

No. 112

FACE SHEET

Copy No. 15

- (1) Code Number: WUS-2 (local) 112 (absolute)
- (2) Name, Cover Name, or Other Designation, if any: (blank)
- (3) Address at time of interview, if volunteered: (blank)
- (4) Age (Year of Birth): 1936 (20) (5) Sex: Male
- (6) Nationality: Hungarian (7) Religious Preference: None
- (8) Parents' Religion: Ref.-Izr. (9) Marital Status: Single
- (10) Children, if any: Number: 0
- (11) Profession: University student
- (12) Former Profession: University student
- (13) "Class Origin": Intellectual
- (14) Socio-economic status: Middle class
- (15) Military service (if yes, final rank and date): Corporal 1955 July 1 - Aug. 1.
- (16) Travel abroad (if yes, give dates): No
- (17) Check if Prisoner of War in World War II: No
- (18) Check if active fighter in 1956 Revolt: No
- (19) Educational level (give highest; if college or university, specify which): 2nd year, University Budapest Institute of Technology.
- (20) Major residence in: (21) Most recent residence in Hungary in:

x Budapest x

(all others blank)
- (22) Geographic division of Hungary: Budapest
- (23) Political preference of affiliation, if volunteered: (blank)
- (24) Date of departure from Hungary: December 16, 1956
- (25) Residence since emigration: New York City
- (26) Plans to migrate further (if yes, where to): Cambridge, Mass.
- (27) Was spouse, if any, interviewed on this Project? (blank)
- (28) Interviewed by any other Project? No.
- (29) Other salient experiences, qualifications, record: (blank)

(1) This is an all embracing question. I must consider it under separate heads. Let's consider it first from the point of view of history. Various groups were held back and were repressed, others were thrown to prisons, still some others experienced a relative stability in their status. There was another group that made definite advances--people who were illiterate^{who} served like farm hands before the war. These people rose both from their illiteracy and ^{from} their economic stagnation and many of them acquired the rudiments of civilization. In some instances they even possessed a piano. In general many suffered, some benefited^{benefited} but practically all were dissatisfied with their lives. They did not have, and were missing such things as freedom of speech, freedom to move from one place to another, etc.

The nature of the general dissatisfaction was generally economic. It is true there were some additions, perhaps too many additions, to the ^{nation's} nation's physical economic structure, but people had to work very hard and yet lived miserably. Unemployment did not exist, but one would have been obliged to work five times as much, and five times as hard as he actually did in order to substantially improve his purchasing power. This was impossible to do. There ~~see~~ simply wasn't enough time to do it, so everyone gave up even trying. People lost their incentive first, and later even their faith.

The regime was probably erring in its economic policies. And as regards ~~to~~ foreign policies, who knows? To put it in a word, an avalanche started rolling and, while I was at the center of it, at the university, I myself don't know what happened or how it did come about. There were so many contradictory things; I lived in the same house with an AVH supply officer during the revolution. He related to me that they knew about the whole thing, One day before it started. But strange as it may seem, they had no orders to stop it. There is another thing; they were demonstrating in front of the Central Police Building. We yelled and shouted our demands. ^{national} Thereupon, the Hungarian ~~national~~ flag was hoisted and the police came over to our side. There was most probably discontentment even in the cabinet. This discontentment was probably directed against Gerő and Rákosi.

(2) It was ^{not} ~~not~~ a sudden thing. It probably even had an organized nucleus.

(2a) There was a considerable loosening up of things, and a relaxation of the rigidity of the press ^{was noticeable} ~~was noticable~~. Political criticism was much easier to indulge in. I should say, it probably started one year before the revolution. It probably started with the dynamiting of the Ministry of the Interior and with the death of Stalin. We were told that Stalin was a god, but he, too, died, so he could not have been a god, and, if there is no god, why should ^{one respect} ~~one respect~~

and worship a mere human being. Also, the 20th Congress is very important in this respect.

(2c)

I did not like ^{Imre}~~Imre~~ Nagy, because he was a man of no great will power. He could easily be swayed one way or another. During his first prime ministership, he made an impressive proclamation, promising that all concentration camps would be opened and other reforms instituted. Now Imre Nagy vanished as you know, but the fervent hope to gain what he had promised persisted in the hearts of many. This is why people demanded to hear him speak again during the revolution. They wanted to hear his proclamation again. Otherwise Imre Nagy was just a figurehead.

(2d)

Tito did quarrel with Moscow. He was the man, who was once branded as a chained, or leashed, dog. (The actual Hungarian expression used: ~~Hungarian~~; *LA'ncoskutya*)

He has forced upon the Russians a discussion of the issues on the ideological plain. And now the Russians were ready to compromise with him.

(2e)

I once was riding on a trolley car. There, an acquaintance of ^{mine}~~mine~~, a higher official in the foreign commerce department, loudly gave vent to his emotions, telling to ^{EVERYONE WHO}~~everyone who~~ cared to listen that now the whole Stalin system would be going to hell. He was a great hater of the Russians. Many people were ^{criticising}~~criticising~~ a great many things, in the spirit of the 20th Congress, and the cumulative effect of all this was that a great dent has been made in the body of the regime.

(2f)

I was a soldier at the time. And the army is a very **SCREENED** place. I knew nothing of the Polish events at the time.

(2g)

I did not know Rákosi as a person. I had a great respect for him. He was a very smart man. There were very few like him. Others were merely numbers in the party. Rákosi was extremely versatile and politically keen. He was the Hungarian Stalin. He had to go because Stalin was no more. I used to be a pioneer leader (Hungarian: *üttörővezető*) in a youth organization, ^{There} ~~and~~ I have seen how greatly he was admired and worshipped. Now, if one is faced with a sudden reversal of the situation, and is told that Rákosi is laid aside, because he is a nobody, a zero, one is bound to become cynical. Gerő was hated. Gerő was very good and efficient while he was a minister of industry, and later as a minister of finance. These were his spheres. He ^{was hailed} ~~was hailed~~ then as a great builder of bridges. (Hungarian: *Éljen Gerő, a hídverő*). But in politics, he was a nonentity.

(2h)

We were sitting in the university garden and waited. We were awaiting the reply from the ministry of the interior. If we should be permitted to march and demonstrate, then, we knew it would come. If permissions should be refused, then not. Previously we were at the student hotel of the ^{University} ~~university~~.

There was a meeting. The object of our discussion was the ^{University Question} ~~university question~~; we wanted such things as permission to study ^{abroad, in the West} ~~abroad; in the west~~; we wanted a regulation of the scholarships, a raising of the scholarship ^{awards} ~~award~~, university

autonomy, the abolition of the catalogue system, (this was the system of compulsory attendance at the university, interviewer's note.) We also wanted the establishment of greater scientific contact with the rest of the world. We also demanded a public discussion of the Farkas affair.

It was decided that, in case the government should refuse our demands, we would hold a demonstration. Guillermot, director of the Budapest Institute of Technology, presided over a meeting of the Institute-students. He took up the demands point by point. He was not prepared to discuss the Farkas affair, but otherwise he strongly supported our demands. There was great excitement and the spirits ran high. This whole thing was also discussed in the University newspaper.

The following day, in the evening, the Building Industry Section of the Technological Institute of Budapest (Hungarian: Építőipari Műegyetem) also held a meeting. But this meeting was much more vehement than that of the previous day. Speakers were coming and going. The meeting decided that there would be a demonstration the following day. In this meeting delegates from other universities also participated. Szeged, and other university sections from Budapest were well represented. The following day one could enter the University grounds with a university pass only. Everyone wore national cocards (tricolor buttons). It was a real carnival (Hungarian: Egy igazi majális volt ez.). The air was filled ~~mm~~ with suspense. We were ~~m~~ wondering when the lightning would hit us,

when would it be all over. (Hungarian: Vártuk, hogy mikor 'út be a mennykő, mikor lesz mindennek vége!)

In the afternoon, Colonel Marian, the head of the Military Science Department of the University, informed us on the public address system, that our petition for a demonstration-~~PERMIT WAS REQUESTED BY~~ permit was rejected by the Ministry of the Interior. There were rousing protest shouts that we would demonstrate anyway. A delegation of the students started out for the Ministry of the Interior, others had established contact with the various industrial plants in the city.

We had some fifty odd demands. But there was no concrete aim or goal.

A Ministry official by the name of Fekete came to the meeting to inform us of the rejection. (Fekete in Hungarian means black.) He was severely criticized by some, others defended him, saying that it was not he but Piros, who is responsible. Piros in Hungarian also means red. (Interviewer's note: This was an interesting play on words.) Piros has the Minister of the Interior at the time.

Later in the day the permit was granted. We had interpreted the sudden reversal as a sign of vacillation, a sign of weakness and indecision on the part of the Ministry of the Interior and on the part of the AVH.

We marched to the statue of Bem. (Interviewer's note: The statue of Bem was in commemoration of General Bem, a Polish patriot who came to the help of the Hungarian

revolutionists in their fight of 1848 ~~in their fight~~ against the Hapsburgs. *Bem's* role was similar to that of Lafayette ~~the~~ ^{in the} American Revolution.) As we marched, everywhere we saw flags. There already was a large crowd on the *Bem* Plaza. At this Plaza the restoration of the ~~Kossuth~~ ^{Kossuth} emblem was demanded. The crowd ripped out the present emblem. After this one could not stop anymore, if for no other reason than ~~for~~ ^{for} fear of repercussions.

Many people were swept into this revolutionary stream, some consciously, always knowing what they were doing, some unconsciously giving way to their emotions.

These were the beginnings. Somewhat later came the slogans. Later, when we marched to the Parliament Square, the government tried to dissuade us by shutting off all the lights. I, personally, did not stay there long, I joined a group of students and we went home. (Interviewer's note; Here the interviewer posed the following question: Did the question of the uranium ~~oil~~ ^{ORE} deposits come up at any of the student meetings? Respondent's reply follows: Yes, uranium was spoken of a great deal. It served as a symbol. ~~But~~ ^{But} my father was chief engineer in a very important plant, Respondent refused to name it, because this was the only one of its type in Hungary. / and so in a position to know something about uranium. He said prospecting was going on and that that was all. Students considered the whole question a joke.)

(21)

Yes, there was this process of loosening up of things. We all knew that this indeterminate condition would not last long. We could not say if it was heading towards further demoralization or towards stabilization.

(3)

Besides those already enumerated, Hungarian^{emigrant} groups abroad must have been very decisive. I have seen in Budapest foreign made automatic weapons. I don't know what make they were, but I am certain that they were ^{neither} ~~neither~~ of Russian nor of Hungarian origin.

(3c)

The general discontentment has reached the ^{breaking} ~~breaking~~ point. The glass was ^{already} ~~already~~ full and one ^{more} ~~more~~ drop made it flow over. This drop was supplied by the attitude of the government when it proposed to stabilize the situation. I am referring here to Gerö's speech. @az

(4)

Assuming that the revolution was the conscious work of a few individuals, ^{their aims were, I should say,} ~~their aims, were I should say,~~ about as follows:

- a. To get rid of the existing government.
- b. To get rid of the Russians. In this ^{way} ~~way~~ they made their big mistake; they wanted ^{too} ~~to~~ much.
- c. There were isolated instances when some desired, and at times demanded, a return to the old regime.
- d. I have also heard of isolated instances where clergymen demanded a return of the church lands.

Revisionists did not have much support. Youth was definitely against them.

^hThere were those who desired a reestablishment of commercial relations with the West.

(4c)

No. Everyone wanted a change, but on the whole, this was negative, that is to say, getting rid of what was considered ^{intolerable} ~~intolerable~~ ^{crystallized} ~~crystallized~~ aims. There were no ~~crystallized~~ aims. There were isolated instances of hate and revenge. Someone got killed in the street. Thereupon the whole street stood up in revenge. There were also those ^{with} ~~with~~ personal grievances.

There were those who felt compelled to shoot, no matter what or where. I have heard of an instance where a ^{girl} ~~girl~~ equipped with a sub-machine gun, kept shooting wildly at a building. The building happened to house a midwife's training school. Then one of the physicians came out and asked the girl what she was doing, ^She said she thought she was shooting at a government building.

(4d)

There was for instance a university ^{group,} ~~car,~~ organized into a company. This unit was meant to maintain order.

(4e)

Everyone rebelled against what he considered personal ^{And} ~~And~~ grievances. ^{OR} ~~And~~ practically every man has suffered grievances ~~or~~ injustices of one kind or another. Each man knew that these personal ~~amatters~~ matters could only be rectified after the system that created them was swept away first. This is the key to the whole revolution.

(4f)

^{crystallized} ~~crystallized~~ There was no ~~crystallized~~ idea on this. Everything was foggy. People trusted blindly in Imre Nagy.

(4g)

REMEMBER
There were a great number of slogans. I can ~~only~~ ^{only} distinctly a few now. Some such slogans were: "The soldiers of every

nation should go back to their countries." "People are asking in Pest and Buda what has happened to the Hungarian uranium."

(4h)

They wanted to establish Hungary on a basis similar to that of Austria and Switzerland. They wanted to be entirely free and independent of Russia.

(4i)

One cannot identify the system that existed in Hungary with either Communists or Communism. People opposed the situation as it existed, rather than the ideals. What we had there was a deformed creature. (The actual Hungarian: torzgyermek.) It is hard to establish generalizations here. The youth, to be sure, believed in it. (i.e. in Communist principles.)

I, too, believed in it until I was fourteen years old. Secondary school and university students were acquainted with the Communist theories. The masses knew them only through extracts and second or third hand interpretations, that were designed for beginners. Everyone who came in contact with Communist theories found something in them that to him were particularly appealing. He would take these appealing parts of the theory out of the context, and would keep on talking about them. In a word, then, not the whole system was opposed as such, but certain parts of it.

(4i)

It is difficult to say what would have happened. Would they have stopped with Imre Nagy? It is quite possible that the revolution would have rotted away, if it had not met the resistance as it did.

- (4m) I don't know. But I don't think so, Either double or nothing.
- (4n) *Revisionists* Revisionaries and intellectuals who had some training in *the Reestablishment* political science. These desired either ~~the reestablishment~~ of the old order or the creation of a Hungarian Switzerland. Others preferred the Austrian model.
- {4o) ~~Especially~~ Pacifists for one. I, too, opposed it as a method. Let us try to negotiate. It would have been better if it ~~would have~~ *had* been without violence.
- (5) I know of the *Bem* statue episode. They were active till late in the night on October 23, when the lights went out.
- (6) I was home during most of this period. I became sick on the second day of the revolution. Later the whole thing was misty and foggy. (The actual Hungarian: ZÜRÖS .) I did not know who is who. I did go to the university. There they established the university companies. But we went home quickly again.
- (6c) We heard radio announcements, we made contact ~~personally~~ and on the telephone. *could have happened*
- (6d) We knew that the worst that ~~did happen~~ was expulsion from school. There were too many participants to worry about *Reprisals.* ~~cheap prices.~~ And, after all, one had to accept some share in the whole thing. Of course, no one likes to be a ~~bad~~ *dead* hero.

- (6e) No consequences. And why should there have been any?
- (7a) I have seen AVH members on rooftops engaged in shooting. Many people said those guilty should be put to trial, but there should be no lynching.
- (7b) Yes, at the ^{MARGIT} ~~Market~~ Bridge. This was before the second Russian attack. The Russians sent the Hungarian soldiers home. These men then joined the revolution.
- (7c) A young man went with another on the ^{MARGIT} ~~Market~~ Bridge. They were probably acquaintances. The one wanted ~~wanted~~ to make a joke and cried out aloud, "Seize him! He is an AVH member." A crowd seized him and before things got straightened out, the poor fellow got a terrific beating.
- (9) I participated in the *Bem* demonstration, as I already described it.
- (9a) I did not participate in demonstrations thereafter. Others did demonstrate in front of the Parliament building at a time when martial law was declared in Budapest. Many of the demonstrators were ^{MERCILESSLY} ~~mercilessly~~ cut down by both the AVH members and the Russians. I personally reject such demonstrations. After all, there was a martial law. I did participate in the university strike. I now recall another demonstration that comes to my mind. This one was staged in support of *Cardinal Mindszenty*. ~~Colonel Mindszenty~~.
- (9c) There were no fights in the immediate vicinity of my home. I was living on a side street. It was relatively quiet there.

- (9d) No.
- (9e)a At the university.
- (9f) No.
- (9g) At the start of the revolution everyone entered it collectively.
- (10) I received my information in various ways. I was listening to the radio broadcasts of the broadcasting stations of Budapest, ^{London} ~~London~~, Free Europe, and ^U ~~Moscow~~ Moscow.
- (10a) Newspapers had a ^{serious} ~~serious~~ role in the immediate beginning. Later they degraded themselves. As time went on, everybody began to write newspapers, or if not newspapers, handbills. There were at least 50 different papers. There was of course the university paper also. I was definitely fed up with all those publications.
- (10b) In the beginning people practically swallowed them, later they held aloof. Personally, I preferred to read the newspaper entitled *Honvédseg, Magyar Honvéd or Forradalmi Magyar Honvéd*. I don't recall the exact name of the paper. This was a publication of the Hungarian army. My second choice was ~~that of~~ the university publication.
- (10c) I usually received news from the vicinity of Budapest by word of mouth. Practically everyone coming from there was a source of information. I found the Free Europe broadcasts to be untrustworthy very often. The broadcasts reaching us from London were much better. The broadcasting of the radio Paris seemed to me to have been the most ^{Realistic one.} ~~real~~. I also found it inadvisable to listen to the German radio broadcasts of the radio Vienna as well as the various German radio stations.

(10e)

I was also listening to Russian and Czech broadcasts. The events that took place in our own city of Budapest were ^{reliably} reported on the telephone by friends and acquaintances. We were using the circular telephoning system. If I heard something that was noteworthy I would ^{it} telephone to all my friends. They would do the same thing in turn.

(10f)

Of all the information media I found the telephone to be the most trustworthy ~~medium~~. There was absolutely no~~y~~ censure in this respect. When I finally decided to escape with my family, I informed all my friends about the whole thing. Probably the least trustworthy medium was the Hungarian radio, to be followed by the Radio Free Europe. The ^{latter} tried to do very often more than it should have done. It agitated us.

(10g)

We also availed ourselves of the services of those who were in possession of short wave radio receivers and transmitters. We were able to ^{listen} ~~listen~~ to the broadcasts of the Voice of America. We were also able to hear police and military broadcasts. Those few that did have short wave transmitters and receivers, actually tried to use them. I don't know how successfully.

(11)

The various government offices and Party offices simply disappeared during the revolution. The only Party from the Communist side that actually ^{remained} ~~remained~~ and operated, was the M. S.M.P. (Interviewer's Note: this is the abbreviation of the Hungarian term; *Magyar Szocialista Munka's PART, M. Sz. M. P.*)

Since we had a coalition government in those days this Party retained its raison d'etre. Of course, this Communist Party organization started operations from scratch. Some of the former Party buildings were destroyed, a great many ~~other~~ ^{other} such localities were handed over to other ~~Parties~~ ^{parties} that were just in the process of formation, or else were handed over to private individuals for habitation purposes. As far as the various former Party functionaries are concerned, many of them entered into the ~~unreformed~~ ^{NEWLY FORMED} MSMP Party. Some others stood aloof. There were, of course, a great many opportunists among the card carrying members of the Communists Party. I would set the minimum of their number to about ~~80%~~ ^{80%}. 10% of the remaining number you could probably term sympathizers only.

