) Every manifestation of the revolution is credited to workers. The students furnished only the spiritual basis, and provided only support to the efforts of the workers.

- (1a) 1925-1942
- (1b) Engineering diploma. School of Engineering
- (1c) School of Engineering, Budapest.
- (2a,b,c,d) No.
- (2e) Seminar of the Party and of the Trade Union.
- (2f) In 1948-49, he thought that these courses were obligatory, and if he had not taken them, they would kick him out, but the minute he realized that he will not be kicked out if he does not attend the seminars, this happy moment happened in 1949, he never once attended another one. F
- (3-8) Not applicable.
- (9a) Communism tried to rob people of their religious illusions without giving them anything in their place.
- Children became hypocrites. They would think in one way, and express themselves in another. Many did not know who was right: their teachers or their parents.
- (9b,c,d) Everything was superficial as a consequence of the many lies perpetrated, The Communists completely lost their credit. Their slogans were the subject of jokes.
- (9e,f) Unfortunately it was effective as far as the third generation was concerned. The souls lost completely their relationship with the past, their
- (10a) A small middle class (government employees).
- (10b) Middle class (stock market speculators)

- (11) His father and mother are today pensioned government employees.

The father of his wife tried to get jobs at different enterprises, by doing statistics, and even management of the plant.

- (12) A post office comptroller.

- (12a) No.

- (12b) He worked from 1919-1949.

- (12c) He worked an awful lot for a very low salary.

- (12d) He graduated secondary school and took a trade exam.

- (12e) He wanted respondent to become an engineer, in order not to work so hard for such low salaries as he was obliged to do during his whole life.

- (13) His father made 200-240 pengos<sup>200-250</sup>, his mother ~~200-250~~ pengos<sup>200-250</sup> per month in the '20s; later, at the end of the '30s ~~haz~~ they ~~zazhaz~~ made around 360-400 pengos<sup>200-250</sup> per month. From these salaries they ~~would~~ <sup>brought</sup> ~~zzing~~ up, and educated their children, but ~~hazz~~ <sup>had</sup> to deprive themselves of everything.

- (14) The family was composed of four members. The father, mother, daughter, and son.

- (14a) The parents worked from 1949-~~1955~~<sup>1955</sup>, until they were pensioned.

His sister finished the university in 1944-45, and is today a teacher of physical education.

- (14c-d) He lived alone in his separate apartment.



- (15) See 14, subquestion(a)
- (15a) He was not regarded as a class enemy, but as a class alien. That's why he could not get a job where he would have handled confidential material (ministry).
- (17) Yes.
- (17a) He had a PhD in economics and worked at the Economic Institute of Budapest.
- (17b) 1949-1953. The marriage ended in divorce.
- (17c) None.
- (18-21) Not applicable.
- (22) Together with his sisters, he liked his sisters very much, but they never respected them. His sister and he had adopted the attitude of not arguing with each other. /exchanged views on
- (23a,b) Only superficially. They discussed the daily political and, so to speak, official events, and discussed them briefly and superficially.
- (24) If it had been up to him, he would rather have gone to medical school.
- (25) He does not belong to the type of people who respects his age. He only respects knowledge, and capacities to acquire knowledge. That's why, fortunately, at the age of 16-20, he did not respect at all his parents, who would come home tired, from their daily drudgery. Father lived separately, mother lived with his sister separately, and the whole family would meet about once or twice a week.
- (25b) Most of the middle class families lived this way. Only those

who were under worse circumstances than his family was, had to live about 6-8 in one small apartment.

(25c)

There was not much free time. He would read mostly, sometimes listen to the radio. During the summer he would play tennis, and on weekends would go to swim in the pools. During winters, theater, opera, concerts, and bridge parties.

(25d)

The usual weekly Sunday, and holiday dinners at his mother's place.

(25e)

About twice weekly he would see his family for two or three hours.

(27)

The members of different families family members were scattered, and everyone's free time was limited, but the feeling of belonging together, and the feeling of wanting to help, was manifoldly increased.

(27a)

Because the Socialist regime wanted to tear families apart, and destroy them economically.

(27b)

One can always trust parents and brothers and sisters, but until one can only trust a wife ~~inasmuch~~ the economic interests are common.

(27b)

See (27)

(27d)

Depending upon the nature. Those who were affectionate, close to each other in the previous regime, found themselves even closer bound during this regime.

(27e)

Yes.

(28a) Yes, boys and girls mix more freely, especially at places of entertainment. (this is more a Western touch).

(28b) It seems that since 1949-1950, earlier marriages have been occurring.

It is a fact, that there are more unsuccessful marriages and divorces than ever before.

(28c,d) Frequent marriages occur between colleagues in different offices.

And, due to the ~~comi~~-present poverty, more important than the courtship, was the financing of dinners, different articles of clothing.

(28e) It has never seemed during the course of history. Until money will be money, this will be hard currency.

It did blossom during the Socialist regime, with the only difference<sup>as</sup> - compared to the previous regime, - that from the street it was forced into enterprises (the construction industry was especially honored. - Szakkar~~z~~zszazesszstalinveros Kazinadarcika, etc.) There, they were regular. Current prices: a well-groomed, good looking, technical designer's monthly payment would be a 100% wool cardigan (550-700 forints)

(28r) After they have lead astray people's morals, they started to repair these morals with bombastic pseudo-socialist phrases.

If they would single out somebody, then they would mercilessly tear into his private life, even if the poor fellow had only one hopeless love. But the depraved morals of the party members were hardly, or not at all, noticed.

- (28g) AS the goal of the system, and of the peace camp, is the propagation of the species, the dissemination of the knowledge of birth control, and abortions, were punishable. It was the sacred duty of each woman, whether she was 16 or 60 to give birth to brand new Communists.
- (28h) Illegitimate children sprung up especially among factory workers. The system protected the mother, and she was the one who was always right (was awarded support for the child), if she could prove that there was a relationship between her and the alleged father. There were plenty of witnesses who swore for a couple of forints to everything.
- (29a) Engineer.
- (29b) 40 years of age, his father was an officer (captain).
- (29c) They would discuss cultural and literary questions.
- (29d) Yes. Since 1941.
- (29e) He became a Communist Party member, and since 1948 he worked at the AVH, has the rank of major.
- (29f) Since 1951, not at all.
- (29g) Friendship offers what love usually cannot offer, namely spirit and objective logic.
- (29h) See (29e)
- (30) Father is Protestant; mother is Catholic.
- (30a) Father did not go to church. Mother used to.
- (30b) They mixed-up the Communist ideology is not a substitute for religion, the "kulturmoral" substitutes religion only above a certain level.

430  
(31a)

The Party would interfere in everything. Through school it influenced the relationship between children and parents.

(31b,c)

According to respondent, the most vehement attack of the Party were directed against the Catholic church, because of its Western origin, and because of the power of the Pope.

The Party was more tolerant to Protestantism, and there were no religious objections voiced against Judaism.

(31d)

The majority of the anti-Communist prejudices were drawn from religion, and religion was the only organized force, in which protection against Communism was sought.

(31e)

In the Soviet Union, the Communist regime has tried to stamp religion out, but then it decided to use it for its own ends. (dialectics!!!)

(31f)

They intended to shell off the crowd behind the religious leaders.

(31g)

Of course, this could not be controlled completely.

(31h)

Very seldom, and only to accompany his mother.

(31i)

People would generally go to the obligatory Sunday services. His own circle of friends did not attend church services.

(31j)

He thinks of them the same way he thinks of his colleagues who, although had a relatively good position, (chief engineer-- 2400 forints salary), entered the Party.

(31k)

See (31)(b,c)

(31 l)

Religion does mean less today. People see that, after all, it does not offer any protection. In addition to this, they



notice the cowardly attitude of certain priests.

(32 32)

Economically, the Jews loved more than the opposite number--  
Christian middle class--which only had prejudices, but no

~~wealth~~ *Wealth*

(32a) They

They assimilated much more rapidly than the Christians,  
and entered the Party in bigger numbers. (the majority of  
them entered the Party through the fusion of the Communists  
with the Social Democrats.) The system trusted the Jews  
and could use them mainly in the field of internal and  
external trade.

(32b)

They either took part enthusiastically or observed cautiously  
the course of the events--the existence, and growing by the  
minute <sup>of</sup> anti-Semitism.

(32c)

While the Communist regime is in power, only individual  
accidents can happen to Jews, but <sup>if</sup> there would be a change  
of regime, then, many Jews will have to pay for the sin of  
Communism.

For their own good, it might have been more clever to  
emigrate to a place, where they would be protected against  
racial prejudices.

(33)

1. The leading Communist stratum (being the upper 10,000)
2. The spiritual aristocracy (the Kossuth prize winners)  
Those, who earned 80-150,000 per year, and the first class  
sportsmen.
3. The middle <sup>upper</sup> ~~lower~~ technicians (2500-4000 forints per month  
salary.

(33a)

No. 3

(33b)

Did not want to belong to either No. 1 or No. 3. The worst off under Communism.

1. The high officials of the Horthy administration, the aristocrats, the land owners, the capitalists, (these were the ones who were deported).
2. The members of the middle class under the Horthy regime.
3. The agricultural and industrial unskilled workers.

(34)

Doctor.

(34a)

It is an individualistic profession.

It is remunerative.

It's not soul-killing.

(34b)

Conscientiousness and diligence (these <sup>2</sup> qualities <sup>3</sup>, though <sup>1</sup> are not the qualities the Communists demand)

(34c)

Able children of workers.

(1)

Only to the extent ~~that~~ to which it directly affects one's <sup>life</sup> ~~stage~~ or to the extent it takes place in front of our eyes. History has two periods, the so-called cucumber period between two wars and <sup>the rapid</sup> ~~the~~ events (the breaking out of a revolution) which <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ date; the students will have to know by heart.

(1a)

Politics in Hungary is the means to achieve ~~their~~ goals, to get ahead, that's why its hard to detect behind the tumultuous scene the political relationships of the events. In 1939, for instance, one could foresee the outbreak of World War II in England or in France. In Hungary the external politics consisted of servile fawning, gala demonstrations <sup>and</sup> those who could see behind the scenes could not voice their opinions because the press was directed, liberal and reactionary papers were silenced. In connection with the Transylvanian or Yugoslavian events, the papers should have had ~~an~~ mourning editions instead of ~~with~~ <sup>one's</sup> festive ~~editions~~. It should have been clear that the Western Powers could not consider the ~~handmade~~ <sup>"fant breaks"</sup> performed in Transylvania and Yugoslavia as permanent. They should have known that the Treaty of Vienna could not have the same kind of stamp as the one of Versailles had.

(1b)

One had to be an on looker because, if one had stated that the war is nonsense, the government would have court martialed the clear thinking one, if military, or imprisoned him, if civilian.

An illustration of the way public opinion had <sup>s</sup> always been directed in Hungary--illustration of the sheep-like behavior of the <sup>crowd:</sup> ~~crowd~~, during World War II, one had to restrain the population from tearing to pieces the Negro aviators who had parachuted; today the Negro is considered the most unhappy being on earth who will have to be liberated <sup>and</sup> ~~who~~, at present, is constantly lynched.

(1c)

Never measured <sup>it</sup> due to the reasons outlined above, politics interested him

only in a third degree. He was interested mainly in the eternal values (literature, music) of humanity. Secondly, in his own profession.

There is no constructive national politics in Hungary--~~Weltanschauungs~~<sup>Weltanschauungs</sup> are being exchanged on the spur of the moment.

(d)

Yes, partly in connection with the March Youth, partly in connection with a leftist circle of ~~university~~<sup>university</sup> students. Along literary and musical ~~lines~~<sup>lines</sup>, the members of this circle ~~would~~<sup>ed</sup> discuss the--banished, at the time--Western cultural values; they were organizing themselves against the war by criticizing the tendency which ~~had~~<sup>had</sup> led ~~us~~ to it. They tried to include in their circle those provincial boys who showed some affinity for good taste. The majority of these boys, though<sup>d</sup>, had spiritual blindness<sup>er</sup>--they were against the poet Ady, ~~thinks~~<sup>thinks</sup> they were anti-Semitic, labeled their opponents as "Western stooges", "Communists", and <sup>"Anglo-Saxon"</sup> "Plutocrats".

(e)

Due to the fact that the nature of his circle was as described above, due to the fact that the members had incessant discussions and arguments with those members of the opposing camp who were capable of debating, he had to inform himself by reading cultural, political glossaries written by Jeno ~~Kacs~~<sup>Kacs</sup> Tombor, R. Tempefői, and even Szakašits. In other words, he was well informed.

