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Copy No. 5

NO. 120 "A" FACESHEET AND RATING
(Unrevised)

May 1957
New York

1. IRC-14
2. [REDACTED]
3. New Jersey; telephone: MURDOCH 6-6672
4. 1925
5. F
6. Hungarian
7. Roman Catholic
8. Roman Catholic
9. Married
10. 0
11. Secretary
12. --
13. Middle class
14. "White-collar" worker
15. --
16. Before World War II: Austria, Italy
17. No
18. No
19. Three semesters at the University of Political Economy,
Budapest, 1943-44.
20. Budapest
21. Budapest
22. --
23. Capitalism
24. February 2, 1957
25. Vienna, Austria, then U.S.
26. No
27. Yes. No. 121.
28. No
29. --

31. "10"
32. "9"
33. "9"
34. Hardly.

- 1 First of all it should be known how desperately we were waiting for help from abroad; we were listening to the radio day and night, waiting for the decisions of the United Nations, we were full of confidence that help would come. For instance, Radio Free Europe said; people should try to hold out until the presidential elections are over and then something will happen. People are still hoping. As time ~~went~~ went on, the general opinion of people ~~was~~ was that the West has accepted that Hungary belongs to the Russian block and that there is nothing that can be done about it; people began to realize the significance of the Yalta Pact and what they are most afraid of is that the West has given up Hungary. It is unimaginable that the Russians would let Hungary out of their own free will; if they would, the other satellite states would follow the example of Hungary. ^{There} ~~They~~ are still optimists who believe that something will happen, that the resolutions of the United Nations will not remain without effect.
- 2 It had begun much before the 23rd of October. When they started to send the artists' boats to Vienna, that was may be in June or July of 1956. These were was six-day excursions to Vienna; such writers, actors etc. were allowed to take part who were considered to be "reliable". During the whole excursion they used to live on the boats in order to save expenses. They came back disillusioned, after they had tasted life in the West, and had opportunity to compare conditions in Vienna with those ^{at} of home. Writers and artists in general had a ~~very good time~~, they made good money, they did not hesitate in benefiting from all the advantages of the regime. And then, all of a sudden, they turned against it. Writers whose name appeared in an anthology entitled "We ~~Praise~~ Praise Stalin"; Gyula Hay, whose plays were produced in the National Theatre,

2 cont. ^{Zelk} Zoltan ~~Velk~~, etc. — all this reminds me of the saying that the revolution devours its own children. Aron Tamasi who is ^{our} the greatest writer, refused to participate in anything, also he lived in ~~our~~ misery. Anyone, even if he was not a member of the party, but collaborated in order to maintain ^{his position or} ~~provision and~~ get high salaries, is to be condemned. The Irodalmi Ujság began to grow popular as it began to publish articles against the regime. Even though they attacked minor problems, people enjoyed reading them. For instance, they would write against the communist way of addressing each other ^{by} ~~with~~ "comrade". Then there was the rehabilitation of Rajk at the beginning of October. A large demonstration made up of students was ordered to the cemetery to lay wreaths on the tomb of Rajk. The authorities seemed to be uneasy, they were afraid of anti-communist demonstrations. There was no open disorder but the students found subtle ways to express their true feelings. Before ~~the~~ the tomb instead of singing official songs, they sang a famous aria against tyranny from the Hungarian opera Hunyadi Laszlo. Also they refused to lay the wreath on the tomb of Rajk but marched back through the town singing national songs as far as to the statue of Petofi and placed their flowers before it. ~~When~~ When they marched before the building of the AVO there was no interference on the part of the AVO. Finally the events in Poland and the sympathy demonstration which was organized by University students for the 23rd of October.

2/a/ With the resignation of Rakosi.

/b/ Tremendous. Also the case of the Jewish doctors was very bad for the regime; maybe they could explain their quick reversal to the people in Russia, but the Hungarian public was not so easily fooled.

- 2/c/ To a very great extent. The kind of regime which was represented then by Imre Nagy would not have been enough, but they people were hoping more from him; though he was a communist, he could be forced to make more concessions.
- /d/ I don't think so. People were rather mad at Tito, because he kept turning from one side to the other; there was a time when people hoped that the West would achieve that Hungary would fall into the orb of Yugoslavia under the aegis of the West. We would have preferred the Yugoslavs to the Russians.
- /e/ It was of a very great importance. They were excerpts published in the papers, ^{but} that I knew about it mostly through the radio; the BBC, the Voice of America.
- /f/ They were of very great importance. We were hoping for the unification of Germany; we were happy that somebody made a move. The communists were very ~~very~~ much frightened. The turn of the events was a very great disappointment.
- /g/ It made a great impression on the ~~the~~ masses that the "father of the people" was set aside. However they knew that it didn't ~~mean~~ mean a change in the regime, because he was replaced by Gero. For a moment they were hoping that Imre Nagy would follow him, that ~~that~~ could have meant something.
- /h/ When Imre Nagy became prime minister for the first time. There was a feeling of great relief; however, I had grave doubts because of the fact that Gero was the minister of Interior. Nevertheless, the ~~cessation~~ cessation of ~~the~~ internment, and the issue of licenses were great achievements; even though on a very small scale, private enterprise could start again.
- /i/ On the contrary, I was afraid when I saw that certain concessions were made, that the situation will be consolidated and will remain like that for the next thousand years. In general the opinion was: the worse the situation is the better, so that people can not endure it.
- 3a/b/ People lived under very bad conditions; economic points of view. They have seen through the lies. There was strong national feeling. Indomitable hatred

3a/b/ cont. toward the Russians. The terrible feeling of being closed in, also in the arts, we have fallen behind, no work of art brought anything new. People were labouring under the most ~~xxx~~ terrible living conditions and at the same time, they had to glorify the regime as ^{being} marvelous.

/c/ I am not sure. The Polish events contributed to a great extent. The demonstrations on the 23rd of October ~~through~~ threw light upon the fact, how great the number of the people was and how different ^{their} ~~is~~ social status who were against the regime. The hatred against the Russians has unified the people, but nobody dared to say it before, there was nothing to bring together the masses. However, in that ~~xxxx~~ demonstration, with the fourteen points, it was clear that everybody is of the same opinion, even the party members. In fact, some resented the presence in the demonstration of party members; there were cases when they were pushed out of the lines. This lead sometimes to tragic consequences; I heard of a case when such a party member committed suicide.

4 Yes. To get rid of the Russians and to abolish communism in Hungary. But I am sure they would have endeavoured to establish some kind of a healthy social system in Hungary.

/c/ Yes, I think so. To get rid of the Russians was the goal of everybody. However, the various parties had immediately begun to organize along the lines of the various social classes. There would have been a strong socialist sector, but there were also capitalistic endeavours.

/d/ The whole thing really started at once. Those who joined later were opportunists. When Gerö^o ceased to be the Secretary General of the Party, the whole public opinion was ^{on the side of} ~~beside~~ the revolution, and it would have meant practically to risk one's life not to stand by the revolution.

- /e/ Against the communist system in Hungary.
- /f/ For a neutral Hungary.
- /g/ "Russians go home". The ~~main~~^{rein} statement of the old Kossuth emblem, Hungarian uniform for the army, (the Russian uniform of the army hurt very much).
The abolition of the teaching of the Russian language. "Down with Gero".
Slogans ~~with~~ against other personalities, the longing after the West.
- /h/ Total independence from Russia, economically, politically etc.
- /i/ Most definitely yes. Everybody hated the communists, the sincere ones and the opportunists, there was a tremendous reaction.
- /j/ Those communists who joined the revolution were not true communists.
- /l/ It would have been just too beautiful. The revolution would have won.
We were hoping for ^{adequate} living standards, liberty, something like a second Switzerland, or at least like Austria.
- /n/ No, under no circumstances. We would have never been satisfied with a half-solution. As long as there was "comrade" and "Hungarian Workers Party" we considered it nothing, that is why Imre Nagy had to make one concession after another to satisfy the people. The BEC has characterized the situation in Hungary very well when it said: the situation ~~is~~ in Hungary is one which will not be established in Yugoslavia and of which the Poles couldn't even dream. Free elections would have been the most important thing; the communists would not have obtained more than two to three per cent or even less.
- /n/ At that time the personal purposes had remained in the background; first the complete liquidation of the regime had to be accomplished, but afterwards they would have emerged.

/o/ Those who were in the foreground during the regime: political ^{functions} ~~functionaries~~ of the communist party; AVO's.

5 During most of the time I was at home, listened to the radio; I went ~~nt~~ to the office only once or twice only for a short time, and even then we mostly ^{traded} ~~used~~ ^{at nearby stores} used to get some food; on the first of November, they distributed some food-stuff in the office.

6-9 Not applicable.

10 By radio, both domestic and foreign, but mostly the latter; I also ~~listened~~ ^{also,} listened to the Hungarian station in Győr; ~~and~~ through discussions with friends.

10/a/ I read eagerly the newspapers which were ^{published} ~~new~~ during the revolution.

/b/ Until the fourth of November, everybody was happy that free press is being reestablished in Hungary. The newspapers sprang up along the lines of the new parties and I think that was right. After the 4th of November, people turned the ^{Népszabadság} ~~Népszabadság~~, the new version of the communist party paper, in the streets; they thought that the new paper of the trade union, Népakarat

/c/ the same thing. ^P I heard about the shootings on Parliament Square, ^{from my husband} who was there; about the fights on the Ulloi Street by telephone from ~~friends~~ friends. But from the 7th of November the telephones were disconnected ^{by} ~~from~~ the central and everybody had to ask for reconnection individually. When was your telephone re-connected?

~~for~~ About the 18th of November. I had to find some innocent excuse and I said some-^{that} thing about somebody being ill in the house and I had to reach the doctor.

/d/ Yes. I listened to everything, both domestic and foreign. Before the 23rd of October I listened only ^{to} foreign stations. I listened mostly to BBC, also to Voice of America; I liked Free Europe the least, they had too many other programs other than news and we were only interested in ^{plain} ~~good~~ reliable news. I learned about the reaction of the ~~west~~ to the Hungarian events, also

10/c/ cont. about local events, the information service was excellent.

I listened every day to the United Nations radio reports on the meetings.

/e/ See answer to question /c/.

/f/ Foreign radio broadcast was the most reliable, hearsay was the least reliable source of information.

/g/ Local news I obtained through radio, telephone and conversation with friends; about the events in the rest of the country, I learned through the foreign radio broadcasts and the Free Radio of Győr.

11 They were dissolved. For instance, the Hungarian-Soviet Society, the DISZ.

11/a/ Party organizations were dissolved. Offices and buildings were occupied for the purposes of the new parties or ~~for~~ sometimes as ~~new~~ apartments. During the revolution, the new communist party was "timid". The so-called "Kader"-material, ^(confidential personal files) was distributed in the personnel departments of the offices, people could go in person and ask for it. Did you go to get your file?

Yes, but I didn't receive anything; I was told that my file had been previously sent to the Ministry because anonymous letters were received against me. What kind of letters? Of political nature; No, I was not a member of the party and I never made a secret of my opinions in the office even before the party members.

11/b/ They tore off the Russians emblem from their caps, they joined enthusiastically the revolution. They were happy when people addressed them in the old way instead of "police comrade". ~~But~~ they

Do you think that was right?

- 11/c/ ^{They} massacréd them where they found them. ^{Yes, ev rybody though it was right,}
 except not everybody liked to stand by and watch it.
- 11/d/ I don't really know. All I know is that several judges who were active in
 communist trials committed suicide.
- /e/ They have joined the revolution. They hated the Russians. The young officers
 were mostly of peasant origin. They were sent to the Kossuth Academy, which
 (Hungarian Military Academy)
 was the new "Ludovika", they were rather spoiled by the regime, yet they immediately
 joined the revolution. pampered
- /f/ They were passive. They did not really count, they were nothing more than a sort
 of tax of ice where you could pay your membership fees. They had been completely
 subordinated to the party in the past.
- /g/ I don't know much about this.
- /h/ ~~There were~~ There were so many ministries that it was ridiculous. We hoped
 that something will be done about it. There were some measures taken in
 this direction, for instance, the Ministry of Népművelés (organ of
 control of artistic activities, theatres, films newspapers) was abolished,
 or better said, merged with the Ministry of Education; the Ministry of
 Beszolgáltatás (compulsory delivery) was abolished.
- /i/ The reaction of the Catholic church was the most active on the side of the
 revolution. People in general didn't think too well of the Protestants
 and Lutherans because they cooperated more actively with the regime than
 the Catholics. In general the people were swarming into the churches.

11/j/ ~~Administrative~~ Institutions which collapsed were the party and all its political organs, the press, the AVC, the AFK[^] (state control center; similar to AVC), and the Ministry to which it belonged, the Ministry of State Control. The trade unions and police remained and appropriate reorganization was ^{under} ~~on the~~ way.

11/k/ The army.

/l/ The middle class (bourgeois) parties.

/m/ I don't know very much about them, only what I heard from conversations.

One of the tasks would have been to carry out changes in the personnel within the enterprise, of course, only ^{among} those in leading positions, party functionaries; they didn't intend to harm the small ~~part~~ people. There was very strong resentment against opportunists ~~who were many~~, and there were many of them.

/n/ I personally would have been happy to have capitalism. In general, people expect ^{ed a} ~~the~~ government structure of social character.

/o/ Opportunity to success of private enterprise and personal talents; that I have the right to go into business of my own, and whatever I succeed in acquiring, I can keep it; the right to happiness; the right to acquire property; of course, any healthy tendency to socialism is welcome. For instance, ~~anybody~~ nobody wanted the return of ~~the~~ landed estates.

12 "Mixed".

/a/ I saw tanks, from behind entrance doors.

/b/ Yes; for instance, I heard that on Parliament Square many Russians shot at the AVCs who were shooting into the crowds of the Hungarians.

/c/ ^{Yes.} The Russian army was demoralized to a certain extent after what they had seen in Hungary, which was still better than what they had in Russia. They were relieved by new troops after the 4th of November.

12/c/ cont. Also Russians tanks have shot at each other, sometimes by error sometimes intentionally. *How could one tell the difference?*

~~22/3/~~ I know it from conversations with friends. When they stopped shooting *of their tanks,* fairly soon and jumped out, ^{rather} frightened, to reconnoiter, then it was obvious that it was by error. But when they finished off each other, then there was no doubt; whichever came out victorious usually gave the tank to the Hungarians. I remember a very interesting case which I heard from a cashier of a state food store where I used to go ^{to do my shopping.} A Russian soldier from a tank came to the store and tried to get bread; when he was refused, ^{his} he offered ~~the~~ tank for the bread. He received the bread and in fact, ^{he} left the tank before ^I the store.

12/d/e/ I don't know. All I heard that they were "packing".

/f/ I don't know.

/g/ Before October 23, the entire Hungarian administration was under Russian influence; even the forming of industrial concerns, for instance, ~~x~~ in the building and construction industry, its centralization into trust, later its decentralization, ^{were} was done after Russian pattern as and when it happened in Russia, and of course, on Russian instructions. During the revolution their influence ceased because it was ignored. After the 4th of November, everything went back to the old system except, if possible, even more intensely.

/h/ The events caught them unawares, they were not prepared for them, everything happened too fast and suddenly; however, during the period of *passivity into which they were forced* ~~passivity which followed~~, ^{during} the revolution, from the background, they ~~have~~ observed everything.

13 On the 10th of November. I wrote a letter to a friend of mine in London ^{for days} and ~~a day~~ afterwards I ^{lived} left, in terror lest my letter should ^{be} caught.

13/a/ The inhuman terror throughout the country; personal threats;

I was horrified at the idea of being deported to Russia

Personal threats by whom?

12/a/ In my office, the chief of personnel and co-workers; they knew very well how I felt about the regime. I typed revolutionary leaflets, also.

13/b/ With my husband and my friends.

/c/ We thought of bribing them. My greatest desire was to get across the frontier. My ultimate goal: the United States. I have ~~an~~ first cousin who is living here, a physician in New Jersey.

13/e/ Only hypothetically, ~~but~~ if the Russians would leave Hungary, I would stay. The great delay in my departure, I left only in February, 1957, was due to the fact that I had to take care of my financial situation. With the help of friends I succeeded in selling my apartment and leave my mother in some financial security, because she stayed behind; she was too old to leave the country. For the last days of preparation I took out my vacations in the office; almost everyday I received telephone calls from the office, they were trying to check on me that I am not leaving the country.

14/ Very much, always. I think it was glorious and also it is a great ~~sorrow~~ ^{sorrow.}

/a/ There can be no question about it; it shook up the West.

/b/ Yes, if when the Soviet, ~~the counter attack~~ ^{ed Hungary} on the 4th of November, the UN would have acted with enough determination to stop them; or if they would have been a serious threat of armed retaliation from the West, the NATO. If the Russians would have been sufficiently impressed by the pressure exerted on them, they would have retreated. People became aware of the true significance of the Yalta Pact only after the revolution; the disappointment was tremendous because the West didn't act; they were sure that with help from the West the revolution could have been won. However, everybody would have been afraid of a war. But nobody thought there should have been a war. Why?

11/a/ cont'd

We based our hopes on the Austrian Peace Treaty. ^{What} ~~How~~ about the Warsaw Pact?

Nobody thought seriously about the Warsaw Pact.

14
11/c/

Nothing.

/d/ I think, maybe, because Hungary lies nearest to Austria; ~~May be~~, the Czechs didn't suffer as much from the Russians; the Rumanians and Bulgarians are not particularly passionate people.

/e/ I don't think much of him. He was driven by events; I don't think he ever acted or said ~~some~~ ^{any} thing of his own will or inspiration; he was pressed by ~~the~~ circumstances, he was swimming with the current, ~~where~~ ^{carried by} the will of the Hungarian people, ~~wanted~~. It was by chance that he was in the spotlight, ^{"Moscovite"} he was a ~~mass~~ ^{mass} ~~man~~, but as his previous government represented the first slight relief from under the terror, he was still better than nobody; one had to wait until the free elections.

/f/ Maléter. Kovács Déla. We liked him because he refused to participate in the government in the very first phase; ^{Kövdego} ~~Kuvago~~, Kéthly, their names were popular because of their past. Maléter, who went to military school in Russia, immediately manifested that he joined the revolutionaries.

He was sent out by the government to restore order in the barracks but he made those inside understand that he is on their side. He was an excellent organizer, he sent out ~~some~~ official summons of conscription. ~~Tildy~~ ^{di} Tildy made a spirited speech; he was not popular, people could not forgive him that he played into the hands of ^{di} ~~Takosi~~ the Small-holders/ Party.