(11b)

The blue police remained and functioned. (Interviewer's note: Under the blue police is meant the regular police force, identified by the color of their uniforms.)

(11c)

I know in the city ^{of} ~~Veszprem~~ ^{Veszprém}, the AVH members were taken over by the Hungarian army. The regular enlisted ~~man~~ ^{men}, that is. Officers were ~~either~~ ^{either} let free or they were punished. In Budapest, many of them were captured, some others managed to submerge under the police.

(11d)

I know ~~in~~ Doctor Noon György, the Hungarian attorney general, was seized and was dragged ~~in front of a~~ ^{to} court. I don't know what really happened to him.

- (11f) Labor unions continued to exist with slight changes in their activities and their status. They were not to be involved in any politics. Their leaders, of course, were replaced. The Szot organization, however, was retained.
- (11g) Their situation varied from place to place. As an administrative arm, this organization was generally retained. Its commercial subsections were responsible for the distribution of food.
- (11h) They were in the process of being reorganized. But there was no time to complete this reorganization.
- (11i) Churches as buildings were not used very much during the revolution. Churches as religious organization, in general, maintained a passive attitude throughout. There were some intradenominational frictions. The attitude of some of the denominations was definitely anti-Semitic.
- (11j) The AVH organization, the cabinet, the National Planning Bureau, OT (the Hungarian equivalent: Országos Tervhivatal) were discontinued. Of these the cabinet was replaced by a coalition cabinet. Several ministries were consolidated.
- (11k) The organizations used by the revolutionaries were the following: Petöfi Kör, the society of writers, (Írószövetség, Irodalmi Ujság), the weekly periodical, Társadalmi Szemle another periodical, Mefesz, the organization of Hungarian university students, (Magyar Egyetemi Szövetség), and a similar organization, DISZ, (Dolgozo Ifjúság szövetsége).

(111)

First of all, there were about 50,000,000 Parties.

(Approximately 40 Parties.) Some of the more important reestablished political parties were as follows: the Small Land Holders Party, the Social Democratic Party, the National Peasants' Party, various extreme rightists parties, including, as I understood it, the National Socialist Party (*Nemzeti Nyilaspart.*)

And there were the Revolutionary Councils. These were found in every factory, elected by the workers.

These councils were for the most part autonomous. Their political power was constantly on the increase. The various local councils had territorial super-organizations on the one hand, and those ⁱⁿ on the city of Budapest were consolidated, on the other. The main [Budapest council represented some 90 odd delegations. The activities of this ^{Budapest} council had a decidedly political flavor, and had considerable political power during Nagy Ferenc regime. These Revolutionary Workers Councils elected the management of a factory, they managed the finances, and supervised the activities of a given plant. A council had its president, vice-president, and members. 75% of the members present constituted a quorum *quorum*.

(11m)

I don't know. I assume there would have been a decided swing to the right, but then again, who knows?

- (12) My only information regarding this question is from hear say. According to this, many of them went over to the revolutionists, they did not want to fight. Others were shooting one another.
- (12c) Yes.
- (12d) This was a question of prestige on their part. They had tried to do everything in their power to ^{alleviate} ~~alleviate~~ the needs ^{of the} ~~of the~~ Hungarians. They had sent food and all kinds of assistance. They were trying to buy us back. (Hungarian: *Le akartak bennünket kenyerezni.*)
- (12e) Definitely. They were in constant contact ^{with} ~~with~~ the Russian ambassador.
- (12g) No. There was too much spying going on. The whole system was based ^{on} ~~and~~ did operate on fear. I should say 100 men in the party ~~or~~ in any of its organizations were afraid of some 20, these 20 in turn would be afraid of some 5, these five would in turn be afraid of one. Now, if this one is killed, all the others are not afraid any longer because they haven't done the whole thing out of conviction in the first place. Most of the Party members were not real Communists in the real sense of the word.
- (13) As soon as I heard of the possibility. My family has wanted to emigrate for ^{a long} ~~along~~ time. We have felt the constantly tightening situation, ^{he experienced} ~~the~~ terror and the misery.
- (13a) A great number of university students were picked up, and this to me indicated the beginning of the repression. There were

some 60 students in my class. Out of these 60, 14 have left Hungary.

(13b)

Yes. We had to discuss our problems with our professional benefactors. My family has paid them 15,000 forints for their services. This was the fee for leading the four of us across the Hungarian-Austrian frontier. There were many *professional guides* ~~people~~, who have accumulated unheard of sums during these weeks. Some of them have been reported to have earned many hundred thousand forints. Unfortunately, these people have sent many an escapee directly to the AVH hands. In our case we had discussed our escape with three families. We have undertaken the journey together.

(13c)

Yes, we have equipped ourselves with forged papers. My father had many patents. So we organized our journey as if we were following a clear cut government assignment. My father was the head of the expedition. I was his assistant, and the others were assigned some other positions.

(13d)

We had established telephone contact with some of our relatives who were living in London, England. We have spoken to them three times during the revolution. We were assured ^{by them} that our visas, our positions, our homes, and everything else necessary was secured. We have some other relatives living in the United States. While in Vienna, we changed our plans and, instead of going to England, we came to the United States.

(13e)

We had considered the possibility of remaining at home.

But we would not have remained under the regime of Nagy
Imre.
~~Rezső~~. We left on December 16.

(14)

Yes, I think very often about the revolution. I had quite
a few friends who offered their lives for it. ^{Also,} ~~Although,~~ I
personally was too much involved in it not to think of it.

(14a)

Yes, it was useful. This revolution had inflicted a ter-
rific blow ^{on} ~~to~~ the Russian glory. Perhaps more important
still, it has shown to the world, and to other interested
nations, that it is possible, that it can be done. Perhaps
its usefulness would have been far greater if the revolution
could have been stopped at an earlier date and the negotia-
tions initiated.

(14b)

Perhaps. There was no contact, no organization between the
~~revolutionists~~
~~organizationists~~ themselves on the one hand, and no attempt
at negotiations with the Russians on the other. Maleter and
the others have fought their lonely fights. This possible
success would of course have depended on where and when the
revolution decided to stop, on the questions and demands
raised, etc. I think we should have satisfied ourselves
with demands more realistic than those actually advanced.

(Respondent underlined his notion ⁱⁿ on this respect by citing
one of the Hungarian proverbs. The proverb is as follows:

Inkább egy veréb ma, mint holnap egy tüzök.

(14c)

I would have a different attitude, definitely. Perhaps I would fight, perhaps immediately from the beginning. But then again perhaps I would stop at even an earlier date. One definitely ^{cannot} ~~cannot~~ fight forever. I also think Hungarians should realize their strength and ^{assess} it realistically. ^{we} ~~He~~ must have some sense of proportion.

(14d)

Because it was in Hungary that we experienced some relaxation of the pressures. Rumania is a suppressed country. Bulgaria ditto. At the time of the ^{outbreak} ~~outbreak~~ of the Hungarian revolution, the Rumanian army was demobilized. The Czechs are ^a ~~the~~ number entirely their own. They are in a separate category. ^{the} ~~The~~ Russian influence there is not so great as we knew it in Hungary. They don't have any reason to revolt on the one hand, and they are very much afraid of the Germans on the other. The same applies to Poland as well.

(14e)

Imre Nagy is an excellent university professor. In economics he is ~~is~~ great. However, he is weak, and he is capable of being influenced very easily.

(14f)

Maleter, I believe, is an ox. ^{Kovács} ~~Kolach~~, I have a very high opinion of him. Tildy is good, too. In connection with the churches, I should single out the Reverend ^{RAVASZ} ~~LÁSZLO~~ ^{Mindszenti} ~~baszlo~~. I don't have such a high opinion of ^{Retaliation, of} ~~him~~ ^{Mindszenty}. He has raised the question of ~~fear~~ ^{Retaliation, of} church estates and of the church schools too early in the revolution. He has

started to hit back too early ^{and} ~~and~~ too hard, he is definitely not a realist.

(14g)

Those students who have died for a great, wonderful aim, for a ^{who were} true and free Hungary, ~~and not while~~ fighting for something other than their own selfish interests. There was a great number of both categories.

(14h)

I would consider them in the following order:

1. Students and writers
2. Factory laborers and the ^{intelligentsia} ~~intelligencia~~
Also the professionals.
3. The white collar workers
4. Soldiers and peasants

(14i)

No.

(14k)

It was just a cover that allowed free assembly and free exchange of ideas and information. It was that ^{place} where a new life could spring out. I was not surprised at this.

(14l)

The peasants have gotten the most from the Communists. They have gotten four or five times as much as have the workers. They have demanded, they have wanted the impossible, a freedom from compulsory surrendering of their produce. It was the peasant class where most people were able to buy such things as pianos, motorcycles, and other luxury items. I recognized of course, that the peasants always have been a difficult group and that they are passive.

(1)(a)

I was a university student, attending the Budapest Institute of Technology (Hungarian name given *Bpesti Műszaki Egyetem*) and was studying to become a chemical engineer. I was in my second year there.

(1b)

My father was a ~~main~~ mechanical engineer, he was engaged in ~~working~~ ^{the?} (boring) industry (the Hungarian expression *Mélyfúró iparág*). As a result of his work he had reached a high degree of prominence and, therefore, I do not care to identify his position ~~as~~ specifically nor to name his place of employment.

(2)

I used to work in the summer during the school vacations. I worked, not because I had to, but because I enjoyed spending a few months this way. So, in the summer of 1951 I worked in a machine shop where I learned how to operate the various machine tools. In the summer of 1952 I was an employee of an electrical research section (Hungarian name *Elektromos Kutató Szakosztály*). In the summer of 1953 I worked in the physical research section (Hungarian name *Fizikai Kutató Szakosztály*). There I was assigned variously problems on which I was to work in order to find an independent solution. During the summer of 1954, I was engaged as a tool and die maker. During the following year I was a pioneer leader (Hungarian name *Úttörővezető*). During the summer of 1956, I was a soldier. I served for one month, and held the rank of corporal.

I was able to get all these summer jobs with the help of my father, who was engaged in responsible positions with well known firms. I was able to make use of the many connections he had.

(2e)

Speaking of the physical research laboratory, - it operated successfully as long as it was run by good management. Later, there were many ^{frictions} ~~strikes~~ within this place, the morale suffered, and the whole place was "down".

(2f)

The place was modern, beautiful, pleasant, though somewhat crowded. We had many foreign-made machines (machines from Switzerland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Russia. The main part of our equipment was of Russian, Czechoslovakian, and of Hungarian origin. We had Swiss measuring benches (?) (Hungarian name *Sveici MÉRŐpadok*).

(3)

This was a special laboratory, where all new discoveries and all new ^{first} machines were tested. It was here that the first model of ^a ~~the~~ new machine, ~~and~~ perhaps 10 or 20 experimental models were built.

The various products that we worked on were classified according to their nature or according to their importance. Classification "A" stood for military or secret things. Classification "B" stood for very important, but not military devices. The rest consisted of purely experimental work, and also some work involving export-import.

(4)

My work was only of a temporary nature. Therefore this you cannot take as a basis of comparison. I was paid by the hour. Belonged to the fifth category, and as such received some 600 to 700 forints per month.

Wages in Hungary were scaled according to category. Not the work, but the worker, the individual was categorized. The lowest category was 3, and the highest was 8.

Apprentices were placed in the 3rd or 4th category, depending upon their experience. Those in the 7th or 8th categories received an hourly wage of from 8 to 10 forints. If the worker wanted to earn more money, he had to apply for admission to a higher category. His application was decided upon by a commission. Before one could reach the 7th category he had to pass a minimum technical examination. The first examination has a theoretical part, with understanding mathematics, including trigonometry required for the 7th and 8th categories. It also

had a practical part where the applicant had to demonstrate his ability to perform ^{quality} ~~quantity~~ (?) work (Hungarian name *selejt mentes munka*). Once a worker reached a certain category, his status was registered in his workbook, and he was treated accordingly thereafter.

Category 3, then, identifies a semi-skilled worker. Unskilled workers were in the 1st or 2nd categories.

Hungary had excellent apprentice schools. These were directed by the *Labor Reserve* Office of Reserve Labor (*Munka- és Tartalékhivatal* Hungarian name, MTV). Pupils who have finished the 8th grade of the elementary school (Hungarian name *általános iskola*) would be accepted in some such apprentice school. There they received food, housing and clothing. They also received a salary of 120 forints a month. Their instructors were engineers and technicians. After two or three years of such training apprentices became journeymen.

It was very hard to train apprentices in the beginning. But as time ~~went~~ on the apprentice would receive instruction not only in technical skills, but also in such subjects as history and literature. An apprentice would usually be placed in ~~in~~ the 3rd, 4th and at times ^{the} 5th, and occasionally even in the 6th category.

Recruiting of apprentice personnel was on a voluntary basis. Those who for some reason or another were not accepted in a *Gimnazium* ~~Gymnasium~~, or were thrown out of such an institution, or were refused admission to a university, would avail themselves of the opportunity to so acquire a technical skill. There were also advertisements in which young men were asked to become skilled technicians.

(Interviewer's note: Respondent here protested mildly that ~~some~~ some of the questions treat of a subject that is an organic whole as if it consisted of parts which bear no relation to one another. He promised to answer some of those

questions later putting them together under the label "Hungarian Economics")

As soon as I put on my working clothes, I became a worker (~~Mede~~^{Melős}). At that very moment I acquired the same status as all the other workers had. They knew that I was not one of them, they knew that I was the son of the chief engineer, but I never had any difficulty with them. They did not envy me and I joined them more than once in criticising my own father.

(3) The average worker made 1,200 forints a month, the skilled worker 1,400 forints a month. Here are some of the average expenses: Apartment, three rooms, unfurnished, 120 to 130 forints a month; electricity, 30 forints per month; gas, for cooking, 15 to 20 forints a month. Trolley car tickets, ~~permitted~~ ^{Fillérs} permitting 4 transfers, 17 ~~fillérs~~⁵⁰. Buses, with four transfer possibilities, 1 forint and 15 fillérs. Local telephone calls, not limited in time, 60 fillérs. ^e One kilogram of bread, 3 forints. One liter of milk, 3 forints. One kilogram of sugar, 6.20 forints. One kilogram of meat, from 20 to 30 forints. Ready-made suit, for adults, of English wool, 1,300 forints. Custom made suit, of better quality, English wool, 2,000 forints. Radio receivers, with 4 to 5 wave lengths, capable of receiving from the whole world, 800 to 3,000 forints. Radio receivers with capacity to receive 3 or 4 local Hungarian stations, 300 forints. Televisions sets, black and white, 5,500 forints. There were ^{only} very few/ It had a picture tube of about 22 inches. There was a small experimental station, operating from the top of the ~~Székely~~^{Székely} ~~Székely~~ ^{Székely} (7) mountain. Another huge station was under construction when we left. The experimental station reached an area of 25 kilometers in radius. Washing machines, with no drying or rinsing attachments 1,500 forints. Shoes from 100 to ~~200~~ 450 forints. Ladies' shoes, ready made, from 100

to 150 forints. Custom made ladies' shoes, 550 forints. Lady's dress, 100 forints. ~~Nylon stockings~~ Nylon stockings, U.S. made, 110 forints. ~~Nylon stockings~~ Nylon stockings, made in Hungary from imported thread, 25 forints. Razor blades were from 5 to 10 forints apiece. These last two items came to Hungary from various places abroad, mostly from the United States. They usually came through HKKA (Interviewer's note: this is an abbreviation identifying a Hungarian government office through which relatives in the United States and other places were able to send packages to their loved ones in Hungary. Some other such items were brought to Hungary by officials who went abroad on official business. An official visiting Czechoslovakia for instance, would receive 30 Czech crowns, as a per diem allowance. Actually, he would be subsisting there on 5 Czech crowns, thereby saving 25 Czech crowns a day. This amount he would use in Czechoslovakia to purchase various items he wanted to buy either for himself or in order to resell it. One of the items that were brought to Hungary in this way was nylon watches, selling for about 500 forints apiece. We also received through various import channels a leather jackets and leather coats from Bulgaria. These imported coats would run to 2,200 ~~ms~~ forints. Leather coats made in Hungary would run to 4,000 forints. The price of a ~~kn~~ bicycle ran anywhere from 600 to 1,100 forints. A motorcycle, - the best known Hungarian make was the ^{Pannonia} ~~Pannonia~~, cost 14,500 forints. This motorcycle had a capacity of 500 cubic centimeters, and won the first prize for reliability a few years ago at the exhibition in Paris. These were very heavy machines. Other machines with a capacity of 100, 125, 250 cubic centimeters were much more preferred. The 100 cubic centimeter model would cost 4,000 forints. The most widely used foreign-made motorcycle was the Java and the Zetka, these were very good Czechoslovakian models. The mere fact that I was able to work. In my ~~hm~~ early childhood I was already a

very enthusiastic amateur.

- (4b)^c As I have already explained my basic salary ran from 700 to 800 forints a month.
- (4e) I had to give up $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of my earnings for the old age pension insurance plan. One was not obliged to join the labor unions.
- (4f) Premiums were various in type and ~~amount~~ differed in amount from time to time. There was a premium based on the factory ~~plant~~ ^{Plan}. There was a so-called goal premium (Hungarian name *célprémium*) which was paid out if a ~~plant~~ ^{given} plant reached its target. (I may be able to discuss these premiums in greater detail at a later time.)
- (4g) I have constructed and repaired radios on an amateur basis. This gave me some extra money.
- (5) We have had an eight hour day, and a six day week. A half hour lunch period was paid. Any overtime that a person made had to be authorized by a person in charge.
- (5b) There were paid holidays in Hungarian plants, these holidays were observed uniformly in every plant. Plant workers were not permitted to choose their own holidays. The following national holidays were paid: ^{First} the Fourth of April, the Day of Liberation, the ~~Fourth~~ of May, the Labor Day, the Twentieth of August (the Constitution Day), November the Seventh (the day commemorating the October Revolution), at times ^{Second} May the ~~Seventh~~ was proclaimed a holiday if May the First was on a Sunday. We had then about 5 or 6 paid holidays in a year.
- For the purposes of school, March the 15th, October the 6th, December the 21st, and another day were also considered holidays.
- March the 15th commemorated the beginning of the 1848 Hungarian Revolution, October the ~~6th~~ ^{heroes} 6th commemorated the hanging of the heroes of the

that Revolution. December the 21st commemorated, I believe, the birthday of Stalin, and another holiday commemorated the birthday of Lenin. Every worker had a paid vacation consisting of a minimum of 14 days a year. Every additional year worked would add one day to the paid holidays. The maximum amount of paid holidays sbt attainable was 24 days. Paid holidays were arranged on the basis of consecutive work performed, some one could loose his legal holiday continuity if he left his place of employment voluntarily or for some other reasons. There were some places of employment where a worker was permitted to rearrange his work schedule to suit either his own purposes or for some other reason. Thus one was permitted to work more one day and have off the following day a few hours. While this system of rearrangement of work schedule was indulged in in practically every plant, it was most widely used in government retail stores.

(5f)

Coming late was taken very seriously. If someone was late, his being late would be made known through the public address system of the plant. At other times, the name of the late-comer would be posted on a special board that listed late-comers. This board was called the board of shame (Hungarian phrase given *Szégyentábla*). This happened if anyone was 10 to 15 minutes late. If someone was a habitual late-comer, the plant would deduct from his pay anywhere from 15 to 50 forints. If someone was unable to come to work because of sickness, he was required to bring in ~~xxxxx~~ a medical certificate to that effect. This certificate would be issued by the physician of the precinct ^{SzTK} organization. If someone was sick, he received no pay; ~~xxxxxx~~ instead he would receive support money amounting to 75% to 100% of his base pay during the first half year. After that the amount would be reduced to 50%.