In connection with the above mentioned names, respondent was angry with himself that he could not remember the name of the journalist, ~~Kacs~~<sup>Kacs</sup> Kacskenetj, from the Pester Lloyd. The recent way of life had necessarily repercussions in the dying out of names and concepts--the chain was broken--the souls ceased ~~existing~~<sup>turning</sup>. His generation somehow breathed in the cultural values of their fathers and grandfathers--that was the basis they wanted to build their culture on--the Greek philosophy. But the citizens of the new Hungary had no opportunity to keep in touch with the values of the older generations; that's why they are semi-cultured or not cultured at all. And if one scratched the enamel, the lack of culture

~~would~~<sup>o</sup> became evident--that's why Fascists and Communists hated all types of discussions; every discussion was considered a threat to the <sup>is</sup> system. They knew this instinctively and ~~making~~<sup>he</sup> acted according to their individual temperaments.

(1f)

As the system condemned the product of the ~~the~~ bourgeoisie culture which it could not use for the Soviet Socialist propaganda (the ~~effect~~<sup>effect</sup> of this education was visible in the lack of interest in cultural goods of the newer generation) the grown-ups retrieved. There was no sense in having political discussions because they had to be done behind locked doors--and at that point they were not interesting any more because everybody had the same opinion. The criticism of the system was taken care of with the Hungarian equivalent of the Latin word "excrementum". Thus the meeting "degenerated" into cultural discussions (do you remember ~~these~~ ...?), ~~perhaps~~; In a way, they were Utopistic because they attributed to the West steps and intentions which were mere suppositions--they expected Messiah because their situation was bad. It was an abstract politics and had nothing to do with real life. They dreamed about ~~pickings~~<sup>pickings</sup>, ~~spittings~~ -- the Revolution manifested itself in the culmination of the above in millions of ~~variants~~. Even ~~if~~<sup>even</sup> the Communists would succumb to this type of revenge because in their <sup>own</sup> "shop" there were always some who were even more reliable than they were.

(2)

Insecurity of life and possessions. Thus, the lack of freedom of the individual, of the society, and of the nation. There is a reign of terror, thus the individual is afraid.

One aspect of the restrictions was the interference with civil rights.

One had to commit psychological prostitution because the regime demanded that the individual adopt ~~his~~ its political concepts. In order to stay alive, or keep his relative freedom (and assure for this the economical means, thus the bare minimum), the individual could not oppose



the regime; otherwise the same sanctions, put in practice with Socialist methods, would have been applied ~~and~~ <sup>which were World</sup> during the war <sup>II</sup> during the Horthy regime.

Number 7 was the sine qua non condition of the conventional people, <sup>A</sup> as far as the respondent is concerned, <sup>i</sup> if the regime had granted his civil rights, his freedom, the economical minimum, he could have imagined his life without ~~them~~ <sup>then</sup>.

Three and Five are insufficiencies of an economical nature. What really hurt though were the wilfully done damages (to the individual and to the society) by the socialist system. These inflicted damages were labeled as <sup>s</sup> steps in the building of socialism. What hurt were not only the low salaries in comparison with the <sup>cost of</sup> high living ~~standards~~ and the inadequate housing conditions, the fact that the food was carried to Russia, but that the system was in want of all types of articles, in other words the general insufficiency which characterized the socialist system.

Ten, eleven. In this system only those could make careers who would join the group of the barkers. One could succeed only in <sup>a disproportionate</sup> the degree with one's ability to make oneself useful for the system.

And the latter mainly used the low capacities of human beings. It taught everybody to ~~like~~ <sup>and</sup> lie, to spy, to slander. These activities were relatively easy to perform--one could make a capital of practically everything: if somebody lived well, then his wife or his mother had hidden jewelry, if he frequented ~~the~~ theatres, ~~then~~ he was having a good time in a demonstrative sort of way, if he did not frequent theatres, ~~then~~ he was ~~giving~~ plugging his ears toward the socialist culture, if he drank rum, ~~then~~ he was an alcoholic, if he did not drink rum, ~~then~~ he used other narcotics, if he went around with women, ~~then~~ he was depraved, if he did not go around with women, ~~then~~ he was homosexual, if he went around with one woman ~~then~~ he still was a homosexual but used her as an alibi. In



about land, about the kulaks <sup>problems</sup> about collectivization. In these instances, the peasant did not play politics, he was talking about his own fate.)  
 Number vi <sup>for here</sup> ~~those~~ who had land--the smallholders and the "fat" kulaks.  
 Number x.

The agricultural stratum is composed of ex-farmhands ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  million) ~~and~~ some of whom became smallholders after the land reform, some of whom entered the collectivized farms and some of whom were taken into the cities to counter-balance the unreliable bourgeois society. The rest of the agricultural stratum is formed of smallholders who had been kulaks during the previous regime. Coming back to the ex-farmhands who had left the ~~villages~~ <sup>were</sup> ~~concentrated~~ and moved into cities, what would have become of them, if the Revolution had succeeded, is a puzzling question. They would not have wanted to go back to their villages ~~to~~ vacate the apartments where they had hot water, elevators and beautiful views.

(2d)

Since they are more primitive, they were mostly stricken by the economical aspects, namely ~~by~~ <sup>at all</sup> and iii (They were not hit by number vi). If somebody could prove that he was ~~even~~ a genuine proletarian the system did not bother him: if, during demonstrations, workers <sup>and students</sup> could be arrested, they ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~notwithstanding~~ <sup>if the former could prove a genuine proletarian background, they were regarded as "bit" players and were immediately released.</sup>

- (2d) W4 ~~1~~ ---this point did not affect the workers because the number of saloons has been increased, amusement parks have been enlarged, ~~the~~ games of skittles were going on everywhere, there was ~~the~~ drinking of beer, and <sup>many</sup> ~~many~~ banquets took place, <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ connection with the Stahanovist diplomas; there <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>5</sup> ~~Gener~~ Snitzel, beer, the scuffle that goes with it, but no money. If the proud Stahanovist would keep the attained result, then, after six months, he would get a two weeks salary, and if he would keep the attained result <sup>a</sup> for one year period, then he would receive a salary of four weeks, but then he had the additional honor to teach the younger workers. <sup>all these</sup> ~~these~~ arrangements were made by the "Work Tournament Manager"---this system blossomed indeed like a sea of weeds.
- (2e) The degree of affliction was determined by the family background of the individual. Unless ~~this~~ this was instigated by the family, the student did not oppose the regime. The student body on the whole was the nursing of the system and it took it for granted to be groomed for future leading positions and to be the recipient of the commensurate <sup>t</sup> donations, (financial rewards).
- (2f) Due to the fact that these wants ~~wants~~ were existent, some people entered the Party and thus became the bearers of an emblem, nothing more. Some would enter just not to be bothered any more, but the bothering did not cease with this move, on the contrary. Many had thought that this "marriage" between them and the Party was an affair where the interests of the individual would prevail, but they found out that they got married out of sheer love.
- (2g) One would feel these grievances acutely every single day, because every single day something annoying would be invented. The more conscious the individual was, the more chances he had to see, through the facade, ~~at the~~ relationships between different events.
- (2h) > If the person happens to be a narrative type, then he would talk <sup>- so</sup> ~~and~~ this depended entirely upon what type the respective person belonged to. ~~the~~

The more the situation lasted, the more unbearable it became. One could not budge for ten years, ~~there was no hope of ever~~ see the blue Adriatic Sea, the Tyrolean Mountains and life was running out. No money, no freedom, no spirit, no gusto.

- (21) The regime either did not want to help (religious life), or could not ~~help~~ help (housing situation, supply of food). Only collective manifestations could be borne, there was no launching except from above. The "innovations" were done either by the manager of the works tournament or by certain <sup>persons</sup> entrusted to make suggestions by the Party.

Does he understand the question correctly, are we asking him whether he personally did something about the Party's interference with civil rights? His life was <sup>dear to him</sup> ~~was~~. During the last ten years, the Party worked out such a <sup>net</sup> ~~work~~ that people, who would not hold their cups ~~as~~ <sup>would</sup> as proletarians ~~would~~, were labeled as Westerners. In other words, one did have to watch one's self. Yes. He resisted passively by not hiding his disgust,--he could afford to do it because he knew <sup>that</sup> there was want for engineers.

- (3a) Yes, with the Communist Party. Those members of his circle of friends from his university days who were still alive, received high positions in the Party. And, as for the stopping of <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ friendship a whole series of disappointments is necessary, they did communicate, they did visit each other. His friends would stop by at the engineering school where he was an assistant professor from 1945 to 1948, and they would discuss current affairs--he never gave them reports though, mainly because they never asked for them.

- (3b) Yes, around the Thirties he was a member of the NEP (Nemzeti Egyseg Part).

- (3c) Four and five.

- (3d) It constantly changed, Stalin taught the Hungarians <sup>the science of</sup> dialectic. The opinion of the individual toward society changes, society itself changes <sup>thus</sup>, their rapport constantly changes parabolically.

- (3e) This was valid for everybody. People expect something and if their hopes



are not fulfilled ~~then~~ they are disappointed. Expressed less romantically, there where misery and terror exists one cannot keep on for a long time <sup>to being</sup> an idealist.

Most of the people were hypocrites because they would derive advantages from the attitude. But there were some who were convinced, ~~and~~ they were mostly limited intellectually, obtuse; <sup>nevertheless</sup> <sup>though</sup> it is a fact ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> there were some who were convinced but were not narrow minded, these were mainly in leading positions. The answer to <sup>motivated</sup> what ~~these~~ <sup>these</sup> people will have to be given by psychology.

(3f) Through its network and organization, the Party checked the individual <sup>as one</sup> could not organize anything because the AVH would <sup>"roll"</sup> ~~throw~~ up any type of movement toward freedom. The recent events were due to the psychological short circuit of the regime.

(4) Nobody ~~mentioned~~ ever denied it <sup>the Party</sup>. The Party which was even above the government. The official statement <sup>started out with</sup> said, "Our Party and our government <sup>have</sup> ~~has~~ brought the following decisions".

The Party received instructions from Moscow either through the leading exponents of the Party living in Hungary or through ordering the leading exponents to Moscow. The way of giving directions and the subordinate relationship varied from situation to situation and from time to time. It was extremely difficult to establish, during the period which lasted from Stalin's death to the Revolution, in whose hands ~~among the Party officials~~ the power actually was.

(5) The Hungarian government followed the objectives of the Soviet imperialistic politics: (1) keep up the appearance of a voluntary joining. (2) use the economic energy sources <sup>of the satellite</sup> ~~for~~ satisfying its ambition to acquire world power and to strengthen its own economic status, (3) use the territories of the satellites from a strategic viewpoint. Every Hungarian Communist government

was a puppet government.

(5a,b)

As the government in the Soviet Union <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ run on the basis of elections it <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ done in the same way in Hungary, which <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ just as eager to keep up the appearance of a constitutional government. It <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ no secret though that all this <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ sheer propaganda—that proof is the fact that the Communist Party would come in ~~number~~ after each election with a majority of 97-99 percentage.

(5c)

It exercised the municipal public administration, and executed the decrees and directions of the government.

(5d)

Was increased many fold.

(5e)

The <sup>more</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> government is, the more graft and bribery are blossoming. In the capitalist system there <sup>are</sup> ~~were~~ "fact" <sup>thus</sup> ~~but~~ relatively few. The present ~~present~~ Hungarian system ~~was~~ surpassed in corruption even the Rumanian one, which is the same. ~~These~~ These bribes should be the subject of a special study.

(5f)

~~These~~ Civil service officials came partly from the Kader material of the industrial workers, and mainly from the three and one-half million ex-farm hands <sup>these</sup> ~~these~~ <sup>plenty</sup> ~~these~~ (they were ~~many~~ of ~~these~~ and they could be easily replaced in villages because anybody can grab the horns of an ox). The latter was a reliable crowd on which the system could count. The influx of this stratum was partly responsible for the bad housing situation in the great cities.

(5g)

i Before 1948 it came from the so-called leftist reactionary intelligentsia of the previous regime.

ii After 1948, the ~~municipal~~ military material was recruited from peasant <sup>stock</sup> ~~stuff~~.

There was a big human reserve and the Communists were much more willing to use peasants than industrial workers who were so much needed in factories.

(6)

Does not know much about it because he has not been a member. The age limit was 26. The women who passed the age limit would be grouped in the <sup>D</sup> ~~MMESZ~~, but there was no opposite number for men.