/g/ The hero was a group, the youth, the children; it was beyond all imagination. ~~There~~ ^{They} were not afraid, they sacrificed their lives. ^{re} They were many many children who died during the revolution.

/h/ First ~~and~~ students, second, ~~and~~ soldiers, third intellectuals and writers. Fourth, skilled workers and unskilled workers, ~~this~~ should be taken together; fifth white collar people, sixth other people - farmers and peasants ~~is~~ did not participate in the fighting.

¹²
~~13~~/j/ No. For both questions, it was unbelievable.

(14) /k/ The great importance was that the members knew each others' opinions; First it was a national, literary movement, then they introduced into it political questions, and it has the merit of an initial impulse. I was very much surprised at them because the members were communist party members at the same time, they benefited of many advantages, they were the spoiled children of the regime. The younger members hoped their advancement through the Petöfi-circle.

I am ~~reassured~~ convinced that the Petöfi-circle would have been satisfied with a Polish-type solution. They were national communists, against the Russians, but not against communism itself. During the entire revolution they continued to proclaim themselves communists. *

/l/ Their active part was unimportant. It was rather after the revolution that they behaved wonderfully, in connection with problems of food supply. Their active participation in the fighting was so-to-speak null.

* Interviewer's note: Respondent apparently mistook the Petöfi-circle for the Writers' ~~Association~~ Union.

1./a/ Secretary

/b/ Painter (industrial designer of famous posters)

2 I had two jobs in Hungary. The first from 1944 to 1954, Hungarian Building Company Ltd., Nationalized in 1948. My second job was with the Hungarian State Folks Ensemble, economic section.

First job ^b I did typing, shorthand, own correspondence, craftsmanship ~~building~~ ^{billing}, budget determination, checking of budget.

/c/ ~~2a~~ I was the secretary of the technical ^{manager-} ~~chief~~, and later his executive secretary.

(d) 1944-1954

^e Yes, this was a large building concern, with four to five thousand craftsmen and workers. In the administrative office where I worked there were about thirty officials, technical personnel included; after its nationalization in 1948, the personnel grew to 3 to 4 hundred. It was an efficient firm with ^{an} excellent technical team.

^f /e/ comfortable.

3/a/ I liked it because ^{of} the opportunity for independent work.

/b/ Despite ~~these~~ ^{the} dissatisfaction^s I found in my work, I disliked it because of the political atmosphere, especially since the nationalization.

Second Job

2a/b typing and shorthand, foreign correspondence, translation into German and French and also from English.

^c /e/ typist

/d/ 1954-7 January

^e /e/ Rather large, There were about 150 to 180 artists; about 20 officials in the economic section where I worked. Very efficient.

~~det~~ This was an organization to produce folkloristic shows on a professional basis. There were choreographers and orchestra conductors who travelled

around in the country and made films locally of folk dances and songs. They returned with the films and the ~~constant~~^{permanent} artist-membership was trained on the basis of those films for the various shows and productions. These artists were recruited ~~xxx~~ from among the best of the obligatory folk dance groups which were formed with each industrial concern and workshop. We had our own theatre.

2/f/ It was beautiful and very elegant. It was in one of the old public buildings on the Buda side. It was decorated with carpets and draperies in folkloristic style. It was meant to be political propaganda showroom.

3/a/ I didn't like anything about it. I very much disliked it.

/b/ Because I didn't like the whole idea of this organization. It ~~received~~^{was subventioned} ~~state support~~^{by the state}, the yearly budget ran to 6 million florins and ~~that~~ we resented that all this money went for propaganda purposes while the ~~employees~~ employees were miserably paid. The productions were not popular at the beginning at Budapest, the public had to be driven into the theatre. But the group went also to Paris, London, Monte Carlo, Genoa ~~xxx~~ and everywhere they had a tremendous success; their success abroad had its effect on Budapest and after their return people began to want to see the show. In fact, there was nothing that could be said against the production itself, it was genuine, the costumes were beautiful. It was the spirit behind it which we didn't like. The artists were very well paid, about 1400 florins a month, for daily four hours, and they had many free days between productions.

4/a/ In ~~195~~^{my} 1946 the monthly salary was about 800 florins plus overtime, plus premiums which brought it up to about 1000 florins a month. It was very good.

/b/ In 1950, about 1200 florins a month.

/c/ 900 florins a month in 1955.

/d/ see above.

/e/ There were many deductions. First ~~time~~ there was the plan loan or peace loan.

~~It was~~ It was about 10 percent of my salary. Up to 1954, it was obligatory to subscribe to bonds ^{at the rate of} ~~valued at~~ on month's salary. From 1955 we had to subscribe for the amount of only half a month's salary. Every month, certain numbers were drawn out, it was like a lottery. The National Savings Bank ~~kept~~ kept records of the numbers of the bonds, each with its owner's name.

So ~~it was~~ ^I always arranged in advance who would win the big prizes and, of course, it was always the party functionaries and members. The biggest prize was 100,000 florins, then 50,000, 25,000, 10,000, 5,000, 1,000, 500 and 300 florins.

There were also prizes of the nominal value which were 25, 50, 100, 200 and 500 florins. Ordinary people could win by luck only if their serial number fell within the range of the serial number of the ~~big~~ ^{there} big prize-winning bonds. - Then ^{Trade} ~~was~~ a special tax for married people who had no children which amounted to 4%. Old age insurance: 3%, ^{fee} Union membership: 10%.

4/f/ In my job with the Building Industry I received premiums; after each completed building a certain sum was set aside which was distributed among the employees proportionately to the importance of their respective positions. Before the nationalization there was a so-called employees' welfare fund, ^{2%} ~~2,000~~ of each craftsmen's invoice, and every month the total amount was distributed ~~xxx~~ according to merits and importance. ~~Until~~ until 1948, this meant on an average 200 florins a month.

/g/ Yes. I have done translations and typing through private connections. This was fairly well paid. Since 1954, when I was working for the Hungarian State Folks Ensemble, I could obtain occasionally ~~xxx~~ part-time ~~x~~ job as supernumerary with films. This was, ~~in~~ ~~in~~ of course state employment and very badly paid. However, it was a great privilege which I obtained only through my employment with the Folks Ensemble, because the employees in the Economic section were also considered as members of the theatre and only members ^I of the theatre could obtain supernumerary ~~xxx~~ jobs with films.

For ten hours they paid 40 florins, and ~~in~~ for night hours there was 10% extra. There was also ~~some~~ ^{7%} deductions. **When did you do this part-time job?**

During my vacations or during the night. Despite the fact that it was so badly paid, people in the office ~~tried themselves~~ ^{were fighting} to get the job.

4/h/ The professionals made about 3 times as much as I did. People in smaller jobs than ~~my~~ mine would make about 20% ~~or~~ less.

/i/ It was just about the same. It really depended on the office where you worked. They were classified from A to D; within these categories each job had ~~its~~ ^a fixed salary with a very ~~small~~ small range for raises.

My first job was with an "A" company, my second job was category C.

5/a/ Everywhere the regular working hours were from 8:30 to 4:30, that is 8 hours. ~~People~~ In summer the hours were from 8 to 4. There was no lunch hour in the sense that we could leave the office building, we had a dining room in the office itself and one had to hurry up to eat. The maximum time to spend on ^{lunch} ~~it~~ was half an hour.

/b/ Six days, that is on Saturday only until 2 p.m.

/c/ Yes. I worked overtime and I was paid for it.

~~in a certain extent~~ ^{Above} ~~eight~~ ^{overtime} hours ~~per week~~ they would be difficult to pay overtime, they would try to argue that ^{the} work was not necessary or one should have done it ^{during} ~~in~~ regular time etc. If they couldn't get out of it, ~~then they~~ and they still didn't want to pay, then it was allowed to take out the hours for which they didn't pay from the regular working time.

For the first two hours 25% plus, up to four hours, 50% ^a plus, from the fifth hour ^{plus.} 100%. On Sundays, 100% plus. After nationalization, the first four hours were paid with 25% plus and 50% from the 5th hour on. 100% was paid for night hours or on Sundays.

- holidays**
- 5/d/ The official ~~holidays~~ were the following: January 1, April 4 which was **Russian participation in the** the/liberation day, May 1 and 2. For the 4th of April/**demonstrations** was not obligatory. **Certain people** /~~people~~ were ~~named~~ ~~and~~ designated for it. On the 1st **there was** of May demonstrations were obligatory and that is why ~~there was~~ an extra holi- day. Further~~off~~ official holidays were the 20th of August which was **from King St. Stephen's day Constitution Day,** changed/to ~~Constitution Day~~ the 7th of November in memory of the October Revolution of Russia and the 25th of December. Paid vacations were 12 days after the first two years, and after every two years, one additional day.
- /e/ This was everywhere the same. Executives started with 16 days ~~and then~~ which **was** ~~they~~ increased **by** ~~it~~ one day for every second year.
- /f/ They were extremely severe for lateness and absenteeism was practically non-existent. One minute counted for being late, three minutes was enormous. For one lateness, one was called before the Chief of Personnel, two latenesses meant disciplinary procedure, one was either **demoted** ~~demoted~~ or there was a **cut** ~~reduction~~ in salary, or both. On a third occasion if it happened within a month, one was fired. There was also the so-called "spiritual indemnity" which was a fine at each occasion 8 florins or more. The personnel department kept ~~the~~ records **the fines were deducted** and/~~it was deducted~~ from the salary.
- /g/ Yes.
- /h/ For punishment of lateness, see answer to question /f/. Absenteeism was practically impossible. To stay at home for sickness was only possible if the district physician confirmed it. For sick leave over three ~~year~~ days a check by the State Health Insurance Agency was necessary but its permission was very difficult to ~~be~~ obtain. Besides we were not paid when away from **as sickness allowance** work because of sick leave; we were/paid 65% of our salary/by the State Health Insurance Agency (SZTK) After ten years of service, this was

5/h/ cont.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ raised to 75%; however, when this improvement was introduced they didn't make it retroactive. To stay away from work for any other reason than sickness was something nobody dared to risk. Its consequence was very severe disciplinary procedure and it was sure one would be fired.

5/i/ I don't know much about it. The general opinion about norm system was that it was exploitation of the workers and that the workers were cheating as best they could.

/j/ As far as I can remember, during the last ten years there were three times changes in the norm system.

/k/ The so-called rationalization, for instance, merging different duties into one job. I have experienced this in both of the jobs I have held.

/l/ Not applicable.

6/a/ Not applicable.

/b/ It was very crowded. The situation got worse gradually. In my first job from 1946 to 1949, I had my own office, afterwards I had to share it with several people. My second office was also rather crowded, but it was better kept up in general.

/c/ The equipment was quite good in general. They were very strict in replacing new material, one had to return the end of pencil or the electric bulb that went out before getting a new one. Conditions were the most difficult in the years 1949-50.

/d/ It was very bad. I had ~~the~~ personal experience ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ this ^{respect} while I was working with the building industrial concern. The products of the various workman-
ships were ~~unusable~~ ^{unusable} or neglectful; windows and doors wouldn't work, they would ~~discover~~ discover in a completed building that the plumbing was not put in. The reasons for all this were low wages, carelessness, bad basic materials, and intentional slow down.

6/e/

I went by bus. It took me about 20 minutes (respondent lived in one of the residential sections in the Buda hills) The chauffeurs of the buses were very decent people, most of them were former gentlemen drivers; they were very kind to me and would stop before my house when they saw me, though even/there was no regular stop there. Also on my way home they would drop me before my house.

7

~~They~~ ^{There} They were very mixed. ~~They~~ were, however, several people there with whom we formed a group of close friends. In my first job this was a larger group, in my second job only three people.

7/a/

In my first job, they were rather young, from 18 to 40, the executives were older, from mid-forties upward. In my second job the majority was above 50. In both of my jobs the educational level was rather low; four years of high school, commercial high school. Even those who had higher education would not admit it, it was safer. In my first job about 40% of the employees were of good middle class background, 60% from lower middle class downward. In my second job about 80% were ^{of} better background, 20% of lower origin. Everybody labored under very bad economic conditions.

/b/

The relationship between employees depended on their ~~backgrounds~~ ^{political} social background and ~~their~~ ^{whether they} opinions. ~~Whether~~ working on the same level or ~~whether~~ ^{hatred} ~~the~~ superiors, the ~~existence~~ ^{of} the regime united them and they were helping each other as they could. If the superior was a communist who owed his job to his political merits, ~~they~~ ^{he} treated people badly and ~~was~~ ^{was} rude, regardless of party membership. The change and worsening ^{of} the relationship ^{employment} in places of / started in 1948 with the ^a nationalization and there was a slight improvement since the summer of 1956. In my second office, my chief, ~~was~~ although a communist, was pleasant and well intentioned. One can hardly speak of a relationship with subordinates; ~~they~~ ^{there} were only two groups, the executives and the employees. The decisive factor in each relationship was the political

7/b/ cont. conviction.

/c/

Yes, with those ~~of~~ whom I knew ~~some~~ ^{to be} reliable, I made very good friends; we maintained ~~a~~ ^{the} friendship also outside the office and visited each other.

I personally was very frank and made no secret of my opinions.

There were many people who were more diplomatic. Friends were quite frank to each ~~other,~~ ^{other,} the communists were always afraid of each other.

/e/

Yes, I developed a certain sense of solidarity towards them because I felt that we were the ~~most~~ ^{and} neglected/despised group, the true proletariat of the regime. Professional people and engineers ~~and~~ enjoyed certain advantages and freedom because the communists needed them and therefore they had to put up with them; and the open preference of the regime went to ~~some~~ the artists. Consequently, in both of my jobs I had the unpleasant experience of belonging to the underprivileged; it was either the engineers or the artists who enjoyed all the privileges and were respected.

/f/

Yes.

/g/

We had hardly any other subject of conversation but politics; and we kept ~~asking~~ asking each other ~~what~~ when all this will end.

/h/

Everywhere there was a local party organization. Their task was to keep tabs on all the employees including the executives, as to how the spirit of the party was being observed. They did this checking on people partly openly, partly secretly. They were coming and going in the offices and watching people. The party organization ~~consisted~~ of a party office and a party secretary. Party secretaries were selected from among workers and employees, sent to Party School, where they had to live in while their training lasted. Their names were on file in the central organization of the party. They were sent to various work shops and offices quite

- 7/h/ cont. independently of ^{their} ~~the~~ qualifications. "they were so-called" independent employees" with no definite duties, so as to be free to do their police work.
- 7/i/ The non-party people were hated, were badly and often rudely treated, and party members were constantly intriguing against them. They were the first to be laid off when the yearly personnel reduction occurred, which was another way of rationalization. In my first office I was given notice immediately after the death of my chief who while I was working for him did everything to protect me. In my second office I was constantly persecuted, provoked and annoyed in every possible way.
- 7/j/ I don't know very much about it, but I think it was very bad because the workers were also fed up with all the lies.
- /k/ No. It had no significance whatsoever, it was nothing but a façade, and in reality it was an organ of the party.
- /l/ Exclusively ^{along} ~~an~~ administrative lines; otherwise it was serving the party.
- /m/ There was an administrative type of change in 1950. I entered the Union, I was forced to enter it in 1947. Up to 1950, there were separate unions according to the trades. In 1950 it was centralized, after Russian pattern and it was called the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT); within this organization the different trades had separate departments, but there was a uniform membership booklet and everybody had to pay the same membership fee. As for the membership booklet, everybody had to exchange the old one for the new one and pay 20 florins for it.
- /n/ I am not particularly familiar with it. ^{They} ~~He~~ were supposed to be above the party, and like an independent court where to an employee could appeal from a disciplinary measure. There were always some decent people among the members but the majority were party people. ^{The} ~~Their~~ number/was constant. ^{of the members on the} Com-

The members of the Committee were elected yearly by secret ballot by the employees. We among friends ~~x~~ tried to agree in advance on the names of the candidates so as to have a better chance to get them in. **Did they interfere with the election?** Not too much, just enough to maintain the communist majority in the composition of the committee. In practice, usually ready-made decisions were handed down. Once in a while there were courageous members who would fight against these ready-made decisions. As a rule there were very few cases when appeals were made. I myself, for many years, didn't even know of the existence of such mediation committees. Beside the local mediation committees, there was also a district mediation committee, where to one could appeal from the decision of the local committee. But the district mediation committee usually had ~~written~~ written instructions from the local committee to dismiss the appeal. **What kind of cases were brought before the Committee?** For instance, ~~from a~~ dismissal from work which ~~they~~ ^{was} considered unjust. **the District Mediation Committee** Once in a while/~~they~~ would uphold the appeal, in order to maintain the good reputation of ~~x~~ the institution.

7/o/

The workshop triangle was the ultimate ~~xxx~~ power, master of political death and life. Its members were afraid of each other and hated each other; the least afraid of the three was the party secretary, he was afraid of **the shop triangle** **only** the party. Essentially/~~they~~ dealt with the fate of each ~~individual~~ ^{employed.} ~~individual~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ One of them, most often the party secretary, would call a meeting, they would sit together for hours, discuss everybody, make notes about them. The result ~~w~~ of such discussions would give the basis for the yearly lay-off, etc.

7/p/

Yes, but still he had to show a certain degree of good intention toward the regime, otherwise it was impossible.

- 7/q/ It would not be believed that any body would be ~~assumed~~ politically neutral. There was no such thing. They maintained that "who was not with us was against us." There is no third road.
- 7/r/ Only incompetent people advanced because of their political connections; such people tried to establish political connections in order to advance.
- 7/s/ Up to 1946, competence was the criterion of ~~the~~ advancement. Up till 1948 the situation was still tolerable. From that time on until 1956, that is the revolution, one could advance only through political connections. During the first government of Imre Nagy ^{of} there was a certain easing ~~in~~ the situation, insofar, as they did not persecute so much the non-party people, but advancement was still out of the question for them.
- 7/t/ Yes, both. The informers were secret party members, one couldn't know exactly who, but they knew everything about everybody, also in their private lives. How did they know about private lives? They would send out the "KADER" (= cadre) ^{people's} official to ~~the~~ apartments, ~~at the~~ ~~apartments~~. He would talk to the superintendent ^{to} of the house and ~~the~~ block superintendent. The super was watching everybody and eavesdropping. I have caught my superintendent eavesdropping at my door.
- 7/u/ I ~~did not~~ quite ~~understand~~ ^{did not understand} what the Workers ~~Councils~~ ^{Councils} ~~wanted~~ wanted. Their political ^{reproach,} behavior was above ~~approval~~ but I was afraid that basically they ~~wanted~~ ^{wanted} have communist tendencies, even though national communist, I think they endeavour to establish a kind of titoism. I thought it was beautiful that they did resist 100% to the Russians. However, it could be feared that the workshop triangle would return. Also, it would be hard to imagine that the workers councils would return the factories to their former owners.
- 7/v/ I don't know.