- (51) Subquestion 1 and the questions following it actually belong to an organic ~~system~~ unit, I should like to discuss this later, if possible.
- (6) One cannot make generalizations in this respect. In some industries, like the smelting industry, workers received additional bonuses. There were also bonuses given out to heads of large families. ~~As automatic~~ raise would come about automatically by the addition of a newborn child. Any of these bonuses were bonuses based on a percentage of the base pay.
- (6a) These varied very widely from place to place.
- (6b) Labor unions were constantly trying to improve the situation in this respect.
- (6c) This, too, varied very widely.
- (6d) The same as above.
- (6e) I commuted by bus to my place of work. It took me 35 minutes.
- (7a) These were older people, coming from a good generation.
- (7b) It depended upon the policies of the head of the firm. I knew I was able to address some very important figures by using their first names, whereas my immediate supervisor did look down upon me.
- (7c) Not very much.
- (7d) Those who knew each other very well, discussed all kinds of questions with each other. They would discuss even political questions. Many have suffered in this respect, however, because they were reported and they would loose their jobs.
- (7e) No.
- (7f) No.
- (7g) No. I discussed politics only with those whom I knew very well.
- (7h) There was the basic unit, the cell, in every plant. This cell consisted

three
of ~~the~~ people, one of them was the Party Secretary, the other was the
plant director. ~~Remembering~~ I don't remember who the third man was.
The Party secretary was only an adviser in principle, but in reality
~~however~~ all his pronouncements were ~~what~~ *sacred scripture*.

It is interesting to note here that even in the Communist Party
headquarters, where over a thousand employees ~~many~~ worked, all of
whom were trusted Party members, the same organizational principle
would prevail. Even there, these hard core Communists would be org-
anized in cells.

- (7i) Party members were considered more trustworthy than others.
- (7j) According to form, the Party was the leading force, the elite force
m of the workers. Only the best workers were entitled to join the Party.
One had to earn his Party membership. An applicant to the Party
became a candidate first. Then, if his attitude and behavior were
good, he was elected a member. Only higher authorities could decide
on whether or not a candidate was to be elected to the Party.
- (7k) Yes, labor unions have done many nice things. There was no politics
involved in their organization or actions. If one decided to join
a labor union, he was required to pay 5% of his ^{total ~~gross~~ or *brutto*} earnings as a fee.
The labor unions were handling the insurance. This insurance had a
very wide range and covered many things. Covered, were all the
doctor's expenses, expenses for the hospital and medicine, as well as
dental expenses. An insured was entitled to use every other year,
any of the many nice and wonderful vacation spots maintained by the
labor unions, for two weeks. The prices at these vacation spots
were nominal in nature and were very low indeed. Labor unions
provided excellent camps for children. They provided various

possibilities for sports. Many of their services were absolutely free. Also labor unions constantly improved the adverse ^{working} conditions in the plants. Labor unions provided support money when a new child was born, they provided the money ~~money~~ to buy the various things necessary to a newborn baby. They were engaged in such things as creation of cultural halls in the plants, ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ organizing many minute activities, and in trying to raise the wages of their members.

(71) Labor unions were organized on a basis ~~and~~ extremely similar, if not identical, to the system that prevailed in Fascist Italy. There were no industrial unions, that is to say not the workers of one industry were organized as a unit, but workers from separate lines of industry were organized separately. Labor unions had a basic unit, one or several in a given plant, with elected leadership. Opposite this organization, at the ^{top} ~~bottom~~, were national organizations embracing all of ~~the~~ the labor unions.

(7m) I don't know.

(7n) This question does not belong here. I shall come back to it when I speak of the Hungarian industry.

(7p) I knew quite a few people who did succeed without being members of the Party. My father, for one, was not a Party member. Similarly many of ~~the~~ the university professors did not belong to the Party. Those who ^{i. e.} held a position of eminence, ^{i. e.} jobs that were necessary to the continued existence of the regime, were tolerated. Also persons to whose names a certain prestige was attached were left alone.

(7q) Those who were politically neutral did have some sort of an esteem in the eyes of the Communists. They felt that, if someone was not a Party member, but did not combat them either, was, at any rate, a person in whose political attitudes they could be sure. People of this sort,

mostly intellectuals, belonged to a category of their own. (The Communists had a name for this category in Hungarian, *a néphez hű pártönkivüli értelmiség*).

(7r)

Yes, very much so. These people contributed a great deal to subsequent degeneration ~~generations~~. Generally speaking, there were three social groups in this respect, those who were faithful to the regime, those who were neutral, and those who opposed the regime. ~~Parallel~~ ^{*Cadre*} Parallel to this there were three types of Kaders (Kader). The working class was considered ~~important~~ ^{*be*} ~~to have been~~ a good Kader, the neutral Kader consisted of the ~~bourgeoisie~~ bourgeoisie or lower middle classes (term given in Hungarian *polgári Kader*), and the bad Kader is composed of people who have been exposed politically or who have held high official positions in a previous regime. At the university they had another designation, it was called technical middle Kader (Hungarian ~~name~~ ^{*Műszaki Közép-*} *Kader*). It was called technical because it embraced people who would be future Hungarian technicians, and it was called middle Kader because ~~its~~ ^{*would*} its members have not yet become members of the Party but who in time ~~will~~ be such. Etymologically, the word Kader is a word taken from the Hungarian for a former military kadron. Originally it designated a military officer who had authority to give out orders.

(7s)

This system prevailed until 1955. Reforms were gradually instituted ^{*Practically*} thereafter. ~~And~~ ^{*Consequently*} every plant director was a person of this kind.

(7t)

Yes, there were spies everywhere. ~~The~~ ^{*Recruited*} system of their operation, however varied from plant to plant. They were ~~recruited~~ from all walks of life and belonged to all sorts of age groups. Their duties were to report incidents and attitudes of people, thereby enabling the management to

know in advance the next move of its opponent in this constant industrial chess game.

- (7u) I am not in favor of them. They don't know how to operate a factory. without a
A factory cannot be operated/despotic rule. These were organized after the revolution, they are of Yugoslavian origin.

- (7v) I don't know.

- (8a) One usually tried to change his place of employment by ~~questioning~~ ^{utilizing} his acquaintances. His acquaintances would inform him of positions available elsewhere. Once the existence of a need was so established, a worker would try to ask for the release of his work book. This was a very difficult task. Then there was the MTH (in Hungarian, *Munkaerök*

-tartalék hivatala), the Office of Reserve Labor, with its offices in Budapest and suboffices elsewhere. This organization would also find suitable employment if necessary. There were also employment bureaus. These are absolutely personal, individual factors. ~~None~~ No generalization is possible here.

- (8e) Yes, at first I wanted to become an electrical engineer. During my first year in the *Gimnazium* I ~~was~~ changed my mind and decided to become a chemical engineer instead. I have based ~~my~~ ^{my} decision on purely internal reasons, the considerations which went into this decision were purely personal.

- (8f) If I could have finished my education there, then, yes.

- (8g) One usually wants both success and a position of leadership, I think.

- (8h) Because of human vanity, considerations of money, and the urge to rule. I would aspire to have a stable life. I would not ~~like~~ like to be too rich, I would not like that. I would like to have a laboratory in my own home.

- (8j) No.
- (8k) Yes, this is the general desire of an intellectual. It is part and parcel of his Weltanschauung.
- (9) There were times when we were living relatively well, and times when we were living very poorly.
- (89a) One. My father made ^{enough} ~~much~~ money to support the family.
- (9b) There were no great changes in our lives after the war.
- (9c) We could have bought everything we desired if we only had the money.
- (9d) My father's base pay was 2,838 forints a month. If you add to this on the one hand the premiums, and subtract the various deductions, he took home 3,400 forints clear every month. We have spent 1,000 forints for food for two weeks. We paid 280 forints for our modern apartment. We were living in a modern house. 200 forints were spent for gas, electricity and various minor expenses. Except for the ^{food} ~~meat~~ item the others are calculated on a monthly basis. ~~((9))~~ There was no income tax in Hungary. As far as the forced loans are concerned, one was obliged to sign up ^{yearly} his earnings for one month, ^{this} ~~these~~ he paid in ten equal ^{monthly} ~~instal-~~ments. My father signed up for 4,000 forints.
- (9e) 280 forints per month. We had an apartment of our own.
- (9f) The housing problem was very bad in general. Many apartments were destroyed during the war, others were taken over by the people who came up to Budapest to live there after the war, still others were taken over by the government and were converted into office space.
- (9g) We had spent 2000 forints a month on food. One had to stand in line sometimes when buying meat.
- (9i) One could buy everything in government owned stores. Articles in these stores were not of high quality. Only idiots frequented the black market. Those who cared to do so were able to purchase on the black

market such things as gold, ~~forints~~, dollars, colonial wares, and whatever was sent to Hungary in the IKKA parcels.

(9j)

The labor unions helped a great deal in the purchase of fuel. Our own Hungarian coal was of very inferior quality. We were obliged to import coal from Poland and Germany. Because we did not have foreign currency reserves, the importation of coal was limited. A family was issued tickets for one or $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons of coal at a time.

(9l)

We had insurance in this respect. The ^{SEK} service was not always ~~satisfactory~~ satisfactory. If one had the misfortune of being obliged to go to a private doctor, he was obliged to leave there even his undershirt. A visit to a private doctor would run anywhere from 20 to 100 forints. A private dentist required for the filling of one cavity anywhere from 15 to 65 forints. Every hospital was state-~~man~~ owned. The doctors there were excellent. Very severe laws regulated the actions of a physician.

(9m)

We did receive some advantages. The factory gave my father permission to use part of the factory force to erect protective bars on our windows after factory hours. Also, when we moved, we were assigned a factory truck and driver. We paid for this service ^{to} ~~for~~ the factory 15 forints, whereas otherwise we would have paid 500 forints. Also the factory maintained a resort where members of my family were able to spend their vacations.

(9n)

The radio tax was 10 forints, whether you had one radio or 25. Movie tickets ran from 3 to 6 forints. Theatre tickets ran from 6 to 10 forints. Tickets to the opera ran from 8 to 22 forints. If one bought an opera series ticket consisting of ten performances and covering the entire season, one paid anywhere from ~~ann~~ 50 to 150 forints for it.

The price of a daily newspaper was 30 fillérs, that of a magazine 2 forints. Books, serious, important books I am talking of,—ran from 10 to 35 forints apiece. There were also cheap editions of course. If one wanted to engage in some sport activity, he usually joined a sport club, and he then paid only 1 forint membership fee and he was able to use all the facilities.

(10)

(10a)

I always knew that our standard of living was relatively high. ^(10a)Very definitely. My father gave to the regime a great number of his own discoveries, patents, worked innumerable extra hours for them without ever being compensated for it.

(10b)

Generally speaking, yes, the monetary policy of Hungary had much opposition. It left much to be desired. It is a statistical fact that every day a new factory was built in Hungary.

(10d)

There wasn't much change in this respect. On paper workers had all sorts of rights, but in reality it was *almost* ~~(nothing)~~ *nothing*.

(10e)

It was absolutely worthless (the actual Hungarian expression used:

Fábol vaskariká

), it amounted to the government giving you something from one of its hands, and taking it back with the other. But I firmly believe that people ^{will} get back their money sooner or later. Those who were lucky enough to have their numbers pulled on the lottery, have already got back their investment. Now is it anyone's fault that the numbers of other people were not pulled?

(10f)

As far as I know the Russians have reduced the Hungarian reparation payments to 30 percent. Also, the regime has come to an agreement with England, according to which only 20 percent of the value of Hungarian exports to England would be retained for reparations and 80 percent would be paid in cash.

(10g)

One was obliged to attend all these activities. One was even obliged

to go and listen to what went on at the MMDSZ (Hungarian name given in full *Magyar Nők Demokratikus Szövetsége*). A political organization of Hungarian women. One was obliged to go to the seminars, political discussions, etc.

(11)

The Hungarian industry was completely reorganized after the war. The nationalization program was carried out in several steps; first came the large concerns, then places employing over 500 people, then those employing over 100 people, and then everything.

The industry as a whole was supervised before the war by the Ministry of Industry. This supervision was tremendously increased, so that every branch of industry had its own supervising ministry after the war. This required a very large mass of administrative personnel, and bureaucratic red tape took enormous proportions. Not only was it difficult to synchronize things between a given plant and a ministry, but an order had to go through so many hands until it reached its destination that there was ample room for ^{alteration} and even sabotage on the way.

The supply of raw and semi-finished material was also entrusted to a ministry. This centralization of supplies was hampered by the almost total lack of warehousing facilities. If there were any delays in supply,-- and there were many such delays--the plants, to which these supplies were destined, were forced to shut down.

A given question had to travel through a prescribed channel in the Ministry. There were the departments (name given in Hungarian *Főosztályok*), sections (name given in Hungarian *osztályok*), groups (name given in Hungarian *csopontok*), and commissions (name given in Hungarian *bizottságok*). These divisions had ^{their} to account

corresponding opposites, i.e. divisions of the same order.

~~for plants~~ ^{any A} in any given plant. / ~~in~~ ^{any} given plant, was not an independent, self-sufficient unit, but was obliged to clear every minor question with the Ministry first. If a problem arose where the consent to a question ^{of} ~~where~~ two various plant ^{WAS} ~~were~~ departments necessary, the originating department would refer the question to its counterpart in the Ministry. There it would be discussed with the other ministerial department in question. That department, in turn, would inform its counterpart at the local plant. Eventually, after a tremendous delay, the one local plant department would inform the other of the decision made. It happened very often that by the time a question was so solved, some other factors entered the picture and ~~and~~ further advice from the Ministry became necessary.

So we had centralization at first. But it did not work. In fact, in some areas it became disastrous. Some perishable food would be sent from Szeged to Budapest, from there, it would be channeled to ^{Debrecen} ~~Debrecen~~. Another shipment, originating in ^{Debrecen} ~~Budapest~~ ^{Debrecen}, would be shipped to Szeged, via ~~Budapest~~ Budapest. The net result was a 100 percent loss and a great deficit.

As a result, the food industry was decentralized and local Közert stores were established. The production of such articles as shoes, textiles, and others continues to be highly centralized to this day. A plant is told to produce so many green jackets, another to make so many red ones. They are getting their raw materials through the Ministry, and are told where to sell their products and at what price.

Other industries receive some degree of autonomy.

As centralized direction was disastrous and some synchronization was obviously essential, the National Planning Bureau (name in Hungarian

OT

Országos tervhivatal, abbreviated: ~~OT~~) was established.

This bureau established targets for the various industries and for the nation as a whole. But in doing so, 90 or 95 percent of the production capacity of the nation's factories were engaged in some specific production. When, as time went on, major changes in the nation's planning became necessary, these changes could not be brought about, because there was not enough free production capacity available. Thus, if something went wrong in the planning bureau, the whole economy suffered.

The system did have some advantages. We had consumer goods of uniform quality, at uniform prices. And there was no competition. The disadvantages, however, were far greater. This bureaucratic system required the services of a great number of experts. And this in times when the nation's industry was in dire need of them. Also whatever we produced ~~in Hungary~~ in Hungary, was produced with an overhead of over 200 percent.

The labor force was also directed by the Ministry. The ministries decided who was to be the director, the chief engineer, and the chief accountant of a given plant. These were often political appointments, and the beneficiary could not be removed except by the Ministry. Every plant had its personnel department, and there was a ministerial personnel department embracing all the ^{plant} personnel departments under it. Many people, without being suitably trained, were placed in important positions. Naturally chaos and waste resulted.

There was a department for expansion and development on a ministerial level, (Hungarian name given *Fejlesztési Főosztály*). There was no patent bureau and trade-marks could not be registered. One could not have exclusive rights to his inventions, that is to say he could not patent them. Those who had suggestions for improving things, or had developed an invention could offer them to the above-mentioned Bureau and

could receive a reward for it. The average award amounted to some 400 to 500 forints. The inventor also received a percentage in royalties. There was no waiting period and no checking of these inventions. Many a person would simply steal foreign patents, by copying ~~many~~ its main features, and declare them to be his own, in order to make some money. Also, people had ^{registered} ~~many~~ minute, ³wholly useless improvements with the same aim in mind.

Inventory was also handled by a central inventory department (name given in Hungarian *Beruházási Főosztály*). They received the money from the Magyar ^{*Beruházási Bank*} etc. (Hungarian term) Bank, (Interviewer's note: This was a sort of commercial bank on a national scale).

The money market was entirely centralized.

The only Hungarian coal which could be converted into coke was mined in the coal mines of ^{*Pécs*} ~~Budapest~~. Other Hungarian coal was of recent origin and unsuitable as industrial fuel. As a result, Hungary had to import coal from Poland and Germany. We received iron ^{*ore*} from Russia. We had to import practically all our raw materials except aluminum.

One could say here that we needed a planning bureau. The trouble was, that it did not function. It was decided, ~~that~~ ~~that~~ that, instead of bringing in semi-finished iron from Russia, we should expand our iron smelting facilities and produce our own iron from Russian ore.

They built a whole new city for this purpose, named (Hungarian name given *Stalinváros (Dunapentele)*). It had a big, modern iron industry. But the transportation of the ore ran into a bottleneck on the Black Sea and the entire capacity of the ^{*Dunapentele lay there*} (City) plants ~~there~~ producing nothing. The already existing smelting capacities at (Hungarian name *Diosgyőr*)

was also abandoned. *expanded.*

To minimize the import difficulties, a whole new ball bearing industry was built in the city of *Debrecen* ~~Debrecen~~. This, and many other plants like it are not capable of producing export quality materials, and ^{as *their*} ~~its~~ full capacity exceeds domestic demands, they must, at least partly, be converted. A few scapegoats are dismissed and punished, and plants which cost millions to build are idle.

The result is a tremendous deficit. Someone, of course, must pay for it. The state recovers its losses by either keeping down the wages or by maintaining higher prices,--whichever way you want to look at it.

The planning bureau requires factories to meet ~~with~~ production targets at a specified time. These in turn put the pressure on the workers. Quantity became paramount, ^{and} ~~as~~ quality became secondary. People were required to do a certain minimum. But they were prepared to do even more than the minimum, because premiums were at stake.

To counteract the constantly falling quality of the finished products, and to eliminate as much as ^{possible} ~~the~~ production of "seconds" (Hungarian name given *selejt*), the quality control section (MEO, *Műöségi Ellenőrzési osztály*) was established. Quality was ^{export} ~~as~~ graded thereafter. 1-A was ~~maximum~~ ^{very} quality. Other grades were 1-B, etc. A quality stamp would be attached to ~~the~~ ^{every} finished article. All finished goods had to pass the MEO before they could be marketed. Now one could produce goods only at a normal speed; but the minimum requirements continued. The whole production system was based on norms. There were occasional ^(~~minor~~ rectifications) ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~various~~ changes in the norm, and there were ~~various~~ differentiations and adjustments that varied from place to place, but, on the whole, norms were rather reduced and not increased. In other words, one was required to

do more, as time went on rather than less. Now people tried to produce more and more, in order to reap the ~~premium~~ premium benefits. Factory management was equally interested in the ~~speed~~ speed up. If the factory reached its target in time, everybody received premiums. If a factory~~d~~ managed to reach its target before the target deadline, everyone connected with the plant would participate in the profits so realized. This participation meant the payment of a certain percentage of the profit, based on the individual's pay. It would amount to as much as 30 to 50 percent.