- (6a) See subquestions 1 and 2 of question (2). Then it would steal one's free time, one had to sell brochures, "educate" the people, carry the flag at demonstrations, membership fee, etc.
- (6b) People would be told that their place is in the Youth League (Code ~~2222~~ <sup>at the age</sup> of 26).
- (6c) They system had educated them, they had been members already ~~and~~ <sup>high</sup> at school *and/or* university, thus when they entered enterprises they were, so to speak, automatically sucked up. They were young, they would fall in. They did not have the psychological readiness, <sup>rather</sup> preparation to defend themselves, <sup>in less</sup> ~~otherwise~~ they had ~~not~~ received "destructive" education at home. This was extremely dangerous because each home would be surveyed from three points: the regional organization of the Party, the school and the DISZ. Thus, parents had to educate their children cautiously.
- Sometimes there was no DISZ at the enterprise, then again campaigns would be started <sup>which</sup> and sooner or later <sup>die out</sup> they would forget about it.
- (6d) If the individual happened to be a "good operator" (one of the ways of being a good operator in the Communist system consists in simulating stupidity), or ~~he would not~~ <sup>he would not</sup> have a permanent working place.
- (6e) It was <sup>superfluous</sup> burden, without any advantage whatsoever. An intelligent person cannot stand the forcing into collectivization, the tendency of the Communist system.
- (6f) No.
- (6h,i,j,k) Not applicable.
- (6l) He was above the age limit.
- (6m,n,o,p,q) Not ~~applicable~~ applicable.
- (7) It meant, in the ferocious struggle, a possibility for livelihood, a local protection.
- (7a) Bruised, exhausted, weary souls who could not stand the free competition

- (7b) Those who were dissatisfied with their financial situation, ~~those~~ who ~~from~~ figured that life was running out, and ~~that~~ they did not have any other way to help themselves.
- (7c) There were no explicitly stated plus rights. The membership meant a pronounced honor, though. If there was a Party meeting, the member could enter the sacred room.
- (7d) It meant that the individual was kept in evidence in a <sup>100</sup> ~~hundred~~ places and not 99 as before, and the hundredth became the first in importance.
- (7e) In August 1956, <sup>a</sup> the colleague of his entered the Party. He probably had <sup>a</sup> ~~a major psychological~~ complex Minderwertigkeit and everything must have ground him inside for awhile until he made the decision." How did different people join the Party, <sup>a</sup> would be the subject for ~~the~~ humorist. If Karinthy had lived, he would have been able to give the mirror of the distortions of the regime <sup>Seen</sup> ~~through the scope~~ from his particular angle.
- (7f) Yes, in 1948 there was the great purge, the weeding out, <sup>can</sup> ~~and~~ the classing-- that's when they invented the "probation <sup>period</sup> ~~theory~~ <sup>it works</sup> ~~theory~~ like the purgatory. If the candidate does not correspond from an ideological <sup>had to</sup> point, <sup>view</sup> ~~then~~ there is no heaven. <sup>it</sup> ~~Then~~ he stayed a probationary candidate for <sup>for</sup> 6 months or one year, until he matures ideologically. If, during this period, one would discover that he is not pure enough, then the gates of heaven will be closed eternally for him. But, this closing and opening of the gates would have fluctuations. There were people who could commit anything and were not expelled, and others who were expelled ~~and~~ for minor errors. These actions were the result of the <sup>no on an</sup> ~~monetary~~ political whim.
- (7g) No, so
- (7i,j,k) Not applicable.
- (7l) Yes, they would use an exceptionally strong propaganda to get hold of

engineers, technicians, ~~and technicians~~.

(7m)

In the 10-F division of the Ministry of Communications and Postal Affairs,

Due to technical expanding, ~~where~~ a chief engineer was needed. He was hired, worked for five months, but he was never appointed as a permanent employee and the minute a Party member was found <sup>and what not to do.</sup> he, the latter, got the job, after respondent had taught him what to do. In addition to vital questions, the <sup>non-</sup> membership influenced one's life with a multitude of ~~social and economic~~ nuances.

(7n)

See above.

(7o)

<sup>and</sup> Categoricaly, yes. The system teaches baseness, a membership in the Party gives you an additional education in this direction, thus Party members were more intensely low than ordinary mortals.

(7p)

~~the~~ Moscow handed directions over to the Party which handed them over to the government. The working-out of the <sup>methods</sup> message was done ~~carefully~~ with the help of economists, "kaders", specialists (they would measure the human material) and psychiatrists.

(7q)

The government was under the Party.

(7r, s, t)

The Council of Ministers was directed by the Executive Committee of the Party and in the Council of Ministers <sup>he</sup> ~~the different ministers~~ and representatives of the trade unions were <sup>also</sup> present.

(7u) ~~throughout the country~~ Through peace pastors.

(8)

No, thus,

(8a thru p)

Not applicable.

(9)

This is a difficult to solve riddle. Namely, that the youth which <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ brought up by the system should turn against the system. Since <sup>then</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>they are</sup> their being brutally extirpated ~~when~~ the trials going on in Hungary, at present, are mostly directed against the university students.

(9a)

The turning against the Russians and Communists became <sup>mass</sup> hysteria. This is one point. Another one is the fact that youth is always revolutionary. It always revere Petöfi and not Stalin or Lenin, and



it will always bring us claims, in the spirit of Petöfi even if, meanwhile, <sup>up</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>was built</sup> ~~built~~ a country for it with the slogans of Stalin and Lenin.

~~The third point: the youth get drunk on the knowledge it drinks and it~~

Youth

<sup>whenever</sup> will always demonstrate ~~whatever~~ it has a way and a reason to do so, in

the name of freedom. Whether this youthful spirit will be drowned in

their drinking or will make a revolution, depends entirely upon the

nation. (During their drinking the <sup>four</sup> ~~the~~ "world saving"

Hitlerist dogma were born.) <sup>third</sup> The fourth point is that <sup>with the youth so avidly assimilate</sup> ~~this~~ knowledge, the

ability to criticise is paralysed. Youth suddenly realizes that the

propaganda is cheap, that the real ideas are far removed from the pseudo-

ideas being practised daily. Thus, it forges points into which it squeezes

the whole idealism it is capable of.

<sup>tried</sup> , genuine, ~~then~~ thorough paced, Communists from the

previous regime; <sup>The core was</sup> ~~and in big majority~~ were recruited from the peasant

stock, and a smaller ~~and~~ degree ~~they were recruited~~ from the human

material of the industrial workers.

(9b)

He didn't. They were lifted out from their environment and were given material advantages—housing, excellent food, high ~~and~~ salaries (an officer had about 10,000 forints per month).

(9c)

The lower stratum was vulgar, primitive and obtuse, only a blind means,

a mechanism to pull the trigger. The upper stratum also believed in

the strength of the regime and never figured that ~~such~~ a turning point

<sup>might</sup> ~~would~~ come which eventually would bring their downfall.

(9d)

Bad, worse

- (9e) AVH and informers were usually more insanity--pathologically mean.
- (11) No.
- (12) If ~~he~~ <sup>the individual</sup> does not want to get into trouble, and ~~it~~ <sup>does not</sup> happen to have such grave genetic ~~faults~~ <sup>faults</sup> which would lead ~~into~~ <sup>automatically</sup> into trouble (it is, indeed, a ~~prince~~ <sup>big mistake</sup> to be born a prince in Hungary, at the present time), then the individual does not get into trouble (in America, the economic system <sup>in</sup> itself does not give birth to rich people, either).
- (12a) ~~of~~ <sup>An</sup> ~~unskilled~~ <sup>descent</sup> workers, if he is of a ~~proletarian~~ <sup>guaranteed</sup> ~~effect~~; ~~because~~ if he is an intellectual, then if something ~~happens~~ <sup>goes wrong</sup>, it is invariably proven that he ~~is~~ <sup>has been</sup> an infiltrated spy. Generally speaking, the leading positions carry more responsibility, ~~and~~ <sup>thus</sup> are less safe.
- (12b) If this means that the individual performs "an active milling" in the party and in the organizations of the party, then, in proportion, ~~this is~~ <sup>with his</sup> professional background, he can attain the highest positions.
- (12c) If the person who is asking help is in a similarly high position, ~~then~~ <sup>as</sup> those he is addressing, then notice is taken of the action; if not, then no notice is taken. Favoritism exists in an increased proportion than it ~~has~~ <sup>s</sup> existed during the ~~Horthy~~ <sup>Horthy</sup> regime.
- (12d) It does help--a peasant family background is extremely helpful for career purposes. Many tried <sup>to</sup> ~~forge~~ "artistic" biographies, but often the truth ~~comes~~ <sup>came</sup> out. This "uncovering" is being done very efficiently in the Communist system.

(12e)

No society was created <sup>yet</sup> where money would not have been ~~extremely~~ <sup>most</sup> helpful. Due to the fact that, in a Socialist state, it is ~~extremely~~ <sup>actually</sup> difficult to accumulate money, it is extremely helpful to have it. But, the person should go about dressed in rags. — In other words, he ~~had to~~ <sup>should</sup> enjoy his money in secret, because he is immediately being asked where he got it from and it is ~~sure~~ <sup>dead</sup> that he did not acquire it in an ~~honest~~ <sup>honorable</sup> way because, in a Socialist society, one cannot get hold of money in a decent way. The individual could use money to buy himself an apartment with, but he certainly ~~cannot~~ <sup>could not</sup> use it as a capital. He has to work. If ~~he~~ <sup>somebody</sup> happened to have 100,000 forints, then he ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> an idiot, because the money either devaluates or is ~~being~~ taken away. But 10,000 forints can be easily disposed of--it will be taken away almost automatically by the ~~coming~~ <sup>next</sup> misery ~~stage~~ <sup>stage</sup>.

(12f)

The person <sup>who grows</sup> ~~is~~ continuously against the regime exposes himself, in an increased proportion, to annoyances.

(12g)

Of course--the more valuable the work, the more classified, <sup>risky</sup> but the more ~~dangerous~~. From a religious point of view, ~~all~~ <sup>did</sup> women ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> being left alone, while young men ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> being annoyed.

(13)

The police was decent. Respondent didn't have the honor to meet the AVH personally. The rules of procedure, used by the police and by the court, were legal. The AVH had a special procedure combined with slappings, kickings,

~~and~~ tortures. The sentence was determined in advance, in the case of political criminals and in the case of those who were judged by military courts.

(12a) The cases brought in front of the police and the courts were mostly divorces, and co-tenants affairs. In these <sup>instances</sup> ~~cases~~, the judgements were more or less depending on luck.

(13b) Their jurisdiction differed (civil or political procedures).

(13c) <sup>A</sup> ~~The~~ group apart within the AVOs were the so-called green AVOs. <sup>They</sup> ~~These~~ were performing their military duty and, if they had refused to serve, they would have been court-<sup>martialed</sup> ~~martialed~~.

(14) Yes.

(14a) The removal of the population in 51--the goal was the evacuation of the great cities. <sup>were deported</sup> People ~~who~~ because of their political convictions <sup>thus, ~~and~~ because they were</sup> ~~were~~ considered unreliable, and meant a burden to the system ~~reported~~. This way, the housing situation was solved, to a certain degree, and the social structure <sup>if the greater ~~side~~ and Budapest</sup> ~~changed~~, to a certain degree.

(14b) In '53, these removals, ~~these deportations~~, were annulled and the <sup>d</sup> ~~reported~~ people were allowed to settle around the great cities.

(15) <sup>decisions in</sup> The ~~vital~~ questions from the point of view of Communism -- and the theoretical directions came from Moscow, especially in the fields of internal, external, and defense affairs. The Hungarian nation was completely deprived of its independence. In addition to the <sup>above</sup> ~~republic~~, the Soviet Union prescribed how the energy sources of the Hungarian

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nations should be used <sup>in order</sup> to serve Russia ~~better~~.

(15a,b)

In Hungary, only the detailed questions would be decided as far as the external, internal, and defense matters were concerned. In the fields of economics, it had to be worked out, ~~how~~ how, out of the energy sources which were not taken away, Hungary could live and develop its industry, ~~and~~

(15c)

The Hungarian government had difficulties of economic nature periodically. In 1951, ~~there was a shortage of bread~~ <sup>there was a shortage of</sup> bread, so Moscow sent Genö Varga <sup>a</sup> ~~who was~~ (the director of <sup>a great</sup> research centers in the Soviet Union), to try to work out the problem.

(15d)

Respondent had met Russian technical inspectors in his office, in factories, in the building of the Russian delegation (102 Andrassy Street). They were ~~called~~ <sup>dead</sup> cold, unsociable, implacable, and only willing to talk ~~about the conditions~~ <sup>about</sup> the keeping of ~~that~~ lines, about the unsatisfying quality of the shipments, with the conceitedness of <sup>the</sup> respective hierarchy.

(15e)

In industry and within industry, the heavy ~~industry~~, the chemical ~~industry~~, ~~then came~~ the mining ~~industry~~, <sup>and</sup> the building industry, and agriculture.

(15f)

Russians were by the dozens in the <sup>P</sup> defense Ministry and in the <sup>M</sup> Ministry of <sup>I</sup> interior <sup>A</sup> affairs. Respondent did not see any in the construction, communication, <sup>P</sup> postal <sup>A</sup> affairs, and heavy <sup>I</sup> industry, <sup>in the</sup> <sup>Minister</sup> It is most likely that they were in the <sup>P</sup> planning board and, through the planning board, the



directions would be given to the respective enterprises.

(16a)

<sup>y</sup> ~~Hypocrisy~~ <sup>was</sup> was the main element of Communism because it ~~selected~~ <sup>express</sup> a vital question ~~that~~ <sup>in</sup> that the individual should not ~~express~~ <sup>would</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>momentarily</sup> opinion which ~~would~~ be in contradiction with the ~~monetary~~ ideology of the system.

(16b)

There are millions.