8 Because I was fired.

/a/ The only possibility to change positions was dismissal from one's previous job. The circumstances of the dismissal were entered in to the red book, (identity-booklet). The entry ~~was~~ "dismissal by the employer" was somewhat less bad than the entry "dismissal for disciplinary causes".

If somebody "left work voluntarily" he cut off himself thereby from getting any position in his field. Finally, there was the category of "resigning with the consent of the employers". **How could this be obtained?**

If somebody could prove that he could earn more with his qualifications or has acquired some specialization and wanted to work in his field. ^{unless} Of course, nobody would resign ~~if~~ they had another job and a new employer would officially ask for the person to be permitted to leave. But all this was very rare. There were very few openings, everybody was happy to have some sort of a job at all, they didn't like to change ^{and preferred to stay} where they ^{because} were they had become ~~in~~ more or less familiar with the conditions and knew who is who, which was very important. When I was dismissed from my first job in the course of one of the great lay-off waves, one way of rationalization, they were advertising in the papers job openings in agri- ^{look} culture. They were trying to make ~~some of~~ these openings ^{at} very attractive. It was very difficult for me to find a new job. I had a bad political background. In one place a chief of personnel was willing to offer me a job if I had been willing to relinquish one month's salary; of course, I refused. I received addresses from friends of mine who knew that ~~there~~ was an opening where they worked. But I had to be careful not to mention them as references, because it would have been bad for both of us, in view of our political convictions. I almost didn't get my second job because I had my nails polished; it was only through ^{an} ~~the~~ intervention from the Ministry that they accepted me but I had to stop using nail polish. I was

8/a/ cont. asked about my foreign connections and I only dared to confess that I had friends in London. It was too dangerous to admit the United States. I witnessed once in our office of personnel when somebody was taking a test for a position, that a party member talked to the chief of personnel "look out, he is an intellectual". The principle was to keep people working according to their qualifications, but it was not so in practice. Between 1949 and 1951 it was quite impossible to change positions. It was called workers' migration. White collar workers and intellectuals didn't consider it worthwhile to change because the conditions were more or less the same everywhere.

The workers would try with but little success; if a worker left his workshop, he was put on the wanted ^{ed} list, and if he was caught, he was sent ^{to} reformatory work which meant that he had to work for 40-50 ^{regular} per cent of his salary.

8/b/ I should have liked to open a small shop of my own, some fashion shop, sports or knit dresses.

/c/ I feel that I have the talent for it both in taste and for the business part of it. I like to sew.

/d/ Mostly pressing circumstances. The family cannot live on what ^{it makes,} ~~they make~~ Young people ~~they~~ would learn anything that would give them some qualifications within the shortest time so that they could go to work as soon as possible. ^{considerations} Material ~~was~~ were the most important. Also, they abhorred the idea of any responsibility as long as they had to work for the regime.

Young men and women of the middle class couldn't think of ~~following~~ ^{undertaking} serious university studies; one could say that there was a numerus clausus for young people with middle class or intellectual background. The number ^{was} among them who ~~was~~ of those/could enter the universities ~~were~~ quite insignificant.

8/e/ See answer to question b.

/f/ No.

/g/ While we were working for the regime, success was something to be ashamed of. But I think the young people who came out now are full of ambition and energy.

/h/ We were talking about these things at home. People kept saying: "if only I could get out..." Where would they want to go? To the ^{West} ~~west~~. Most people wanted to go to the United States; then England, also South America, Caracas, ^{(Venezuela);} & Western Germany has become very popular, people were talking of the excellent living standards in Germany realized with American capital.

/i/ First of all, I should like to have a beautiful home, beautifully furnished, many books, many dresses; and then, I should like to travel in Europe. To listen to music. I should like ^{to} not/have to go to an office, I should like to be independent, to have my own business undertaking.

/j/ No.

/k/ No.

9 Very badly and it was becoming always worse. Up till 1948, my income was fairly ~~fairly~~ good, but then it became worse. I had to ~~work~~ work very hard and it was hardly enough to subsist.

/a/ My husband; my mother used to have a flower shop but it was taken away in 1949 since that time she didn't work.

/b/ Since 1948, in order to be able to cover my primary needs, I had to work day and night; it was only thanks to packages received from abroad that I was able to dress somewhat properly.

/c/ Exclusively foodstuffs.

/d/ See answers to questions l/a-g/ (Respondent's husband is also being interviewed)

9 /e/

~~Relatively~~ Relatively little because we have built the apartment.
Our first apartment was taken away by the state and we received
some indemnity for it which enabled us to cover the expenses
of building
~~to build~~ this apartment. The rent we should have paid was credited
to the expenses we put into the apartment.

(Continued on next page)

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✓

- (9f) Very bad, everything was overcrowded, sharing of apartment/^s was ~~a~~ ^{the} rule. Where before there lived fifty people, now there were three hundred~~d~~.
~~As a consequence of starting~~ ^{-sharing,} the apartment/~~there~~ was a tremendous hatred among ~~the~~ people. Central heating worked very badly, if the boiler needed to be fixed, nothing was done about it, coal deliveries were scarce, winter was always a dreadful menace. After the heating broke down, the water and the gas would freeze; plumbing was repaired relatively quickly, but gas would be not available for weeks. Anyway, the quality of the gas was terrible. My apartment was quite beautiful, very elegantly furnished. I have inherited my furniture from my parents.
- (9g) 100% of my income. We had ~~s~~ to spend quite some time ~~in~~ standing in line for food, ^{especially} for meat or milk, according to what was being exported from the country. It was my mother who stood in line for food, because both my husband and I were working. It was very useful to keep up friendly ~~rel~~ ^{relationships} with the butcher.
- 9/h/ I was able to dress exclusively from the packages I received from abroad, especially from the United States from my cousin. If there was something I couldn't use, I could always sell it in the office and among ~~a~~ friends. People were eager to buy anything that came from abroad. ~~Everything~~ was considered simply wonderful^{that} that was sent.
- /i/ Certain items like flour, ^{lard} ~~fat~~, sugar, meat could be obtained only in State food ~~stores~~ stores / For perishable foodstuffs like eggs, cream, cheese, I usually went to the market ^{where} ~~which was~~ ~~kept~~ peasants sold their produce. In general there was plenty of foodstuffs, but it was very expensive. Meat and ^{lard} ~~fat~~ were always scarce. During the revolution we had to stand in line sometimes for eight hours to get some foodstuffs, later there was plenty of everything.

9/1/

I spent quite a lot on gas and electricity, because I used very much of it; I used to heat the bath room with gas. Also both were rather expensive. I spent about twice as much as my rent on electricity and gas bills. The summer bills were about 50% of the winter bills.

Fuels was very expensive, I had to spend about 3,000 florins a year which ~~could pay in~~ ~~I had to spend~~ six months. It is true that my conditions were rather exceptional, my apartment was relatively large with huge windows etc. Every year I was forced to sell something in order to be able to cover these expenses.

/k/ Getting fuel was very difficult. Gas service was rather bad and of bad quality. Electricity was ~~very~~ good.

/l/ I spent a lot of money on the dentist. I didn't take advantage of the State Dental Service, because often it was of very poor quality, although this did vary.

/m/ Through ^hmy first job (building concern) my expenses in building my apartment were considerably reduced. Through my second job I could receive free theatre and concert tickets, and I was able to get the supernumerary part time jobs with films. In my first job again, up till 1948 we received every year ten q of wood; also flour and meat at producer's cost, and the price thereof was withheld from our salary in small installments so it was hardly noticeable. In my second office immediately after the revolution when nothing was available yet, we had received on two occasions rather considerable ~~a~~ foodstuff supply. Vacationing was only possible on the ~~main~~ basis of the State Vacationing Plan; people were sent to various resort places, maintained by the State, for two weeks and there was a very small ~~daily~~ daily payment to be made, ~~it~~ 8 florins. The travelling expenses we paid ourselves, and then we would spend about 300 florins for recreation, for instance, beach tickets, a cup of coffee, etc. On recreation I spent in a year about 600 florins, entertainment of friends

- 9/m/ cont. was included in this sum. Even this I could only afford if I ~~like~~ sold something. We didn't subscribe to any newspapers. My cousin usually sent me the Vogue and the New Yorker and I received from London the periodical Woman. I was able to sell the issues of the Vogue to seamstresses for about 40-60 florins; but if there were evening dresses in the Vogue, I couldn't sell the issue because nobody had evening dresses made in Hungary. The issues of the Woman I could sell to the beauty shops for about 3 florins. I used to keep the New ~~and~~ Yorkers ~~and~~ lend them to my friends.
- 9/o/ In addition I spent money on the hairdressers, on communication which was very expensive, on cleaner, laundry cost me every six weeks 180 florins.
- 10 No, I considered it very bad.
- /a/ As long as the building concern had remained in private hands, I made fairly good money; from 1948 on I had less salary and I had more duties piled up upon me. In 1954 there was a general salary reduction.
- /b/ yes
- /c/ Partly by the Russians, partly by ~~the~~ ^{their} subservient tool-~~the~~ ^t Hungarian Communist party.
- /d/ Officially they tried to convince the public opinion that the situation of the workers had improved. But it was difficult for me to believe that the workers had better living conditions because the feeling of hostility toward the party was very strong. Only the so-called ~~distinct~~ ^{outstanding} ~~workers~~ were workers or enthusiastic party members liked the party. Chiefs of personnel in the offices were usually workers and they were mean with the white collar employees.
- /e/ It was one of the most outrageous ~~things~~ things they had done. For practical purposes it meant that we had only 11 months of salary instead

19/e/ cont. on record with the full name of the owners so that they could choose the winning numbers. (Also see answer to Question W 4/e/).

10/f/ Reparation payments to Yugoslavia were quite considerable; the payments were stopped after the break with Tito. The reparation payments had their importance on the economic life, the regime was using them as an excuse for the lack of many things. The public just took note of them along with the other evils, they didn't ^{give} much thought to them.

/g/ Yes. The so-called "free party day". They were political lectures for non-party people. They were obligatory, held after working hours and lasting for about three hours. The chief of personnel was standing by the entrance

door and checked people who were leaving. We were trying to get out of it and trying to find ^{plausible} ~~possible~~ excuses like ^{an appointment with the} dentist, or something similar. Did many people manage to leave?

/ Quite a few. But there were occasions when it would have been too risky ^{from} not to go, we knew it more or less ~~after~~ the subject of the lecture. How often were such lectures given?

/ About every tenth day; or there was something else, for instance, ^{workshop} ~~meeting~~ ^{trade} committee meeting, or union meeting, etc. For every week there was something and sometimes even twice. I tried not to go but it was advisable to go at least at every third or fourth occasion. After the lecture

they would expect questions or commentaries but there was none on a voluntary basis; then they had "built in" commentators. ^{These people} ~~They~~ received before ^{the} ~~the~~ lecture slips of papers with the questions or commentaries.

The slips were numbered so as to prepare a full scale discussion.

During the lectures the non-party people behaved rather disrespectfully, the party members listened in frozen attention.

11. The communists have driven the country into a formal bankruptcy. Not only in the field of food supplies, but for instance in the construction industry, raw materials were simply not available, wood cement, iron, etc. At the ~~begin~~ building concern where I worked gigantic plans were

11 cont. drawn up but they could ~~not be carried out.~~ ^{not be carried out.} The technical staff ~~kept~~ held meeting after meeting, their personal security and freedom was dependent on the ~~execution~~ ^{completing} of the plans. There were certain plans which had to be called off, construction/^s which had to be abandoned, others left half finished.

/a/ Not applicable.

/b/ I personally ~~have such experience~~ ^{don't know of} any ~~factors~~ ^{factors} or measures of which I could approve. I have to admit that I could not remain objective toward the regime. The only way to benefit from any advantage was through political merits. I consider that the vacation plans were sufficiently paid by us ^{trade} through the/union membership fees, the peace loans, the bad salaries, so that I could not consider it as a favour; and yet, we were happy to have them.

/c/ Not applicable.

/d/ I was a child before the war, I only remember that we had everything, that every year we spent three weeks abroad in Austria, Italy, in every respect we were very well off.

/e/ Immediately after the war in 1945, 1946 there was a tendency of improvement, it looked as if we would soon reach again the standards of 1939.

But then the communists came and they spoilt everything. Since they took over, everything went only downward.

/f/ I didn't think much of it. **People were convinced that the plan could not be fulfilled,** and in fact it was not.

/g/ It was exaggerated. It was no success at all.

/h/ His agricultural and peasant policy could have been significant; but there was not time given to put it in practice.

/i/ Within the party there ~~was~~ ^{were} continuous discussions going on; one fraction

11/i/ cont.

was for heavy industry, another one for more consumer's goods.

It was obvious that the latter was not too successful in putting ^{its} through ~~their~~ ideas.

/j/

It was better; more consumer's goods were appearing on the market, though the prices were very high. For instance, one meter of good woolen material was 400 florins.

12

In my opinion the material conditions were only second in importance in the general dissatisfaction. The main reason was that people felt insulted in their patriotic and national feelings; the absence of free press; and the state of permanent terror in which they had to live. Material conditions were second in place but they were quite ^{therefore} intolerable and ^{very} important. ~~therefore~~ I ^emember quite well that I have been walking around in shoes with a hole in them, etc.

/a/

I consider material conditions very important.

/b/

See answer to question 12.

/c/

I think the reasons which I mentioned in the first place were important to the intellectuals. For the workers material conditions were the most important; I think that they were less ^a affected by the first group of grievances I just mentioned, because they had less reason to be afraid and in addition there were others who were afraid of them; I don't think they were very much interested in the press. However, all this is only my subjective opinion, these problems are rather far from my immediate interests.

/d/

No.

/e/

The dissatisfaction of the workers manifested itself for instance in the form of the so-called ^{workers'} ~~workers'~~ migration. They were trying to change their jobs but with very little success. I had opportunity to experience myself the expression of their dissatisfaction during my job with

12/e/ cont.

the building industry concern. Every pay day degenerated into a scandal; the workers were loudly cursing, threatening and occasionally there was even violence, they would, for instance, topple the chair or the table of the pay roll clerk. So it often happened that the pay roll clerk was afraid to go out by himself to the workshops and ask^{ed} the manager or the party secretary to go ahead^{of him} and hold a speech to the workers which usually ~~was~~ cooled them off a little bit. Wages were paid twice a month; around the 10th of the month there was an advance payment, it was not a fixed day because it had to fall on a Saturday. The workers received from about 40 to 60% of their salary, they never knew how much they would get because it was paid on their previous month's ~~the~~ achievement. Their wages were calculated on the basis of what they fulfilled of the norm multiplied by the number of working hours. The workers considered their wages always too low and that was the reason that gave rise to the expression of the dissatisfaction. The remaining part of their wages was paid out toward the end of the month. The management would occasionally, for ~~political~~ ^{political} reasons push ahead or backward the day of pay; they always arranged it so that they wouldn't pay before Christmas; before communist holidays, on the other hand, the pay day was pushed ahead if necessary.

12/f/

Of what I heard, they participated actively in the revolution. I also heard that the workers of Csepel joined the revolution with truck loads of arms.

1 From 1931 to 1943, four years of elementary school, 8 years of gymnasium; in the summer of 1943 I passed my baccalaureate. I ~~was~~ attended both elementary school and gymnasium at the Angolkisasszonyok (famous nun's school for girls). Beginning with the ~~fourth~~ ^{fall} semester of 1943 until the end of 1944, was attending courses at the University of Political Economy for three semesters. My studies were interrupted by the war, and in 1945 the University of Political Economy was the first to show strong Marxist tendencies. When I looked through the announcement I didn't wish to continue my studies there. I then took a course in typing and shorthand.

2 & 3 not applicable.

4 no.

/a/ I should have liked to finish my studies at the University.

/b/ First, because of the intervention of the war, and afterward because of the political conditions.

5 See answers above.

6 From mediocre to good.

/a/ Because my mother kept reminding me that I am not only learning to form my intelligence but I also have to think that I am preparing ^{for being} ~~to be~~ able to make a living.

7 Yes.

/a/ Because I lived under favourable conditions; the financial conditions of my family were very good, and ^{there} ~~there~~ were no restrictions as to what and where I wanted to learn.

/b/ Maybe those who were financially even better off.

8 Yes.

/a/ Russian; on every faculty of the Universities; even at the conservatory. Marxism-Leninism; I know from my friend that this was a course of more points than any other of the specialized courses. If I ~~correctly~~ remember correctly it was a course of 6 points. My friends were ~~pride~~ proud if they had good marks in the specialized courses and if they could boast of a C

8 /a/ cont. in Marxism-Leninism. Finally there was a course in National Defense; this was a practical course which was made to appear more or less as sports. They had for instance target practice.

/c/ It was quite absurd; everybody hated it. It was to replace the teaching of German.

9 It was a complete failure.

/a/ The influence of the home was much more powerful; children were often more reactionary than grown-ups. The term "reactionary" has a special meaning in Hungary; everybody who was not a communist was called reactionary. And so we just call ourselves, quite proudly, by the name the communists gave us. For instance, they wouldn't talk at school to a child whose parents were communists; such a child was an outcast. They refused to join the [†]Uj[†]törö Mozgalom (communist teenage organization). The consequence was that they would receive worse notes. All I have said is ~~valid~~ ^{valid} for a very young age. University students became easily communist; ~~there~~ ^{there} were many conflicts between parents and children or, better said, youth in this age group. In 1948-49 they had still believed in the communist lies, the more they saw and often experienced ⁱⁿ their immediate surroundings, the consequences of the persecutions of the communists, especially the internments in 1951, their eyes were opened.

9/b/ In no way.

/c/ Same reply.

/d/ See answer to question /a/.

/e/ This varies with the individual. There ~~was~~ are those who are impressionable at the age of 18 or 19. The result doesn't really depend on the age. When people are first confronted with this theory and its promises of salvation

- 9/e/ cont. and are unable to see them for what they are worth, they can be impressioned. But when they are confronted with the facts and often experience at their own expenses the true nature of communism, a complete disillusionment sets in. Those who had different experiences, even if they were children, will never accept communism. Those who had known what it was like, what the communists called the "odious Horthy regime", could not be impressed.
- /f/ Not applicable.
- 10/a/ Well-off middle-class.
- /b/ the same.
- 11 the same.
- 12 My father died when I was a small child.
- 13 Better than the average.
- /a/ Our conditions had changed for the worst.
- 14 My mother, my husband. I was married in 1949.
- /a/ Not applicable.
- /b/ Yes.
- /c/ Because of financial reasons. My mother had nowhere else to live and she had no income; on the other hand, we needed her because she kept household while we both were working.
- 15 My husband.
- 16 It was to my greatest disadvantage.
- /a/ The main communist slogan was the intensification of class struggle. Anybody who was not a worker or a peasant was considered as an enemy and their lives were made impossible.
- 17 Yes.
- /a/ Office workers.