The important thing, then, was to produce a quantity, and have it pass the MEO inspection. Common sense standards and the feeling of individual responsibility/^{soon}~~management~~ were deteriorating and a chaos and ~~an~~ degeneration then ensued. Some, I heard, preferred to hammer in the screws, rather ^{than} to follow conventional methods, in order to save time. If our goods were designed for export, we could never hope of receiving another order from there. But things like this could not be permitted. ^{therefore} The expert production was totally segregated from the other industry. It became an entity ⁱⁿ itself.

The quality continued to decrease. The MEO inspections were tightened but no results. They experimented with time payments (óraber). Interviewer's note: A worker would be paid according to hours worked, not according to quantity produced. They then experimented with pay based on productivity, (Teljesítményber) a variant of the norm system. They tried everything.

Under centralization the director of a plant is reduced

to a figurehead. This does not bring results. Thereupon some autonomy was granted to the plants. Only 50 percent of the capacity was engaged for ^{plan} ~~plant~~ purposes, the other half of the capacity was left free, to be used according to day to day requirements. There were many machines of all sorts. There were many new tooling machines (*Szerszám-gép*). Most of these came from abroad, but there were still too many old machines, capable of producing only inferior results. There were many controversies between the various plants as to who was responsible for poor, inferior machines. To settle these disputes, the Conciliation Commission (Hungarian: *Egyeztető-bizottság*) was established. There were Ministerial Commissions handling disputes between plants, and there was an even higher conciliatory body, the highest forum of its kind (Hungarian: *Döntő-bizottság*).

There was the ÁEK (Hungarian: *Állami Ellenőrző Központ*, State Control Center. This was an all powerful economic investigative body. It could go any place, with no limitations to its power. If something went wrong, investigation would follow. Those found guilty were severely punished. This was not a political, but an economic arm of the government.

We had the OT (National Planning Board), with authority within Hungary and the KGST (Hungarian: *Kölcsönös gazdasági segélynyújtás tanácsa*, Council on Mutual Assistance), an international planning board, advisory in its nature, that made the economic plans for the entire Soviet system. It was on the basis of this organizations plans, that international trade

was carried on within the Soviet orbit. No money payments were involved here, each nation had a running account (Hungarian: folyószámla^m) and barter-like trade was carried on. We received skodas from Czechoslovakia^c, we sent electric motors there. We received oil from Rumania and we sent something to the Rumanians. There was also an exchange of technical personnel.

ODK (Hungarian: Országos Dokumentáló Központ, National Information and Archive Center) was keeping tab on economic development in other satellite countries. One could find out through this office what went on in, say, Czechoslovakia or Poland, discoveries, processing, etc.

Hungary was very short on foreign currency. Rubles on the other hand were rather easily had.

During the Revolution all state warehouses^s were thrown open. A tremendous amount of goods were purchased in those days. We had at least a two months supply. If we had had free, open trade in Hungary, people would have starved to death. This is another advantage of this sort of a regime. It had a tremendous reserve (Hungarian: Árúképeség).

The forint was based on work. It was based on that margin that existed between production^c and purchasing power. This was our Valuta.

We exported railroad equipment to Argentina, bridges to Egypt, butter to Switzerland. We even exported Hungarian oil, just in order to get dollars. We purchased Rumanian oil for forints and exported Hungarian oil for dollars. Actually, we converted forints into dollars.

The emphasis always was on producing production equipment,

rather than consumer goods. We were told that we may have to suffer for some 30 years, but thereafter we would have it very good. But our expansion suffered because of poor technical leadership. I know of a g man who used to be a gas meter checker in his former days, who was appointed chief engineer in a big machine factory. The old chief engineer was dismissed, because, it was said, he was not good enough. *He did not push the workers hard enough.*

Hungary is known to have the greatest ~~a~~ bauxite deposits in the whole world. We used to export this ore to Germany before the war, and bought back the finished aluminum at exorbitant prices. We did not have enough electric power to do the process ourselves. The regime has built a great hydroelectric work on the ~~Tisza~~ ^{Tisza} River at ~~Tiszalök~~ (~~and~~ ^{TISZALÖK}) and aluminum production is in full swing now. Of course, the problem of amortization is immense in this respect. We have a heavy aluminum export. Within Hungary aluminum was substituted for many other metals. We were trying to discontinue the use of copper. Even dishes are made of aluminum. We had boats, ships, motors, and even buses made of aluminum. ^{Chrome} ~~Chrom~~ was very scarce. In the former Rákosi-^{Matyas} ~~Matus~~ Works, a section did nothing else but try to regain chrome from discarded cans.

- (11a) It had its advantages, and it had its disadvantages.
- (11b) Yes.
- (11c) I did not like the various organizations in the economic life. There was practically no room for initiative there.
- (11d) I don't know.
- (11f) It was very good. It was necessary. It was a good plan. It was

a reconstruction plan. It had wonderful results, ^{such as the building of} bridges, and ^{stabilization of} the forint. It wanted to establish more, it wanted to

11g reach more than it intrinsically ~~gman~~ could. Actually, they even tried to finish it in 4½ years.

(11h) He was a good economic expert. He was a good economic's professor. I believe he is good.

(11i) This was a constant theme of discussion. It was good. It was the first year that we had a positive international trade balance. ^{had a dollar surplus.} Actually, we even ~~surplus~~ ~~was~~ ~~balance~~.

(12a) I personally believe economic circumstances had a very great role. But one cannot generalize here.

(12b) It is very hard to say something on that.

(12d) No.

(12e) In private discussions between one another. In personal opposition, and even in sabotage sometimes.

(12f) Some so, some otherwise. I couldn't answer this question. There were so many variations. They are capable of being led, of being influenced. They have the tendency to extremes.

(1)

I have gone to a great number of schools. Let's take the elementary school first. I completed my first year of the elementary school in Olaszliszka. The second and third classes I completed at a private school in Magyaróvár. In my fourth year I went to school in Budapest to the Sziget Street School. My fifth year was completed at the Gimnazium of the Piarist Fathers in Budapest. In the sixth year I went to ~~another~~ another school in Budapest named Ady Endre Gimnazium. My seventh and eighth years I have completed at a school called Irányi Uccai Allami Pedagógiai Főiskola gyakorló Mintaiskolája. It was excellent. (Interviewer's note: This last school was a practice school conducted by a teacher's college of Budapest.) The next four years I spent at the Eötvös József Általános Gimnázium. Thereafter I went to the Budapest Institute of Technology and I was in the second year there. (Hungarian name given: Bpesti Műszaki Egyetem). I was studying to become a chemical engineer.

(1a)

In the Gimnazium I attended the DISZ political club.

(1b)

I took courses in military science.

(1f)

It was necessary for me to do so. I had completed the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd years of the elementary school privately (did not attend classes, passed examinations only). I went to the other schools either because I knew that they were very good or that they had a very good reputation.

(3)

I wanted to get a degree in chemical engineering.

(3b)

I had a great ambition. Every member of my family had a degree.

(3e)

My scholastic averages were always very high.

(5)

I had ideal conditions all around.

- (6) I was an excellent student.
- (6a) I wasn't always an A student. Generally speaking I was a B student previously. But my father was an industrialist, and my mother came from a great landholding family. This information was contained in my birth certificate. I had to ~~correct~~ ^{CORRECT} these ~~stains~~ ^{stains}.
- (7) As far as studying went, yes. Those who came from technical schools or from technical ⁱgymnasiums received added individual attention, especially if they were weak in some of the subjects. An instructor would be assigned to one or two of these people and these would then be instructed additionally. We did not have this added help. There were also foreign students studying there. These, however, belonged to an entirely different category. In my class there were two from China, two from Korea, one from Bulgaria, six from Rumania, four from Albania, one from Russia, one from Iran and there were 120 Hungarian students.
- (8) Every subject was required. There were ^{Free} ~~free~~ elective subjects. A professor would inform us that such and such subjects would be given at such and such hours after the ~~main~~ regular hours in the school. One could attend these courses, but they would not be counted toward the degree.
- (8b) Subjects belonging to my major, yes. I did not like the others. We had three hours of military science each week. Those who had attended ^{These} ~~these~~ courses would, upon termination of their military studies, ~~would~~ be sent home with a rank of lieutenant. These courses were only theoretical in nature, there was no practice to it, and we had no uniforms. No similarity to the ROTC.

- (8c) They could not catch the student's interest as very well in this respect. Our text books were not of the best order. There was not very great enthusiasm for it.
- (8d) The same applies as to (8c). Many have found them extremely difficult to understand. We were not required to take notes, everything was mimeographed for us.
- (8e) It was a stupidity. The instruction was not carried on on a university ~~niveau~~ ^{niveau} ~~niveau~~ ^(?). The notoriously bad Hungarian kept bothering our ears.
- (8f) Sports were not obligatory. The only obligatory thing was gymnastics. If one couldn't take this he was able to substitute a study in problems of health education. It all depended on the professor.
- (9) This is a difficult question to discuss. The Revolution has shown that it was not successful. But it did have ^{some} ~~much~~ success. It called our attention to the fallacies and faults of ~~our~~ ~~and~~ other systems. This was not a positive something, they had no better system to offer themselves. I should say it succeeded in converting young children up to 14 years of age to an extent of 70 to 75 percent.
- (9a) Discipline is very harsh. From the point of view of social behavior, and attitudes toward one another it brought about equality. No differences were recognized. Good fellowship (the German word Kameradschaft would come closest to it) was fostered. There was a disciplinary pressure exerted on us. This helped to keep the emotions down. One of my friends had beaten up the DIAZ secretary. He was thrown out of school as a result.

- (9b) No.
- (9c) These kept on changing all the time. No one even tried to memorize them.
- (9d) Whenever some ~~contradictory~~ ^{contradictory} situation called for it, these slogans would always be cited in a satirical way.
- (9e) It is more potent between the age brackets of 8 to 14. It is the least potent after one has reached 30 years of age. Children between the ages of 8 to 14 usually like to play soldiers. There was ample room to do this sort of thing in the regime. And there are so many beautiful slogans. Also, these young ones received assistance of a great variety. After one has reached the age of 30, one indulges more often in concentrated thinking. The older the people are, their thinking will be influenced more and more by previous systems and regimes. My grandfather kept on telling me how wonderful it was when one was able to purchase two ~~ma~~ rolls for one ~~ma~~ ^{KREUZER}. He was obviously referring to the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy.
- (10) It consists of two branches. The one has an intellectual tradition, the other ~~belonging~~ belongs to a landholding class.
- (10a) My mother belonged to a landholding class.
- (11) We were considered kulaks and/or intellectuals. Etymologically, kulak comes from a Russian word meaning the fist. It was first used with its present day connotations after the Russian Revolution, during the era of the ~~new economic policy~~ ^{NEW Economic Policy (NEP)}, when ~~peasants~~ ^{"Fat"} peasants were accused of destroying like fists, the small agricultural homesteaders.

(12) My father was a mechanical engineer.

(12a) No. The change occurred in 1946. Up until then he was an independent private consultant, specializing in ~~the~~ investment and speculative undertakings. He also had a number of patents. By 1946 he was completely bankrupt. He was engaged in this activity that I have just described ^{since} ~~in~~ 1935 until 1946. I could not describe his places of employment after 1946, because he changed them very frequently and I did not remember them all. In a word, he was employed as a consultant, going to whatever plant happened to work at the time on his inventions.

(12c) I did not have a bad opinion of it. At least as compared to positions at that time. This of course changed radically in the first few months of 1946 after the Hungarian pengő had shown its inflationary tendencies.

(12d) Hungarian: *OKleveles gépészmérnök.*

Interviewer's note: This corresponds roughly to the holder of a M.A. degree in mechanical engineering in the United States.

(12e) He was, on the whole, very satisfied with me. He would have preferred if I had followed in his footsteps, as I have learned this from my mother, but he never tried to interfere.

(13) My family lived somewhat better ~~than now~~ then than now. We had some money then. This vanished as time went on. Our expenses kept on rising, one was obliged to maintain a social level corresponding to his position, buy suits and dresses for the opera, etc.

(14) My family has three members.

(14b) Yes.

- (14c) Because they had available space.
- (15) My father only.
- (16) There were times when it was definitely to our disadvantage, but the position of the intellectuals was neutral. They were tolerated. ^{We} ~~They~~ simply did not say anything about my mother coming from a great landholding family. We did not mention her being a kulak.
- (22) Our relations were always excellent.
- (23) Naturally.
- (23a) It would always be some concrete theme or concrete situation that would give cause to a discussion.
- (24) No.
- (26) We were very close to one another. Perhaps ~~in~~ because we were so dependent on one another. This may not have been typical. At any rate, we had a beautiful family life. We always met in the evening.
- (26f) I would have liked to engage in sports. But I never had time to do it. If I did have some free time I was engaged in doing various repairs in the house.
- (27) Family ties strengthened in our case and I believe this was the rule generally also.
- (27a) Perhaps it was so because I have grown up in the meantime. I began to understand my parents' problems, and, having understood them, I increasingly participated in their discussions. I also tried to help them. In a word, I was a factor of some consequence in the family.
- (27b) Of course.

- (27a) I don't think so. It may have been the case ~~that~~ with some families where both parents worked. In a situation like that the children would grow up wild.
- (27e) I have no idea what went on in the villages. Whatever I say here has to do with the City of Budapest. It may not be applicable even to another city.
- (28) We never had so many illegitimate children as now. The war of course had its deteriorating influence. After the war, prostitution was an excellent trade, assuring one of a steady income. Girls (!) had a very low moral standard. This was especially true in the case of girls who already had one illegitimate child. Then again in many cases both parents worked. One ~~g~~ tried, of course, to associate with such girls ^{who} ~~as~~ had ~~no~~ apartment problem. I can still remember the case of the girl who was in a hospital giving birth to an illegitimate child. On ^{her} ~~this~~ bed there was the following placard: For a married woman to give birth to a child is an obligation, for ^{an unmarried} ~~a~~ girl to do the same is a glory. In the beginning there were public houses of prostitution, these, however, were later abolished. Laws dealing with delinquency of this sort were extremely severe. The police instituted many searches (Hungarian: *RAZZIA*). If someone was caught at questionable places he was obliged to go for periodic check ups to a hospital, for many weeks. Meeting in hotels, parks was absolutely forbidden. The only place where one could indulge in this illicit traffic was in private homes. Abortion was a violation of the law and these laws were strictly enforced.

- (23b) Generally at a very young age. Dowry is nonexistent. So the opinion prevails generally that the two should get together at an early time so as to start accumulating. Friendships usually start at an earlier age now than before. The age of the girl is usually between 18 and 20, in the case of a university girl it may be between 23 and ~~25~~ 26. The age of males varies from 22 to 30, marriages where both parties are of the same age are rare. Men, who can be proven to be the fathers of illegitimate children, are obliged to pay 25 percent of their incomes to the child's mother. It is difficult to prove one's innocence in this respect. The easiest way out would be to have two witnesses *to testify to* ~~to find~~ the fact that the girl had relations previously. I have known some men who have been paying out for three different children. They ~~have~~ *had* practically no money left ~~to~~ *for* themselves.
- (28c) Courting is much shorter now than it used to be. Except that the question of the dowry no longer has any significance, no fundamental changes occurred in the nature of marriage.
- (28e) There was no officially recognized or tolerated prostitution.
- (28f) They were very strict. If a man became unfaithful to his wife, he was thrown out of his job. If it was the wife who became unfaithful, her punishment was even more severe. In any case both parties to the act of infidelity were thrown out of their jobs. There were no divorces. The only exceptions in this case were the divorces where there were medical reasons for divorce, such as some diseases, impotency, etc. Legal reasons for divorce were abandonment for a long time, --unfaithfulness was not always recognized as a legal reason. Beating

and other sort of cruelty was punishable anyway. There was a theory beginning about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years ago and lasting for about $\frac{1}{2}$ a year to a year when divorces could be arranged for an official fee or tax of 10,000 forints a person. This regulation no longer stands.

(28g) I have no opinion on the subject. I know that prophylactics were not used very widely. Various supports on the part of the state tended to strengthen family life. A couple would receive a marriage present of about a 1,000 forints at the time of the marriage. There would be an addition of from 40 to 50 forints after the birth of each child. Those who have had 6 to 8 children have received official recognition, and a definite improvement in their wages.

(28h) Illegitimate children did not suffer in any way or in any respect. I have had one such friend. The bourgeois ^{views} ~~views~~ in this respect were broken. (Actual Hungarian expression used:

Kispolgári szemüveg összetört). At any rate there were not too many illegitimate children.

(29) I had gone to his house or he came to mine. At other times we would hold ~~telephone~~ telephone conversations. He is now also in the States.

(29a) He was a medical student.

(29b) He was 19 years old and his father was a physician.

(29c) It varied very much. ~~He~~ We would dance more often than not. We were trying to learn new dance steps. At other times I would help him with various subjects; he was decidedly weaker than I in such subjects as physics, mathematics and chemistry.

- (29d) Very much so, of course. We ~~in~~ expressed our views to one another without any commentaries. We knew the other's opinion to the slightest detail.
- (29e) No. Our friendship was two years old.
- (29f) Naturally. We are still corresponding.
- (29g) I expect absolute ~~mutual reciprocity~~ reciprocity in various little pleasantries. Another important stipulation in this respect, a friend should under all ~~many~~ circumstances be able to ~~in~~ refrain from closer engagements with his friend's girl. Our motto in this respect was: (Hungarian) *Haver nője az. tabu.* The essential meaning of this phrase is, a friend's girl is taboo.
- (29h) I would have tried to dissuade him from entering the Party. I did have a friend who was the DIZ secretary in the school. But he was absolutely correct. I very often voiced reactionary opinions. But that did not matter at all. I must emphasize here that he was not a real Communist. Coming back to the question I would say that I consider politics and friendship to be two distinct things. Perhaps we would break up and then again perhaps we would not.
- (30) Religions and people vary a great deal. My father was a Protestant. After the war everyone tried to take up a Christian faith. I was born a Catholic. Out here, in the United States, our Jewish relatives were scandalized that I don't even read Hebrew, let alone speak it. As I explained previously I have gone one year to a ^{Pi~~ar~~ist} ~~Pi~~ar~~ist~~ school. I should say then that I was familiar with the religious tenets of the religion in which my

parents have baptised me. And in spite of this I did not go to the Church.

(30a) There were no religious questions or problems. The relative importance of religion was relegated to the ~~1,000th~~ 1,000th place.

(30b) I am a materialist. I never tried to discuss, let alone prove dogmatic theses. This is not a personal, isolated case. Religious clubs were nonexistent.

(31) I went to church out of deference to ~~my family and mother~~ the other members of my family only.

(31b) Yes. Except for a few denominations. Protestants did have some preferences. One could see this during the Revolution. They had a person for every situation. The religion remained the same, I suppose, only the figureheads changed.

(31c) Officially there was no religion. Consequently the question is meaningless.

(31d) This was probably not a question of principle. After the Second World War the religious question became intolerable. There were many interdenomination frictions. This question was difficult to solve, consequently the whole of religion, as such, was thrown out the window. Otherwise a Communist is a materialist, and religion is repugnant to Communist ideology. But the Hungarian Constitution recognizes freedom of religion, consequently they had to be at least indifferent to the various denominations.