(16c)

It is a question of luck. To whom should one loan money? One can only find out the answer to the question ~~that~~ <sup>port facts.</sup> ~~was worth while to be loaned.~~ It is, in a word, a question of psychology.

(16d)

~~One~~ <sup>can</sup> could inquire about economical questions (if something became expensive or something disappeared from the market, then under the ~~the~~ veil of simple-mindedness, one could inquire why one ~~had~~ <sup>for instance</sup> not find diapers), but it was much more dangerous to inquire about military or external politics affairs.

(16e)

In '53 there was a slackening tendency, <sup>and</sup> ~~After~~ <sup>there were</sup> '48, there was a rigidifying tendency in between, variations on the above mentioned slackening <sup>or</sup> ~~of~~ rigidity.

(17a)

<sup>yf</sup> They were of an <sup>e</sup>conomic nature, then they were <sup>in</sup> ~~un~~placably carried out because the money was handled with increased caution in the Communist system.

(17a)

One could more easily disobey <sup>laws</sup> ~~goals~~ which were of a theoretic nature. As a matter of fact, these were ~~not~~ laws, but only decrees of the Russians.

(17b)

Those <sup>applying</sup> ~~pertaining~~ to the individual were severely checked, but those <sup>applying</sup> ~~pertaining~~ to enterprises were more easily circumvented.

(17c)

It may happen, but in that case the respective peasants must be from ~~their~~ stratum, which is supported by the regime, and not ~~a~~ kulaks.

(17d,e)

He does not accept it, in case he can get a job elsewhere. This depends whether his profession is much sought after or not; ~~but~~, <sup>an</sup> ~~an~~ unskilled worker falls into a different category than a skilled worker, and an administrative person again falls into another category. The unskilled ~~workers~~ and administrative workers are in a less favorable position to help themselves than ~~a~~ skilled workers <sup>are</sup>.

(17f)

He cannot help himself because the barring is a sanction in itself. Nonetheless, <sup>if</sup> he has good connections, ~~but~~, in such cases, he would be a fool not to use them before a decision is reached.

(18)

If his memory serves him right, he has answered this question a couple of times, but he'll try to look at it from another angle not explored till now. The average man can attain an average ~~living~~ position (2000-2400 forints): everybody, due to the fact that the salaries are <sup>very</sup> ~~so~~ low, ~~with~~ <sup>these</sup> jobs which are two degrees higher than ~~their~~ educational or professional or technical background would entitle <sup>him</sup> ~~them~~ to ~~accept~~ <sup>a</sup>. For instance, a foreman does not become ~~the~~ chief foreman, but a construction executive. A chief foreman does not become a construction executive, but a chief construction executive which <sup>is</sup> a pronounced engineering job.

(19a)

<sup>passive</sup> ~~resistance~~ resistance, the sabotaging of the decrees, and, finally, the pseudo-carrying-out of the decrees.

- (19b) Their gentry and the administrative officials of the Horthy regime.
- (19c) The exfarmhands--3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> million--that human material which was given <sup>remunerative</sup> positions ~~professions~~ <sup>where</sup> and for whatever they had, ~~they~~ <sup>had</sup> had to thank the regime for. If the regime <sup>would have</sup> failed, they ~~would have~~ go back to nothing.
- (19d) Did increase, because the patience of the people is running out. '53 was considered the turning point.
- (19e) Groups did exist. The prisons were full with that type of people.
- (19f) There were factions in the party. <sup>P</sup> <sup>Whether</sup> ~~if~~ they were considered "opposition," he doesn't know. The writers were the ones who made appear in the press those blood-curdling articles. As the printing shops were more guarded than the party buildings, it was clear that those articles <sup>had been published</sup> ~~had appeared~~ with the consent of the government. One could get organized against the government at the University. The government itself allowed it. (We are talking about '56--nothing was organized before, because the government did not allow it.)
- (19g) When? And see <sup>a</sup> ~~off~~ ~~They existed in the very first minutes. They were witty and drastic.~~
- (19h) They existed to the very last minute. They were witty and drastic.
- (19i) No big catastrophe ensued from not learning the Russian language. Small clerks, weary people who were replaceable, did subject themselves to every type of tortures, including the learning of the Russian language. ~~There was~~ Sabotage <sup>did exist</sup>

because the general attitude was: ~~that~~ "for this type of salary it isn't worth ~~it~~ to work." There was also a will-ful sabotage which belonged to the ~~area~~ <sup>sphere</sup> of the AVH and ~~was~~ <sup>trials</sup> ~~considered~~ <sup>crime</sup> ~~to be~~ <sup>was</sup> a political/~~one~~. Sometimes sabotage/~~any~~ <sup>z.e</sup> would be made out of simple embezzlements, if the thief happened to have a bad ~~character~~ <sup>Kader</sup>. In that case, the trial ~~had~~ <sup>was of</sup> a demonstrative nature.

(19j)

See above. There were the Moscovites (Rakosi, Gerogroup), and the group of Imre Nagy and Mrs. Rejka, for instance.

(19k)

No, it could not because of the masterfully worked out network.

(19l)

The ~~members~~ <sup>MEFESZ</sup> and the PETOFI-circle were ~~apparent~~ the fruit of the thaw. They were parallel and were definitely in connection with the Tito affair and the world politics ~~elements~~.

- (1a-b) Foreign short wave radio broadcasts, foreign newspapers, private exchange of news material.
- (2a) Newspapers--Neue, Zürcher Zeitung and Manchester Guardian.
- (2b) One or twice weekly.
- (2c) These were the only foreign papers he had access to.
- (2d) Theatre, music, movies, and those short political news which he would easily understand.
- (2e-f-g) He would only skim through Hungarian newspapers about twice or three times weekly.
- (2h) Yes.
- (2i) world  
On the war newspapers, there were only a few cut out articles from newspapers, about which the unfortunate responsible called newspapers thought they were interesting. Otherwise the world news papers were full of small articles (dictated theme), small poems, small cartoons--the perspiration of small people.
- (2j) Articles concerning the trade union, the party, the enterprise or its workers.
- (2k-l-m) See question 2, subquestion a-b-c-d-.
- <sup>3</sup>  
(2n) About once or twice weekly.
- <sup>3</sup>  
(2o) To the so-called premiere movies, to see the films before they are prohibited.
- <sup>3</sup>  
(2p-c) Foreign costumed, historical movies because, although in these the Leftist was barely or not at all discernible, they were still allowed into the country.
- <sup>3</sup>  
(2d) Very much.



(3e)

Those foreign films (French, Italian, German and English) were allowed in which, allegedly, some Leftish propaganda.

<sup>3</sup>  
(3f)

For instance, ~~there~~<sup>Thief</sup> of Bagdad--during the summer of 1956: Hamlet--saw it twice, ~~once~~ once in '48 the second time in '51; oscar movies (Il Trovatore, Rigoletto, Pagliacci, The Marriage of Figaro).

<sup>3</sup>  
(3g)

Yes.

<sup>3</sup>  
(3h)

Twice or three times monthly. : Shakespeare, Shaw, Moliere, Lope de Vega, Gyula Illyés, Ibsen, Scribe, Sándor Bródy, Jókai, Schiller, Marcel Pagnol.

- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Not applicable.
- (4b) About 50-70 per year (at the age of 17-25 he used to read about 80-120 per year).
- (4c) Eric Knight, This Above All; Bernard Shaw, Pygmalion; Somerset Maugham, Painted Veil; Rabelais, Gargantua; Ortega, Elysian Fields; then works of Ellery Queen, Agatha Christy, Edgar Wallace, etc.
- (4d) These were the only English books he had access to .
- (4e) Through loan from a private person.
- (4f) Yes. Sometimes you'd have to wait for weeks and months, ~~maybe~~ <sup>maybe</sup> even half a year to get hold of a much desired book. For instance, he waited half a year for the Elysian Fields.
- (5) Yes.
- (5a) Not applicable.
- (5b) Yes, super.
- (5c,d) ~~From local broadcasts~~ He would only listen to musical orchestral selections from the local station.
- (5e) Two hours daily; ten-twelve in the evening.
- (5f) At home.
- (5g) See above (c,d)
- (6) Yes, exclusively.
- (6a) Not applicable.
- (6b) The English program given by Radio Luxembourg which had a good reception in Europe.

The American program of Radio München.

Radio Monte-Carlo--orchestral selections, Sunday morning.

(6c) The programs were selected well. They gave many classical musical numbers and light music in the Western--Anglo-Saxon jazz (there is nothing more horrible than the German or Italian jazz)

(6d) Two hours daily; 10-12 in the evening and Sunday morning.

(6e) See (6c).

(6f) The BBC seemed the most reliable, or, maybe one should say, that it managed to give one the illusion of its being objective.

Voice of America

Radio Free Europe was bombasting, instigating, inciting, and extremely aggressive.

(7) Yes.

(7a) Not applicable.

(7b) There were literally evenings like Villon or an Ady or a Attila Jovses evening; then there were lectures about Italy, Spain, etc. (in view of the fact that one could not travel, these lectures were extremely popular)

(7b) ~~He went voluntarily~~ (At this point respondent realized that (7) does not apply to literary programs but to more or less compulsory political programs so he started to answer (7) again: (7b)--There was a seminar of the party, of the trade union, at his enterprise.

- (7c) He was obliged to attend in the years ~~the~~ '48 and '49.
- (7d) One weekly, two hours.
- (7e) At the time, already, the ideological confusion was very pronounced. "The history of the Bolshevik Party."  
(One should have ~~been~~ seen, in following this mixed up history, what is going to happen in Hungary, and that would have been the time to leave.) "dialectics"; "The Union of two parties" (the current political problem)  
One had to adjust the mentality of the crowd to the political steps taken by the Party--one had to explain that the <sup>The Party</sup> bad was good--~~one~~ had to account for the running up of prices.
- (7f) The Party and the Trade Union.
- (7g,h) They lasted for two hours, until everybody would be busy catching flies--everybody was dead tired at the time they started, after~~xx~~ work, at 4:30. If they had ceased these seminars, at least people would not have hated the Party so actively after 4:30.
- (7i) Yes, but people were not usually driven by burning curiosity, but, at the end, they had to put questions, which, alas, were answered. The questions were mostly neutral. Although the slogan was "Let's use self-criticism," which actually meant that they would criticize everybody else except the Party. This slogan originally belonged to Stalin, the person nobody could touch with criticism, in an area of 100 miles around him.

(7j)

In the back rows people would be sleeping, or reading, or telling each other jokes. The women in the middle rows would be knitting, and telling each other cooking recipes, mainly about how to make cakes without flour, sugar, eggs, butter, and so forth. In the front rows was sitting the board of directors of the enterprise and a few *party members* whose expressions were adjusted.

(8)

This was the so-called "whispering propaganda".

(8a)

Every kind of news--whether true or not--was spread this way; this was the main occupation of the people. The average Hungarian citizen was more preoccupied with politics than a U. S. Senator is in America, because there, every small event seems vitally important. One has to measure from the relationship of the event whether there was any hope whatsoever.

(8bc)

This was not only the occupation of certain people. It was also their profession. Respondent doesn't want to brag, but his father-in-law was a person of this type. ~~described above~~ God rest in peace his news, (The father-in-law is still living, but the news he has spread has long since died). He would turn the knob of the radio all day long, until his thumb would knob and until there was a knob to turn. Generally speaking, people were extremely nervous--they were expecting that little <sup>hole</sup> ~~hole~~ on the Iron Curtain which was prophesized.



(8d,e)

Unreliable news and rumors would seldom press within his circle (engineers). Usually rumors, which were false, would not spread within the circle of the members of the intelligent middle class. Of course, this varied according to different circles of people--for instance, he is convinced that the situation differed on the vegetable market, for instance, where all women would scare each other to death.

(8f)

The situation was different during the revolution, when, because of the high tension, intelligent people would lose their heads. He personally heard from his otherwise lucid colleagues that the army of the United Nations is at the ~~border~~<sup>borders</sup> of Hungary.

(8g)

At his enterprise (by "his" he means at the enterprise he was working at).

(8h)

Partly at his enterprise, partly at the circle of friends who would get together after dinner for coffee. They would talk about small events, which happened in the life of the enterprise, and big events, which happened in the life of humanity. For instance, one topic was: "What's going to happen now that Stalin is busted?"

(8i)

Of course. The so-called commentator souls--those, who would constantly read the newspaper, listen to the radio. By listening to the commentaries, one would spare oneself the trouble and time to go through the papers and listen to the radio. He knew one of these people rather well. He used to be the director of a tobacco factory. During

the Communist regime he became a small clerk. Thus, this man had a tremendous amount of unused en~~er~~gy which he spent this way.

(8j)

At the enterprise on <sup>Weekend</sup> ~~one week~~ at home of a friend, where they would condense the weekly news material. Then, another very important item, they would talk about, <sup>on</sup> ~~at~~ such occasions was; "Who is going to praise whom?" (at the enterprise) because that way it used to work better, it was more effective than self ~~praise~~. <sup>praise</sup>.