17/b/ ~~Yes~~ 1949

/c/ I have no children.

18 Not applicable.

19, a, Yes very much, with my husband, ~~and with my husband.~~

/b/ There was mutual understanding and agreement between us. We exchanged our experiences and information; everyday something happened to each of us, mostly ~~insults~~ insults and offenses and we would tell about them to each other. I was most of the time very upset and I cried a lot. Good news ~~were~~ ~~came~~ when we heard something about some communist set-back.

We would withdraw to the farthest corner of the room because we knew that the superintendent was eavesdropping whenever he could. Also we were sitting ~~far~~ ~~from~~ from the telephone, because it was our common belief that, in one way or another, it was possible to connect centrally the telephone even if the receiver was in place and they could listen to what was said in the neighborhood of the telephone. So if there were guests and the conversation was loud, we always pulled out the tele~~phone~~phone.

22 Good relationship (my father died when I was 3 years old and I was an only child).

23 Yes, a lot. Whenever my mother was not busy elsewhere she participated in our conversations. Despite her old age, she was very intelligent and very much interested in everything. She was passionately against the regime and she listened often to foreign radio broadcasts. She would tell us about the news she heard when she went shopping or ~~going~~ ^{was} to the market, or/standing in line.

26/a/ My marriage has been an exceptionally good one, and I am very fond of my mother; also my husband liked her very much.

/b/ I don't think it was very typical. There were many bad marriages, ~~and~~ a great liberties were taken on both sides, in general one can say that

26/b/ cont.

family life has disintegrated and deteriorated to a great extent.

/c/ I was reading, went to concerts, movies, not too often, and we would visit with our friends.

/d/ See answer to question /c/; I went everywhere with my husband.

/e/ Very little, because every body came home late, everybody was always very busy. We could spend most of the time together during the week end, or when we went on vacation.

/f/ Travelling; catching up with the recent works in Western literature; to see English and American films and, in general, to get acquainted with the new products of Western culture.

27 It has loosened.

/a/ Husband and wife were often separated geographically through their jobs; then they would have affairs. Another reason was the grave financial conditions in which they lived, they resulted in disputes and quarrels. Often women, to obtain what they were longing for in entertainment or luxury, would be willing to get it as they could; sometimes a woman would **simultaneously** have more than one affair/for such reasons. Children were day in day out in state nurseries, sometimes throughout the week. There was a joke **elderly man** circulating on the situation, "who is that strange ~~man~~ who spans me once a week?" Due to conditions of life, children were estranged from their parents--that was the intention of the regime.

27/b/ In general, yes. However, I heard such cases that a child would denounce his parents, or ^awife would have her husband arrested out of revenge, but all this happened very seldom.

27/c/ Yes, very much so.

/c/ See answer to question /a/.

27/e/ I know only about the city life. As much as I could form an opinion, I think the children-parents relationship was better in the country, but wife-husband relationship was worse. One reason for my belief was that the state nursery system was not so widespread and developed in the country. Of course, I am only speaking of small towns and rural districts, because industrial centers in the country were very similar to city life.

28

Yes, definitely. There were various factors which would facilitate this. For instance, camps where boys and girls from the age of 15 and upward were mixed colleges: the boys and girls occupied would be together; there ~~was no mixing~~ the fact that ~~they were in~~ separate parts of the building, didn't matter very much. The parents' supervise opportunity to ~~control~~ their children has been reduced to nil. They were hardly at home, they would return tired, it has become very rare that they could educate their children, the children would grow up in the streets. They had shocking moral concepts. For instance, it would be thought natural that a young girl of about 17 would have affairs with five or six boys at the same time; it was not unusual that girls ~~at~~ the age of 15 would be taken to maternity wards. Morals have become more lax also in the middle class. To put it in a rather sharp way, one could say that ~~that~~ the notion of the virgin bride has been abolished.

28/b/

At a very young age, between 17 and 18 on, usually of similar age; in my opinion all this is very bad.

/c/

Courtship has, so to speak, ceased to exist. I have heard of a case when a young girl of a very good family went to a five o'clock dance. An engineer was introduced to her, who after the first few steps of their first dance asked her pointblank whether she would be willing to have an affair with him. This ~~sort of~~ situation was a consequence of the over-all conditions prevailing in Hungary. Man had neither time nor money to follow up at the same time two different lines; in other words, an affair and separately a

28/c/ cont. platonic relationship. **There were considerably more women than**
~~men~~ **men** ; women were happy if they had somebody to go out with.

Also they didn't have much choice, because if they would say no,
 men would leave them and look further where ~~he would~~ **they could** hope for more
 success. However, many such relationships ended up with marriage
 and in fact, every ~~woman~~ **woman** was secretly hoping for a decent married life.

/d/ The changes had been very great and I could hardly approve of them.

/e/ No, it was officially abolished and that was mainly the reason
 of the above changes. But prostitution went on secretly and there
 were certain cafés and so called people's buffets where men could
 contact women.

/f/ Very much so, ~~it~~ **that's what** **in the situation.** For instance, if they would
 know of a party member who led a bad family life, he would be ~~excluded~~ **from the party** or
 ordered to put ~~in~~ an end to his affair. If a woman became pregnant,
 they forced the man to marry her. They were talking in my office of
 a case where a couple was found in **flagrante**. To a certain extent, women
 were taking advantage of the situation, they would put in formal complaints,
 the Party would summon the man whom they designated and order the man to
 marry her. Such orders were usually followed. On the whole, all this
 didn't happen too often.

/g/ I personally fully approve of it. The regime was vehemently opposed to
 it; the sale of contraceptives was prohibited. On the ~~walls~~ maternity
 wards there were posters with the following slogan, "To bear children
 is a woman's duty, and a girl's glory". Gynecologists had to surrender
 their equipment for performing abortions. Detectives were placed before
 the houses where ~~gynecologists~~ **gynecologists** kept their offices, and women leaving
 the building, ~~were~~ were stopped and annoyed with questions. If a doctor
 was caught, he could be sentenced to 8 to 10 years of prison. Women
 leaving the doctor's office wouldn't dare to order a taxi before the

28/g/ cont.

building, because then they were sure to call the attention of the detectives to themselves. These measures and their enforcement culminated in the years 1951-2. From 1955, the situation was eased to a great extent; abortions were performed officially and free of charge after indication by doctors; but very often these indications were based on false and invented illnesses; also family conditions were considered as acceptable, for instance if a family had already two children. The reason for the change in the regime's attitude was that the economic conditions of the families didn't permit raising children and, due to previous policy and the prevailing moral conditions, there were already far too many children. On the other hand, women were given important maternity grants, baby trousseaus. The regime tried to cover these expenses through the so-called childlessness tax, and pensions which they had taken away.

/h/

Yes; this social concept has been, so to speak, abolished. This can only be approved of. In the first place they forced the father of the child to marry the mother if this was possible. Under all circumstances, she was obliged to pay for the maintenance of the child. Whomever the women designated as the father of her child, was accepted as such and the child could bear automatically his name. There are quite a few illegitimate children in every class of society; since 1954, ^{their} ~~the~~ number has decreased.

29

I would think of a couple; the husband was an old-time friend of my husband and it turns ^{ed} out that in 1950 we became neighbors by chance. From that time on there was a very close friendship between the four of us. The man was an employee in the offices of the IBM in Budapest. His wife worked in the offices of a leather confection ~~factory~~ factory.

29/b/ The man was ~~am~~ forty-three years old and his wife about 39.

They both came from good middle class families. ~~am~~

/c/ We talked mostly politics.

/d/ Almost exclusively;

/e/ Our friendship has only grown with time.

/f/ Very much so. However, we can only correspond now, the man is working with ~~in~~ the IBM ~~office~~ at Stuttgart, ~~since~~ ^{since} they ~~had~~ left Hungary, sometime before us. We met ^{again} in Vienna. We could always count on each other and they were very helpful to us when we arrived in Vienna.

/g/ Reliability, readiness to help in need, a common platform in ideas and interests and taste.

/h/ It would have excluded all possibility of a friendship.

30 Roman Catholics.

/a/ Yes.

/b/ I believe in God and ^P ~~the~~ providence. Indeed, what happened to me, especially in recent times, seemed to me almost as miracles.

31 Yes, to a great extent.

/a/ In certain respects, queer as it may sound, its influence was to the good, many of those who didn't go to church before, would attend services regularly, if for no other reason than to demonstrate his political feelings; huge crowds attended resurrection processions at Easter, and not only old people but young men and women would march in the ranks. On the other hand, communists were trying to make religion seem ridiculous; of course, religion was not compatible with their materialism. The criterion of a good communist was to be an atheist.

/-/ Catholics were most severely hit; Protestants and Lutherans less--this is my subjective opinion, because I think that the two latter are manifested to a lesser degree in outer acts and ceremonies.

/c/ There are no other denominations to speak of in Hungary; Jewish religious practice is ~~practically unknown~~ not too ~~widespread~~ widespread.

31/a/

The materialistic ideology of the communists is incompatible with religion; they proclaim communism to be the only religion leading to happiness.

/e/

Both, that is, if they couldn't stamp it out, at least they tried to use it for their own ends. Such an attempt was made for instance through the so-called peace priests; while they were trying to stop ~~any~~ religious practice in the working classes, they had to admit to themselves that in certain age groups and within certain social classes ~~it~~ ^{it} was impossible for them to stamp out the religious feelings. ~~But~~ ^{The Communists were hoping} if the peace priests were talking as they wanted them to, that the church-goers who heard the praises ~~of~~ of the regime from their priests, would think less badly of it after all. They concentrated their anti-religious efforts on the youth; their most effective means was to make ridiculous those of whom they knew were practicing religion. Everybody was observed for church going habits and if somebody was known to go to church, this was noted against him in his personal record (kader).

/f/

In the first place, against the leaders and priests, but on the whole, against all believers. (see also ~~another~~ answer to question a)

For instance, if a party member would have his child baptized, was considered very bad of him. They began to exert pressure on him all before the child was born by such statements "I hope you are not going to have your child baptized", and if the party member still wanted to do it, he would try to keep the ceremony a secret. If he was very much afraid for one reason or another, or was afraid to lose his job, he would abide by the semi-official order. On the other hand, there were others who boasted about not having ^{had} their children baptized. On the whole, ~~they~~ ^{these} people were trying to circumvent the party directions, and in order to save their good standing with the party, they would pretend and blame the "stupidity" of their wives who insisted on going through the ceremony.

/g/ No, but I did. This was one of those small things which didn't have

31/g/ cont.

immediate consequences. They piled up in one's personal file until, at a given moment, they would serve as a basis ~~for~~ for dismissal from work, or other disadvantages.

/h/

Every Sunday if circumstances would permit, and also sometimes during the week if I passed by a church and had time to go in for a few moments.

/i/

As I said before, people of all ages and walks of life intensified their religious practices; they felt a sincere need for this and, at the same time, it was a means of demonstration of political feelings towards the regime.

/j/

See answer to question /e/

/k/

Yes, the Catholic Church showed the strongest resistance. Protestants and Lutherans were more ready to cooperate, they didn't feel themselves as much offended. From the point of view of religious practice, the Jewish religion cannot be counted as such in Hungary, consequently they were not exposed to persecution on that basis. As far as I know, the majority in the leading positions, also party leaders, were Jews; many entered the party without conviction and opportunism was ~~their~~ ^{their} only motive.

/l/

Yes and no. To those who were impressed by, and yielded to, communist influence, religion has become less important; on the other hand, many people have become more religious as a reaction to communism.

32

The Jews have been in a rather special position. They saw in the Russians their true liberators from the Germans and Nazis. From their point of view, there is some truth in ~~that~~ ^{this} and it is quite understandable. Those Jews who were victimized by the Nazis and in whose families tragedies have occurred, and even others, more fortunate, out of feeling of solidarity, were led to a great extent by a thirst of revenge; therefore, immediately after the war, ~~they~~ ^{they} were naturally attracted by the most extreme leftists party and later, when they saw that this is the only way to success, they were also led by opportunism. They could certainly see that the communists

32 cont. did not make any difference among the various religions and they hit ~~us~~ equally Christians and Jews, when it came to nationalization or taking away of property. Due to the ^bbehavior of the Jews in the party and in the AVO, a certain anti-Semitic feeling can be observed today in Hungary. I personally do not like to make such distinctions, but unfortunately it can be justified to a certain extent.

/a/ Partly they assimilated, partly they were against the regime. Among the Jews one can find the same political division for and against the regime, as it is the case among the Christians. However, it remains a fact that, considering their ratio, there are more Jews who are serving the regime.

/b/ Those Jews who were party functionaries were afraid of the revolution and welcomed the Russian intervention. Otherwise, they felt exactly the same way as anybody else.

/c/ If the Communist regime could have been abolished in Hungary, I have the feeling that there would have been an anti-Semitic wave in Hungary, which I personally cannot approve of. Of course, it is out of the question that events similar to those which happened in 1944, would have been repeated, but it is more than probable that the Jews would not have been placed in leading positions. On the whole, they would have been treated as anyone else: those who were committed to the communist regime and held high positions, would be excluded from leading positions; the rest would be left in peace. The aggravating circumstance in judging them as a group, is the fact that the party members were in greater number Jews than Christians.

33 1.) Aristocracy and former owners of landed estates; 2.) Catholic clergy; 3.) former owners of factories; 4.) bank directors and upper middle class; 5.) intellectuals, and white collar workers; 6.) workers and peasants. I have begun my list with the worst-off group.

/a/ Intellectuals

33 /b/ ~~W~~ none. That is, I wanted to remain what I was.

34 Engineer.

/a/ This is the only profession in which one could make a fairly good ~~living~~ ^{living} ~~living~~ without betrayal/ of one's political convictions and ~~some~~ the complete subordination of his person to the system; in other words, they enjoy a certain independence because they are needed.

/b/ He should read foreign technical reviews. Many innovations were "discovered" like this. They were clipped from American and English ^{scientific} reviews and were submitted to a special committee for acceptance; if a suggestion was accepted, the "innovator" received a premium, sometimes quite considerable sum of money.

/c/ Those of worker or peasant origin, contradictory as this may sound.

As I have mentioned before, there was numerus clausus at the Universities against students of middle class origin. The purpose of the regime was to replace these by students of worker or peasant origin and thereby make itself independent of specialists who had a middle class background.

1/a/ Only from a personal point of view, insofar as it interfered ^{with} and has an influence on my own life.

/b/ I am an onlooker.

/c/ It was very important; because everything was connected with politics, every other interest was necessarily under the influence of politics.

/d/ No. I didn't think of voting when I heard the question. Of course, I voted. I had to vote, it was obligatory. They went after people even if they were sick.

/e/ Compared to my husband I was less interested. My husband was interested in politics not only from the point of view of his own life, ~~use~~ but out of higher and more general considerations.

Insofar as I am concerned, if I am otherwise satisfied, I am not particularly interested in politics. However, I could not afford to be uninterested in politics, it was interfering too much with our lives, since the war. I am of the opinion that before the war, people in general were less interested in politics.

2 My main complaint was that the ruthlessness of communism and terror have invaded every aspect of our daily life.

/a/ Respondent's first comment is ^{that} these points are taken very well.

I would establish the following order of importance, beginning with the greatest grievance: 6, 4, 7, 10, 11, 2, 8, 5. As to items 1 and 3, I personally was not concerned, because I happened to have both a very good marriage and a very nice apartment. As to item 5, I would say that it was not so much ~~for~~ the lack of food ~~and~~ as the lack of money.

/b/ I would establish the following order in importance: 6 9 7 10 2 4 3.

/c/ I wouldn't know about that.

/d/ 5 3 7. As to item 4, I don't know very well to ~~what~~ what extent there was a conflict between the workers and the regime on political ideas; I personally think that if they ^{would have} made enough money, they would have agreed.

/e/ 4 6 7 8 10

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> 2/f/

Mostly

because of the continuous violation of national dignity; it was also equally important that they became aware of the fact that what ~~had~~ happened in Hungary was in direct contradiction with the communist slogans.

/g/ I could say that from morning until night I was thinking of these grievances in the first place from a personal point of view.

I used to live in a tension without relief. I felt that my life had no purpose. I was full of bitterness. To work so much merely to subsist made me often want to put an end to it all; only I didn't have the courage.

/h/ In the first place with my husband, but also with my good friends; everybody was laboring under the same difficulties and we were talking about them with each other. It was just about the same throughout these years.

/i/ Unfortunately, there was not much that could be done about it; all we could do was a maximum of passive resistance. The only way to help the situation would have been the elimination of the regime. Individually one could **have helped** through opportunism, but this was against my principles.

3 At the very beginning of 1945, when the Russians entered Hungary, whatever illusions people may have had about them were dispersed after they have experienced the Russians' behavior from the very first moment.

During the first few months, the fact that there was after all a four-power occupation in Hungary, gave a slight hope to people. The 1946 elections, out of which the communists came out with a shattering minority, gave further justification to hopes for a better future. Commerce and industry and life in general started again with surprising ^{rapidity} and ^{showed} signs of prosperity. With the introduction of ^{the forint} which put an end to the inflation, the opportunities for making money were not bad at all. But all this was only until the communists took over.

3 cont. This occurred in 1947, when the communists, through a second election and by applying various methods of cheating, changed the end results thereof and seized power. From this time on, life has become ~~more~~ rapidly worse both in the spiritual and in the physical domain. A short relief was brought to the bitterness and despair which piled up through the years, in the form of the short-lived government of ^e Imre Nagy in the summer of 1953. But his government didn't last long and one could say that after his dropping out of the picture, the communist regime has become only ~~no stronger~~ ^{stronger}. During the years of 1955 and 1956, one can say that there was ^a noticeable and over-all lessening in the terror. It began to appear that a certain consolidation was under way but, surprising as it may sound, the middle class population, or at least those who could see and think further, was not pleased with it at all, because they were afraid that if the situation would show signs of consolidation, the West would resign itself to the present state-structure of Hungary and would not realize that dreadful struggling which was still going on ^{below} ~~beneath~~ the surface of apparent calm.

On the other hand, as it turned out to be the case later, the period of relief was very well used by the population, they were gathering courage, ~~repairing~~ preparing unconsciously for the revolution. The ~~easing of the~~ ^{was} conditions were manifested in a relatively greater freedom of press, and in the ~~more~~ free expression ^{of opinions} by the writers; cases of arrest were decreasing, there seemed to be the beginning of a possibility to think of travelling abroad. The best proof of the easing of the terror is the fact that the Polish sympathy-demonstration was possible, that people dared to organize a demonstration on their own, without the fear of being punished for it.