(31e) They wanted only to use religion for their own purposes. If they are able to continue on the same road, after two generations religion will cease to be a question. There were those,

particularly from the older generation, who were extremely vehement regarding religion. There were also those who received their instructions in a religious school.

(31f) This is a relative thing. The leaders have received their education from ~~many~~ previous systems. It was assumed, that if they cut off the snake's head, the rest of the body may vegetate for awhile but will disappear eventually. It will cease existing. Every denomination was permitted to operate and function. There were religious persecutions at times.

(31g) Naturally.

(31h) Once in every leap year. I mean on occasion. When I did go, I went out of deference to my grandparents. Then I went for such occasions as The Resurrection and Christmas. I now recall that before I took my maturity examination, I went into a church and prayed.

(31i) Not more often than I did. My generation behaved in fairly the same way in this respect.

(31j) A church must always proclaim and propagate peace. It was necessary to come to an ^{Ausgleich} ~~suspension~~ (?). The church could not have carried on much longer. They would put everybody into jail. The blessing of arms cannot be equated with the command to love one's neighbor.

(31k) The Protestants definitely tried to ^{WARM} ~~heat~~ themselves at the fire. Catholics and Jews were in an entirely different category.

(31l) It means much, much less. This is so because the sciences are progressing also. The sciences have more and more popular results as time goes on. Everybody begins to look upon ~~science~~

energy as the first cause, rather than upon God.

(32) Jews were disliked, because it was said that they are businessmen. It was said that Jews are all alike. Jews are all the same. I disagree with that. Jews are clever and flexible. There were some Jews, idiotic Jews, who have joined the Communists. Those people are not Jews, they are Communists. Gerö did not permit the Jews to go to Israel. ~~mmmm~~ Thereupon a Jewish delegation asked him how was it possible that he was opposing the Jews when he himself was a Jew. He replied that he was not a Jew, that he was a Communist. Jews have suffered just as much as everybody else. There was some controversy ~~am~~ regarding this statement in Salzburg. But I still hold to my statement.

(32a) They didn't like them. There were various categories of Jews. All of them have lost their material well being. Some felt that, "since they have taken everything away ~~mmmm~~ from me, I am going to become a Communist now." I should say that the percentage of Jews in the Party would equal the percentage of the Catholics in the Party. The percentage of Jews who were Communists was very low. There are other Jews who became Communists because of their sufferings in the concentration camps. They have seen that the Communists were persecuting the Nazis. Having seen this, they themselves have entered the Party to be able to revenge themselves. There were many like that. Many such people became members of the AVH. Some others volunteered to become interrogators at the War Crimes Trials. I should say that the percentage of these was probably low. Communists did not trust the Jews. Take for instance the case of ~~was~~ Zoltan

V455

he was an excellent economics expert. He has spent 16 years in jail. And they still made him step down. He was a Minister Without ~~Portfolio~~ ^{(A) ~~Portfolio~~} first. Then they transferred him to another position in the ~~Pécs - Komló~~ ^{Pécs - Komló} (2) mining district. But they would not let him stay there, they transferred him to ~~Stalinváros~~ ^{(Hungarian: Dunapentele.}). Then they made him President of the KISZÖV (Hungarian: *Kisiparosok Szövetsége Országos Szövetkezete.*). Everyone idolized him (Hungarian: *Mindenki istenítette őt.*). For a time he was the president of the OTG (reference here is made to the planning board). They did not trust him, because, when he was once told that so and so has escaped to the West, he replied: "It is very good. I would escape myself if I could." He was a man who knew that not empty words, but money was necessary. During the Revolution he was a commissioner, and he was the first to go to the U.S. Legation to ask for asylum. As he was returning from there, he was arrested. It was ~~has~~ ^{Vass} who advised Mindszenty to go to the American Legation.

- (32c) There is no difference between man and man. Gradually this will become a very minor question. About 12,000 Jews have left Hungary. Some others are leaving for Israel now. I should say those, who want to go, should be permitted to go.
- (33) I am going to start with those whose lot is the worst, and work on to those who have it better. Aristocrats, great landholders, industrialists, ~~man~~ merchants, small landholders, larger peasant holders or kulaks, intellectuals, peasants, and workers.
- (33a) ~~am~~ I am an intellectual.

(33b) Exactly where I am now.

(34) It is impossible for me to answer this question. I have never given advice like this nor ~~was~~ ^{shall} I ever give advice like this to anyone.

- (1) Not very much. A little bit.
- (1a) Politics interested me only in so far as it touches upon my life.
- (1b) I am an outside spectator.
- (1c) A very small place indeed.
- (1d) No.
- (1e) I was somewhere in the middle line. Everyone had to have that much interest in it. It was part and parcel of our life.
- (1f) Yes. I have gotten further and further away from Communism
(Hungarian: *Elkommunistátlanság*).
- (2a) I would consider ~~mm~~ number vi to be the most grave, and numbers viii, ix and x the least grave.
- (2b) I would select number vi, vii, ix and x.
- (2c) I don't know. I did not have much to do with them.
- (2d) Probably the same things that I enumerated in my case, excepting numbers iii and x.
- (2e) The same as I enumerated in my own case.
- (2f) Because it did not turn out to be the way they expected or imagined it to be. Because what the ~~mm~~ theory promised never did come about, because they have seen that the theory, at least in part, can never be ~~mmmmmm~~ realized in practice, and because they were all so afraid of one another.
- (2g) Generally speaking this took up from 45 to 75 percent of one's life. For the rest it was relatively unimportant, because one was asleep.
- (2h) I have discussed these questions with those whom I knew well. With those whom I could trust. And sometimes perhaps even with

those whom I could not trust.

- (2i) Yes. They made ^a ~~the~~ Revolution. Attempts were made before, on a smaller ~~an~~ scale. For instance, attempts were made to alleviate housing shortages. Housing was constantly being built.
- (3a) Because of my relative youth at the time of the cessation of the Second World War, I did not consider these issues except in the last 4 or 5 years. I was also forced to study politics as a factor in life, for instance such things as the ~~20th~~ 20th Congress. I have thought much of what would come after Stalin's death. I have considered such things as internal and foreign policy changes, changes in the Cabinet, constantly asking myself the question ^{"I} is it going to be better, or is it going to be worse. ? "
- (3a) No. I was much too small for that.
- (3b) Never.
- (3c) I would chose points iv, and v. Certain things should be recognized, acknowledged and accepted, some others ~~were~~ not. I have seen, unfortunately, what has happened to my family, simply because they did not come from a workers' ancestry.
- (3d) I have become less and less of a sympathizer, after what has happened to my family.
- (3e) Yes. The great majority. In every group there were people who thought this way, and those who thought otherwise.
- (3f) That simply is not true. It was never faithful to it. It was divided in exactly the same way on these issues as it is divided now. The great majority opposing the system and the small minority favoring it. There was no change in these proportions.

- (4) The power was in the hands of the Cabinet, a power that rested ^{on} ~~the~~ Russian ~~dragons~~. *bayonets*.
- (4a) This is not an opinion, I know it. On the basis of my experiences. If someone ^{opened} ~~opened~~ his mouth, he vanished. And during the Revolution, it was the Russian, not the Hungarian, bayonet that became inoperative for a little while.
- (4b) The ^{party} ~~man~~ was in the first days ^{an} ~~operative~~, and later an advisory organ. This was on paper. In practice every bit of advice was a command. As soon as the party took over its new position, the government party split, and Rakosi became the Party Secretary. The police is an executive body, executing government orders.
- (5) The Cabinet followed the wishes of the Russians. It received Russian instructions.
- (5a) The Parliament was a voting machine. They have thrown into the Parliament a proposal and the hands raised automatically. Everybody there was told what to do. It was a wonderful theatre.
- (5b) Nil. Surface appearances. No one ever checked how they count the vote.
- (5c) It all depended on how it functioned. It did not have too great a function in the city. It was simply an administrative arm, they received their instructions from above.
- (5d) I don't know. Rakosi was always great in Hungary.
- (5e) Always. This is in the Hungarian blood. Severe penalties were provided for violators. Once I wanted to attend a Liszt concert, but there were no more tickets available. I offered 50 forints for a ticket and I received it immediately. Corruption was great.

- (5f) From the same group that they always did come out. From the class of the civil servants. These were joined by a great number of peasants and workers. People in leading positions were only figureheads.
- (5g) From the peasants and the working classes, but mainly from the peasant classes. They had very little education. They had many advantages, such as a great organization, and clothes. The families were able to rework the uniforms and make dresses and suits out of them for every member of the family. Materially, too, they were very well off. The lowest ranking officer received ~~about~~ 1,200 forints a month plus food and housing and fare and clothes.
- (6) One could not do a thing if he was not a member of it. This was an absolute prerequisite. There were also some advantages attached to it, one was able to get tickets at reduced prices for sports events or cultural events.
- (6b) Everybody was a member of it. Otherwise he could not have been a student. Entrance was entirely automatic. If someone was thrown out of the DISZ, he had to leave the school too.
- (6c) No pressure of any kind was necessary. Everyone knew it was a necessary evil. We did not think much of the membership, we did not think much of it. It was not essential. If someone was an exceptionally good student the DISZ would send him for a vacation.
- (6d) One could have avoided membership, but the avoidance would not have made any sense.
- (6e) I don't think that it was a matter of principle. Perhaps,

~~.....~~ *zum Trotz.*

- (6f) Yes.
- (6g) I became a member in 1950, automatically. I was automatically made a member from the secondary school.
- (6h) I held an office once. I was the leader of a platoon in a camp. My duties were similar to those of a camp counselor in the United States. It was a seasonal job, which gave me an opportunity to have a vacation. I have received from 140 to 160 ^{Forints} per month plus food and housing. I also received some sort of a summer uniform. So I didn't have to wear my own clothes.
- (6j) It did not have any disadvantages at all.
- (6k) No time was involved. Every so often, perhaps every $\frac{1}{2}$ a year, there would be a meeting. This would last one hour. A speaker would say something, no one would utter a word for, or against. Every one laughed at the whole thing.
- (7) To be a member of the Party was honor and glory. It meant a great amount of prestige.
- (7a) Those who had responsible positions, or, I should rather say, that, only those held responsible positions who were in the Party first. But one could sometimes avoid it. For instance, my father did.
- (7b) Those who wanted to make a career.
- (7c) A Party member has rights only within the Party. He may vote and he may be chosen. Theoretically every member of the Party may become another Rákosi. He may attend any Party meeting, he may offer his views there freely. Only a Party meeting can sanction a dismissal, or disciplinary action against a member. He has the right to have his case reviewed, going all the way up

to the Congress. *(Party Congress)*

- (7d) A Party member must abide by the Party bylaws. He must have a ~~an~~ *correct*-attitude, and he must behave as it is becoming to a Communist, he must ~~mm~~ nurture socialistic morality, he must be first in his job, he must teach and discipline his fellow workers.
- (7e) Yes, of course. I don't know when or why they entered the Party. Obviously for the reasons I have enumerated at some other place. One cannot generalize here very easily. There were very few convinced Communists.
- (7f) Yes. There were all sorts of situations. There were those who had already been in the Party and were thrown out. This happened during the revision of party membership.
- (7g) No.
- (7i) No, because I was a member of the DI9Z. I had not reached the required age as yet, and I did not have any special reason for entering, that could have been accepted as an excusable exception.
- (7m) Not applicable.
- (7n) There were two types of Communists. A small minority of the Party *Consisted of* ~~was~~ convinced, Communists, others were opportunists, who have wanted to make a career out of it.
- (7o) There were people who have changed a great deal. These were mostly people who were easily led; who could easily be influenced. Once in the Party they wanted to show off.
- (7p) The directing force behind all this was the Soviet Bolshevik Party of Russia. Local Parties were directed by local Party organizations.

- (7q) I don't know. Party and Cabinet are synonymous.
- (7r) Party and police are synonymous terms.
- (7s) The same as above.
- (7t) The same as above.
- (7u) Nominally the same.
- (8) No.
- (9) This was only true on paper.
- (9a) I have heard of spies.
- (10) Members of the AVH were made up of the following groups: idiots, imbeciles, deranged individuals, and ^{Those} ~~some~~ who were inducted into the armed forces. Some of these ^{inductees} were automatically taken over by the AVH.
- (10a) Some of them were taken over from the ranks of the army, others have seen a great opportunity there and have joined.
- (10b) ~~■~~ Usually they are either of worker or peasant origin. However, there are intellectuals also. These are the technical experts. Their age groups vary from 20 upwards to death, and I don't mean natural death either. Their previous political allegiance varied very widely. There were former Nazis, landholders, day laborers and Communists.
- (10c) Definitely. The AVH was afraid of its own self. There were spies in its own ranks. It was said that Rakosi's wife, a Russian lady, was such a spy.
- (10d) Those who had a military rank ^{here} ~~are~~ usually correct ~~in~~ people. The spies are in an entirely different category. Assuming we have a bad man, a dictator, we are not angry at his

hand but we are cursing his head. The intellectual part is responsible, not the part that makes the execution.

(11) I never came in contact with the police, some of my relatives, however, were arrested.

(11a) I could not specify the exact time, but they occurred about six years ago. One of my uncles was accused of having tried to escape the country. He was tried, and was sentenced to $4\frac{1}{2}$ years in prison. Another of my uncles was arrested three times in the course of time, and was accused of having participated in various kulak activities. He was never brought to a court.

(tape broke at this place...apparently not much lost, but continued on next page)

(tape broke near this point) One of my first cousins was...^{also}
arrested. He was accused of spying and ^{of} having ~~been~~ betrayed
his country. He was ^{sentenced to} five years in prison. On another
occasion my father barely escaped arrest. If he had been
tried the charges against him would have been entirely baseless.
We all assumed at the time that he must be in some one's way.
Somebody probably wanted to take his job, and wanted to get
promoted in this way. It happened in a plant. A new
machine, that my father had designed, was to be tried out.
My father was at the machine only when they started it.
Someone had thrown iron dust ⁸ (Hungarian phrase: *Vasforrás*)
on the machine. He was accused of having been responsible for
the incident. Those investigating the case told him that he
should have anticipated some such accident. In other words
he was accused of negligence.

If one is arrested, he is beaten more often than not by
the police, during the preliminary investigation. This
preliminary investigation may take as much as five or six
months or more, during which time the accused sits in the
jail. Time served during a preliminary examination is
counted when computing a prison term. The preliminary in-
vestigation is conducted by the state attorney's office.

(11) contd. Once the prosecutor's office completed the investigation of an accused person, his case was referred to a People's Democracy's Court. There were district and county courts, as well as courts in the city of Budapest. One did have legal right to appeal to a higher court. He was legally entitled to bring his appeal case all the way up to the Curia (*Kuria*), the highest court of appeals in Hungary. After that he was even entitled to appeal to the Parliament. This was the legal side of the matter. But no one took advantage of the appeal possibilities, it being of general knowledge that, if one appealed, he received a stiffer punishment. ^{One of} The court ^{called} was a People's Democracy's Court (Hungarian: *Népi Rósa*). ^{This} court consisted of ~~mm~~ five members. There was the presiding judge, two judges, and two lay members (Hungarian: *népi ülnök*). The latter two were elected for a period of six months. The other three, the judges, were elected to a term of three years. Members of the highest court, -this court consisted of only one member, and those of the Judge Council (Hungarian: *bírói tanács*), were elected by the Parliament. Every judge was subject to recall.

While a judgeship was an elective office, applicants had to meet certain requirements. They had to be holders of a doctorate of law, they were required to be specialists in criminal law, and/or graduates of schools for judges. Lay members did not have to meet any of these requirements. While the court is in session, members of the Court do not vote publicly, but in their private chambers. Once the Court reaches its decision, the Court members return to their places and the presiding judge proclaims the verdict.

The prosecutor presents the case of the state, hears the witnesses, and then hands them over to the defense lawyer. The lawyer does the cross examination as he sees fit. Then the lawyer calls the defense witnesses, interrogates them and hands them over to the public prosecutor for cross examination. In a normal case both the prosecutor and the defendant's attorney goes through these motions twice. The defense always has the right of the last word, before the verdict is announced.

A defendant must have a lawyer. If he cannot afford one, the Court will appoint an attorney for him. In no case is he allowed to defend himself.

(11d) The case of my cousin, who was accused of having betrayed his country, and of having spied, has made the greatest impression on me. He was picked up one day on the streets as he walked, and for over a year, actually a year and a half, no one knew anything about him.

(11e) One of my relatives was sentenced to four, the other to five years of imprisonment. Upon their return to freedom, they did mention casually that they were beaten during the preliminary ~~examination~~ investigation. But they refused to go into details in this respect, ^They said that one ought never to talk about these matters.

(11f) No categorization or generalization is possible here. Those were arrested whom the government wanted to find guilty. As far as guilt or innocence of my relatives is concerned, I should say that from an absolute point of view they were innocent. But I also must state that, from the relative point of view of the Hungarian state, they were guilty. In other words, they did not

commit anything that would be considered guilt from the point of view of ~~the~~ human rights. But in either case, they did do something that was definitely and specifically forbidden by the legal code of the present Hungarian regime.

(11g) There was a time when a great wave of evacuation took place in the city of Budapest. There was a great housing shortage in the city. In order to alleviate the shortage, many a person, who was considered to be a rudiment of the old regime, was forcibly taken out of his home and evacuated to the surrounding ~~ag~~ areas. These people were forbidden to come back to the city. They were simply ostracized. This happened about four years ago. They were permitted to take with them no more than 20 kilograms of goods. The rest of their belongings they were obliged to leave behind. There were exceptions where someone was permitted to take whatever he had. Some of these people were placed in semi-concentration camps.

(12) My advice would be, don't go back to Hungary. One can't give advice in this respect.

(12a) Such people as Stalin prize winners, Nobel Prize winners, people who have acquired international reputations are relatively secure in their persons.

(12b) Definitely.

(12c) Corruption and the system of establishing widespread connections is in general use. Connections are always good, no matter what sort of connections they are. It may be an office cleaner, or it may be a general director. The more connections one has, the better. Ladies, in this respect, are extremely cooperative. Even married women are prepared to give everything they have

in order to avert trouble. Many people cultivate friendship with Party members for precisely this reason. But all of this is of no avail, once you are in actual conflict with the government. These things are good only if you are in need, and cannot ~~manage~~ get things otherwise. When you are in real trouble, no friend, no matter how powerful, is prepared to expose himself in order to save you.

- (12d) One was able to brag about his simple ancestry. It is true, that while simple origin was of some advantage, it did not necessarily constitute a license. But if it did not have positive advantages all the time, it definitely was not negative. One could not very well keep his origins a ~~man~~ secret. At least not safely. I have known quite a few students at the university, who have remained silent about their "kulak" origins. When this fact was subsequently discovered, they were thrown out.
- (12e) Money always helped. (Interviewer's note: Respondent was using a popular Hungarian proverb: *Pé'nz beszél, Kutya ugat* a literal translation, "Money talks and the dog barks".)
- (12f) Not ~~man~~ always. He can only minimize, not avert, the possibility of danger. He minimizes it, insofar as he does not provoke it. It is a necessary prerequisite, but it is not a sufficient means of averting trouble.
- (12g) I don't think so.
- (13) I am not able to make comparisons.
- (13a) In neither case does one receive justice.
- (13b) These two branches had different spheres of activity. While the regular police force was afraid of the AVH, the AVH was afraid

of its own self.