(8k)

Of course, one would always gladly talk to those, who were intelligent and well-informed, because they would always shed a new light on foreign affairs. Prisoners of war were not interest<sup>ing</sup>ed from this view point, because they were behind the time, and as far as Russia was concerned, they only had local knowledge of the specific camps they had been in, and were not informed about the general situation, and they themselves did not like to go back to the very painful task. One would not talk to political prisoners either, because, when these were released, they made sure not to frequent any circle again, as usually the reason for their being a prisoner was the accusations of them "organizing" a circle--that they were not willing to frequent groups and people were most unwilling to invite them.

(8l)

They would usually claim, which people would show to each other, mainly between 1950-55--and would not hand out. ~~They were~~ Many of them appeared at the occasion of the

German uprising and at Stalin's death. The letters were written in an instigating tone, but usually they were ironical poems about the decrees of the Party. In other words, they were political satires. ~~The illegal press publicationsxxxxxxxxxxxxSeptember~~

The illegal press publications started to appear in September.

- (9) There were non-infectious, tame bacteria Party members, who would inform people how they stood, but there was no party member in the highest executive committee, who would spread news about the manipulations of the Party. Only the upper 10,000 would know about these, and these 10,000 were the masters of silence. Only discretion was needed to perform these functions and no brains. But, about the running up of prizes, <sup>for</sup> ~~by~~ some strange <sup>Reason</sup> the Jews, who had a sixth sense for <sup>this</sup> ~~their~~ specific field, would somehow always be informed.

- (9a) Partly he would be informed by foreign radio broadcasts, or by direct information received at this economic institute from Gyorgy Markos, Peter Erdos, and Margit Siklos, or by reading the foreign newspapers (Manchester Guardian, Zürcher Neue Zürcher Zeitung).

- (9b) He was not interested.

- (9c) See (9a).

- (10a,b) There were collective reading circles--people would read together; there was the so-called Szabad Nép half ~~an~~ hour, which lasted for an hour, where the leading article, the

editorial, would be explained. Rather, people would be hypnotized to understand it the way the Party wanted them to understand it. Later on, the people would somehow automatically congregate and talk the event over, and by 1953-54, everybody was able to detect the "handwriting on the wall". It did not ~~require~~ <sup>require</sup> special intellectual capacity. Everybody realized that the West must have gained ground, when the Szabad Nép would shout, and when it would be gracious, one knew for sure that something was wrong at home. The accompanying music started to repeat itself. The same harp chords were used to introduce the running up of prices; when the newspapers started to talk about the increased protection of health, one knew that the insurance will go up; if they started to discuss the problem of families with many children, one knew for sure that the taxes of those, who had no dependents, would be made higher. There was an official paper, (Magyar Közlöny), where the decrees would appear, and then there was a confidential official paper, Nép köztársaság Határozatainak Tára, to which only the ministries, and directors of enterprises would have access.

4222 (10c)

If we want to take into consideration the press, this one varied. It even happened, that the Szabad Nép would sometimes write the truth.

- (10d,e) The domestic radios and newspapers were identical.  
If an internal calamity would affect the Party, for instance, the event of Po<sup>z</sup>nan, then the newspapers and radios started to talk about this in the tone of the deepest pain; they would tell the truth during the length of almost a whole article, in order to insert three big lies at the very end.
- (10f) No., only during September and October. Up till that period it was a gray newspaper. It was not interesting.
- (11) When, where, what events?  
People reacted differently to different events.
- (11a) Those who were more curious and more interested.
- (12) 8 From those people, who were busy with amateur commentatorship, secondly from the press.
- (12b) His radio was tuned in day and night. Then, he would go down to the street, or just look out the window.
- (12c) He would listen to the Róka, and the Western radios would receive the transdanubian small broadcasts and the Western radio would rebroadcast them.
- (13a) In ~~the~~ 50-53, <sup>in</sup> Tiszlök, 2000 German prisoners of war were working at the power plant. Rather, they were the ones, who constructed the power plant--it was a beautiful job.
- (~~2282d~~) (13b) Nonsense.
- (13c) The Soviet Union.
- (13d) He <sup>he</sup> deserved his fate. He had <sup>plight</sup> of many people on his conscience. In addition, he was just as clumsy as Beria. ~~Beria~~. He tried to approach Tito, and from this point of view, he had some merit. Otherwise, his wife was the one who made a mythos out of him. <sup>A</sup> name was needed at the time



and Rajk was thrown in.

(13e)

This is the nourishment of the Hungarian optimism, of those who would spread the news that 50-100-200 German divisions are ours.

(13f)

He knew everything ~~was~~ <sup>it</sup> the Western and the Hungarian press wrote about ~~him~~. At that time, he strongly hoped that the freedom movement will occur in series. The Voice of America would give detailed information about the leadership of the New York emigration, and about the Hungarian Nemzeti Bizottság. In London, there is a small group, and in Paris, an even smaller one. The only group which receives active support, is the American. Apparently with dollars one can buy authority. Respondent does not know whether Eckhardt is voicing his own opinion or whether he is broadcasting what the White House tells him to day. On the other hand, though, the White House, is necessarily in a position, where it would have a broader view than <sup>or,</sup> Eckhardt, for that matter, even recent refugees, have.

(1)

~~the answer would be different~~  
The answer would be different, depending  
~~according to the answers. The answer would be different depending~~

upon whether Hungary alone would deflect from the orbit of Russia, or whether all the satellites would break off. <sup>#</sup>Let's assume that all the satellites would break off; the answer, then, would be a United States of Central Europe; according to Respondent, Hungary cannot keep herself up, because of external and internal political reasons. The Horthy regime, too, was doomed to fail and, if Hungary were to embark on a political venture alone, the same thing would happen in 20 years, as it

which happened to the Horthy regime, <sup>or</sup> but maybe sooner. The greatest danger

lies in the desire of Germany and Russia to exploit Hungary. Russia uses her as a producer of raw material and Germany uses her as a ~~place~~ <sup>market</sup> market for her industrial articles. The results are the same; ~~Russia and Germany exploit Hungary in order to, on their part, this~~

~~way~~:- Russia and Germany would and have and are exploiting Hungary to strengthen their own economic life. The only difference lies in the uniform, in the manners, in the language, but the results were always the same. Germany cuts an artery and lets Hungary bleed to death, ~~while they~~ <sup>instantaneously bleed to death</sup>, while the Russians are taking their time in doing this delicate operation. Of course,

the Germans <sup>also</sup> would be capable of bleeding Hungary slowly, if they were stable. This bloc, - the Central European bloc- would have to be

territorially and ~~an~~ economic <sup>strength</sup> at least as powerful as the <sup>had been</sup> monarchy was. It should comprise Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary,

Rumania, Bulgaria, and maybe Poland. There is a question mark in connection with Poland, because of its geographic position. From the viewpoint of internal politics, this Federation would be most useful to Hungary because <sup>he later</sup> it isn't mature enough, at the moment, to pursue

successfully an independent politics. <sup>Thus</sup> ~~Politics~~ that she strongly needs the balancing influence of the <sup>neighboring</sup> ~~stronger~~ nations. Rumania and Bulgaria always knew when to leave their best friends. <sup>The</sup> ~~Czechs never~~, never ventured into a war. They let themselves be occupied. Of course, there would be difficulties within this bloc because there is a strong tendency toward chauvinism in the Hungarian mentality. The Russians <sup>had</sup> ~~had~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~attenuated~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Germans fanned the flames (See Transylvania). ~~Of course,~~ This chauvinistic tendency would have to be eliminated and it can be done through education. This type of education was not given in Hungary, seriously. Then one should eliminate the exaggerated and completely unnecessary militarism which burdened the economic strength of the country. (The same thing was true of the monarchy, too, just because of its being so heterogeneous). And one would have to change the industrial profile to raise the standard of living. There is a backwardness from this viewpoint, meaning industrial, of 40 to 50 years. It wasn't significant during the first world war, but ever since it has been growing. One should concentrate on the manufacturing of ~~basic necessities~~, basic industrial articles. One should concentrate on improving ~~the apartment and rent situation,~~ ~~that is~~ the housing situation. ~~One should build broad highways.~~ In one word, one should try to make salaries proportionate with living expenditures. There is a tremendous amount of labor force in Hungary. Big numbers of physical workers are now employed in offices, but not in productive work. These workers, in a democratic form of government would be sent back to factories because not only can't they write but they cannot even think. ~~They were originally unskilled~~ These white collar workers were originally proletarians who, because they didn't have anything else, tried to have a good "kader". The skilled

workers did not need good "kaders" to remain in factories and they, from the beginning, treated the system with aversion. Factories, mines, estates, should be given back to the previous owners to a certain degree, because the minute private enterprise starts to develop then, in a country like Hungary, tremendous economic differences would be prevalent. One small stratum of extremely rich capitalists opposed to <sup>an</sup> tremendous crowd in the utmost misery; and between these two economic classes <sup>only</sup> a very small class would be formed by those which one would call bourgeois, in the Western sense of the word. Again, the majority of the population would be on a proletarian level, in a sordid misery, which would not offer any immunity toward Communism or National Socialism. (While <sup>thus</sup> in the Western world, the worker is not a proletarian, but does overthrow not want to ~~fight~~ the regime, -- those who, in the Western world, live as proletarians ~~and~~ whereas ~~proletarians~~ form the scum of <sup>the</sup> our population, <sup>thus</sup> but have no <sup>para-</sup> word). During the Horthy regime, in Hungary there were 3½ million farmhands plus one million city proletarians. The country did not become any richer, on the contrary. But, <sup>to live</sup> in order ~~for~~ these people to ~~live at all~~ ~~of them, talking about the city proletarian,~~ and ~~the fact that~~ --- ~~because the~~ some of these enumerated social ~~classes~~, the agricultural and city proletarian, had to become traitors to their class <sup>they</sup> and became white collar workers. Because of the agricultural scissor, this 3½ million would live even worse than the city proletarian, if <sup>there</sup> ~~they~~ would not be regulated <sup>or fixed</sup> salaries, adjusted to the cost of living. Now the agricultural workers too have a salary of 1,500 forints, which means that, under Communism, everybody <sup>is</sup> was equally broke. <sup>in</sup> So this way, Communism did bring together closer the social classes. It ameliorated the level of the agriculture by mechanizing it and thus making it more productive <sup>and</sup> as only a small part of the

peasantry had initiative, Communism, with its regulated salaries for <sup>workers</sup> agricultural <sup>segment of the population</sup> was beneficial to that particular <sup>part</sup>. This way, the state farms protect the peasants because there he has the same <sup>industrial</sup> <sup>of the capital,</sup> salary ~~which~~ workers have. Coming back to the <sup>concentration</sup> <sup>of the</sup> ~~capital~~ ~~which should not be concentrated under the new regime~~ this will have to be avoided under the new regime because <sup>due to</sup> the backwardness, <sup>is not</sup> to the lack of mechanization of the country, ~~does not make it~~ possible to assure a bourgeois standard of living to all the classes. This can be done only in countries where the industrial development is as great as it is in America, ~~which~~ its tremendous communications system helps it to keep this high standard. During the Horthy regime, the government would collaborate with the economically powerful ones. ~~After all,~~ <sup>it</sup> might be better to say that ~~they were similar or that~~ the interests were common. During the Communist regime, the government served 100 percent the Russians. They are jacks-in-the-box. During the Horthy regime, at least the capitalists had economical conceptions. ~~For example,~~ An illustration about the lack of economic conceptions and about the servility of the Communist regime: the goods turned over to the Russians in reparation payments ~~did not~~ <sup>the</sup> receive full credit because the value was based on 1939 dollar exchange. ~~For example, the Western countries~~

(2)

In the Western countries every person has ~~the~~ this right. They ~~are~~ <sup>boundaries</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> limited only <sup>A</sup> by moral conditions; again, this is a hard to understand difference between the Eastern European mentality and the Western mentality. In Eastern Europe people are not mature enough to realize that a couple of parties are <sup>sufficient</sup> enough. <sup>In</sup> In Eastern Europe they are given the right to form political parties, <sup>don't</sup> and they ~~didn't~~ stop until they reached <sup>the</sup> a number of <sup>100</sup> ~~1000~~, maybe a thousand is even rounder. ~~For example,~~



~~and the reason~~ The reason <sup>being that the majority of the people are</sup> ~~is~~ they looked <sup>ing at for</sup> individual interests and the party is <sup>considered</sup> only a frame where this individual interest can be ~~expanded~~ fulfilled or materialized. To make up for the twelve years, everybody wanted positions. According to the Respondent, this was one of the very bad effects of Communism, - namely, ~~it~~ it deteriorated <sup>the train calls</sup> ~~the system~~, not being able to achieve what <sup>me</sup> ~~you~~ would have wanted to achieve <sup>made gone</sup> and then you are working constantly on others, <sup>by using</sup> and ~~making~~ intrigues and trying to find ways to get ahead. The system does not let ~~the~~ people get ahead by <sup>decent</sup> ~~damnable~~ means.