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- 3/a/ At the time of the first elections I voted for the ^Ssmallholders party despite the fact that the Citizens (bourgeois) Democratic party was nearer to my way of thinking and my social background. However, I didn't vote for the latter along with many other people who felt the same way as I did, in order to avoid the dispersing of the votes and thereby lessening the strength of the middle class groups. As a matter of fact, later on the Smallholders Party recognized the contribution of the middle class and changed its name in order to include the term middle class in its name. All I did was to vote, I never participated in any party movement.
- /b/ He didn't belong to any party; as a matter of fact he died in 1928.
- /c/ 3, that is always against the regime, because the Moscowite tendencies were already indicated by the return of Rakosi.
- /d/ No
- /e/ Yes. The ^Mmiddle class and the intellectuals, but on the whole, the majority of the people. Those who didn't feel the same way were, in the first place, the opportunists; also the working class, at least, at the beginning; as far as the mentality of the peasants ~~is~~ is concerned, I am not familiar with it at all. We would find in this group also the ^JJews of middle class ~~background~~ background, who had to suffer from the Nazis, and entered the Communist party led by ~~the~~ thirst of revenge. And also, to a certain extent, by a sense of gratitude, because the Russians liberated them.
- The fact that they were to be bitterly disappointed later, is another matter; they were to experience ^{the baseness} of the regime just as much as the ^CChristians.
- It
- /f/ ~~This~~ is a complete error and an unfair appraisal of the situation, if anybody thought that the ^Ipopulation was loyal to the regime. The great majority of the population has never ceased to oppose ^{it by} passive resistance, and also the jails were not filled up with people loyal to the regime. The reason for the ~~looking out of the revolution~~ ^{after only 12 years and not before, can be found maybe}

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3/f/ cont.

~~in~~ **in the fact** that people were waiting

for an easing of the

political mood in the Kremlin so as not to start a revolution without ~~even~~ the slightest hope. Everybody knew that the revolution will ask for a tremendous ~~in~~ **sacrifice** in life, but they didn't want to start with the certain knowledge that whoever wouldn't die in the fighting, would end up in prisons ~~and~~ or would be executed by the ^Ccommunists. All these years everybody everywhere was talking about how ^Ccommunism could be overthrown and always the conclusion was that it could ~~be~~ **not** **without** outside help, and it seemed utterly impossible to start anything whatsoever from inside. This was borne out by the many ^Ccommunist ~~trials~~ trials, endless ~~and the~~ lies were piled up on the unfortunate defendant but there was always truth in the accusation as to the political conspiracy against the regime.

Were there many political processes?

I would say at least two every year, but public hearings were not necessarily held on every occasion and, therefore, it is quite possible that there were more; the public would not necessarily know of every conspiracy. But one could feel it in the air that something was going on continuously... by the time that even a smaller group would organize, and before they would have a first opportunity, they were arrested. The power of the police was unlimited. One had to be afraid of every word which was spoken, where and before whom; denunciations were ~~made~~ **the rule**. For instance, in the office, or the superintendent, one wouldn't know. For instance, I know of a case which was told to me by the wife of the victim who was a colleague of mine in the office. On the day of Stalin's funeral, this man commented on the death of Stalin with a humorous and somewhat disrespectful Hungarian saying, before a group of people, in fact he was on the staircase. He was a fairly well-to-do man; he was receiving guests in the evening at his home, when the bell rang and two AVO appeared. They searched the house, they picked up all the jewelry they could find, also a typewriter and camera, which they took with them along with the man.

For four months no one knew anything about him. After which time he was set

3/f/ cont. free but he never said a word about his experience, with the exception of telling his wife the reason for his arrest, which of course was a complete mystery to everybody and which turned out to be his using the proverbial expression in connection with Stalin's death. There was a rather interesting aspect to this case. The wife filed a complaint with the AVG that at the occasion of the arrest of her husband, also her jewelry and other objects were taken away; this was officially against the law. She was told to come back a few days later and when she went, the officer put a drawer full of jewelry before her and she was allowed to pick up out what belonged to her. She was lucky enough to find most of her pieces, which she was allowed to take back. But when she asked for the typewriter and the camera, she was told that she cannot have those back, because they are objects which enable a person to perform acts endangering the security of the state. The main ~~rule~~ of the story is that one should never say anything in a ~~stair~~ staircase which is an ideal field for hidden listeners with its landings and openings into corridors which cannot be reconnoitered at a glance.

ix 4 The Communist party and above it the Soviet government, whoever happened to be in power at a ~~power~~ given time. The Hungarian Communist party is not independent, everything has happened under orders from the Russians.

/a/ The most obvious proof was in the fact that the official newspaper of the Hungarian ~~newspaper~~ party, Szabadnép, published very often the editorials of the Pravda in Hungarian translation. Any such editorial would mostly consist in the enumeration of the guiding principles which were to be followed in the future in the economic and political life. The putting into practice would occur also in Hungary within the shortest possible time. For instance as and when it was decided in Moscow to centralize ~~and~~ or decentralize the building industry, exactly the same pattern was followed in Hungary whether it suited or not the Hungarian economic structure;

4/a/ cont. the same would apply to the easing or strengthening of political measures.

4/b/ The ^Gcommunist party and the AVO.

Very often we had the feeling that the AVO was not subordinated **was above** but, on the contrary, over the party. This theory seems to hold if one keeps in mind that also the leading members of the party had a chance to taste the jails of the AVO, that is, even the top positions in the party leadership didn't mean security. We were always quite pleased to hear of such arrests. **This was so,**

4/c/

I think, because the whole Hungarian ^Ccommunist organization was done after the Russian model. ⁹ Maybe Gero and Rakosi, but in the first place the party and the AVO.

4/d/

(For party -- AVO relationship see answer to question 4/b/) **between**

With ~~the~~ regard to the ~~mutual~~ relationships ~~with~~ the government and ~~of~~ the party: the government was made up mostly of members of the party leadership, and those cabinet members who were not party leaders were even more afraid of the party and the AVO than their colleagues; but even these latter didn't spend too many carefree hours. In every statement they made, every interview which may have come up unexpectedly or by exception was not prepared in writing questions and answers, or the slightest deviation from the party line could have led to the most serious consequences. The possibility of individual concepts was excluded, everything happened through the party and everything was decided there.

5

Moscow and the party.

/a/

The parliament was nothing else but a voting machine, which voted every time unanimously and with admirable enthusiasm any bill submitted by the government.

/b/

Through the elections the communist party has discredited itself

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5/b/cont'd possible, even to a higher degree; it was infinitely comic ~~for~~ the breathless excitement with which it announced every time the result of 98.2% or whatever the obligatory figure was. ~~Nobody~~ Nobody knew why they needed this also in addition to the rest. It is hard to believe that even they would sincerely believe in the results..

/c/ They had power in the field of apartments and housing, ~~the~~ who would get an apartment, the determination of somebody's right to a given number of rooms etc. Otherwise they were exclusively administrative bodies, they carried out the orders which were passed down to them by the party.

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5/d/ Tremendous. For instance before my flight from Hungary I succeeded in exchanging ~~my~~ my ~~in~~ rather large and beautiful apartment to a smaller one, to establish my mother and ^h have some cash at my disposal. In connection with this matter, since I moved from one district to another, I needed 12 signatures in each of the districts involved, that is, a total of 24. The most simple matters, like announcing residence and ~~and~~ changing thereof, or ~~and~~ change of address etc. meant an endless procedure.

5/e/ very ~~was~~ much. The main reason for it was that people couldn't live on their salaries. Embezzlement was very frequent; if this occurred and was discovered, the friends never condemned the person ~~x~~ involved but were only sorry for him; embezzlement was not considered a crime, on the contrary, it was approved of because the general opinion was ^{that the} more ~~that~~ was stolen from the state, the better.

On the whole it was rather difficult because the authorities were aware of the general attitude toward embezzlement. They did everything in their ^{power} ~~power~~ to prevent it; for this reason bank notes in circulation were ^{al} ~~minimal~~, most of the transactions were done through banks. But still there were opportunities for instance, ~~x~~ a clerk would enter fictitious names ^{to} on his list; I knew of such a case while I was working for the building industry concern; he was discovered only after a considerable sum was embezzled; friends came to the rescue and put up the money so he could return it, this was considered as an extenuating circumstance, but still the man was put into prison. I ~~have~~ ~~heard~~ of an important embezzlement case in which the embezzler was ~~hung~~ ^{hanged}. At my previous place of employment in 1956 a famous embezzlement case occurred. My former colleagues told me about it: the embezzler was a Communist, the so-called ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{ing} ~~ing~~ commissioner of innovations. He was in charge ~~to~~ ^{to} examine the various proposals submitted to him on innovations and simplifications in technical procedures. Such suggestions were encouraged officially and the inventors whose ^{sug} ~~sug~~ suggestions

were accepted were given various sums of money, sometimes quite considerable, as premiums. There was a fund set aside in the budget for this purpose. As I have said before, most of these innovations were simply clipped out from American, British or German periodicals. To get back to my story, the commissioner of innovations prepared the monthly list of those who were to receive premiums, a typewritten list of names and the sums which were to be ~~given~~ ^{given} to these people. After he obtained the OK and the signature of the manager, he entered on the list four fictitious names with a total amount of about 50 to 60,000 forints. He was caught and was imprisoned. Bribes were also very common, whatever one wanted to obtain, to make a short cut in red tape. It was sad to see with what little sums people could be bribed. For a 100 florins anybody would ~~sell~~ sell his father or mother. The main reason for this was again the terrible financial conditions under which people labored. In general everybody could be bought, the difference was in the price; also one could somehow or other learn who could be bought for how ~~much~~ much.

- (5 f) In general, civil service was performed by the old-timers, in the ministries the old team was ~~working~~ ^{working,} interspersed with the so-called "reliable" elements of the regime. ("kiemelt kader," communist technical term meaning persons who are appointed on the basis of their personal file to leading positions.) Exceptions

were, of course, the Ministry of Interior and of Foreign Affairs wherefrom immediately all the former officials were fired. For the rest, the regime needed badly the experts and the old employees generally knew what they were doing.

- (5 g) Worker and peasant boys. They enjoyed only material advantages, like cheaper foodstuff supplies or apartments. Insofar as personal security was concerned, they were in the same position as anybody else. The apartment was a very great advantage; in general, it was the greatest thing anybody could have and middle class people who had still better apartments were extremely suspicious to the Communists.
- (6) Nothing. They were forced to ~~enter~~ enter. Everybody was expected to join some

QUESTION 6 continued on next page

6 CONT. organization, those who had the courage didn't do it.

/a/ They had to do an awful lot of community work. For instance, ^{an} enterprise would decide to build tennis courts, the members of the DISZ had to go out to dig the grounds. They had to participate in sports which they didn't ~~enr~~ like, they had to produce plays whether they wanted to or not, they had their own political seminars ~~x~~ in which they had to participate, work and discuss.

/b/ Not among my friends, but I have known people in the office.

/c/ Rather. People would be approached day after day by the agent of the local DISZ organization and they would talk to them and talk, and talk, and talk.

/d/ Obstinate resistance. One would try to get out of it by giving as reasons ~~ill~~ ^{ill} ~~health~~, or possibly family ~~excuses~~ ^{excuses} like children or parents ~~being~~ ^{being} ill, etc. but usually ~~thinks~~ they checked and ~~if~~ found ~~was~~ untrue, one was in a rather unpleasant situation.

/e/ Because I was totally opposed to the regime and to all of its organizations.

/f/ no.

/g/-/k/ not applicable.

/l/ In the first years, yes; later not, because of age limit.

/m/ no.

/n/ As a rule young people from the ~~young~~ working class.

/o/ They became even ~~more~~ more vulgar. From the regime's point of view, the DISZ was another means to estrange children from their parents; also the ~~in common for boys and girls~~ ^{in common for boys and girls} ~~common camps~~ "promoted the increase of the population".

/p/ I don't know, I don't know the organization. However, on the basis of what ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ knows of the regime and the other organizations, it seems to be out of the question.

/q/ The party.

7 Certain ~~positional advantages~~ ^{positional advantages} like jobs and income; from a political point of view, the party member was even more of a prisoner than a non-member. It was the party member who was under the strictest control, and in case he

(7cont'd) wished to stay free for a longer period, he had to give up the habit of thinking and he could give expression only to his permanent admiration for the decisions and actions of the party. At the same time he could "enjoy" being utterly despised by the non-members. If it was too a-political to show our feelings, they had to be hidden, sometimes we could express them openly; at any rate, the Party Members were completely excluded from our circles. Of course, if we learned that one of the Communists was very dangerous, the denouncing type, we were very much afraid of him, we tried to be extremely polite with him, we approved of whatever he said, and we tried to answer his questions according to the political line.

I did the same thing, in the office, I didn't even pay attention to what he said, I only approved. I put in a "Yes, exactly, you are right", etc. According to individual cases, we may have been more lenient, but there was always contempt in our feelings.

(a) Almost everybody who was in a leading position, if the position had a political character, it was indispensable. I personally would say that nobody had to enter the party. They exerted more or less the same pressure on everybody and everybody knew what advantages, what limitations and what obligations were meant by party membership. In other words, everybody had the choice between a life which seemed more secure and easier and between continuous insecurity, being endlessly annoyed and altogether very difficult living conditions. For instance, job advancement

for a non-party person was practically impossible. A party member could get to travel abroad, he would be in a higher salary bracket, would be first considered for vacation benefits.

7 (b)

Many of the old-time Communists who participated in the short-lived Communist regime in Hungary in 1919. Most of those who had sincerely wanted to become party members were workers & or writers in general. The genuine party members could be distinguished by the party booklets also; the first ~~ix~~ few hundred serial numbers were reserved for hardened Communists, many of whom were former participants of the 1918-19 Commune or members of the Communist underground movement which culminated in 1944. High positions, both in the political or economic life, such as section chiefs in ministries, directors of nationalized enterprises, etc., were filled from the ranks of such party members. Still others who wanted to join the party were a part of the working class--its majority belonged to the Social Democratic party--and the opportunists. Finally, especially in 1945, many Jews, led by a combination of thirst for revenge and of a desire for success, entered the Communist party. Those ~~ix~~ Jews in whom decency was stronger, suffered from the regime like anybody else, and they were the first to deplore the attitude and behavior of the other Jews.

(7c)

They enjoyed certain advantages, but beyond that they had no rights, only duties.

- (7d) Unconditional political loyalty, the recognition of the party as supreme authority; active participation to the utmost in every party activity, from demonstrations on to unlimited financial sacrifices: contributions to every collection, underwriting above the prescribed amount to peace loans, etc.
- (7e) Yes, I had known Communist Party members among my colleagues in the office and also among my acquaintances. There were also many of those who in 1945, joined the Social Democratic party; when the merger of the Social Democratic party with the Communist party had been carried out, a great number of people became automatically members of the Communist party. The fate of the former Social Democratic party members was decided on a higher level, and non-admission to the new party at the time of the merger was in itself a political condemnation. Members who were excluded from the party were in a much worse position than those who had never joined it. People whom I had known in my office to become members, did so out of desire to make a career and to give themselves a chance to better income.
- (7f) Basically no. The procedure to become a member consisted in an unlimited period of candidacy to membership; one was installed as a member on the basis of a decision voted by the local organization. The local party chief made known beforehand the result he desired to obtain through the vote. The final admittance

7/f/ cont.

to membership could be postponed indefinitely, and some ~~people~~ had remained ~~candidates~~ ^{candidates} for ever. Another possibility was that a member was requalified to the status of candidate. Maybe such situations could be qualified as instances ^{of} ~~for~~ somebody wanting to become a member but not being able to do so. Pressure was exerted on everybody to become a member; those who had been formally invited to candidacy for membership had, as a rule, given previously some signs of willingness to collaborate.

If somebody accepted to become a candidate but then was not active and did not distinguish himself, ^{he} ~~was~~ not installed. During the period of ~~exist~~ candidacy, they were, if possible, under even greater pressure to display party activities. They were constantly summoned by the local party organization, were given specific tasks, and bad marks were accumulating ^{in their} ~~in his~~ personal record if ^{they} ~~he~~ didn't show sufficient eagerness. Candidates were trying to get out of these various obligations by giving the usual excuses of ill ~~health~~ ^{health} or family conditions etc. But they couldn't avoid the consequences, which were a bad personal file and remaining in the status of candidacy; thus they put themselves in a worse position than the non-members ^{unmistakable} who, if they had shown ~~unmistakable~~ resistance, were given up sooner or later as ^{at least} hopeless cases and were left relatively in peace, insofar as pressure ^{was} for participation in party activities ~~were~~ concerned. For instance, in my personal file the following annotation was made: "totally unfit for development".

/e/

no

/l/

Up till 1948 yes, later no, because I made no secret of my political opinion and I was considered as unreliable.

/m/

It resulted in my having to face continuously grave difficulties in my ^{least} subsistence, ~~with~~ possible income. I was not allowed to do responsible work, eventually I was dismissed from my position and subsequently I had no other choice but to accept another job which paid less than my previous one; I was precluded from travelling abroad etc.

7/~~extract~~.

/n/

See answers above.

/o/

Especially the unintelligent ones developed a sense of power, they felt power behind them and also in their own hands which gave them courage and support to all sorts of meanness they displayed toward "the other side". What meanness? ⁿ They would interfere with a person's whole private life, especially the ^{chiefs} ~~things~~ who were one's friends, of personnel were extremely rude and interfering: ^{chiefs} movies one did or did not get to see, etc. what

/p/

I don't know directly, but there is no doubt in my mind that everything and on all levels was run by the central committee of the party.

practical

/q/

Great; for ~~practical~~ purposes, the party was the government.

/r/

The police was an agency of the ministry of Interior and since it was that ministry ~~was~~ which was especially directed by the party, in fact, from the very beginning they insisted on reserving the Ministry of Interior for the ^C Communist party. it follows from all this that the party exerted a great influence on the police.

/s/

The party constituted the state power, everything was directed and organized by the party, everything was done through the party and for the party, and the army was no exception.

/t/

The trade unions were totally subordinated to the party.

/u/

They made every effort, but with very little success.

8/a/

To the trade union.

/b/

It was indispensable for obtaining any job whatsoever.

/c/

Hungarian-Socialist ^S Society (= MSZT); Hungarian Women's Democratic Union:

MNDSZ; "

: "Ready to Work, to fight."