- (13c) Yes, everyone had his own little troubles. This was not necessarily a political difficulty. I have known of one such AVH member. He was forced to choose between the alternative of going to school, if he wanted to retain his rank of lieutenant, or give up his rank. The man had completed only his first two years of elementary school.
- (14) Yes, definitely. The methods depended on, and varied with, the quantitative political changes.
- (14a) These changes were dependent upon previous political changes as I have explained before. Every greater political change brought about, of necessity, changes within the AVH.
- (14b) I don't know. If you are referring here to the first regime of Imre Nagy, there wasn't much of a change. But when he vanished there was a great change for the worse.
- (15) The Soviet Union has an absolute directive role in Hungarian affairs.
- (15a) Moscow decides everything, and Hungary only nods. Let's put it this way, Moscow decides on what is going to be the Hungarian export, and Hungary decides on who is going to sweep the streets.
- (15b) Every Ministry, and every greater factory had his or its Russian advisors.
- (15c) The Soviet pressure was indirect, it was brought about through the activities of the Hungarian government. The Russians never gave direct orders to the Hungarian population.
- (15d) No.
- (15e) The greatest Russian influence was felt in the economic and political spheres. I just couldn't tell you where it was the

weakest.

- (15f) Every Hungarian Ministry, and every greater Hungarian firm had its Russian advisors.
- (16) Only on very, very rare occasions. If one ^{WAS} ~~was~~ a Communist, he behaved as if were a greater Communist. If one ^{WAS} ~~was~~ not a Communist, he behaved as if he were a Communist.
- (16a) Generally speaking, yes. They are afraid of one another. If people were to express their real feelings, then you would have only about 5% of Communists.
- (16b) Everyone wears a mask, and is known by this mask to everyone else except his closest friends.
- (16c) One was ^{Picking} ~~seeing~~ and choosing. Social origin did not play any role here. One was talking to the man, and on the basis of that man's speech decided who he was. Everyone had his own method in this respect, based on his own experiences. One thing is certain: one could never base his opinions of others on the way they told various jokes. The fact that one may have cursed the government, did not constitute a valid truth either. I was once traveling in a trolley car. Some one told a joke involving indirectly some government operation. Some three people laughed. At the following station they were all picked up.
- (16d) One could never feel secure about the manifestations and activities of the AVH.
- (16e) No.
- (17) No. Legal codes and regulations were very well worded and formulated. One was never able to defend himself with some paragraph of the law. One could not get behind the law and cover himself up with it.

- (17a) Not even a city ordinance that ~~described~~ ^{proscribed}, or rather prohibited, jumping up or down from a moving trolley car. If you were caught, you just had to pay a ¹⁰/H forint fine.
- (17b) If my act did not contravene some law or regulation, then yes. In small, unimportant things. If I was evicted from an apartment for instance, in things pertaining to the civil law (in Hungarian: *polgárjogi ügyben.*).
- (17c) No. Definitely not.
- (17d) Definitely not. This varies with individual cases. It probably depends on how many connections the person has, as well as the quality of his connections.
- (17e) If the factory to which the worker desires to go asks for him, and if the factory in which he is presently employed is ~~mm~~ prepared to let him go, then it is all right. But if either of these prerequisites is missing, then you have a problem. It is ^{equally difficult} not always to move, to change jobs. One can't generalize here.
- (17f) He has to ^{appeal} ~~appear~~. He has to ring doorbells. If he did not commit a crime, or if he did not do anything against any law, then it may go. For instance, if, at the time of the registration, I admitted in my application that I was a "kulak" and the university accepted me anyway, but later throws me out, then, I might have a chance of being reinstated. But in no severer case than this.
- (18) Those who are able to wear masks day and night, and those who have powerful ~~mm~~ elbows.
- (19) There were very many people in a variety of positions and situations who did not sympathize with the regime, even though

officially they were Party members. These people would simply cut off the ^{sharp}edges from the various regulations. They would do everything in their power, that they safely could do, to minimize the effect of the various regulations, to hold up things, to water things down, and ~~am~~ employed innumerable other ways and means, that are very effective in the long run, and yet are not detectable.

- (19a) The resistance was for the most part veiled, not open.
- (19b) Those who had greater advantages in the previous regime, those who became disillusioned in this regime, disappointed people, and those who could never forget their first impressions they got of Russians.
- (19c) I don't know.
- (19d) One cannot say for sure. There were sections and segments where it increased, and others where it decreased.
- (19e) I don't know. In all probability you had both varieties.
- (19f) Yes, in all these organizations there was some opposition.
- (19g) The resistance everywhere was veiled, as I was trying to describe it above.
- (19h) Political jokes were innumerable. These persisted for a long time. The government even had an official jokes publication.
- (19j) Yes. I could not name names.
- (19k) Not very well. It was very dangerous. But then again nothing is impossible.
- (19l) The MEFESZ was just a cover name, it symbolized the student's solidarity. The Petöfi Club was only a platform, one could say pulpit, but not an organized resistance.

- (1) I was listening to the radio. Sometimes I read Hungarian newspapers. At times I was able to read foreign newspapers. I also managed to get hold of foreign technical journals, journals published in England, in the United States, or in Germany.
- (1a) Foreign technical journals and periodicals.
- (1b) My radio receiver.
- (2) Naturally I read them. I read both newspapers and periodicals. The frequency with which I read these media was quite irregular. It depended on such factors as political situation, the availability of time and my own disposition to devote time to such matters.
- (2a) With regard to daily newspapers my favorite was one called Magyar ^{Hungarian} ~~Nemzet~~ (?) *Nemzet* I also read a technical periodical called *Természeti Technika* (the literal translation being "Natural Tehnio"). I also read or consulted the following foreign periodicals: "Life", a U.S. publication; Interabia, a Swiss-American publication; "American Machinist," a U.S. publication; and a journal entitled "Machinery," which was an English publication.
- (2b) I did not read any of these latter ^{ones} regularly. As regards Hungarian daily newspapers, I read them only if they had something important to say. As regards foreign periodicals, I read them whenever I could get hold of them. I was not a subscriber to them myself, I received them in a roundabout fashion from institutions, industrial plants and other places that received them officially and regularly.
- (2c) As regards foreign periodicals, I was simply interested in knowing what went on in the Western part of the globe.

- (2d) As regards Hungarian publications, I was interested in new laws published, new government regulations, government political or economic programs, and various official state decisions.
- (2e) It all depended on what the editorials were about. If these contained commentaries or analyses of problems of interest to me personally, as I enumerated them above, I would read them. If they had to do with recitations, official dogma, or achievements of some obscure peasant boy or farmer for propaganda, then I would not read them.
- (2f) My idea of a newspaper or periodical is presentation of the news, or events as they actually happened, without any commentaries on them. I hated commentaries ~~intensely~~ intensely. Unfortunately commentaries were in practically every newspaper.
- (2g) There wasn't much interesting in them. Later, especially in the time of the 20th Congress, there were critical commentaries in practically every newspaper. These, at times, were extremely interesting.
- (2h) Wall newspapers or placards were found every where. They were of very little value because they reported past events. Placards would be ordered for May the 1st, for instance, actually they were never ready in time. By the time they actually appeared on the walls, the event itself was practically forgotten. No one ever read these. In the secondary schools we used this news medium to inform our fellow students of local events, events having to do with our school.
- (2i) The value of the wall newspapers amounted to ~~mm~~ nil. They contained propaganda. Daily newspapers, on the other hand, were

regular publications.

(2j)

Wall newspapers were usually concerned with local events. At times they reproduced material that appeared in local newspapers. We had an interesting wall newspaper at the university. One of the students published a series based on his experiences in the armed forces. The series was extremely interesting, it contained information that we were all interested in, it contained names of students whom we knew intimately, and it was written in a very vigorous, interesting style. We eagerly awaited every new instalment, every continuation of it.

(2k)

Naturally. Communist dailies from the West appeared regularly. I have seen the ~~dm~~ Daily Worker, an English Communist newspaper, newspapers from East Germany, and from other places. I would also read a Swiss newspaper published in Geneva, that was not Communistically oriented. One could get all sorts of newspapers in the archives of national libraries.

(2l)

One could see some of these newspapers on the newsstand and on the street, others could be obtained at libraries, some others were restricted for official use only. One could get hold of this last kind only in a roundabout way.

(2m)

My opinion as to the value of these various publications varied of course. I liked especially foreign technical publications, because they have opened an entirely new world for me. In the schools both secondary and the university one could get hold of Russian newspapers also. We used these newspapers in the study of the Russian language. We would usually have older

numbers at our disposal.

- (3) I did not go regularly to the movies. There were times when I would not see a presentation for three or four months. In the summer I would very often go to the movies ~~up~~ twice a day. Movies are much cheaper in Hungary than they are in the United States. A movie presentation consisted of one featured play, one short film and the movie news report. The news report dealt with both local Hungarian as well as world events. The entire presentation took about two and one half hours.
- (3a) I usually went to the Belváros ~~(?)~~ or to the ~~Körút~~ ^{Körút} ~~Körút~~ (?) or in that vicinity.
- (3b) I like serious foreign films best. I liked ~~best~~ for instance Mark Twain's "One Million Pounds of Bank Notes." I liked Italian and French movies. German movies did not appeal to me too much. There were a great many foreign films available. One could choose those he liked best. Sometimes I was able to see excellent Russian movies also. I liked to see movies treating of a serious social problem, or comedies. I liked serious social films because they treated of a problem that had its roots in reality. They did not present an entirely make-believe world. For instance, I have seen an Italian movie presenting the shortcomings of education. The story presented here had a universal application and it was universally true.
- (3c) One couldn't generalize in this respect. I liked those films best that presented a problem, possibly giving big outlines of a solution, but not the solution itself. This by the way is

my definition of critical realism. There were many Hungarian films, and many foreign films, that were loaded with politics and propaganda. There were others, both domestic and foreign, that were not saturated with politics. All foreign films were sound-synchronâzed, so that the presentation was entirely in Hungarian. A section of the Hungarian film industry did all the synchronizing of the foreign films (in Hungarian: *Magyar Szinkronizáló Filmvállalat*).

- (3d) It all depended on how much time I had at my disposal.
- (3e) Yes, I have seen many foreign films. These came mostly from European countries, but we have seen also some Chinese, Japanese, African, Egyptian, and South American films. The South American productions, particularly Argentinian ones, were extremely weak.
- (3f) Foreign films were imported in great quantities between 1945 and 1950. Between 1950 and 1954 only a few foreign films were available. After 1954 they were again available in great numbers. Let me see if I could recall some of the names of the films. I have seen an admirable English film titled: (Hungarian) Mark Twain's "One Million Pound ^{Banknote} ~~Notes~~", the Italian movie entitled (Hungarian: *Holnap már késő*) "Tomorrow is Too Late", I have seen a number of the French Fernandel films, one was entitled: (Hungarian *Tiltott Szerelmek* "Forbidden Love," (Hungarian *Apa lett a fiam* "My Son Became a Father," (Hungarian *Első Számi Közellenség*) "Public Enemy No. 1"; the Swedish film entitled (Hungarian *Egy nyáron át táncoltunk*) "We Danced the Whole Summer Through;" a French film titled (Hungarian *Hűtlen asszonyok*) "Unfaithful Women"; the Italian film entitled (Hungarian *Augusztusi Vasárnap*).

"August Sunday."

- (3g) Naturally. I visited theatres more often than movies.
- (3h) It all depended on how much pocket money and time I had, and on the availability of tickets. Sometimes one had to wait four weeks to get a ticket for a good show.
- (3i) The nature of the theatre changed a great deal. After 1954 purely Communist presentations were dying out. There was a tendency to distinguish between political and non-political presentations. A great number of new theatres were built and many of the presentations were first ~~in~~ class in quality. Theatres have chosen their material primarily from the Hungarian scene, but I have also seen dramatizations based on works of Turgenev, Dostoyevsky and others. The whole theatre life shows a tendency toward normalization.
- (4) Yes, naturally.
- (4b) I must divide the year into two periods. From September to June I read altogether some five books. During the summer I read as many as I physically could.
- (4c) I have read all the Hungarian classics. I have read the works of ~~Mikszath~~ ^{Mikszath}, Moritz, ~~Vörösmarthy~~ ^{Vörösmarthy}, ~~Márai~~ ^{Márai}, Sandor, ~~Herczeg~~ ^{Herczeg}, ~~Hermann~~ ^{Hermann}, Ferenc, ~~Hertai~~ ^{Hertai}, ~~Jenő~~ ^{Jenő}, and many others. My favorites are novels and biographies. I have also read the works of Selma Lager, Eric Knight and Hemingway.
- (4d) I have read these because they represented a serious literary effort. They were not called literary jewels in vain. All these novels had a basis in reality. I didn't like the works of ~~Vasari~~ ^{VASZARY}.

Hungarian
proper
names

for instance while I was in Hungary. I liked to read the work of ~~KARINTI~~ ^{Korinthi}, Jules Verne, various descriptions of the Wild West, and the works of H.G. Wells.

- (4e) I usually went according to the title. Very often my mother would recommend books to me. We had a large ~~main~~ library at home, so I could pick and choose whatever I wanted.
- (4f) Yes. If I had to borrow a book from the library, I very often had to wait a few months for it.
- (5) Yes.
- (5b) We had two receivers in our house. We had a ~~Telephonken~~ ^{Telefunken} medium super, this receiver was used mostly by my parents. I also had an amateur short wave set, capable of receiving the whole world, which I built ^{it} myself,
- (5c) I listened to such programs as I could get, provided it corresponded to my ~~mom~~ momentary mood. If I wanted to listen to the concert I would tune ~~mm~~ in to the stations Budapest, Vienna, or Salzburg. If I wanted dance music, I selected Leipzig, Berlin, ^{Ljubljana, Maribor} Novisad, ~~Lubiana, Marieburg~~ or Belgrade. My requirements in jazz were provided by the Air Force Radio Broadcasting Network broadcasting from Frankfurt-am-Main.
- (5d) I usually listened to classical ~~g~~ music, and dance music. There were also a great number of excellent ~~pr~~ programs on the Budapest radio.
- (5e) Time devoted to my radio listening varied a great deal. Often, if I had to study a subject I did not ~~mmmm~~ like, I would tune in the radio at the same time. This was particularly true of

studying Marxism. I had no delineated time schedule for radio listening. I used the radio whenever I felt like it.

(5f) I listened to the radio both at home and at other places. Every night, I would invariably tune in to the frequencies 29.3141, where the program, entitled "Music of the U.S.A.", was one of my favorites.

(5g) My favorite programs were dance music, varieties, and a musical program of the Budapest Radio entitled ~~Magyar~~ Esztrad. This was a balanced musical program consisting of classical, light and ballet music.

(6) Yes.

(6b) I have already enumerated a number of foreign radio stations. Besides those enumerated, I should like to mention the B.B.C., the French Radio, various West German radio stations and a Radio Moscow.

(6c) I enjoyed listening to these because their programs were different. Foreign radio programs presented a greater variety than the domestic ones. The Hungarian radio broadcasts only occasionally good Western dance music.

(6d) It varied a great deal. When I had time, and when I was disposed to do so.

(6e) Some were good, some were bad, some were mediocre. It all depends on the point of view and what one is looking for. I sat down turning my tuner until I found something that was to my liking.

(6f) There were some, whose reporting was relatively trustworthy. That was the case with Radio London, Radio Paris, and West German

stations that were broadcasting to their own people. Radio Free Europe would not fall into this category.

- (7) One was obliged to attend these.
- (7b) I attended meetings of the DISZ, meetings in connection with various holidays, or celebrations. I also attended the opening and closing festivities during the school year.
- (7c) I was obliged to attend these meetings. But there were occasions when I went voluntarily. I would attend voluntarily the festivities on March 15th, or October 5th. As far as the others are concerned, there was an obligation to attend.
- (7d) As far as we could, we were trying to delay the DISZ meetings. We usually had two such meetings during a year. The other festivities were circumstantial, they did not occur regularly.
- (7e) It all depended on the type of the meeting. A DISZ meeting would begin with the report of the secretary. After the secretary had read his report, other people would take the ~~main~~ rostrum and make some comments on the report. If the meeting was called for a special occasion, in commemoration of ^{an event} ~~an occasion~~ or a personality, then the meeting would consist of the reading of reports and speeches commemorating and praising the event or the personality.
- (7f) The DISZ meetings were organized at the school by the university.
- (7g) Some meetings lasted only two minutes, some others two days.
- (7h) During most of the meetings the participants bored themselves to death. There were other meetings, that were important either in their nature, or in their scope or both. Meetings, ~~man~~ where universal problems were discussed ~~and solved~~, usually did not bring any tangible results.

- (71) Yes. But if there were too many commentaries at a given meeting, the attending public exerted all sorts of indirect pressures on these commentators, with a view to keeping the number of commentators down. Generally speaking, meetings that were called to discuss local issues, problems of the university for instance, were very interesting and had a very good effect. Other~~s~~ meetings, the scope of which were either national or international, were watered down propaganda demonstrations. A DISZ meeting was capable of exerting considerable influence on the schools^{and} on the director of the university.
- (7j) Some one would usually take the rostrum and suggest a temporary ~~chairman~~ ^{chairman} ~~president~~. This was followed by the report of the secretary. This was followed by the various elections. It all dependend on the type of the meeting, on the type of the question or questions on hand. Sometimes committees would be formed and these committees would make their reports.
- (8) Of course.
- (8a) All sorts of information was printed there.
- (8b) Everybody was a news carrier.
- (8c) This is a difficult question. I can't think of any concrete example at this moment.
- (8d) It is impossible to give a categorical answer to this question. It all depended on who said what.
- (8e) Their nature varied. Some reports were reliable, some others were not. One knew whom to believe and whom not to believe.
- (8f) I heard a great quantity of all sorts of rumors.

- (8g) Where ever rumors were told, in the school, at home, during social gatherings, on the elevators, etc.
- (8h) They met on the streets or on the elevators.
- (8i) Of course. But these people/^{either} did not say much about what they knew, or it was better not to listen to what they had to say.
- (8j) At home and at the place of employment.
- (8k) No.
- (8l) No.
- (9) I didn't turn to anyone to get this sort of information. But one knew who had very good information in this direction. I have practically never indulged in conversations with these ~~pamper~~ people. I was simply not interested in them. A physician was living above us in the same apartment house. He was working in the Party's ^Central Headquarters. He never said a word about what he knew, but during the Revolution he would tell a great ~~many~~ number of stories to whomever would come there to listen to him. He probably did that ~~am~~ for self protection.
- (9a) I ~~retur~~turned to my radio, and would listen to foreign radio broadcasts that were designed for home consumption.
- (9b) The Budapest radio was absolutely reliable in this respect. It was also very complete. One could pick up also such newspapers as the ~~Mah~~ "Nep Sport", "Sport", and others. ~~Aspmanham~~ Sport became a great cult in Hungary.
- (9c) I don't really know.
- (10) It all depended on what sort of subject was reported on. The reliability accordingly would be somewhere between 20, 50 and 100%.

- (10a) One did not know, one only supposed or surmised what is true and what is false.
- (10b) It became somewhat more reliable. Critical viewpoints could be heard more often.
- (10c) Radios, in general, were the most reliable.
- (10^d) Information reaching us by word-of-mouth was the most unreliable.
- (10e) Foreign radio stations, French, German, English and others were more reliable than the native Hungarian.
- (10f) No. Very seldom. Not regularly.
- (10g) I was not a regular reader.
- (11) Some people yes, but not the majority.
- (11a) Those people who were curious by nature. Those who had plenty of time for this sort of thing.
- (11b) Those who worked hard and came home tired. The majority of the population. There was a very interesting program on the Budapest radio entitled, Saturday Afternoon. This program was started about three months before the Revolution. It consisted of a conversation between an engineer, a porter, a former merchant and his girl friend. I don't know whether it was a live presentation or a recording. At any rate it was excellent. These people talked to one another about every conceivable subject, ~~mm~~ criticising every one and every thing very severely. The program had a tremendous success. It was terminated shortly before the Revolution, it was commented that even a good program, if it kept on very long, would become boring.
- (12) From the radio.