- (3) The English system is the right one, looking at this question from the point of view of absolute justice; but in Hungary, as of today, there is a hundred percent ideological mix-up. The majority of the ~~people~~ people cannot size up whether their political desires are being destructive and or constructive. They couldn't size up what a Transylvanian occupation ~~meant~~ meant. <sup>They</sup> Do not have long range political plans. Instead of letting the government take care of world politics, everybody does it <sup>individually</sup> ~~and they want~~ <sup>and, on top of it</sup> ~~to practice it~~, not only do <sup>Hungarians</sup> they talk about politics but they immediately step into action and want to carry their desires out in practice. And this is the basis of all the national catastrophes in Hungary. Protection against this is ~~only~~ given only by a government-system of a superior level, which means not of Hungarian construction. / <sup>Only</sup> ~~where~~ Hungarians <sup>should only</sup> ~~are figured as~~ delegates ~~(in small numbers)~~ in small numbers. ~~By this~~ ~~means~~ people of the stature of an Apponyi, Teleki or Kanya and not Szallasi, Sztojai, Gros Csaky, <sup>f</sup> ~~Beardossy~~. Out of the latter categories, ~~was~~ nobody ~~but~~ ~~was~~ was brain stormed, but <sup>f</sup> ~~Beardossy~~ was the biggest idiot of them all because he was the one who declared the war upon America.

- (4) Yes, with the condition that the nation should be mature. If the outcome would be in <sup>opposition</sup> ~~conformity~~ with the future interests of the nation, then *the meetings will* ~~they~~ have to be stopped. The Communist government by the way served the ~~future interests of the~~ short ~~range~~ and long range goals of the Russian nation. The Hungarian government <sup>was</sup> notorious for not serving the interest of the nation starting from Gombos to Szallasi. They all made three steps toward the national catastrophe. Teleki accepted ~~this~~ the consequences of his actions - In connection with Yugoslavia he suddenly realized that this <sup>edentist</sup> ~~irritant~~ movement <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ the veiled form of Fascism. So, in Hungary the situation is doubly bad. The crowd doesn't serve the interests of the <sup>nation</sup> ~~people~~, neither does the government. Making the comparison with the Revolution of 1848, the crowd did not realize then either who was the one who was serving <sup>he</sup> ~~its~~ long range interests. <sup>of the nation</sup> It was Szechenyi; but he did not dispose of those marvelous oratorical talents <sup>in flame</sup> Kossuth did, that is why the latter could ~~ignite~~ <sup>in flame</sup> the country. ~~in~~
- (4e) ~~That~~ A Revolution ~~as~~ an uprising against the government is justified if the government provokes the undivided hatred of the nation. When it uses its power to completely exploit the nation in the interests of ~~foreign~~ foreign powers and sinks this nation back into economic, moral and spiritual middle age; the only trouble is that, although this is legally justified, one cannot achieve an uprising militarily ~~because~~ today-to fight helicopters, airplanes, two-way radio sets, radar, heavy artillery, armored cars with benzine bottles is ridiculous. A revolution could be done successfully while ~~the~~ the scythe was ~~equal~~ equal with the sword, and when everybody had at home a hunting rifle, which was at least as good as the arm of the paid soldier. I have to say, at this point, that Respondent launched into a description of how the guns were handled at the time, which was hilarious. He said that they would pour the gun powder like ~~the~~ <sup>weigh it</sup> apothecaries do, but couldn't ~~measure~~ so sometimes

they poured less ~~an~~ which meant that the shot did not actually leave the gun; or sometimes they would put more which meant not only did the shot leave the gun but it took the soldier along with it. ~~and~~ After mixing this gun powder, and <sup>being in need of</sup> ~~mixing~~ a little cotton, they would take it out of their ears, put it in and finally shoot; but if this shot was not successful, they could not shoot again because by that time the enemy was right there. <sup>All</sup> ~~So~~ all this as demonstration that 1848 was possible while 1956 was an anachronism.

(5)

The state guidance does not guarantee the <sup>profitableness</sup> ~~profitability~~ of the enterprise. In Hungary, the enterprises were stuffed with people who were the opposite of experts. While in a capitalistic system, the capitalists would make sure to use only those who served his interests, in a Communist state 70 or 80 people were needed to do a job which under normal economic circumstances could have been done by 20. Out of the 70 or 80, 25 were actually working, the remaining were used for unproductive administration, - personnel, party, work committee, controllers, etc. ~~taxes which~~ <sup>productive</sup> ~~would have~~ It is respondent's opinion that the ~~means~~ <sup>productive</sup> which ~~the~~ produce capital should be in the ownership of the state, because that way the profit is being administered by the state which can invest according to a rational plan, on one side, and on the other side, can fulfil the socialistic <sup>needs</sup> ~~protections~~.

(5b)

Yes, if it means fortune or wealth and not income, because, if it means fortune (is above a certain limit), then it would only increase the class differences. (Respondent emphasizes that this is not the way he would look at the same problem if <sup>he were not talking specifically</sup> ~~the situation which would occur~~ <sup>about the Hungarian economy in 1957</sup> ~~be a different type of economy than the Hungarian one~~ <sup>in other words</sup> ~~he is looking at this question from the point of view of Hungary~~.) In Hungary, if a small stratum would take ~~off~~ <sup>the</sup> the cream of enterprises.

<sup>profit then</sup> ~~then~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~the~~ ~~is~~ ~~only~~ ~~that~~ amount would be left to the upkeep of the crowd, which at would be sufficient to keep them in the same level of misery they have been for the last 30 years or more. But, if it would mean income, then the rest would go back ~~in~~ directly or indirectly to the lower income classes. By directly or indirectly he means: ~~by~~ housing, building of street cars, buses, and wages of course.

- (6) If the light industry means <sup>a</sup> serious industry, - that is, industry that matters in the general economy of the country, - then the same <sup>reasoning</sup> ~~would~~ <sup>also</sup> apply to it as for heavy industry. But, if it is not only light but ~~is~~ a small industry then it could stay in private ownership. By a small industry he means 50 to 100 employees in a plant.

- (7) Monopolies <sup>y articles</sup> mean normalized, standardized, defined-in-advance <sup>in</sup> quantity and quality. In the ~~new~~ ideal new Hungarian regime, ~~he~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~not~~ ~~not~~ basic articles should be monopolized, (like ~~the~~ flour, sugar, alcohol, tobacco could stay much more in private ownership than the others, but then he is not a smoker, so this <sup>fact</sup> ~~inference~~ may be slightly <sup>color</sup> his opinion).

- (8) He approved of it, - the majority of the intelligentsia approved of it. The way it worked, the planning board was directly under the Council of ~~Ministries~~ Ministers, and then the approved plans were being carried out by the ~~Ministries~~ <sup>Ministries</sup>. The Russians would give their orders on a toilet paper and then, according to <sup>it</sup> ~~the order~~, the different Ministries <sup>would</sup> worked out the status of the energy sources and ~~energy~~ reserves of the country. Usually, the plans were so back breaking or strained that one had to use up all the <sup>old</sup> ~~chamber~~ pots in Budapest. <sup>no some type of used metal</sup> In other words, the planning did not serve the interests of the nation. The organization of the planning happened <sup>according to</sup> ~~in this way~~; planning Boards, <sup>schemes</sup> general departments, <sup>p</sup> planning Board industrial departments, the Ministry general department, the Ministry Directories, <sup>Trusts, Enterprises</sup> ~~and~~ private plants. The duties of the

Ministries was the working out of the operative plans and, after approval, their execution. The Ministries gave the plans to the enterprises and the enterprises worked it out according to the same <sup>scheme,</sup> ~~way~~ as outlined ~~was~~ above. As said before, Respondent approved <sup>of</sup> it, and many clear thinking persons <sup>did likewise</sup> ~~do~~, but it was a complete failure in Hungary. He himself was a planning division chief at <sup>a</sup> 160 million forint enterprise, ~~(some given~~

~~in Hungary)~~ BORSODVIDEKI MELEYEPITO' VIZMUEPITO' VALLALAT

How good a planned economy is cannot be measured in the Communist system because the premises always change, according to the personal <sup>and</sup> ~~changes~~ changes, which are the consequences of political changes. The fact is that the Five Year Plan was a complete failure. Of course, ~~in Hungary~~ <sup>in HUNGARY</sup> one has to add to this that, besides the faults inherent in the planning collectivist system <sup>in</sup> ~~is~~ a Communist economy, the faults arising from copying faithfully the Soviet Union are detectable. <sup>nevertheless</sup> But <sup>it</sup> it is a fact that ~~this~~ did not work out in the Soviet Union either. The danger of a collectivist planned economy is the ~~impeding~~ <sup>impeding</sup> of the free economy. How can one ~~the~~ coordinate them is the problem. Otherwise <sup>the picture is similar to that of</sup> ~~it becomes like~~ a war factory.

The military commanders sit in the chair occupied before by the capitalists, the latter is crippled, he is not planning according to ~~what the market~~ the demand and supply but simply executing ~~the plan~~ a dictated program.

(9)

Of course it is natural that in Hungary even the buses and the street cars are in the ownership of the ~~municipality~~ municipality. The communications <sup>system</sup> demands it. There is no such powerful capital, as in the United States for instance ~~which~~ through which all the communications should easily coordinate; <sup>as</sup> ~~and if it were~~ <sup>would be</sup> so difficult, then why do it? There is no time to wait about 25 years until all the mistakes would be corrected. In a small country like Hungary, only the state is <sup>qualified</sup> ~~justified~~ to form



<sup>type of</sup>  
such organizations, ~~such organizations~~.

(10)

Not even Socialism can guarantee work for everyone. The situation could be summed up by saying that the person who wanted to work could work <sup>rather</sup> was more or less able to find work in a state- or semi-state enterprise.

Otherwise, each country's duty is to give work to those who are willing to work. So, even the Communist state had to fulfill this type of duty. Of course, there, in practice, <sup>given</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>occurred</sup> ~~was created~~ situations because a tremendous amount of superfluous jobs were created just in order to "solve" the unemployment; and <sup>system wanted</sup> ~~they wanted~~ everybody to work, not let his spirit alone for a minute because if he ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> time to think he might have poisoned his soul with ~~the~~ <sup>Respondent</sup> ~~the~~ imperialism. <sup>or</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>the fact is that</sup> ~~doesn't~~ agree, ~~because~~ it did not succeed in Hungary. Here, if the person doesn't get work, ~~then~~ it means that he has some type of professional deficiency. For instance, if a lawyer is a third degree lawyer then he is better off becoming an electrician. In France and in England there is an effective unemployment, this is a natural consequence of the

depression. In America, this problem is solved beautifully by the ads <sup>the New York</sup> ~~of Time magazine~~. But life is not <sup>a chestable</sup> ~~irregular~~, it is not composed of equal bricks, <sup>cannot build</sup> ~~that one should build~~ of them a regular building. Life is being

formed irregularly. Thus, many things cannot be carried out even if the <sup>not</sup> ~~carrying~~ out would present a danger. <sup>who does</sup> In summary, if there <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ a boom of prosperity, then his own enterprise <sup>had</sup> ~~has~~ to put ads in the newspaper and if there <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ a depression then <sup>even</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>xx</sup> ~~the~~ ~~unemployment crowd~~ ~~the~~ ~~labor force reserves office~~ ~~could not take~~

~~run the unemployed crowd~~ ~~the~~ ~~labor~~ labor Force Reserves Office  
could not take care of the unemployed crowd. <sup>This</sup> ~~the~~ ~~labor~~ ~~Force~~ ~~economy~~ RESERVE S OFF  
which is a pseudo-socialist <sup>creation</sup> ~~production~~ ~~that~~ ~~was~~ ~~created~~ ~~only~~ <sup>formed</sup> ~~that~~ ~~all~~ ~~of~~ ~~things~~ ~~and~~ ~~places~~  
~~in~~ ~~those~~ enterprises which were vitally important for Russians, ~~and~~ ~~places~~  
should be filled. <sup>10C</sup> This is a strange thing. If one may find out that one

cannot do what one would like to do, from a certain viewpoint, meaning that even if one had decided ~~that even if one had decided to accept ~~any~~ compromises, after a time one finds out that it just doesn't work.~~ Of course, it depends on the psychological make up of the respective persons. Generally speaking, the more Western components there are in a soul, the quicker it goes bankrupt in a Communist state. <sup>A "Western" mentality</sup> ~~It is quicker than~~ <sup>quicker than</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>one</sup> realizes that life is not worth to be lived.

(11) Private life. Private life about which Communists knew <sup>so much and</sup> ~~so little~~. ~~They wanted to say actually that private life was so little that Communists to know much and just so little.~~

(12) Yes, but it is different here than it is there. Knowing the <sup>bal</sup> ~~volcanic~~ conditions this question should be worded differently. There we have to deal <sup>the right, the proper</sup> ~~with confused people~~ <sup>ideologically</sup> ~~without any long range political goals.~~ Of course they cannot even have them because <sup>their countries</sup> ~~they are~~ the outlets of the strength relationships of the neighboring great powers.