- (8 c) MKH (Munkáza Harcra Kész), a sport organization for grown-ups; Freedom Fighters' Fraternal Confederation;
 // Szabadságharcosok Bajtársi Szövetsége, an organization for Army officers. Each of these had a local organization within the office, as it was the case for all offices, enterprises, or workshops. Each of them also had separate wall newspapers. I was of course expected to join the Hungarian ^w ~~Women's~~ ^I ~~Democratic~~ ^{Union} ~~Association~~, but I refused; it was a political trap set in cultural guise. Its members were outright ridiculous, once in a while I had to go to their meeting ^s ~~as~~ ^d as it was obligatory for non-members also; a maid would get up an ^d ~~lecture~~ ^d on Korea, or the political situation, and the like. On the whole I know very little about its organization. I was once talked into subscribing to the official paper, but after a month I called it off.
- (8 d) They hated them; ~~they~~ ^{people} were aware ^{of the fact} that these organizations were created with the purpose in mind to prevent ~~people~~ ^{them from} spending even the little time which was left at their disposal according to their own interests or with their families.
- (8 e) Nothing.
- (8 f-p) Not applicable, respondent has no direct experience.
- (9) The reason for it was that the Youth Movement was only in appearance a stalwart Communist organization and everybody was happy to throw away communism like a dress which is too tight; it proved to be too tight even for the ~~HEE~~ youth, despite the fact ^{that} the regime tried to please them, or at least to those of whom they thought that they are loyal to the regime.
- ¹⁰
 (10) It varied: there were some who could be indoctrinated, there were others, who laughed at it. I know that there were a few unfortunate peasant boys who were ~~assigned~~ ^{assigned} to the ATO to serve their obligatory

military training there; this was done without selection, but those who happened to be chosen were very unhappy. In the early ^{stage} ~~state~~ of its formation, volunteers were accepted to serve with the AVH; for later I don't know.

(10 a) I don't know.

(10 b) They were recruited from all social classes; they were mostly young, from the age of 20 to 35, approximately; it is quite natural that they were for the regime.

(10 c) No.

(10 d) They were just about the same. The secret informers work on instructions from the AVO.

(11) I was not arrested, but my husband was, also a close relative and a couple of friends of ours and distant acquaintances. (As respondent's husband is being separately interviewed, I didn't probe for the details of his case.)

(11 a,b) I don't know too many details, people were very reluctant to speak of their experiences.

(11 c) The case of a close relative of my husband's family was a particularly tragic one. He was the layout editor and also staff writer to a Catholic periodical. He ~~was~~ disappeared from one day to the other and we have never heard of him again. How did he disappear? One day he left his home, he was going on a trip in the country and he never came back. He was about 41 years old, he had four children. Sometime after he had disappeared, one of his children went to the Court of Justice to inquire after his father, where he was told: "Oh, that one! He was hanged." This could be checked, because every death was entered in the district magisterial registry; on checking, ~~that~~ the family found an entry under his name, the cause of death

was given as heart failure. Despite of this, we kept hoping that ~~XXXXXXXX~~ he would turn up some day, because we often heard of cases ^{when} ~~that~~ somebody was declared officially dead, but was in fact alive somewhere in a prison; but my relative never turned up again, not even after the Revolution, so we have lost all hope. These are all the details I know about this case.

- (11 e) Yes. After my flight from Hungary, in Vienna I met somebody who was liberated by the Revolution from the prison camp of Reck, a prison camp and labor camp, truly a Vernichtungslager. There was a quarry there, with the most frightful working conditions prevailing. The prisoners, political prisoners, had to work in the quarry and beside that they were tortured in the most inhuman fashion. Many people died in the camp. This former inmate of the camp told me of a case when a prisoner was tied and left in the vicinity of a burning stove; he was tied so tightly that his limbs became quite stiff and when he noticed ^a a burning smell, he didn't realize that it came from burns on his own arm. The guards in the prison were ordinary criminals. Nobody was ever released from the camp, that is not until the summer of 1956, when a few people were let out; but the prisoners never knew of this, because those who were to be released were taken away from the camp without any explanation. Under these circumstances the prisoners made desperate efforts to escape; there was a case where out of five men four succeeded in escaping, but the fifth was caught and was then formally beaten to death. One of the men disguised himself as a guard, carrying a gun which he had carved out of wood; he then pushed ahead his four companions, beating and insulting them as they went, in order to carry out the imitation fully. They were to give the impression as

if they would be driven to work. This way they somehow managed to get through the confines of the camp, with the exception of the one man who was caught and beaten to death. The prison camp of Reesk was dispersed through the intervention of the Revolution.

- (E11 f) Everyone who was denounced for political unreliability, for any crime against the system, for instance having in his possession gold, criticizing the regime, sometimes even for telling political jokes. People from all walks of life got arrested, but the majority came from the ranks of the intellectuals. Naturally, they were innocent.
- (11 g) I know of them, but I don't recall them very clearly; there were purges going on continuously within the Party.
- (12) He should never say, before anybody, not even a word.
- (12 a) No. Everybody was exposed equally. Gabor Peter was the head of the AVH, and he was also eventually arrested.
- (12 b) It is advantageous, but it doesn't mean security.
- (12 c) ~~MH~~ By all means, especially on ministerial level. Every place of employment was subordinated to one or another ministry. Connections to the Party leadership were also very useful; such connections were usually established through a long chain of varying relationships.
- (12 d) Yes, to a very great degree; particularly ~~ink~~ connection with job opportunities and living conditions. In general, a "good" class origin was a decisive factor. To a certain extent it was possible to conceal an unfavorable class origin and it was advisable to do so. If it could be done safely, certain personal data were kept in silence; others were to be made appear less important. For instance, I gave the rank of my father many degrees below the one he actually

had had. One could lie, but one had to be very careful to remember and do it always in the same way. We had to fill in innumerable questionnaires, and every now and then for no reason we were told to file a fresh copy of personal history. I used to keep copies of the various forms I handed in; often they would ask a person to draw up the personal history on the spot. It happened to me that the chief of personnel was sitting opposite me while I was told to draw up my personal history; people were also cross-examined in this method. Luckily, I had a good memory. Some of my acquaintances of very good background had invented for themselves entirely fictitious, but well-sounding "people's ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ descent." I personally considered it as bad taste to go to such extremes.

(12 e) Depends of its origin; if it came KÖ from the rest of former wealth, or was secured through the selling of the remaining belongings, it was considered bad because it clearly indicated the class origin. If, on the other hand, somebody had money through his position in the People's Democracy, it was certainly a great help. During the first years of the regime it was possible to get out people from prison for thirty or forty thousand forints; but later this practice was stopped.

(12 f) It helps a great deal, but it isn't foolproof, because of others who would know less how to keep their mouth shut. For instance, somebody gets in trouble, his papers are being checked through and names or telephone numbers of other people are found, who otherwise may have escaped trouble by keeping their mouth shut. Nobody ever knew through whose misfortune he would get himself in trouble.

- (12 g) Catholic clergy and aristocracy; for the rest, they were more or less in the same boat.
- (13) I don't know how to answer the question.
- (13 a) Nowhere. Maybe the uniformed police was somewhat more lenient, they had a somewhat different approach. But the question does not correspond to reality, it didn't work that way. This is how it worked: somebody was arrested by the AVO; charges which were false and without foundation were drawn up and the victim was tortured until he signed ^{them} if he was not a known personality, either there was no public trial at all, and the person in question just disappeared; or they would hold a pro forma trial, where also the attorney for the defense was appointed by the AVO. I heard of a case where counsel for the defense went to visit the prisoner and persuaded him to have full confidence in him as in one who will defend his case. The unfortunate man believed him and opened his heart to him; it just so happened that the son of this lawyer was a member of the AVO and the father informed him of everything that was said. Often counsel for the defense outdid the public prosecutor in accusing the defendant. Every time a somewhat lenient sentence was handed down, the public prosecutor lodged an appeal for more severe punishment. If a case was discovered or an arrest made directly by the uniformed police, it was considered good luck. Because then the AVO had no legal right to interfere in the procedure. But this happened rarely, only if the denunciation was made, by mistake, directly to the police. If important personalities were

involved, huge public trials were arranged and they were also broadcast.

- (13) b) I don't know, but all of them were afraid of the AVO.
- (13) c) I don't know, but it was rumored that there was.
- (14) Yes.
- (14) a) From 1949 till the first government of Imre Nagy there was a strong wave of terror and after his resignation new efforts were made to strengthen the terror, but with no great success; from this time on a gradual improvement could be experienced.
- (14) b) Yes, there was an easing of the terror: there were fewer arrests made, prisoners were set free, and deportations from Budapest were stopped.
- (15) Decisive.
- (15) a) All the decisions were taken in Moscow.
- (15) b) It was a matter of public knowledge.
- (15) c) There were direct evidences of Soviet pressure everywhere: there were only Russian films, Russian music, houses were built after Russian models, there was a folks ensemble in Russia, so there had to be one in Hungary, the Army, the Police were Russian in character, etc. The new Hungarian emblem was copied from that of the member-states of the Soviet.
- (15) d) No.
- (15) e) The Soviet influence was most pronounced in the economic life, in every branch of production of some importance, and next to this, in the arts. It was least felt in private life.

- (15 f) The following are only what I myself know: Siemens, Standard Electrical Factory, Telephone Factory; there was also a so-called Bank of Foreign Commerce, this was entirely under Russian management. This is where foreign currency could be applied for; if somebody was sent officially on a trip abroad, the necessary foreign currency was applied for in writing by his superiors. There was a wave, I don't remember the year now, when the Russians were returning enterprises to the Hungarians, in other words the Hungarian state could buy them back. At the time, and because of it, people were hoping that the Russians would leave the country.
- (16) No. If people would have behaved as they felt, hardly ~~anybody~~^{anybody} would have preserved his freedom.
- (16 a) See answer above.
- (16 b) People would express their political opinions only before their closest friends.
- (16 c) With their families and closest friends. I personally was rather careless and didn't observe this rule strictly.
- (16 d) One could discuss openly the difficulties in the economic life with the understanding that everybody was eager to do his part in the bettering and furthering the economy of the country. Political subjects, both interior and foreign, could not be touched upon. One could talk freely with anybody about matters of daily life.
- (16 e) It was just about the same during the last ten years, maybe for a time immediately preceding the Revolution a certain relaxation was felt, when one would risk even with a Party functionary a ~~little~~ political discussion, even though, of course, in a very mild form.

- (17) Each decree has a loophole by which it can be eventually circumvented; but to ignore an order ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ was excluded.
- (17 a) No.
- (17 b) No, never. For instance the code of labor stipulated that nobody can be dismissed from a job without reason; yet I was dismissed from my first job without a valid reason. In my first indignation I wanted to make an appeal, but my friends dissuaded me from doing so, because it would have been useless.
- (17 c) No.
- (17 d) He could possibly put in an application or he could resign his job; but in the latter case he would have received a bad point ~~XX~~ on his personal record and he would have had great difficulties ~~XXXXXXXX~~ in finding another job. The best procedure to follow is to accept the decision and then try to obtain a retransfer, through connections, or by trying to invoke family reasons, or possibly through bribing; ~~XXX~~ sometimes such attempts proved successful.
- (17 e) Almost impossible. While I was working for the building construction concern I saw that a very severe stand was taken against this so-called workers' migration; often the workers ignored it at their own risk. If a worker could prove that he could make more money somewhere else, then he ~~XXXX~~ was permitted to change his job; also, ~~XX~~ if he has specialized in some other trade. However, the former possibility was very rare because throughout the country the norms in each trade were uniform. Was it frequent that a worker would acquire another skill and how could he do it? Yes, it happened; he would go to night courses.

- (17 f) Yes, it was possible through connections to the Party.
- (18) Who has sufficiently thick skin. Who is capable to observe, without batting an eyelid, what the Soviet Union through the Communist Party is doing in Hungary and in addition he is even capable to applaud it. Outside these, only people in certain professions which are indispensable to the regime, such as engineers, physicians, and artists.
- (19) There was mostly passive resistance.
- (19 a) Efforts were made to organize various underground movements; the youth was trying to restore secretly the boy scout movement, my own nephew of the age of about 17 was an active member in it. Any such efforts could be traced from 1953 on. Passive resistance had been always in force.
- (19 b) The middle class, because the system proclaimed an unrelenting class ~~struggle~~ struggle.
- (19 c) The workers and peasants, because the system proclaimed that it is fighting for their welfare.
- (19 d) Increased.
- (19 e) There were groupings and conspiracies, I couldn't say anything definite, but somehow it was felt. Also, opposition was a personal matter for everybody.
- (19 f) It is quite certain that there were oppositions in the Party, there were rumors about Party meetings which ended up in scandal; Rakesi's downfall occurred at such an occasion, people seemed even to know that he was crying. How could people know such details? It is enough that a Party functionary tells about it to his wife, and sooner or later everybody will know it. I also had some reports ^{from} ~~my~~ friends,

who, though ~~XXXXXX~~ they were not working themselves at the time, had connections to active newspaper men. I don't know anything about the Army. I have also heard of stormy meetings in the ^Wwriters' Union, ~~associations~~, when the guiding principles to be observed by the writers were read out to them, prepared by Joseph Darvas. This happened sometime in ~~XXXXX~~ 1953 or 54; the great majority protested, there was a real riot, they were breaking chairs, etc. I also remember the proclamation of Joseph Revai, who said: "What you have to do is not to write the truth, but to write our truth." With regard to students, since about 1953 they were vehemently protesting against the teaching of the Russian language and against the obligatory course on Marxism-Leninism.

- (19 g) See answer above.
- (19 h) There were "millions" of them; they were told quite freely, which led sometimes to serious consequences.
- (19 i) I know of it in a precise form only from after the Revolution; I am sure there were such things before, but I have no particular knowledge of them. I think the workers couldn't afford to slow down too much, because then they wouldn't have made any money at all.
- (19 j) Yes. In the first place from a national point of view, they were those who raised their voice, and fairly openly, by saying, "we are in Hungary and not in Russia." Another difficulty was created for the Party through the quick changes which occurred in Russia; it is possible that the people in Russia would accept any reversal of statement or stand without thinking about it twice; however, in Hungary people were in the habit of thinking and they were disturbed

~~XX~~

by the quick changes in the thinking of Moscow. Such a case was, for instance, that of the Jewish doctors; Party members were shocked at the quick reversal of Moscow. The obligation to approve anything without thinking became more and more obvious to Party members and it weighed heavily on them.

(19 k) It was more than difficult, it was almost unimaginable, because always something intervened, either in the form of awkwardness or just bad luck, before any serious stage could have been reached. I know of a case from my immediate surroundings, in ~~the~~ my office with the building industry concerned. One of my colleagues was a woman contractor, a very decent person. During the summer vacation, as it was customary for university students, five students in architecture were placed under her supervision. Somehow they learned that she owned a typewriter. Was that such an exceptional thing to own a typewriter? Yes, very much. They wanted to borrow it from her and they even gave their reasons, that is that they are conspiring and they wish to use the typewriter to type leaflets. She refused the request and warned them that they were doing a much too dangerous thing. But the boys could not be dissuaded, somehow they got hold of another typewriter, and they stole the duplicating machine from the university. With this equipment they took a taxi and they wanted to go to a friend's house to prepare their leaflets. They went so far in carelessness that they openly discussed their plans before the taxi driver, who, in turn, instead of taking them to the given address, took them straight to the building of the AVO. The boys were made to confess, and somehow they gave out the details about

~~XX~~

my colleague and her typewriter. As a consequence my colleague was arrested because she didn't denounce the boys and she spent one and a half years in prison.

(19 1) I don't know. They were outside my sphere of interest.

- (1) By foreign radio broadcasts, BBC, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe; once in a while I was able to read the ~~the~~ ~~newspapers~~ Neue Zürcher Zeitung, the Economist, the Reader's Digest, etc.
- (1a) The broadcasts of the BBC.
- (1b) Nothing.
- (2) As far as I didn't read the Hungarian newspapers and periodicals; once in a while I would glance at one or the other, while I was eating a sandwich in the office.
- (2 a-g) Not applicable.
- (2 h) Yes. There were five-six different wall newspapers, beside that of the Communist Party; all the mass organizations which had local organizations in the offices had separate wall newspapers. (For the enumeration of mass organizations, see answer in Section "G", Question 8 b.) Everything in them was written by the employees themselves. I didn't write anything, I was trying to get out of it by saying that I have no time or that I will do it the next time, etc.
- (2 i) There was a tremendous difference; after all, the newspapers were written by newspapermen, whereas the wall newspapers were made up entirely by non-experts, who published their hymns glorifying the regime and the Party, and ~~the~~ ~~articles~~ articles, which were more than silly.
- (2 j) They carried the forthcoming news of their organizations, but above all enthusiastic praises about the daily events of political life inside the country, and ~~the~~ ~~abuses~~ abuses against the "imperialists."
- (2 k) Yes, I had occasion to see the Vogue, the New Yorker, and the Woman, which I received from my cousin in the U.S. and a friend of mine in London, respectively; and I could borrow from my friends the Economist

~~THE~~

the NZZ, and sometimes the Holiday, which they were receiving.

(2 l)

See answer to 2 k. Very courageous people would go to the American

~~(2 k)~~

X Legation to read the foreign newspapers; but this was not advisable because the building was under constant observation and people who went in and out were checked and questioned, and sometimes even arrested.

(2 m)

I was delighted with them: especially the Vogue. I admired its entire makeup, the smoothness of the paper, the beautiful covers, etc. In the Western newspapers I was particularly impressed by the number of the pages and the excellent news service. The Hungarian newspapers had four pages and they were filled up with the most uninteresting information.

(3)

I would go if there happened to be a French or Italian picture, and, very seldom, an English one. It would occur once in every 2-3 months.

(3 a)

I used to go to the downtown movies. (First showing)

(3 b)

I preferred the Italian and English and French pictures. I didn't go to see Russian pictures because of my political convictions. The Italian and French pictures were good and relatively new; and if at long last an English film would be shown, even if it was less good, I was delighted with it "out of principle." Once in a while I saw a Hungarian film, especially those for which I worked as a supernumerary..... I used to get ^{free} ~~three~~ tickets.

(3 c)

In the Hungarian films there was of course a great deal of political content; the whole story was built ^{around} ~~in~~ some political thesis. In greatest number were the Russian films, which I refused to see.

(3 d)

I liked to go to the movies.

(3 e) Yes.