- (12a) This was the most comfortable way. One did not even have to read to get the information. And one did not have to pay for it.
- (12b) That was a very difficult task. Mostly from the radio, partially from the newspapers, at times.
- (12c) Only in a confused, cloudy way.
- (13) I have heard of them.
- (13a) Everybody spoke about them. I only knew that they were supposed to have been existing. I don't know if they really existed.
- (13b) I don't have the slightest idea. Korea touched me only insofar as I had to pay some 15 to 20 forints for the assistance of refugees. I have seen Korean young people, of about my age, whose hair turned grey and white. I could simply not understand, not believe, the story which was told us.
- (13c) I don't know.
- (13d) I don't know. All I know is that he was rehabilitated. There were a great number of such rehabilitations at the time. Some comic newspapers suggested at the time that allegedly guilty people should not be executed, they should rather be placed in a deep freeze compartment. This way they could easily be produced again, without much trouble, if they should be rehabilitated at a later date.
- (13e) Nothing at all. I don't know anything about it. There obviously is a German rearmament. Americans would be stupid indeed if they did not rearm the Germans. By the same token, the Russians would be very stupid, if they surrendered East Germany. It all depends on the viewpoint. If ^{one} ~~what~~ is capable to look at things from either end of the controversy, one is able to understand both sides.

(13f)

I don't know much about it. (Interviewers note: Respondent suddenly appeared to have remembered something, then continued.) I faintly remember that there was something, but I don't precisely know what.

(13g)

I know something about it, on the basis of word-of-mouth information. I knew that there were groups abroad who were bent on restoration.

- (1) A coalition government under the aegis and supervision of the United Nations, would have to take over the direction of events for the time being. This government would have to rule until such times when a permanent government is installed. It would have to be a coalition government, so as to ^rprevent any possibility of going to extremes. It would have to be under the UN. aegis and U.N. supervision in order to prevent the possibility of one group or another taking over the reigns.
- (1a) I would retain whatever was good from the present regime. There was much good in the educational system of the regime, and the system of scholarships. The principle of equality was also very good. There should be no titles, no exalted positions. I am very much in favor of a citizen democracy. One would have to retain also, provided the state finances would be able to carry them, all the social institutions provided by this regime, such as the system of inexpensive vacations, of health insurance, of old age pension, of state support for cultural developments, the many social benefits, and an all-out support of sports and physical education. All these things should be retained because they were good, because they have proved to be beneficial to ~~my~~ many people.
- (2) This simply cannot be done in Hungary. Every one must have the right to express his desire to form a political party, and then the parliament should decide whether or not such political party should be formed or not. If the formation of a party is permitted, such permission should be on a provisional basis, the Party being required to exist on a provisional basis. Only after the probationary period has passed should the Parliament be
- (continued on next page)

empowered to grant such Party a continued absolute existence. This ~~probationary~~ precautionary measure would be absolutely necessary because Hungarians are very ^{great} extremists. Take for instance the United States; here you have freedom of speech, and yet the existence of some party is simply not necessary.

(2b) I consider such solution as I have just outlined an ideal one, and a necessary one. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ After all, anyone and everyone may have some very ^{useful} ~~useful~~ ideas. He should be given a platform to propose to the general public.

(2c) I should say that the formation of all political parties should be subject to a parliament permission, or to the permission of some other controlling body. Permission and initial control during the probationary period is absolutely necessary.

(3) Generally speaking, yes. Here again I must say, there is no need to have extremists. Not everyone is able to make distinctions or to form his own opinions. A capable speaker may sway the masses as he pleases. If I ^{Limit the} ~~limit the~~ freedom of expression of some people, or if I take this right away altogether, only a few people suffer at the most. However, if I grant an absolute freedom of expression, there is a danger of thousands, perhaps millions suffering., as a result. If the government is a good government, a government that represents all the people, and has at its heart the problems of all the people, --something that probably never will be--such government should definitely have the right to set such limits of expressions.

- (3b) Yes, very definitely. The ruling class always reigns over the oppressed class or classes, and the government always is a representative of the ruling classes. Now, if the government is an ideal one, then nothing detrimental to such government should be premitted. The reason is very obvious; if the government is an ideal one, only idiots and perverse people would want to oppose it.
- (4) Yes, if the people, the populations, is able to control itself, to ~~hold~~ ^{hold} itself under a strict inner discipline.
- (4a) If ~~they~~ rightfully attack the government, then yes. If the attack is not justifiable, the government will repress the attack anyway. I am only speaking of an ideal government, a government as I have defined it.
- (4b) If the people should rightfully attack their government, then that government is no longer an ideal government. The masses then are entitled to raise their fighting voices.
- (4c) Freedom of assembly represents the power of the people as against their government. As such it is very important.
- (4d) If the motivation, aims and the methods, of a government are good, then such government should be premitted to continue its operation. If, however, any of these is objectionable, Then the government should be overturned.
- (4e) If the government uses its capacity, its power,--things that come to it from the people--~~that~~ ^{that} uses it against the people, then I would consider ^{that} a justifiable circumstance. If the government

misuses the confidence placed in it by the people, then the people have the right to take back the confidence placed in the government.

- (5) Yes.
- (5a) For a government to develop and prosper, it must have within its hands, not conditionally, but unconditionally, the direction of the industry.
- (5b) These are two distinct ideas, representing two distinct things. It is impossible to give an answer to this question.
- (5c) I am definitely in favor of a state direction, and a state control, but I do not favor nationalization of small businesses. Under the term small business I understand a firm employing no more than two hundred people, a small factory or some other small enterprise. For instance, in *Csepel*, the *former only* *Weiss-Manfred* complex should be definitely not under state control and direction ~~and~~, but it should be owned outright by the state.
- (5d) No, I am not against private ^{profits} ~~property~~. A capable and efficient man has a right to those profits, under certain conditions and within certain limitations. This is the actual case in England and in Sweden and these countries are fairly well off.
- (6) The government must have under its absolute power a certain portion of everything. It is this absolute power of the government that gives it its strength. If we have an agrarian economy then the government must control a substantial portion of the land, if we have an economy like in Cuba, a sugar economy, then the government must control a substantial proportion of the sugar plantations and of the sugar industry, and so forth.

- (6a) It must be so, because the government obtains its power, its *strength* ~~and~~ from these things. The government is not a profit-making organization, it does not ~~make~~ *engage in* speculation. The government in this way ~~does not~~ is capable of bringing about uniform conditions, of equalizing things. Under these conditions private citizens do not have state-destroying rights. Private citizens are not able to threaten the life of a government.
- (6b) State direction must be carried out under a system of centralization.
- (6c) Contrary to what the question assumes to be my answer, I am definitely in favor of very wide ranging state controls, not only in regard to light industry, but controls in every respect.
- (7) Naturally. State monopolies are absolutely important.
- (7a) This is one of the most important state incomes. Monopolies must be restricted, however, to certain items only.
- (7b) Offhand, I can only think of tobacco, *drugs*, and matches.
- (7c) Certain import monopolies are out of order. Regarding items that the state does not import itself, and that the state is not manufacturing itself, that is to say, if the duty would not constitute a protective tariff, then the state should not have monopoly on those items. Otherwise, protective duties should be as high as the government feels is necessary and right.
- (8) Planned economy has certain definite advantages. I am speaking here of a *loose*, elastic sort of planned economy. This is ~~not~~ necessary so that changes in the plan can be made at any time.

For instance, if the plan should be based on certain raw materials that must be imported, the plan should be flexible enough so that the economy could continue operating even if those imports did not materialize.

- (8a) Planned economy is necessary because everything operates on the basis of a plan. Without a plan we can do nothing at all.
- (8b) If the plan is a very precise one, very rigid with no flexibility, with no possibility of adjustments, then it has more disadvantages to it than it is possible to see in theory. No matter how accurate and precise a plan may be, it can only reach a certain precision in its execution. In a word, the plan should be based on actual situations, taking into consideration the human ~~fx~~ material and other factors available, and not the other way around.
- (8c) The experiences were valuable. There was good and there was bad in them.
- (8d) There is the danger of over-exactness, over precision, over organization, over rigidity. One has to plan every little detail. In an enormous economy like that of the United States, it is humanly impossible to devise an exact plan for the whole country. Here I am speaking of the economy of a small country, as small as Hungary. In a small country, one is capable of planning on a small basis, accurately, whereas in a big country one is able only to plan in outline or must divide the country into economic subgroups and devise a plan for each subgroup.
- (9) I am 100% in favor of it.

- (9a) Because these are public utilities, embracing common necessities which must never be exposed to the ~~will~~^{whim} of individual ~~plans~~^{plants} or of individual people.
- (9b) I would treat them all alike. More than that, I would include all sorts of public transportation, including buses, trolley cars, etc. Private cars, of course, should not be nationalized.
- (10) I am absolutely in favor of that. This tends to stabilize the position of the government. There is no danger in it whatsoever.
- (10a) All systems are a composite of freedom and security. While both elements are necessary, I would emphasize security at the expense of freedom.
- (11) Excepting private individual life, the state has a right to enter into whatever stage of life ~~they wish~~^{it wishes}.
- (11a) If this is an ideal government, and I am always assuming that, why shouldn't a government have the right to enter into whatever phase, ^{for instance}, on the basis of the ~~power~~^{power} of the state, the police is allowed to go everywhere and prevent beatings and various other public disturbances.
- (11b) For instance the state has the right to break prices, to introduce maximum prices, to affect maximized rent control in order to provide even less fortunate people with housing opportunities.
- (12) Yes, naturally. Everyone should have equal obligation toward the state.
- (12b) I can't think of any specific obligations at the moment, but I ~~shall~~^{as enumerated} settle for the obligations in the Constitution. Those obligations outlined in the Constitution, sound always so good, appear always so ideal.

Government.

- (12f) No. I am speaking here, and always, of an ideal. *I* have such government in mind, where the obligations should be set forth in the Constitution. If the government should not be ideal, then, it will do everything it has the power to do, *anyway*.
- (13) No.
- (14) Definitely. A great improvement has taken place, having to do with the large masses. There was a great, a quantitative improvement, bringing with it, of necessity, a slight fall in quality. This quality, however, could be raised in time.
- (14a) Quality has fallen slightly.
- (14b) Now everybody receives medical attention, and everybody has the right to go to hospitals. It is true that there was an extra good sanitarium for high officials of the Party, but that sanitarium does not necessarily have the services of the best physicians at its disposal. If one was undergoing a serious operation, he was entitled to demand the best specialist available. This of course was not true in an emergency. If the operation was not of a serious nature, the patient could not demand that a University professor operate on him.
- (14c) Private physicians will rob you as much as they can. A private physician treats his patient only in order to treat him, in order to keep his power over the patient as long as possible. In a sense to overcomplicate things even if there is no complication on hand. In a clinic there is an absolute disinterestedness.

The physician does not get more or less no matter what he does. I must say however, that even in clinics, there were various degrees of attention available.

- (14d) Hospital and medical insurance are absolutely necessary. There is nothing wrong with the idea of insurance, the way it is carried out now is bad. It is limited, it tends to be a business. The insurance we have is far superior to the one we had before the war. ^{STK}It embraces a much larger crowd, and the [^]dues are paid for entirely by the employers.
- (15) Yes, the people have much more opportunity ^{it} now.
- (15a) There are more movies, theaters available. ^{Because} ~~the biggest~~ admission tickets are much cheaper. ~~because~~ ^{Because} by pamphlets, descriptions, and cultural information, even those who were less cultured, were made to understand the plot, the significance, and the cultural value of plays. Every peasant boy nowadays is able to sing the more common operatic songs. The Hungarian film industry has provided an innumerable number of copies of all its films.
- ~~As a result~~ ^{troupe} As a result, the same movies were presented throughout the land at the same time. Peasants in the most obscure little villages in the country were able to see the same presentation as the people in Budapest, at the same time. A great effort was made to build theatres in every single Hungarian locality. Capable theatrical ~~troupe~~ ^{troupe} would visit outlying districts and present shows there. These ~~troupe~~ ^{troupe} theatrical ~~troupe~~ ^{troupe} were ~~troupe~~ ^{troupe}

equipped with large buses that carried all their equipment. Even if there were no theatres available, very often something could be improvised if no where else, perhaps somewhere in the open. This was indeed a very successful activity.

(15b) My case is of no importance in this respect. I had ample opportunity to go to the movies, and would have been able to do so 20 years ago if I had been born earlier, but we are speaking here of the large masses.

(15c) Of course this is very important. The more cultured a person is, the better he can understand his surroundings, and the world he lives in. Then again, life is much easier to endure with cultured people.

(15d) One can hardly make definitions in this respect. There would be wide differences even in the smallest group. It depends on the man, on his personality. It certainly wasn't a question of finances. If one was not able to attend evening performances, one could very well afford matinee performances in the opera house. The most you paid there for a good seat was one forint fifty to two forints, or perhaps even less. On various occasions even free performances were given.

(15e) People do avail themselves of this opportunity more often than not. This is one of the reasons why we have such a great cultural revolution. By the cultural revolution I mean a revolutionary change in the cultural attitude, tastes and desires of the great masses. All this has taken place after the war.

(15f) Everybody can afford it, who can spare the time. This is definitely not a question of money. One was able to buy tickets for an opera

series, covering performances for the entire season, ten performances in all. Ticket series of ten were sold for 40 forints at the minimum and ~~and~~ 150 forints at the maximum on a time payment basis. If one purchased a series he paid the amount in 8 equal monthly instalments. Theatrical tickets were even somewhat cheaper than those for the opera.

- (16) I can't draw any comparison between the present and, say, 1940 and 1946, because I was too small at the time.
- (16c) People probably do eat better now than they did in 1950.
- (16d) It depended on the amount of money everybody made. This again was dependent in many cases upon the person, on the individual, on the personality. There were workers who made more than an engineer did. There were those who preferred ~~minimum~~ alcoholic beverages to food. There were responsible people and there were irresponsible people.
- (16e) It is absurd to even imagine that one is able to make generalizations here. These are questions of detail, if one wanted to make definitive studies in this respect, one would have to write volumes. There were so many factors involved that one cannot make any generalizations.
- (17) There are two groups in Hungary today. One is a group whose members ^{were} ~~had it~~ ^{off} better, say, in 1940, these people have it worse now. Members of the other group were much worse off in 1940, they are better off now. Instead of having two extreme standards, a very high and a very low standard, now practically every one is on the same standard, at a level somewhat above the previous low standard.

- (17d) I base my opinions on my own experiences, and on what I have seen with my own eyes.
- (17e) Again I must say that I cannot compartmentalize the Hungarian population in this respect. A medium low has been achieved, whereby the level, absolutely speaking, has been raised somewhat.
- (18) Yes, very much so.
- (18a) A very great expansion of the Hungarian industrial capacity has taken place.
- (18b) The expansion was not advantageous in every respect, but generally speaking it was of much advantage. Some expansion has taken place in places where there was none before it. ^{It} ~~There~~ is useless ~~mm~~ and senseless to manufacture a product that, if we could ~~mm~~ use it, will cost us at least ten times as much as the price we would pay for an imported product of the same quality. In many cases, we could have gotten the imported product even cheaper than that.
- (18c) I believe I have spoken about these things when I expressed my views regarding the Hungarian industry in some detail.
- (19) I am in favor of retaining, and maintaining, to a certain degree, the institution of cooperative farms. I am basing this view of mine on the proposition of the existence of an ideal government. The present ratio of cooperative farms to independent farms is 95 to 5. I would change this ratio to 80 to 20, that is to ~~say~~ say, I would permit an individual farmer to retain for his own purposes, to do with it as he pleases, 20 percent of his holdings. I would require him to surrender 80 percent of his holdings to the cooperative farms, to be cultivated in common, and proceeds *to be distributed among the members*

in the ratio of original investment. There were a great many cooperative farm enterprises, that operated to everybody's satisfaction. I envision here a system of agriculture under state control and supervision, where the state would have the right to set general policy for the farm enterprises, but would have no right to requisition any of its produce.

(19a)

I would retain these cooperative farm enterprises, assuming that they came into being as a result of the voluntary action of the peasant/s forming them. I would change the ratio of private holdings and communal holdings in these enterprises to 20 to 80, as explained above. Small farmers, who for whatever reason, ~~who~~ refused to join the cooperatives ~~in~~ should be permitted to continue on an independent basis. It is assumed here that, all the advantages being with the communal farmers, individual holders would sooner or later give up voluntarily their private holdings. I would permit communal farmers to retain 20 percent of their holdings, in the form of vegetable and flower gardens, or perhaps some small vineyards around their house.

(19b)

No.

(19d)

The approximate ratio of 20 to 80 should be maintained here. It should be stipulated however, that farmers would retain only those machines and those animals that are required for ^{their} ~~his~~ family's subsistence. For example, a farmer would retain as many cows as is necessary to supply his whole family with milk. But a farmer should not be permitted to produce milk on a

commercial basis.

(19f)

The ratio of 20 to 80 applies here too.

(19g)

Assuming that a small landholder or kulak would not want to join the cooperative, a portion of his former landholdings should be returned to him. He should not be permitted to hold more land, however, than needed for his own reasonable self-sufficiency, so that he should in no event be able to assert economic pressure on his neighbors.

(19h)

Of course.

(19i)

If the cooperative works ~~much~~ efficiently, every member of the cooperative should reap benefits from it. The cooperative is also a great advantage to the general public, the produce coming from the ~~many~~ cooperatives being much cheaper. Under the regime the cooperatives were able to market all their produce, 70 to 75 percent ~~much~~ cheaper than independent farmers.

(20)

I would retain the tractor stations as they are. I would only stipulate that every ~~small~~ farmer should have equal rights and equal opportunity to use them. This was not always the case under the present regime.

(20d)

I don't know.

(20e)

Mechanized agriculture is definitely a desired state. One is able to produce more at cheaper prices that way. ^{There} ~~That~~ is a general trend toward automation in every branch of life. This is progress, and progress is inevitable even in agriculture.

(21)

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Their rights should amount to ~~99~~ percent. That is to say they should have much to say in it, but should not have an absolute right ~~and~~ to determine things. Workers are not trained to do

that sort of thing, and simply are not able to direct and manage a factory.

- (21a) Labor unions should be labor unions only. They should ~~defend~~ defend the rights of the workers against everybody, including the government, but they should never enter politics.
- (21b) They should ~~have~~ be completely independent of the government. The government should retain only the power to control the over all management of the labor unions.
- (21c) Yes. Membership in labor union organizations should be definitely compulsory. This is necessary so that individuals should not be able to sell themselves short, out of ignorance, or wilfully, to anybody.
- (21d) Dues amounted to between 2 and 5 percent of the base pay.
- (21e) This was not a really great expenditure.
- (21f) It all depends on how they function. In the form as they now exist or existed, they amounted to practically nothing. A high sounding name, with nothing really in it. (The actual expression used: Hungarian *Nesze semmi, fogd meg jól.*)
- (21g) I don't really know. The whole thing did not have time to crystallize. There was no time for real organization. As far as I know, the idea of the organization was based on a Yugoslavian prototype.
- (21h) Perhaps. This is a big question mark. It is hard to say anything on that because I am not familiar with how they work in Yugoslavia.
- (21i) The plant director and the chief engineer ^{ought to} managed the plant. They should be responsible to an authority controlling that

individual or several plants, whatever the case may be.