(12c) It is different to pay taxes to a decent government where this tax is <sup>drawn up</sup> ~~being justly~~. (In America, for instance, the taxing has a leveling effect, leveling among ~~social~~ economic classes). <sup>Thus</sup> ~~And~~ it is different to pay taxes at "home". Actually it isn't more there than it is here. On the contrary. But the wages were so terribly low that it was a robbery to take one cent away, and all the deductions only served the ~~interests of~~ <sup>the</sup> military purposes of the Russians.

(12d) There is no need for military training because whom are the Hungarians going to fight? Germany, Russia-- this is ridiculous. A fight ~~with~~ will not break out with Poland or Austria. With Yugoslavia, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, a fight could easily break out for ~~some~~ <sup>territories which</sup> ~~territories~~ <sup>also</sup> ~~reasons~~. (The Hungarians <sup>the population of</sup> ~~keenly remember~~ belonged to them, thousands of years ago.) But, each of these countries is ~~bigger~~ <sup>also</sup> ~~than~~ Hungary with ~~two~~ at least five million people. So, individually they are bigger. But the minute

Hungary would attack one of them, the others would ~~far~~ form a ~~block~~ bloc against Hungary. So, no military training in Hungary is necessary.

(12e)

Of course.

(12f)

See above.

(13)

The question isn't worded right, as far as Respondent is concerned. These answers were being molded by the Revolution, so they haven't changed since he left Hungary, <sup>as a</sup> his leaving coincides <sup>d</sup> with the Revolution. He was not disappointed in the West. For a time <sup>he had a</sup> feeling that the Western countries, too, could apply Russian ways of dealing, like threatening, etc., but then he realized that <sup>he later</sup> ~~that~~ is a typically Russian way of doing things, and it is impossible to <sup>be</sup> adopt by people who believe in respecting international agreements. The question <sup>should be</sup> ~~now~~ which <sup>now</sup> put, and he is answering it: "In what way did the Revolution change your concept about you and the world you are living in?" Because the world ~~now~~ <sup>what</sup> he is living in now, <sup>His status has changed</sup> ~~is~~ is different from <sup>what</sup> he has been used to. <sup>He has become</sup> ~~He has become~~ he has become international. He has become homeless, ~~He is~~ a renegade, ~~He is~~ a refugee. He suddenly <sup>has become</sup> ~~is~~ the protégé of the whole world. He is looking for a job. He is looking for housing. He is looking for home. Many, many great changes <sup>have</sup> must take place, <sup>must have occurred in his soul</sup> so ~~at the moment~~ many ruptures <sup>actually</sup> ~~have taken place~~ sure; but, <sup>due to</sup> ~~because of~~ the constant <sup>inside</sup> ~~changes~~ changing of places, he does not realize what is happening. Maybe when he <sup>will have</sup> ~~has~~ the leisure to sit down and think about himself he could answer this self-put question.

(14)(a)

Yes. The ~~for~~ SZTK did build imposing buildings; but people were treated like numbers. If one wants personal attention, then one has to pay for it. But, <sup>in Hungary</sup> the medical science <sup>to</sup> is up to date and good. The English doctors could go to Hungary <sup>to</sup> ~~and~~ learn. He has been checked by English doctors and they limit themselves to finding out <sup>the region</sup> ~~which~~ which is sick, either up from the waist or down from the waist, the belt is the line that divides

the two parts: ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ an English doctor is concerned with. If the part above the waistline is sick, the patient gets aspirin, if the part below the waistline is not feeling well then ~~he~~ the unfortunate patient will get a laxative.

In Hungary, the situation in the provinces is much better now, especially on the state farms. It is not necessary to add that of course one could have spent even more on medical care if the Russian exploitation hadn't taken place.

(15)

There aren't as many movie houses as there were; but unfortunately there are many Russian movies. It is not correct to say there are many Russian movies either, it would be more appropriate to say that Russian films are shown over and over and over. There are weeks of Russian films, there are months of Russian films, and he feels there has been a *decade* of Russian films. The movie houses became so-called cultural homes which were easily furnished. One would put Lenin's picture above a table, one ~~flag~~<sup>glass</sup> on the table, and a little bell next to the ~~flag~~<sup>glass</sup>. That was the cultural home. Tickets were being handled by the Trade Unions so, in a way it ~~is~~<sup>was</sup> not obligatory but it ~~was~~<sup>was</sup> certainly ~~not~~<sup>was</sup> easy to patronize the superior Russian culture. The tickets ~~are~~<sup>were</sup> received mainly by the ~~military~~<sup>M</sup> AVOs and the Ministries. They ~~do~~<sup>system did</sup> care much about theatres, but between good plays they would always sneak in a Russian one, or an American detective drama where the hero would do nothing else but chew gum, put his legs on the table and be caught by alert Russian agents. One must add to this chapter that they created the so-called 'village theatres'--they ~~xxxxxxxx~~ stuffed the Socialist culture into the people. AVOs, military people and Party executives, employees of different Ministries and families would frequent the opera. ~~This~~<sup>This</sup> was ~~xxxxxxxx~~ "stylish."

(15f)

People were very tired, they didn't have time to change and maybe most of them didn't have a second suit or dress. As far as the niveau of the opera,



(16)

performances <sup>were</sup> ~~is~~ concerned, only the so-called great operas, Wagnerian mostly, were beautifully sung, because those could not be sung by Party members, - you had to be a singer to perform in Lohengrin. But ~~a~~ Verdi could be easily done by <sup>(in)</sup> ~~a~~ pleasant little <sup>voice</sup> ~~man~~ of a small Party member. ~~a~~

In 1940 it was better than in 1956. In 1946, a very small stratum of the population could get an adequate amount of food. For instance, one couldn't purchase meat for gold, - or only for gold could one purchase meat. But then it started to fluctuate and some articles would be missing and then others would, so there was always a variation, never a dull moment in the food situation. In 1950, the money was better, so one could buy more ~~if~~ even if not better food. In 1956, the quality deteriorated and the prices <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ higher. To the apartments of Party members food would be carried, <sup>of</sup> ~~by~~ designated cooperatives <sup>the</sup> ~~by~~ cars. The stomachs of those people who supported the regime were in turn supported by the regime. ~~They had special cooperatives, the so-called~~ ~~food shops~~. The high officials of the Defense Ministry had special ~~food shops~~ "kozert", ~~special~~ (food shops), in the apartment houses in which they were living. As a matter of fact, <sup>enter</sup> ~~one~~ couldn't even ~~go into~~ those apartment houses. ~~Because~~ (an ordinary mortals). Something to note, in connection with this problem, is that if somebody got hungry Saturday afternoon, and didn't <sup>plan</sup> ~~think~~ on <sup>morning</sup> ~~Friday~~ that he would eventually get hungry on Saturday afternoon, <sup>due to</sup> ~~because~~ the collectivist planning, there was no food to be found any place, except for the terrifically high prices in restaurants.

(17)

It deteriorated without any stop. <sup>a</sup> ~~either~~ the price remained but the quality deteriorated or the merchandise disappeared and when it appeared again, under another name, it was more expensive by 30, 40 even 50 percent. One would pay about 2,000 forints for a good suit. But then why be well dressed in <sup>Country?</sup> ~~Socialism~~? The liquor was extremely expensive, cigarettes, <sup>transportation</sup> ~~street cars~~, the rent, the gas, the electricity, the potatoes, the onions, the beans, milk



and bread, and the workers' suits were cheap in order that workers who had many children should be able to fill their stomachs.

(18a) Investments of millards of forints <sup>were made; it</sup> was definitely a good thing for the Russian economy.

(18b) See above. The standard of ~~ix~~ living became low because they reduced the number of <sup>the industrial</sup> basic articles.

(19) Only a very ~~few~~ <sup>small</sup> percent of the peasantry ~~stima~~ has initiative; <sup>the majority</sup> does not understand intensive farming and cannot invest from the farming of wheat.

(~~Ques~~ The price of one centner of wheat is equivalent to that of one centner of bread and one cannot raise the price of <sup>the</sup> wheat). So, the cooperatives are <sup>justified</sup> ~~advised~~, and they have machine stations (the peasant himself cannot repair the machinery, this is done very adequately by the machine station).

(19g) The small-holders and "kulaks" have to be given the land back. This is rentable, <sup>they are able to</sup> ~~be~~ invest properly and ~~can~~ farm according to a well <sup>out laid</sup> ~~planned~~ <sup>plan</sup>. Not only did the system take the land away from the "kulaks" but on top of it <sup>them</sup> ~~they~~ spit in ~~his~~ eyes. They very often took him to court — whenever they wanted to make an example <sup>not to be followed —</sup> ~~to the others~~ of the unfortunate "kulak" who did not fulfill the compulsory delivery requirements. Land, generally speaking, should be given back <sup>it its</sup> ~~and the~~ farming produces ~~an~~ income and not wealth; so, from this point of view, the land reform of 1945 was just.

(20) Generally speaking, ~~this~~ it was a sound idea to have machine tractor stations. In the country there were very few cars, <sup>Generally</sup> (very few machines, all in all there were about 14,000 personal cars ~~and many~~ belonging mostly to government officials; ~~and~~ very few private people had permission to own and operate a car. (Usually these latter were auto mechanics/<sup>or mechanical engine</sup> who knew ~~how to take care of~~ ~~20, 25, 30 year old~~ remedy old motors; <sup>but</sup> ~~the~~ peasant doesn't know what to do with defective motors, so it is <sup>definitely</sup> a good idea to have machine tractor stations.

21 Nothing. If one gives some confession, <sup>makes a few</sup> there is no end. At the election of the Workers' Councils those were elected whom the Party would select. They ordered the electing committee into the Party building and they would "talk it over".

21 (a) It should represent the interests of the workers, but in the Communist system <sup>being</sup> it cannot fulfill this requirement ~~because~~ simply another control organization. They would make known the government brochures in the form of very effective injections. The officials of the trade unions/work only pro forma; ~~because they did not have the necessary background~~ usually as Party members they did not have the necessary background to fulfill the requirements of the simplest job.

21 (b) Completely ~~no~~. If someone does not want to be an organized ~~worker~~ <sup>and time,</sup> well then he should not be an organized worker. Financial burdens/member-ship fees, the purchase of obligatory newspapers, brochures, and the Nep/Szabad, the official organ of the Communist Party, -- all this nonsense did take time.

(20e) It meant another type of deduction, ~~-2%~~ which was a lot because the salary to start with was low and the other deductions were just as unjustified.

(22) Amnesty is not to be recommended because the Fascists became Communists and the minute the Communists would get <sup>again</sup> hold of arms they would become dangerous.

(22a) The ~~known~~ big leaders are going to be in Moscow, they have much gold put aside.

(22c) They wanted to make a career with a very poor background, with very small capacities. They robbed a whole decade from a nation. They should be judged by an international court similarly to war criminals, ~~and~~ one can easily figure out the damages done from the facts. The punishment should be measured in accordance with the damages, of course.

- (22b) When the AVH was dissolved, the regime could not count on the Party members, so their importance is null.
- (22e) They tried to destroy one's private life but, if they were punished, a bitter taste would be left in their mouths, and then they may become dangerous. So, let them run.
- (22f) The police were, generally speaking, decent. Policemen were sometimes more decent than judges. The AVH were the executors of the sadistic conceptions of the system.
- (22g) None.
- (22h) The AVH was chased. There was a hunt going on and the wild beasts hunted were the AVOs.
- (23) The system <sup>attributed</sup> ~~contributed~~ great significance to the re-education and thought that if applied at a very early age, it would yield desired results.
- (23a) The broadening of the elementary teaching and the obtaining for everybody of an 8-class education.
- (23b) The entering of the four highest grades (1-4 gymnasium--14-18 years of age) presented serious difficulties for the children of the so-called class aliens, and they were not accepted at universities at all. Only the progeny of workers and peasants were eligible for university studies.
- (23c) It was reasonable if the ~~Kader~~ material would be inexhaustible. Namely, to restrict to the obligatory zero percent those sons and daughters of that middle class which supported the previous regime. But, as

the intelligencia formed only 8-12% of the nation, the rest is not capable of assuming, in time, leading positions. In other words, the education policy <sup>has, as a result,</sup> ~~resulted in~~ the lowering of the national level to catastrophic depths.

(23d) One should select to the extent the intelligence quota of the nation permits it through their rating, based exclusively on capability, ambition, and knowledge, the higher type element.

(24a) Yes.

(24b) The differentiation is superfluous.

(24c) Unnecessary.

(24d) Yes, but as private lessons given in the afternoon, as is the case with some optional subjects. Churches should be entitled to have the word in judging the curriculums.

(25) Unfortunately, these are events which happened 500 years ago. <sup>Then</sup> Since ~~the~~ Hungarian nation <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ not able to produce events, which would have a bearing on world history.