(3 f) The Ministry under which my last office, the Hungarian State Folks Ensemble, belonged, used to hold occasionally private showings of foreign films which did not always reach the public. I could go to such showings through my office. Why didn't these films reach the public? Some of them did, some of them didn't. Sometimes they were found too expensive, sometimes they thought it would be too dangerous to show them. But even those which were eventually shown in the movies, took a long time to reach the public. Why? They were meditating whether it will not be too dangerous to show them; under any circumstances they were synchronized, which also took some time. They were always synchronized because this way they could change the original text, when they thought this advisable, and also they added to it as much politics as they could. The foreign films were widely advertised in advance and the public was swarming to the movies to see them. They would stand in line for hours to get tickets. How often did they show foreign films? Maybe twice every three months.

(3 g) Yes.

(3 h) In the last two years once every week, because I received free tickets through my office. Previous to that I used to go very often to the theater, up till 1948. I went to see the classical plays, which were performed in great number. They played Moliere, Rostand, Victor Hugo, Schiller, Gorki. There were also some pre-war Hungarian plays. I never went to see Communist plays. I also saw some operettas (musicals), and sometimes I went to the Opera. No opera by Wagner was given until 1956.

- (3 i) Very much so, since 1954: beside the continuous Party-line plays and the horrible Russian plays, at last they were playing classics, and also now and then a modern drama which one could go and see. I remember that the night before the Revolution I saw Ruy Blas by Victor Huges; it had been on the program since months with tremendous success.
- (4) Yes, quite a few.
- (4 b) 8-10, or maybe ~~10-15~~ more; it is very difficult to give a figure. I also read the magazines and papers which I received from abroad. On the whole I had very little time to read and usually I was very tired when I came home from the office.
- (4 c) Mostly good pre-war literature, maybe up till just after the war, till 1946. I read by Stefan Zweig, Thomas Mann, Schalom Asch, Papini, Franz Werfel, also some Hungarian novelists and others.
- (4 d) Because I liked these authors.
- (4 e) I was interested in social fiction, historical and biographical novels; if I heard a good title I would ask for it from my friends.
- (4 f) Sometimes it was difficult. It occurred that I asked my friend in London to send me a book by Stefan Zweig; I was a little bit afraid but ~~that~~ I received it all right. I didn't read at all the literature okayed by th@ regime.
- (5) Only to foreign broadcasts; ~~FROM~~ on the domestic radio I only listened to good music or an opera.
- (5 b) I had my own set. It was a Siemens, a good set. I listened to the BBC, the VOA and Free Europe. ~~XX~~
- (5 c) In order to hear the news.

- (5 d) To the BBC, in Hungarian and German. They were excellent broadcasts.
- (5 e) About an hour in the evening.
- (5 f) At home.
- (5 g) Opera and concerts.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a-e) See Question No. 5 and subquestions.
- (6 f) The BBC was excellent, also the Voice of America; the least reliable was Free Europe.
- (7) Never outside the office; in the office it was obligatory to attend the local Party meetings and those of the various organizations. Even under those circumstances, I did my best to avoid going as much as I could.
- (7 a) I was not interested in them.
- (7 b) In the office (see above).
- (7 c) I was forced to.
- (7 d) About once every six weeks.
- (7 e) Exclusively political.
- (7 f) The various Party organizations.
- (7 g) About one and a half hour.
- (7 h) They were bored and they hated them.
- (7 i) Not on a voluntary basis; they were forced to do it.
- (7 j) First they drove in the people who couldn't manage to escape; nobody wanted to sit in the front lines, people crowded toward the rear of the room, so that the latecomers were forced to sit in the first rows. During the lecture nobody paid attention, we were exchanging ^{ing} recipes, some ~~XXXXXXXX~~ would sew or mend stockings. When the lecture was over, everybody wanted to rush to the door and go home. Then the

Lecturer began to wail, saying that comrades, let us not go home yet, this was such an interesting lecture, now are coming the questions and discussions, etc., etc. Most of the people, however, tried to go home on some excuse, like illness in the family, or appointment with a doctor, or something similar; of course this was counted against them in their personal file. Only a few people remained, who couldn't do otherwise. Then came the repeated summons to ask questions or make observations, but nobody would react. Finally the "built-in speaker" rose from his seat (also see answer to Question W 10 j) and the built-in discussion began, which lasted about another half hour. Sometimes there were little mixups in the prepared discussions, when they read the answers in the wrong order; the public laughed. When the discussion was over, the lecturer thought it necessary to summarize again what was read, which gave him the pretext to talk for another hour, he became fascinated by his own voice and was talking complete nonsense.

(8) Yes, mostly.

(8 a) They were political informations: for instance that's how I heard about the Party Central Committee meetings, about the inner conflicts, etc.

(8 b) Some friends.

(8 c) It is hard to give an example. It has been going on all the time.

(8 d) It was less reliable than the radio. That is, insofar as foreign news were concerned: foreign news were usually transformed by wishful thinking, the starting point was something concrete, but in the end it had become what they would have liked to hear. I usually didn't trust them. Information about the domestic news,

in spite the fact that they were less easy to check, seemed to be more reliable, somehow one felt it.

- (8 e) They were quite mixed, sometimes ~~rumor~~ rumor, sometimes facts, sometimes a combination of the two.
- (8 f) I remember the rumors which went around at the occasion of the Geneva negotiations: people were saying that an agreement had been reached and Hungary will be free. Or one could often hear while Rakosi was in power that he was dead, or he was killed; after he had been set aside, one person would say that he was seen on his way to be hanged, and another person reported five minutes later that he was seen riding in his car, all smiles and elegantly dressed.
- (8 g) Some of them in the office, some of them among my friends.
- (8 h) At exclusive gatherings among friends, host and hostess taking turns.
- (8 i) Yes. For instance those who were working with foreign companies, like SKF, IBM; also the newspapermen.
- (8 j) With very reliable friends, possibly at the office, but mostly at home out of fear from denunciation.
- (8 k) Yes; for instance we had a close friend who returned from Russia from political imprisonment, but he never wanted to tell anything of his experience there. Nevertheless, other friends of mine and acquaintances asked me to have the opportunity to meet this man.
- (8 l) No.
- (9) I had hardly occasion to do this, though I would have been interested. It was only seldom and by chance that I picked up some information on these matters.
- (9 a) I listened to the radio.
- (9 b) I was not interested in them.

- (9c) I read the Economist.
- (10) Not at all.
- (10a) I could observe the falseness of the domestic press in connection with foreign news by listening to foreign radio broadcasts; the opposite of what was said in domestic news was a matter of personal daily experience.
- (10b) Yes, in 1956, an improvement was noticeable; between 1948, and 1956, the press was exclusively in the hands of the party, and it was unreliable.
- (10c) The movie announcements and sport results.
- (10d) Foreign news and the announcements concerning the various results of production. These were published always on the first pages of the papers. Altogether there were two dailies, the Szabad Nep and the Hepszava, the first the Party organ, the latter that of the trade union. There was not much difference between the two. There was one evening paper, Esti Budapest, this was somewhat better than the first two. On the first page of the Szabad Nep there was the editorial, which was also broadcast by the radio station every morning. Also on the first page there were letters to the Editor, and to "Comrade Rakosi," a foreign news, abuses directed against the West; there was a regular column about Party life and Party instruction, then the so-called workshop criticism dealing with such problems as why ~~production~~ ^{production} is falling behind and giving as a reason, for instance, that the "old management" is still in place, etc. The last page was reserved for news items,

- sports results, and movie ~~announcements.~~ ^{announcements.}
- (10e) No, but otherwise, everything was guided by the same spirit.
(Gleichschelten)
- (10f) Yes, from the summer of 1956 on. Up till then it was unbearable, after that time it became so popular it became hard to find, because people bought it the moment it appeared.
- (10g) It contained serious ~~criticism~~ ^{criticism} of the ~~system~~ ^{regime}: they were ~~greeting by~~ ^{greeting by} against the ~~custom~~ ^{custom} with the word "freedom" (~~szabadsag~~ ^{szabadsag}), against the custom of addressing people by "comrade", they wanted to do away with the influence of the party on literature, they reviewed books published in the West, they ~~criticized~~ ^{criticized} the Soviet. They started out in the domain of art, but almost automatically their criticism took on a political character, because the two cannot be separated.
- (11) Yes, everybody was interested in the events, but also, at the same time, there was a certain apathy.
- (11 a & b) It is very hard to make a distinction; I would rather say that of certain groups of society I couldn't tell, for instance the workers.
- (12) ~~From~~ ^{Through} foreign radio broadcasts.
- (12a) BEcause I considered it as the only reliable ~~source~~ ^{source} of news.
- (12b) Partly from conversations, partly by foreign radio, ~~partly~~ ^{partly} of my own experience.

(12c) No.

(13) Yes.

(13a) In the first place it was a matter of common knowledge. Besides that I had a friend who was sent to a labor camp in Russia. In fact I think that he owes his liberation to my husband; he wrote a letter, that is my husband, to Malenkov ~~as if~~ as if it would have been written by the mother of my friend. Within 10 days from the receipt of this letter, he was freed; from reconstructing the events, it seems quite sure it was as a result of this letter. However, he was very reluctant to tell any details, and it was only ~~by accident~~ inadvertently ~~that~~ that he would mention one thing or another. The names ^{Bulganin} of Stalin and ~~Bulganin~~ ^{they} sounded alike to the inmates of the camp: that is, ~~it~~ provoked the same horror. However, it seems that after the death of Stalin the situation was somewhat eased. The particular camp in which my ~~friend~~ ^{some} friend was detained was occupied at ~~times~~ construction; the route along which they were allowed to move in connection with their work was traced exactly for them and the slightest ~~deviation~~ ^{detour} was considered as an attempt to escape. My friend mentioned the case of someone who, ~~was~~ when carrying an exceptionally long beam, was obliged to leave the prescribed path by a few steps at a turn and ~~was~~ was immediately shot to death. Atrocities were common and food was bad.

(13b) I didn't believe it.

(13c) The North Koreans, of course.

(13d) In the eyes of Rakosi, yes, because he was striving for national communism and tried to take his place. As far as ~~the~~^{I'm} concerned, he is of no interest and actually I was only glad to see that the communists are devouring each other.

(13e) It goes much too slow.

WHY DO YOU SAY THAT?

The German Rearmament is necessary to keep the Russians in check; the Germans are the only people of whom the Russians are afraid. This is ~~shown~~^{borne} out by the fact that in Eastern Germany conditions are relatively better, in order to counter-balance the prosperity in Western Germany.

(13f) I knew about it at the time; it is a pity that it was suppressed. It caused great anxiety in Communist circles.

(13g) I didn't know very well of their activities or what they were aiming at. I knew from the radio that there is such a thing as the National Committee. The little I knew was in connection ^{es} with emigrating to the United States. I didn't listen to their ~~speeches~~^{speeches}: it didn't matter.

WHAT DID YOU KNOW ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS?

We knew of its organization, the papers wrote news in connection with the United Nations, mostly they praised the part played by the Soviet Union. In general, they didn't

write against the United Nations, on the contrary, because
they wanted ^{Hungary} to become a member. I wasn't glad at all when
Hungary became a member, because I felt that thereby the
Communist system in Hungary was officially acknowledged.

(1)

First of all, free elections. For the rest, return of the plants ~~workshops~~ and factories into private ownership, with the exception of mines, communication, post. Another land reform, to abolish the stupid dwarf-farm system (tor^Ptebirtok) on which farming is impossible; to introduce a system of middle and small estates; no more than 3 to 5000 acres should be returned to former land owners, larger estates than that would be absurd, it is an outdated idea. Total independence of artistic life; there must be no aims introduced into it which are alien to the nature of art, l'art pour l'art. Besides, all this would happen by itself after the free elections. The frontiers ^{toward} ~~toward~~ the West should be opened, there should be free traveling and free exchange of culture; people are starved out for these things.

(1a)

State control of the mines. Compulsory education; The regime was taking very seriously this question, they were fighting very hard against illiteracy; ^{there was} ~~they were~~ a minimum of 8 years obligatory school attendance. However, I don't approve of the general school of 8 years as it is now;

In my opinion the last 4 years should be completely re-organized.

~~organized.~~

(2)

^{course}
Yes; of course no anarchic parties with dictatorial aims. However Communist parties should be allowed; it is much better if they are out in the open and get about 3% at

an election.

- (2a) Because this is the best way for a nation to manifest its true wishes.
- (2b) My previous answer implies that I consider it of the utmost importance.
- (2c) No.
- (3) Yes. Everybody should be free to say anything.
- (3a) The suppression of spiritual freedom is of ^{the gravest} ~~greatest~~ consequence to a man's life. In spiritual freedom lies the true greatness of a nation.
- (3b) This is a difficult question: there are things which are ^{1/} detrimental to the state and there are others which are detrimental to the ^{government} ~~government~~; nothing that is detrimental should be ^{allowed} ~~allowed~~ to be said against the former. In the past years, for instance, nobody slandered Hungary, but it was the government which was at fault and has been responsible for what has been going on in Hungary. Even the Communists would say "our party and our government decided that etc." and not "our party and our state etc."
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes.
- (4b) Because there may be a ^{w/} government in power which deserves being attacked.
- (4c) I don't think it is very essential but maybe because of this reason it should not be forbidden; it is in human nature ^{attractive} to find ~~attract~~ what is forbidden; anything that is allowed is not quite so interesting.

- (4d) Yes. For instance, if the ~~something~~^{sovereign} of another country would be expected as a guest and there would be rumors of an attempt against his life.
- (4e) Such terrorist system as we have been witnessing in Hungary.
- (5) Yes.
- (5a) There are certain ~~branches~~^{branches} of industry which are better under state controls because they can be directed in a more uniform way.
- WHY?
- Because, for instance, it would be more conducive to ~~achieve~~^{achieve} production corresponding to the ~~requirements~~^{requirements} of the general world market.
- (5b) I cannot define the difference.
- (5d) No, on the contrary.
- (6) As far as I know, such is not the case with the exception of the iron curtain countries. My answer is no.
- (6a) Because the ~~clothing~~^{clothing} becomes ~~uniform~~^{uniform} thereby, and besides that, the result is very poor quality.
- (6b) I know of only one form of state ownership, the complete possession by the state of the ~~factory~~^{factory} or ~~plant~~^{plant}. Hierarchically there are the following steps: the enterprise is managed by the manager who has been sent out to this position by the party, and who ~~receives~~^{receives} his orders from the section chief of the corresponding ~~industry~~^{industry}, the section chief

receives his orders from the minister, the minister from the party and the party from Moscow.

- (6c) It should remain in private ownership.
- (7) Yes.
- (7a) It is necessary to the proper development of agriculture.
- (7b) Tobacco; in general agricultural products.
- (7c) Food stuffs, clothing, articles produced by craftsmen, in general consumers' goods.
- (8) It leads to the bankruptcy of economic life.
- (8 a) Because it is impossible to time and coordinate on the level of production all the branches of economic life as it is required by government planning in blueprint. Besides, it disregards the requirements of the market, it ignores the demand and supply, or it produces, and produces and produces, because the plan prescribes a certain amount to be produced for a certain period of time. The stores were always full of things that nobody wanted or which didn't suit the particular region, and whatever was needed always happened to be not available.
- (8b) See answer to sub-question (8a).
- (8c) I think it was more or less the same; maybe in Russia the situation was somewhat better, due to the fact that the standards of the population were so low, that any article which appeared in the stores were bought up with pleasure, whether

they were needed or not. It is also said that the Soviet has greatly improved its own market through import from the Satellite countries; the best of what was produced in the satellite countries had to be exported to Russia.

HOW DO YOU KNOW THIS?

These things were talked about. Also in my office, the State Folks Ensemble, there were artists who visited Russia and they would talk us about their experiences.

(8d) Not applicable.

(8e) The first improvement occurred during the first premiership of Imre Nagy who reintroduced the issuance of licenses to craftsmen. From 1954, there was a continuous tendency of relaxation which could be felt in every branch of industry. Hitherto unavailable goods reappeared on the market, in the newspapers there were articles written on the subject of consumer goods. On the other hand, the regime made every effort to insure the fulfillment of their different plans; the so-called "Plan discipline" was outlined in special decrees and observance thereof was imposed with great severity. Political and technical managers were held responsible for the failure of fulfillment.

(9) Yes.

(9a) I cannot explain why, but in my opinion this is good.

(9b) No.

(10) (Respondent's question): In what countries? As far as

I know, only Communist countries claim to ^{guarantee} ~~guarantee~~ work for everyone, however this ^{guarantee} ~~guarantee~~ doesn't extend to the field of work, in other words, that everyone could work in his or her own ^{field} ~~field~~. I'm against it.

(10a)

Because anybody who^s ~~is~~ willing to make some effort, or who has some talents, will manage to succeed in a way which suits him best; whereas the state would place people into jobs as openings occur regardless of whether the job is suited to the person's qualifications, physical conditions, personal conditions, etc. In fact there were state employment agencies, and if a person would not accept the first job that was offered to him, the agency would become disinterested in him and make no further efforts to find another job for him.

(10c)

Performing my work to the best of my ability, with no political compromise whatsoever.

(11)

Naturally.

(11b)

Private life.

(11a)

It is implied in the notion itself.

(12)

Yes.

(12b)

Those duties of a citizen which are accepted as such ^{throughout} ~~throughout~~ the world.

(12c,d,e)

Yes.

(12f)

This is true of all governmentⁿ ~~s~~ which exist upon the basis of free elections.

(13)

No.

- (14) From 1937 to '47 it has improved, from '47 to '57 it has partly remained unchanged, partly it has deteriorated.
- (14a) Yes. Up till 1947, both its availability and quality.
- (14b) Yes, the workers and peasants.
- (14c) I think that a personal physician is safer.
- (14d) I approve of health insurance, because of free hospitalization, ~~(perhaps if one received free hospitalization for three months)~~ and because of free medicine supplies; this was carried out ^{adequately} ~~adequately~~ ^{till} ~~in general~~; up ~~till~~ 1955, it was entirely free of charge, after 1955, one had to pay 5% of the value of the ^{physicians} ~~physicians~~ medicine. On the other hand, the treatment given by the ~~physicians~~ ^{physicians} was of poor quality, mostly because the doctors were overcharged, ^{their being overcharged,} ~~the doctors were overcharged,~~
- (14e) There were physicians who in spite of ~~the fact that they~~ ^{their being overcharged,} had remained very conscientious. Another exception, but from a different point of view, ~~existed~~ ^{existed} for the party functionaries and outstanding members of artistic life: they had their own hospitals, they received special medical treatment, and there was no such medicine which wouldn't be available for them.
- (14g) No.
- (15) Wider groups have the opportunity, and different groups from those of 20 years ago.
- (15a) Because of the changes which have ^{occurred} ~~occurred~~ in the distribution of income.