(22)

Let them enjoy themselves. (The actual expression used:

Hungarian *Éljék világukat*.). Interviewer's note: This

was a spontaneous expression on the part of the respondent.

Then he continues: They should be subject to individual examination. If they caused any harm to anything or to anybody, then they should be ~~try~~ tried and punished on an individual basis.

(22a)

No.

(22b)

Their past should be subjected to individual investigation.

Those guilty should be punished, those ~~not~~ guilty should be let free.

(22c)

As above.

(22d)

As above.

(22e)

This was really a laugh. It really did not amount to anything at all. It only existed so that there could be some such thing also.

(22f)

There should be an individual investigation. Those guilty should be punished, the others should be let free.

(22g)

Everybody should be subjected to some sort of an investigation.

If some people should be found guilty, they should be tried on an individual basis and sentenced according to the merits of each individual's case. The trials, of course, should be conducted by a neutral judicial body.

(22h)

~~lynch~~ Lynching was very much the mode of the day. Of course there was no time to conduct judicial inquiries.

(23)

The level of Hungarian education was at least as high as

that of education in Europe anywhere. The reason for this is fairly obvious. Every regime depends for its continued existence on highly trained specialists. The regime did everything to attain this goal. A very great emphasis was laid on the education of children and young people.

(23a)

I don't know.

(23b)

The first eight years of the elementary education are ~~mandatory~~ universally obligatory. Generally speaking everybody obtained some sort of a secondary education also. If one was not able to go to the Gymnasium, he still has a chance to go to some technical schools or to take advantage of the apprentice institutions. Entrance to the university was subject to many restrictions.

(23c)

The system of the eight primary grades was good. As ~~many~~ regards secondary and university education, these should be improved and expanded, so as to enable a larger mass of people to attend them.

(23d)

Yes, I believe it is ~~an~~ extremely important. Culture is one of the basic prerequisites of life. This is true both from the point of view ~~and~~ of the individual as well as from the point of view of the state and of the society at large.

(24)

State and church should be absolutely separated. Religion should be a private concern of the individual.

(24a)

Yes.

(24c)

No.

(24d)

No. Those who want to receive religious instruction, should be given all possibilities to do so.

(24e)

No. That is none of the church's business.

(25)

In this connection I believe it is important to mention the Battle of Mohács, that took place in 1526. Further, the Battle of Nándor Fehérvár (The Glorious Victory of Hunyadi against the Turks) fought at Belgrade; the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the mere fact that it existed, the events of 1848, ~~in~~ the events of 1914, the events of 1919, the events of 1939, and the events of 1945. Hungary's contributions to Western culture are immense. Our contributions were great in the field of music, literature, sciences, and art. Let me off hand mention such names as Liszt, Bartok, Goldmark, Molnár, Vörösmarthy, Arany János, Irinyi János and the invention of matches, Yedlik János and the invention of the dynamo, Déry Blathi Zippánovski and the invention of transformers. (Interviewer's note: the last name consists of three separate surnames belonging to one and the same individual). Kandó Kárlmán and the invention of electric trains, Professor Szentgyörgyi Albert and the invention of C vitamins, Eötvös Lóránt and the invention (in Hungarian) of torzius inga. One must also not forget the sports. It is noteworthy to mention here that Hungary was able to maintain third place in the Olympics for the third consecutive time. In certain fields of sports, Hungary ^{has} ~~had~~ retained a commanding position throughout. To return to the arts, one must mention such names as Munkácsy Szinyei-Merse, Zala György, and the Kolosvári brothers.

(26)

It is impossible for me to answer this question for the

simple reason that I have experienced only one type of government.

- (26a) As far as I can state on the basis of historical studies, Hungary's lot under the Hapsburgs was miserable.
- (26b) I believe it is a mistake to assume that ~~emigration~~ emigration took place under the Hapsburgs. The emigration happened at a ^{Later} ~~later~~ day, between 1920 and 1925. A great many peasants emigrated at that time because they lived under terrible conditions in Hungary.
- (26c) Yes. There was the most extreme sort of feudalism in Hungary.
- (26d) This was a very bad situation. It was bad in every respect. A very small minority ruled over a very large majority. This majority was obliged to live under miserable conditions.
- (26e) I don't know.
- (26f) Yes. There were great social, ethnic and racial differences.
- (26g) Hungary should have remained neutral. But Hungary could not have remained neutral. But the leaders of Hungary should have permitted ~~transmigration~~ the country to be run down by the Germans. It is significant in this respect to recall the pact of eternal friendship concluded between Hungary and Yugoslavia shortly before the invasion of Yugoslavia by both Germans and Hungarians. This treaty was concluded by the then *Miniszter*-President Apponyi Albert, who had later taken his life. (Interviewer's note; reference here is made to Count Teleki, the then Prime Minister of Hungary. It may have been ignorance or just a slip of the tongue on the part of the respondent.) As it was, Hungary remained loyal to the Germans to the last,

thereby becoming the last German satellite, and as such she was forced to take all the consequences. If Hungary had been run down by the Germans, her situation in Eastern Europe and her situation in the world in general would have been different.

(26h) This was a transitory period for Hungary. She gradually began to recover from her war wounds and began to make a normal life again after the war. One can't make comparisons to what was before that, or, what was to come after that, for a very obvious reason. To use an analogy, Hungary~~s~~ was just a patient who has been operated on in a hospital. One doesn't very well compare the patient to his former healthy days nor to his state after a complete recovery has been effected.

(27) I don't think so.

(28) Political boundaries aren't absolutely necessary. The idea of the Balkan Federation was one of Kossuth's favorite ideas. This today may sound somewhat utopistic; but in some other fashion the essence of it could be brought ~~in~~ about. For example, we might want to copy what Bismarck did during the German unification.

(28^b_a) Political boundaries are not necessary because they are ridiculous. They are nonsensical both from the political as well as from the economic point of view.

(28c) Because Hungary participated on the wrong side in the Second World War she now had ~~in~~ no right to demand territorial rectifications. Strictly speaking, Hungary does have the right to demand all those territories that once belonged to her.

I am referring here to the pre-Trianon Hungary. And I am basing my opinions on the historical right of Hungary to these territories. (Interviewer's note: to clarify things to my own satisfaction I asked the question whether respondent meant or interpreted this historical right in such a manner as to include all Hungarian territories that belonged to her before the outbreak of the First World War: Reply: What I mean is the Hungary of St. Stephen.)

(28d) Transylvania, Croatia, Dalmatia, the City of Fiume, the territories now belonging to Czechoslovakia (the actual expression used was Hungarian *Felvidék*), the territory of *Delvidék* in Yugoslavia, (the actual expression used was *Bánát, Bácska*), and Burg^{er}land (Respondent here was referring to a small territory now belonging to Austria.)

(28e) I don't know.

(28f) Between Hungary and some other peoples, yes.

(28g) A great antipathy is felt ~~between Hungarians~~ toward the Rumanians. I don't think it is a natural condition, it was in the interest of some elements ~~in pre-war Hungary~~ in pre-war Hungary to bring this antipathy about. This, then, is a human-made antipathy, similar to the situation that exists today on the Island of Cyprus.

(28h) I don't know.

(28i) I don't know.

(28j) Hungarians and Rumanians do not get along very well in Rumania.

Hungarians living there are oppressed, they do not live on an equal footing politically, economically or socially with the Rumanians.

(28k) They get along fairly well.

(28l) Our relationship with Yugoslavia is not the most ideal one. The Serbians are an awful bunch. From the point of view of the Hungarians, the Serbians have committed a great number of mean things. The same thing applies to the Croations. There are a great many Hungarians living on Yugoslav territory today whose situation is similar to that of Hungarians living in Rumania.

(28m) There was no Jewish problem in Hungary up until 1938. The whole Jewish problem is the result of the Second World War. One cannot speak of relationships between Hungarians and Jews as such. There may be individual Hungarians who cultivate a hostile attitude. On the whole, however, there are no problems.

(28n) Naturally.

(29) There should be no unification of states, political unification must be recognized as an impossibility at this time. I am in favor, however, of an economic union between these states. Certain steps have already been taken to bring this condition about. The KGST organization has already worked in this direction.

(29a) Member nations should be on equal footing, both in respect ~~in-respect~~ to their mutual rights as well as in respect to their mutual obligations.

(29b) An attempt should be made here to bring about a self-sufficient

economic unit. Some sort of a supra national economic directing body could be organized, with a view to establishing a common market, abolishing whatever trade barriers there may be between the states, and synchronizing the various economic activities of the individual states.

(29c) Hungary should be a full fledged member of this organization. She should have rights and obligations just like everybody else.

(29d) I have in mind here not a political union but only an economic one.

(30) Russians are people just like every other people. No better, and no worse. Russians are not bad people. As a people, and as individuals, they have given a great amount of help and assistance to many Hungarians. It is the Russian government that I detest, the ruling circle of Russia ~~which~~ is the group that I am here rejecting.

(30a) Very definitely. There are good Russians and there are bad Russians, just as there are good and bad in every people, every nationality.

(30b) Yes.

(30c) No.

(30d) No.

(30e) Attitudes were mixed then. And the extent of variation differed from individual to individual. There were those that were pleased that the siege of Budapest had at last ended.

(30f) At that time ~~we~~ we did not dare think about anything at all.

(30g) We did not do a great deal of thinking at that time about the

Russians.

- (31) Marxism, on paper, is a noble dream. But it remains ^{a dream} ~~mean~~ only as long, as it is a set of principles on paper. As soon as the principles are put to work in practice, the dream vanishes quickly.
- (31a) This is a very involved and difficult question. Off hand, I should say that I am in ~~m~~ favor of certain theoretical parts of it, I am also in favor of its analysis of the mistakes of the civilizations that existed thus far. There are a great number of contradictions in it. The number of these contradictions is very large indeed. It definitely was not invented for Hungarians.
- (31c) Marxism was a required course in the university. I studied it.
- (31d) I studied Marxism in the university for 1½ years.
- (31e) I don't really know. They did not change it very much. They did not dare to. And this was the mistake. Some changes, and some other adaptations would obviously have been necessary for the Hungarian scene.
- k(31g) I don't know.
- (31h) Stalin was a good Stalinist, that is for sure.
- (31i) In certain particulars, yes. Marxists, however, do not think of Social Democrats as Marxists.
- (31j) No.
- (31k) I don't know. Democracy is definitely not Marxism. What it really is, I don't as yet know.
- (31l) I don't know. I lived only under one ~~system~~ system. I can't make comparisons.
- (31m) Tito is the impersonation of ^a Marxian democrat, who is neither

a Marxist nor a democrat. And this is very bad. He would like to reap benefits ~~in~~ from both sides at the same time. I don't like Tito at all.

(32)

National Communism, this is only Tito. This can be only Tito. I don't know what National Communism really means. One's views are either national and then one is not a Communist, or one is a Communist and he cannot be a nationalist. Communism and internationalism belong together. One cannot take away the ingredient of internationalism from the essence of Communism. National Communism^t, to my mind, is a man who ~~internationalism~~ tries to turn and twist Communistic ideology in such a way, that it is based on, and it agrees with, national characteristics of a people. In other words, a National Communist would want to ^{adapt}~~accept~~ Communism to his own requirements, make it agreeable with the characteristics and peculiarities of his own people.

(32a)

I don't know. There were some, but not in great numbers.

(32b)

I don't know.

(32c)

I am not familiar with Gomulka's policies. Gomulka is also a man with two faces. (Actual Hungarian expression used: *Kétkulacsos politikus*). Gomulka is afraid of the Russians so he retains his Communist mask. At the same time he is very desirous of obtaining dollar assistance.

(32d)

Most probably yes.

(32e)

It is conceivable. It depends on the individual. It depends on how broadminded an individual is. If one's mind is broad enough, he could probably ~~maintain~~ maintain the two principles side by side ~~in~~ at the same time.

(33)

I don't know. One was in no position to determine this.

I don't think Imre Nagy would have remained long in power anyway.

(33a)

I don't know.

(34a)

Socialism is trying to bring about equality. It wants to bring about a Utopian way of life, that is too good to be possible. It is an idea that strives for the ideal. It is something that never was, is not existent now, and never will be. I must here categorically state that socialism is not identical with Marxism. Socialism is a wonderful principle, it is good but not in the Russian form.

(34b)

Colonialism represents a system of exploitation of one man by another. As such it is ~~unavoidable~~ intrinsically ~~unavoidable~~ evil.

(34c)

Class struggle is a social phenomenon, not a social form. It is a term denoting some sort of a struggle between two or more classes for supremacy. Since it is not a form, but rather a phenomenon, one cannot pass judgment on whether it is good or bad. The struggle itself if it means war, is bad.

(34d)

This is just a phrase. No one knows what Popular Front really is. It does not ~~make~~ make any sense.

(34e)

Imperialism is world rule by one power. It may be equated with colonialism. It is intrinsically evil because ~~from~~ it signifies oppression of one people by another.

(34f)

Peace Movement is a negation of war. It is a belief that things may be straightened out between nations. As such it is good.

(34g)

Capitalism is good if it is managed wisely. If capitalism is what I see here, then, on the basis of my experiences thus far,

Ausgleich with it

I am willing to make an ~~view~~ *view*. If, on the other hand, capitalism is what I read about in Marxist books, then, I must shiver on hearing the phrase.

- (34h) Bourgeoisie represents provincial outlook, narrow mindedness, the ~~unimportant~~ preoccupation with small, unimportant problems of life. As such I consider it bad.
- (35) I don't know. I do suppose individuals do take differing viewpoints in these matters.
- (36)(a) The same.
- (36b) More.
- (36c) The same.
- (36d) Less.
- (36e) Less.
- (36f) Less.
- (36g) More.
- (36h) Much more.
- (36i) More.
- (36j) The same.
- (36k) Less.
- (36l) Less.
- (37a) I don't know.
- (37b) They were worse off.
- (37c) They were worse off.
- (37d) They were better off.
- (37e) The same.
- (37f) They were better off.
- (37g) They were worse off.

- (37h) They were worse off.
- (37i) There weren't any.
- (37j) Better off.
- (37k) They were better off.
- (37l) They were better ~~and~~ off. I base my opinions on what I have heard from other people, and on what I have studied in schools.
- (38a) Interests contrary.
- (38b) Interests identical.
- (38c) Interests contrary.
- (38d) Interests id~~en~~tical.
- (38e) Interests id~~en~~tical.
- (38f) Interests identical.
- (38g) Interests contrary.
- (38h) Yes.
- (38i) Interests contrary.
- (38j) Interests contrary.
- (38k) Interests ~~identical~~ contrary.
- (39) That all depends. If one is a soldier, he is a machine. A soldier will fight whatever the goal may be. The reaction of civilians, of course, would be different. People whose livelihood and life depend on the ~~present~~ present regime, people who would have to fear for their lives if there were a change in the regime, would of necessity want to defend the regime. This, of course, is just a ^{wild} ~~wide~~ generalization.
- (39a) Who would fight against whom, is a very hypothetical question. It would depend on a great number of factors, one of the most important of these being the question as to what regime would follow the present one. ¶

- (1) No.
- (1a) I think it was rather interesting. It was quite an experience for me, I never had to answer so many questions, before.
- (1b) If you interview people, who not only represent a fair cross section of the Hungarian population, but also have some knowledge of things, that is to say if they are people who know what they are talking about, then your Project will be a success.
- (1c) I should like to ask you to try to be very discriminating in your selection of respondents. If you are talking to farmers, people coming from obscure little villages, they'll tell you an endless story with little or no substance to it at all. I think you should concentrate on intellectuals, and in particular on university students. I should also like to warn you not to permit people to enter into the discussion of useless details. You will get no positive results from such detailed discussion.
- (1d) I don't think you will always get honest replies from your respondents. When you come to the critical questions, many a man will be afraid to give you an honest answer. They will either not tell you anything at all, or else speak of generalities, or tell you what he thinks he ought to tell you. People will be afraid that, if they give you their honest opinions on matters, they will be branded Communists. To avoid this, I would recommend that, before you start the interview with any respondents, you should enter into a personal discussion with him regarding general matters, so as to

(1e)

permit him to feel you out and to get generally acquainted. I should like to remind you here that an immense amount of material is available for your purposes in official Hungarian Communist publications. You should also consult Russian books: in general and Russian books on Hungary in particular. Regarding Hungarian books I could cite you here a few that I remember. Titles of the books: (in Hungarian) Öt éves tervünk; Béketerv. Tervhivatali Kiadás Budapest, Szikra, 1950 or 1951. Rákosi Beszédék, ~~this~~ this has many editions, published by Szikra in Budapest. Another book, Népi Demokrácia Fejlődésének tíz esztendeje, I don't know who the author is, possibly Rákosi, published by Szikra, Budapest.

(2)

I believe we have covered everything very thoroughly.

(2a)

Yes. I should like to return to Hungary in the capacity of a visitor. Not permanently, however.

(3a)

I should suggest that you consult books that I have mentioned above. Also there must be a number of other books and pamphlets that would be ideal for this purpose. I don't remember their titles off hand, but if these books should be available in any New York library, or in the university library, I should be able to point them out to you. You could also consult Hungarian newspapers, particularly the numbers of Szabad Nép. You could also consult the periodical entitled Tartós Békéért, Népi Demokrácia ért. This is a common periodical, published for the benefit of all the satellite countries, I believe, in Prague, and is available in all the satellite languages.

(3b)

No.

(3d)

Yes, I do have someone that I would recommend for an interview. I have given the interviewer his name and his address.

(Interviewer's note: I have the name and the address, I did not want to make the name part of this record.)

WUS-2

Interviewer's rating of ~~WUS-2~~: A male university student, 20 years old, a former resident of the City of Budapest, son of a prosperous if not well to do, mechanical engineer. *His father apparently* ~~In appearance he had~~ a very high and influential technical position in Hungary. He is surprisingly well informed, particularly in economic and political matters. A very intelligent, idealistic, and sensitive young man, who ~~in~~ apparently never had enough opportunity to view life in its more brutal aspects. He admits to having been a Communist in his early youth and that he accepted whatever was told to him until he reached the age of 14. He has spent his most formative years in public schools in Hungary, where he was exposed, to a great extent, to Communist influences. He claims to have abandoned Communism in his 15th year, but the general tone of his responses would indicate, that, perhaps ~~some~~ ~~what~~ unconsciously, he still follows the Party Line in many respects. I view him as a man who was betrayed in his ideals, and was not able to reorientate himself since then. He is at the moment in a state of confusion, not knowing what to retain and what to throw out from what he once believed to have been true. There can be little question regarding his honesty, his answers are, I believe, representative of what

he thinks. His thinking, of course, is not always clear, this is indicated by the many negative replies he gave me in the last part of the interview. He was very sensitive to Question No. 28m and n, in Interview Section I, having to do with the Jewish question. This sensitivity was also apparent when Question No. 24 and its subsections of Interview Section I came up for discussion. There he vehemently ~~replied~~^{denied} that religion plays any important part in the life of present day ^{Hungarian} ~~Hungary~~ youth. He categorically stated that this was not only his personal view, but that ^{he} ~~the~~ represented Hungarian youth in general as such.