Hungary had defended the Western cultures in many instances against Eastern rebellion, until its power and military training would <sup>enable</sup> ~~permit~~ her to do so. Since its settling in its present geographic territory it belonged to the Western (Christian) cultural circle. Thus, it is completely unjustified to tear her away from the West, wherefrom she has received everything (spiritual, moral, cultural, technical ideas, values, goods), and to lock her hermetically into a fallen, Asiatic cultural circle, with a debatable economic system, and with <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ tendency driving toward world power.

- (26) In 1948, rather the one between 1867 and the first World War is of interest. This period was characterized with ~~maximum~~ <sup>of</sup> the optimum for Bourgeois, like in every significant state of Europe ~~7~~ the Victorian Period. ~~{developing commerce and embryonic industry}~~
- (26b) The welfare of the bourgeois, the developing commerce, <sup>assure</sup> the embryonic industry does not ~~insure~~ the welfare of a 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>-4 million agrarian proletarian welfare in a feudal <sup>for</sup> society which lives as a serf ~~during~~ centuries in a ruined and devastated country. In the United States, or in Canada, he could farm the land, which was plentiful, or he could choose to become an industrial worker.
- (26c) A feudal, Capitalistic society, which in the '80s of the last century, when industrialization was minimal, could <sup>employ</sup> only ~~employ~~ the <sup>municipal</sup> ~~municipal~~ proletariat.
- (26d) The loyalty was based on feudalism, and the Hungarian-Austrian monarchy had a great historical part and vocation. Its liquidation was one of the greatest mistakes of the last 250 years.
- (26e) The politics of the gentry upheld the misery and the hopelessness of the agrarians proletariat. The lost war, with its consequences ~~7~~ <sup>was</sup> the losing of two thirds of the country's territories, and the often occurring <sup>crises</sup> ~~crises~~ economic ~~crises~~ burdened alike the country.
- (26f) Starting from 1936-1942-1943, a boom of war characterized the Hungarian economic situation. Thus, beside the



10,000 who up till then lived exclusively well in Hungary, the middle class started to live well in the sense of the Western sense of the word. The agricultural scissors start to close ~~to~~ in, but this fact helps more the land owners and the peasantry than the agrarian proletariat, which is obliged to work as farm hands in connection with the increased agricultural investment.

(26g) Hungary should have been either independently neutral, or occupied neutral, (Czechoslovakia), in order to minimize the damages and sacrifices, and escape at least the consequences ( occupation, reparation payments).

(26h) In 1943, there was a brilliant life compared to the destruction and catastrophe which came in 1944-1945, but in 1947 already the economic life of the country was recuperating, and only the reparation payments were burdening it. Since 1948, the economic life is characterized by Communist robbery and for inappropriate investment program.

(27) There isn't any. There is only local patriotism. The

(28a) character of the workers is identical, whether he happens to be German, American, or Hungarian. Only the American, (Western), worker is becoming more and more a bourgeois, due to his economic welfare, while the Hungarian is becoming more and more a proletariat,

(

(27b)

*national*  
The ~~national~~ character differs from the Western character, just like the Indian, or the Chinese does, for instance.

Coming back to the Hungarian national character, there is a characteristic (not character) which differentiates the Hungarian from any other nation. Namely, when they have to behave collectively in case of a national, or only communal joining of forces. In such cases, they start a chain of events, which is looked upon from an Anglo-Saxon angle completely unjustified and not deliberated.

(27c)

The characteristic we talked about above is not changed much.

(27d)

In view of the above, there is no answer warranted for this question.

(27f)

Necessarily, yes.

(28)

No.

(28a)

Not applicable.

(28b,c,d)

Why look at problems in the 20th century with the nationalistic racial viewpoint of the 19th century?! The boarderline offends the freedom of traffic and brings about the alienation of people (the Austro-Hungarian was the predecessor of the Central European United States, with historical tradition - let somebody try to unify these people now!)

(28e)

Why shouldn't there be any Czechoslovakian, Rumanian, or Yugoslav, exaggerated nationalism also?!

(28f)

Since the ceasing of the monarchy, there are constant openings for hatred.

(28g)(h)

There is no natural conflict. There is only a narrow viewpoint, and there is only a incompatibility politics. These "people " always do, what the leaders dictate.

(28i,j,k,l)

that  
Now, ~~let~~ the interests of the Moscow Communists ~~are~~ *are* that these people should get along, respondent says he is happy to relate that they do get along in a satisfactory way.

In 1946, the Slovaks behaved in an obnoxious way with the Hungarian minority (revenge for 1938); now everybody, who remembers, hates them.

(28m)

Open anti-Semitism was widely spread after 1938 due to German influence--since 1945, due to Russian influence, it is forbidden to give expression openly to the ~~existing~~ *existing* feeling.

(28n)

Yes.

(29)

He has mentioned this in the previous ~~in the previous~~ answer.

(29a)

One should choose the most radical solution, in order to extirpate the linguistic, national, racial, and other prejudices. Of course, in the beginning, even an agreement, or a granting of visa, would meet with terrific opposition. But these countries will not solve their problems this way without the intervention of a great power. But the Soviets or the Germans will not act against ~~its~~ *their* own interests, and the only great power, who could be an example to follow, is far away and always restrained from intervention.

(29b)

The interested nations should be "crowded" into one state. <sup>state</sup> ~~which~~ This ~~way~~ should not be disintegrated under <sup>be it</sup> any pretense, ~~if~~ war-like experiments or diplomatic know-how. It should exercise the complete (external and internal) power of the state.

(29c)

~~By~~ Hungary would be one of the confederate nations. It is not predestined to a leading position because of its language, and because of its level of human material. According to respondent's opinion, Austria with its German language is the one, who should have the leading position.

(29d)

~~The~~ The East European combination would be <sup>composed of</sup> ~~being~~ Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the <sup>Balkan</sup> ~~Valkan~~ without Germany. But, it could be done separately in the <sup>Balkan</sup> ~~Balkan~~, and in this case the Polish, Czechs, and Austrian and Hungarian combination would be satisfactory, maybe even more than otherwise.

(30)

It is impossible to look at Russians <sup>as</sup> ~~at~~ one would at human beings, because they never appear as humans, but like an ~~excellent~~ "excellent race" predestined exclusively for a leading position (just like the Germans). The representatives of this "super-human" race cannot even sit at a table with the retarded element of a small nation infected <sup>by</sup> the bourgeois, Capitalistic teachings.

On the other hand, they are in East Europe only in official capacity and not as tourists.

As the representative of the Russian government, the superman cannot even allow himself the luxury ~~to~~ <sup>ing</sup> of communicate with anybody in a private capacity; anyway his complete lack of confidence, <sup>and</sup> ~~is~~ fear from unknown possibilities, which stem from his primitive ~~and~~ and forcefulness, make it utterly impossible for him to behave as a social being.

(30a)

No. Just one time. Even here in America, the most unpleasant persons I have met, are the Russians who have emigrated.

(30b)

He would correct the sentence by saying they are bad or worse or difficult to bear, or ~~was~~ utterly impossible to bear.

(30c)

No, there is no question about this. Most of them have absolutely no idea of what Communism stands for, but the very fact, that Communism <sup>has</sup> ~~has~~ succeeded in conquering such territories, for a long time, in Russia means that the "qualities" talked about in (30a,b) correspond to reality.

(30d)

He knew about 2-3 technical executives from the office of reparations.

(30e)

Everybody expected the ~~similar~~ ally of the Americans, meaning partner similar to him.

(30f)

Meanwhile the Hungarians got acquainted with their methods, with their cultures, with their ideas.

(30g)

It is a killer's nation which means that the suppositions made between '48 and '53 were unfortunately born out by reality.



- (31a) In connection with the industrialization, concepts were flying around. So, somebody had to formulate them. The premises are fact, but the deductions are forced.
- (31b) It could not find a way to put into practice the theory.
- (31c) Already in 1940--1941, respondent had read many <sup>Nepszava</sup> publications. He had read <sup>excerpts</sup> ~~excerpts~~ from Marx's work and criticisms of Marx's works.
- (31d) In 1942, he studied at the university the course of economics given by Farkas Heller.
- (31e,f) About the changes, one should interview economical theoretician like György Markos, Peter Ereos, or Margit Siklos from the economic institute of Budapest. But the fact, that these modifications did not have anything do with the Saint Vitus Dance, which was performed in the economic reality was recognized even by the theoreticians.
- (31g) He used a great number of his teachings, in order to prove the direct descent, but Lenin did not hesitate for a minute to term Marxist teachings as passe, when he would ask the organization of the Russian revolution <sup>to</sup> find himself in opposition with them.
- (31h) Stalin was the most unscrupulous, murderous, adventurous <sup>man</sup> of the world's history. As his governing is at a great distance from Marxism, he invented the dialectics. The latter is a means to justify the degeneration of Socialism, labeled by ~~the~~ Stalin "the building <sup>er</sup> ~~ing~~". To enhance the primitive niveau of his "Works", he himself was obliged to

guild his theories with the teachings of Marx and  
Engle's. *Engels!*

(31i)

With the exception of a few details, the teachings  
are now more than 100 years old, thus, they are dusty.

(31j)

Yes, if he projects Marxism exclusively in the economic  
life and his democratic conception is the politics.

(31k)

Support such a state, ~~the~~ or political movement, where  
a completely constitutional political life is being  
led, or is the goal, to attain.

(31 l)

Never. In 1945-48 there was only a pseudo-democracy.

(31m)

None. He is conducting, so to speak, a special Communist  
politics, and is a ruthless dictator.

(32)

Any Communist, independent of Moscow, with different  
doses of nationalistic strenght.

(32a, b)

Respondent doesn't think that, among those who fought  
against the hated Communist <sup>oppression</sup> ~~suppression~~ and ~~to~~  
~~present~~ with every possible means at their disposal, there  
4 5 6 7 1 2 3  
any types of Communists would have been.

(32c)

It is going to pass for the time being, because, compared  
to the previous living standards, it ~~present~~ represents an  
amelioration, but respondent feels that he is going to  
get into ~~an~~ a dead end street--where he'll meet Tito  
by the way.

(32d)

He is a figure ~~who~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~his~~ ~~makeup~~ ~~with~~ ~~that~~ ~~of~~ ~~Tito~~  
He is a Tito-like figure with connections with Moscow.

(32e)

The expression "patriot" is not sympathetic in itself,  
<sup>combined</sup>  
but ~~combined~~ with that of Communism, ~~stronger~~

3 times Oh, God!

- (33) Of course, anybody who would have grabbed the power and achieved economic independence, would have ameliorated the situation a thousand fold.
- (33a) This question Imre Nagy couldn't have answered, because he never prepared any plan for this eventuality. When his "poor head" got in the middle of the whirlwind of the events, he was driven by the group standing behind him, and, ~~and~~ according to their suggestion, he changed his basic political principles of his system by the hour, and never had a minute to think about the economic problems.
- (34a) It is cursed, a complete misuse of the idealistic meaning of the word.
- (34b) Socialism, for instance in Hungary.
- (34c) It is an empty phrase, they had lied and said that in a proletarian ~~dictatorship~~ (like in Hungary), the *classes ceased to exist.* ~~class the cease.~~ This meant that the impulses were not ~~xxx~~ given free way, because terrific class differences existed.
- (34d) Political "sheep skin" used by the Communists, if they wanted to organize a big public movement in the political life.
- (34e) Unfortunately Moscow is the imperialists, and not the slandered U.S.A.
- (34f) A ~~was~~ *bluff.*

- (34g) As there is no other healthier economic form, ~~he~~ respondent acknowledges this as the fact. This is not perfect, though.
- (34h) He only sympathizes with the spiritual intellig<sup>ti</sup>encia, (artists, doctors, engineers, economists, etc.) but the merchants, who have risen to economic wealth, undeservedly, are not being held in respondent's esteem.
- (35) It is likely that he had conveyed his exalted opinions and that the others were in more balanced conceptions.
- (36a-1) In the proletarian dic<sup>t</sup>atorship, with the exception of artists, and actors, and Party members, everybody got less than they deserved. Exceptions: ~~were again~~ some, who received Kossuth prizes and some private doctors who earned very well indeed.
- (37a) Worse.
- (37b) Worse.
- (37c) Better.
- (37d) Better.
- (37e) Better.
- (37f) Better.
- (37g) Better.
- (37h) These people would fry their roast under any system.
- (37i) They were ~~except~~ in those times in different other parties.
- (37j,k,1) Better.
- (38a) No conflict.
- (38b) No conflict.

- (38c) He does not understand the question. The bureaucracy is not a stratum.
- (38d) Murderous hatred between the two.
- (38e) No conflict.
- (38f) If they suspect that, even the religion is the camouflage of the Communism, then they despise the "peace priests".
- (38g) No conflict whatsoever--see the <sup>free</sup> supplying of food during the revolution .
- (38h) Yes.
- (38i) No common interests, but no conflict either.
- (38j)(k) Economically conflicting groups.
- (39) Those who would be obliged.
- (39a) If the Russian arms do not stand behind the government, then all those, who fought <sup>with arms</sup> ~~armedly~~ in October, 1956 against the regime.