- (15b) I have no real basis of comparison, because before the war I was still a child.
- (15c) Yes.
- (15d) It depends on the income.
- (15e) Not always.
- (15f) In so far as the availability of theatres is concerned in general, ~~in~~ cities and towns were better off; on the other hand, there was also the so-called ~~State Village Theatres~~ ^{Touring Theater Company,} which was very good. Its headquarters were in Budapest; they would go ^{throughout} ~~throughout~~ the country by buses and taking along all the necessary stage accessories. As to the ability to afford, I can only repeat that the decisive factor was income; on principle, anybody could go to the theatre, it depended on their family and financial conditions etc.
- (16a,b,c) No. From 1940 till 1956, the situation was continuously deteriorating. In 1956, some improvement could be observed. Immediately after the Revolution, the situation became very good, many items hitherto reserved for export, made their appearance on the market; as the regime tightened its grip, conditions became gradually worse.
- (16d) There was a special food store for ministers and high party officials, where they could get almost everything; it was called the Catering Supply Enterprise (Rendezvény Ellátó ^a Vállalat). It was located in a small side street, but it was filled with cars all the time, because the wives of the

~~min~~isters went there to do their shopping. In general, people didn't even know of its existence; it was by chance that I heard of it. Factories and ^{plants} ~~workshops~~ also had their own foodstuff supplies which they distributed among the workers ~~at~~ ^{at} regular price as set by the government. In general, apart from the above mentioned category of ministers and high party officials, everybody had the same opportunity, it was a matter of how much money one had.

(16b) see answer to sub-question d.

(17a,b,c) No. Especially from 1948 on, the conditions were ~~extremely~~ ^{extremely} bad. There were people who were well dressed -- it was again a matter of money. Some of the famous dress makers received materials from abroad. A woman's dress made from such material would cost about 1600 to 2000 forints.

(17d) On the basis of my own personal experience.

(17e) Those who made much money dressed well. Income was the decisive factor.

(18) No.

(18a) Because the nationalization resulted in a fall-back ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ the development of the ~~industry.~~ ^{industry.} ~~the industrial system.~~

(18b) No.

(18c) Everything should be different.

- (19) They should be dissolved.
- (19a) No.
- (19b) No.
- (19c) The land belonging to the present state ~~state~~ ^{farms} should be distributed among peasants who are really good at farming; insofar as collective farms are concerned, each peasant should get back the land with which they joined the collective farms.
- (19f) See answer to subquestion (19c).
- (19g) Yes.
- (19h) I have heard that there are cooperatives in Denmark; they don't seem to be practicable in Hungary, I don't think that the peasants could come to an agreement.
- (19i) The state.
- (20) They should be ~~maintained~~ maintained.
- (20a) No, they should become private enterprises.
- (20b) No.
- (20d) I don't know.
- (20e) Yes.
- (21) I don't know enough about the problem to be able to answer the question.
- (21a) They should represent the interests of the workers/~~and~~ ^{vis-à-vis} the employers, ^{to} in respect to wages, measures and equipment for the prevention of ~~transportation~~ accidents.
- (21b) It should be entirely independent.
- (21c) Membership should not be compulsory at all.
- (21d) Paying membership fees should be the only obligation.

- (21e) Ten percent of our salary was withheld for membership fees; there were numerous meetings and attendance was compulsory. While the trade union was entirely subordinated to the Party, it functioned as an organization.
- (21f) I don't know, I didn't quite understand their purpose even when I was in Hungary.
- (21g) They were formed by election. I don't know anything else about them.
- (21h) I don't know.
- (21i) The factory should be managed by the owner and he should be responsible to the shareholders.
- (22) Those who have committed anything improper like denunciations, etc. should be brought to trial and should be sentenced according to ^{their} ~~the~~ crime to ~~many~~ various prison terms; as to the rest, no important positions should be given to them.
- (22a) See answer above.
- (22b) They should be tried and imprisoned according to their guilt.
- How about Gerő or Rákosi? I didn't think of them when I heard the question. They are more than just leaders, they formed the supreme leadership of the Party. Into this category would fall all the Central Committee members and the Cabinet Members. They should all be hanged immediately. They do not deserve to have a trial. There are, however, other office holders who can be considered as leaders, such as Party Secretaries^{ies}, managers, Presidents of the Soviets (~~former~~^{formerly} magistrates; magistracies were called Soviets).
- (22c) They should be also brought to trial, but they can expect more lenient sentences, something like 5 to 6 months prison terms.

Most of these people have something on their conscience. Petty officials are for instance personnel chiefs; "leading ideologists": attached to the management as a kind of secretary, and if an employee would venture to ask for a salary raise, the leading ideologist would explain and prove by his ideological arguments that such a request is quite unnecessary; official in charge of "dogma": he was responsible for the political education of the personnel; trade union activists; librarians; sports leaders: they were attached to the MHK, and called in people for tests for various sports; cultural entertainment leaders. This was the regular outfit of the petty ~~mm~~ Party officials in every place of employment. I have particularly amusing memories in connection with the cultural entertainment leader; he was responsible for organizing local choirs, dance groups, etc. His functions also included procuring theatre and movie tickets. In practice this meant that he was trying to force on people theatre tickets to Russian or propaganda plays at the regular price. Movie tickets, to Russian films of course, were ~~quite~~ much cheaper, a forint apiece. He was able to keep records on people as to who and how often ~~them~~ bought tickets, because one didn't pay for the tickets in cash, but they were carried over to the payroll as deductions. So what we did was to buy quite often movie tickets, and of course, we didn't go, it was worth a forint to us to be sure to have ~~only~~ empty seats in the theatre; when he would inquire why we didn't go to the movies, we would try to give some plausible excuse like momentary illness or an appointment with the doctor or

some family excuse. When he would approach us with theatre tickets, then we could reply in good conscience, we knew he had the record, that we had bought "so many" movie tickets that we cannot "afford" now to go to the theatre...

- (22d) They should not be allowed to occupy important positions.
- (22e) Every effort should be made to re-educate them.
- (22f) Some of them should be hanged; others should be sent to forced labor camps in Siberia. On the whole, they hardly deserve to have a trial. All this for the members of the AVH. Members of the police should be considered as an entirely different category. In every case they should be tried before a court and acquitted or sentenced according to the findings at the trial.
- (22g) I can't think of anything else.
- (22h) Unfortunately there were numerous instances of mob violence (Népitélet) against members of the AVH and Party functionaries; in villages Party Secretaries were shot to death. I myself heard of a case where a person shot five or six Party officials in a workshop; later on, after the Russian intervention, one day he was found dead in the street.
- (23) The Communists considered education ~~mm~~ as of very great importance. In high schools there was much and difficult home work, the school children were overburdened; ~~on~~ the whole the instruction had a very strong Communist coloring. Academic standards at the university level have become rather low; one can say that standards have become lower in general. Communist education didn't give as wide/^acultural basis

as pre-War high schools. However I am not particularly familiar with these problems.

- (23a) I don't know.
- (23b) Opportunity for study was not equal for everybody ~~anywhere~~ after the ~~ninth~~ eighth year of general school, children of middle class background found it difficult to get admitted to Gymnasium. As I have mentioned it before, it was extremely difficult for middle-class youth to obtain admission to universities.
- (23c) Very bad.
- (23d) Very important.
- (24) There should be parochial schools.
- (24a) Yes.
- (24b) No.
- (24c) Yes, in order to be able to grant tuition free school attendance to children in need, to modernize school equipment.
- (24d) Yes; I think it is essential from the point of view of spiritual education.
- (24e) No.
- (25) The adoption of Christianity by the first ^{king} ~~king~~ of Hungary, St. Stephen; the Tartar invasion; the 150 years of occupation by the Turks; the ^{War of Independence} ~~Revolution~~ of 1848; the settlement with the Hapsburgs in 1867 (~~Annexation~~ Ausgleich); the First World War; the Communist Regime of 1919; the Peace Treaty of Trianon in 1920; Second World War 1939 to 1945; from 1945 on the Russian occupation. There were outstanding personalities both in the domain of art and science. ~~It is both in the~~

~~Summarize the text and answer~~ The greatest contribution of Hungary to the culture of the West is that she shielded ~~with~~ the West with her own body against attacks coming from the East.

- (26) I don't know, I was a child before the War.
- (26a) Since 186⁷ there was a great prosperity.
- (26b) I don't know.
- (26c) Yes.
- (26d) Broadly speaking yes; it is true that part of the peasantry was perhaps worse off than peasants in other parts of the world during the same period of time. Due to the fact that great fortunes were concentrated in single hands, owners of such great fortunes ~~showed~~ showed interest in industrialization and were willing to make important investments; they founded distilleries, sugar factories, milk model farms.
- (26e) For me personally it was very good; there was freedom of speech and free press, and financially ~~mann~~ we were very well off. We could afford everything we wanted: beautiful home, servants, good schools, vacations abroad, etc.
- (26f) Yes.
- (26g) The part of Hungary in the Second World War should have been ^{already} something similar to that of Czechoslovakia, if ~~for every~~ we couldn't remain neutral; by no means should have Hungary belonged to the Berlin-Rome axis. Because the large majority of the population rejected Nazism just as they have rejected Communism. Because Hungary has always believed in Western culture and feels herself part of it.

- (26h) The year of 1944 was the most terrible of all. The German occupation on the 19th of March and the dreadful political persecutions and persecution of the Jews that followed, constant air raids, sending Jews to death camps, military losses on the Russian front, severe restrictions of food supplies, the so-called Russian liberation and the siege of Budapest. Between 1945 and 1947 reconstruction began at a ~~wonderful~~ remarkable pace, and important rise in living standards was noticeable, incomes became stabilized through the stopping of inflation, earnings in general were relatively good, free competition was enforced in the trade and even foreign capital began to show interest in Hungary. All the conditions of a better life were given to be systematically ruined by the Communists. Th^us, the years between 1944 and 1947 were less good than the late Thirties, better than 19⁴3⁴-19⁴3⁴, and incomparably better than the years which followed 1947.
- (27) Yes. They are courageous, straight forward, generous, open to culture, patriotic; they are not practical, and they are undisciplined.
- (27a) Yes; because the Germans are disciplined, practical, and rather stiff.
- (27b) Yes; they are lazy, undisciplined, silly, mistrustful, cowards, boastful.
- (27c) Yes; they are very practical, materialistic, very realistically minded, friendly.
- (27d) Yes; they have lost ~~all~~^{of} their sincerity.

- (27f) Yes, to a certain extent.
- (28) No.
- (28b) I would consider excellent a Pan-European solution.
- (28c) Perhaps yes, but at this ~~moment~~ moment it is not interesting to the nation.
- (28d) I don't want to go into this now.
- (28e) From an ideological point of view, the Russians, from territorial point of view, nobody.
- (28f) No.
- (28g) ~~See~~ See above.
- (28h) No.
- (28i) I don't know.
- (28j) I don't know.
- (28k) Well. There are no words to describe the way in which they received the refugees.
- (28l) I don't know.
- (28m) I would say in a mixed way; there always has been anti-Semitism, sometimes slight, sometimes stronger; I'm afraid it has become stronger lately.
- (28n) Yes.
- (29) I could approve an alliance only with Austria.
- (29a) Similar to the setup during the monarchy, but in the form of a republic.
- (29c-d) See answer to (29a).
- (30) I hate them. I only know them from a distance.
- (30a) I don't know.
- (30b) Probably.

- (30c) I don't believe so.
- (30d) No.
- (30e) We hoped they were better than they proved to be.
- (30f) Their ^{baseness} business has become evident beyond every doubt.
- (30g) I hated them; I was sorry ~~whom~~ for those who were said to have behaved decently, because I knew what fate was waiting for them: death or forced labor camps.
- (31) I don't know very much about it; I hated the regime so much that I was not interested in its theory and I didn't read books nor did I go to political seminars. From the little I know about it I think that it is out-of-date, because the goals for which Marx fought in behalf of the workers, such as an eight-hour working day and other social achievements, have been accomplished; ~~and~~ from what I have been able to observe, what is promised by Marxism, is being realized by capitalism.
- (31a) Nothing.
- (31b) Everything.
- (31c) From discussions with my friends.
- (31d) No.
- (31e) I couldn't define it of course, but I have the feeling that they have changed it to suit their own purposes.
- (31f) I am completely ~~ignorant~~ ignorant about it; my attitude is purely emotional, dictated by hatred.
- (31g) I don't know.
- (31h) I don't know.
- (31i) As far as I know they are not.
- (31j) I don't know anything about Marxism, but I think that

one excludes the other.

(31k)

To live and to let others live (Leben und leben lassen).
In the spirit of freedom, without hatred.

(31 l)

He is a Titoist, that is a National Communist.

(32 32)

Yes. To rule in a country according to Communist principles without Soviet interference.

(32a)

Yes, I think so. But in the free elections they would have been defeated. They would have obtained a very small number of ~~votes~~ ^{votes}; mostly writers and students were National Communists; the workers were Social Democrats, they had enough of Communism, that's why why National Communism would have been defeated, because the workers would not have voted for them, but for the Social Democrats. Of course, there were writers who consistently refused to cooperate with the regime, such as Áron Tamási, and every effort to win him over to their side was doomed to failure; they asked him to write prefaces to his works but he refused and after that they completely ignored him and he lived in great misery; another writer who refused to cooperate was László Németh, and Jenő Heltai . Among the National Communist writers were Gyula Hay, Béla Illés, Péter Kuczka, Zoltán Zelk, Tamás Aczél . As a matter of fact, ~~that~~ the last named, Tamás Aczél , has received Stalin Prize and other Communist prizes, and to my great surprise I heard that he is now in the United States.

There was even an article published about him in the Communist newspaper ^{in Hungary (Népszabadság)} under the title "What reasons may ^{amas} Aczel have to be dissatisfied with us?" I also heard ^{Writers'} first hand information of a stormy meeting in the ^{Union} after the suppression of the revolution which clearly showed the opposition to the newly imposed regime. There was a Party representative who called upon the writers to evaluate in a "constructive" fashion the revolution; his speech was received in deadly silence. When the speaker called for comments, one of the writers, namely Peter Kuczka, made a brief comment in ^{words} ~~words~~ which wouldn't ^{kable.} bear printing, but the meaning of which was unmistakable. It was received with great cheers and the Party representative, ^{fri} ~~frightened~~, left the meeting hall in a hurry.

- (32b) See answer above. What they wanted was that the Russians would leave the country, they wanted an independent Hungary.
- (32c) I cannot approve it because it ^{aims} ~~aims~~ at National Communism.
- (32d) Yes, like Imre Nagy.
- (32e) Yes.
- (33) Yes.
- (33a) Neutral Hungary, free elections. He would have had no other choice. The ~~evolution~~ ^{evolution} which he underwent was evident during the few days ~~while~~ while the revolution could maintain it-
self. His ^{tone} ~~tone~~ changed from day to day.
- (34a) Good.
- (34b) Good.
- (34c) Bad.

- (34d) Bad.
- (34e) Good (if it comes from the West)
- (34f) Bad.
- (34g) Good.
- (34h) Good.
- Do you mind explaining why you think so?
- a. It aims to raise the living standards of great masses
are very ~~commendable~~ ^{commendable}.
- b. It serves the interests of the people in the colonies;
it is gradually disappearing, but I am not sure whether
this is to the advantage of those people.
- c,d. I don't believe I have to comment on these after
what I said previously.
- e. See (b).
- f. Because ~~because~~ ^{behind} it there is the Communist Party of the
Soviet Union.
- g. Because private capital and private enterprise are of
great importance both in industry and trade.
- h. It is a very important stratum of society.
- (35) I think so, more or less.
- (36a) Less.
- (36b) Less.
- (36b) Much less.
- (36d) Much less.
- (36e) Much less
- (36f) All the professionals cannot be put into one category; the
teachers and lawyers got less, the physicians and engineers
got more.

- (36g) More.
- (36h) Much more.
- (36i) Much more.
- (36j) Much less.
- (36k) Much less.
- (36l) Much less.
- (37) All the above groups were worse off during the Communists with the exception of the artists and actors and of course, the Party members. However, the latter was a new category created by the Communist regime.
- (38)(a) Coincide.
- (38b) Conflict.
- (38b) Conflict.
- (38d) Conflict.
- (38e) ~~Don't~~ Coincide.
- (38f) Conflict.
- (38g) Coincide.
- (38h) I don't know.
- (38i) Coincide.
- (38j) Conflict.
- (38k) Coincide.
- (39) Nobody.
- (39a) Everybody.

Do you have any thoughts in connection with another war?
 Unless the United States be attacked, she will not start
 a war. On one side there would be the ^{Russians and} ~~satellite~~ ^{satellite} ~~states~~
 states, the latter would have no other ~~choice~~ choice at the

beginning; on the other side there would be the United States and Western Europe; West and East Germany would immediately be reunited. Communist China would join Russia, but I am not sure of this. For the rest, I have no idea. There is no doubt as to the West winning the war. I can easily imagine that ~~if~~^{if} two or three atom bombs would be dropped in Russia, they would lay down their arms. As the Western armies would approach, the ~~satellite~~^{satellite} states would join them.

(1a)

I sincerely hope that from what I have said in this interview, whether with irony or deep earnestness, there will be a picture emerging for those who will eventually evaluate this material of the Hungary of the past twelve years. In view of this hope which I have just expressed, I consider this interview very useful.

(1b)

I hope very much.

(1c)

I think you should beware of forming an incorrect picture on the basis of misleading information. How do you think we may run the risk of getting misleading information?

I cannot help of thinking of Tamás AGzél, for instance. He is an opportunist Communist, ~~that~~ but very much so. There maybe also some students ~~also~~ who don't see the situation quite clearly. In general, the attitude which claims that Hungary pursued the goal of National Communism during the revolution is completely wrong. It is possible that there were quite unimportant groups which so desired, but they would have been swept away by the overwhelming majority whose wishes were different. Communism is utterly discredited, no attempts should be made to establish it under whatever form that may be. I was thinking of these sorts of things when I was speaking of misleading information.

- (1d) Yes, because for many of years, this is the first time ~~that~~
that
/ people may talk freely of these problems.
- (1e) The questions I just have been asked prove to me that those responsible for the project are surprisingly well-informed; I have been impressed by their awareness of all the phases of life under Communism. I think everything was covered by the questions.
- (2) I think we talked of everything; If I have to comment, I would rather say that there were too many questions, or maybe just repetitious a few times. On the other hand, I was very much impressed that people here would know about such things as "shop triangle" or "conciliation committees".
- (2a) Only to visiting.
- (3) I think it might be interesting to read the issues of the Communist paper Népszabadság which appeared after the revolution.
- (3a) I cannot think of anything else.
- (3b) Yes, I should like to write about my experiences, maybe in the form of a script for moving pictures. I always wanted to write fiction, poetry, or even drama.