

NO. 205 "A" FACESHEET AND RATING NN p. 1

June 1957
Feldafing

1. Mu 5
2. [REDACTED]
3. Pasing, Germany
4. 21
5. M
6. Hungarian
7. Roman Catholic
8. Roman Catholic
9. S
10. O
11. bookkeeper
12. ---
13. ---
14. upper middle
15. None
16. ---
17. no
18. no
19. three years gymnasium; 6 months bookkeeper course
20. Budapest Rural
21. Budapest
22. Budapest
23. NA
24. Nov. 12, 1956
25. Graz - Munich area
26. no
27. ---
28. RFE
Air Force Historical
29. ---
31. 8
on political activities and on exact locations and
other details, etc.
32. 6-7
33. 7
34. 6

- (1) It was proved that communism as an ideal has failed and it would fail elsewhere without the help of soviet arms. The workers of Hungary first sympathized but later realised where communism led them and turned against the regime. The revolution demanded Hungary's neutrality and independence and it proved that Hungary's sympathies lie with the West. This is often forgotten in the West and Hungary is classed in with other slaves into the soviet orbit without any distinction.
- (2) A softer communist line was adopted with Imre Nagy's government in 1953. This new NEP program however soon gave way to a renewed terror of Rakosi. The communists again experimented with such a NEP program in 1956 but the resistance to their regime was stronger and the people's disgust was greater than it was in 1953 and by now the workers were fully disillusioned as the muzzle was taken off the Hungarian people. A movement for freedom started.
- (2b) All the trends and events that the revolt reversed or redressed were, when originally established, the causes contributing to the revolt. We can go and enumerate them:

The creation of the AVO, the Mindszenty trial, the imprisonment of political victims, even the Rajk trial. Whatever the revolt set out to correct were originally the grievances causing the revolt.

- (2bi) This was not a political event.
- (2bi1) It had nothing to do with Hungarian developments. Of course everyone was pleased.
- (2bi11) The significance of this has reached Budapest gradually from Moscow. It meant a great many changes, for many who were jailed for Titoism were now released.
- (2bi1v) This created a hazard with the communist moral system and as a result it permitted a greater freedom of speech by a sudden dethronement of a fetish like Stalin.
- (2bv) This had tremendous results in Hungary for it furnished ^{proof} the ~~proof~~ that everywhere similar feelings prevailed especially with the friendly peoples the three peoples who had great traditions of national independence, the Germans, the Poles, and the Hungarians.
- (2bvi) This was important that nobody considered it a major change only a temporary reshuffling.
- (2bvii) This was a try out for the demonstrations. Had a revolt started at this point it would have meant an indorsement

of national communism. But the very fact that this went on quietly is ^{proof} ~~proof~~ of the Hungarians' maturity. By postponing their action they have proved their actual anticommunist feelings. No one actually was committed for Rajk and no one forgot that he was the founder of the AVO and he was implicated in the Mindszenty trial.

~~(2bviii) This was not deciding, for by then all Hungary was in ferment. It only meant, well, they too have joined in this upheaval.~~

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(2c) No one until October 23 knew how the nation felt. It may have been quite as united already by 1954 but only in the explosion did ^{it} come out how united ^{the} people were.

(2d) Only the explosion of a revolt or a war would have permitted changes to take place but before the 23rd this was dismissed as an impossibility. Only the burning hatred ^{of} ~~of~~ the demonstrators ^{when} ~~when~~ attacked on October 23rd exploded ~~that the revolt exploded.~~

(2e) This was very important. It first started with anti Stalin attacks in the wave of the 20th Congress but they more and more revealed the terror and the corruption prevailing. Many also got out of jail and helped write

Ut and against the regime. I saw on the corner of Rakozsi Korut a newspaper dealer dodging the crowd and trying to escape with his life running for cover as he was selling issues of the "Hetföi Hirlap" on October 21st. This was a highly ~~treasured~~ ~~valued~~ newspaper for, on the previous Monday a wonderful article appeared making not only Rakosi responsible for past mistakes but the power behind him.

(2f) Until 1956 there was no opposition, for all the press was government press. Even after 1956 this was the case but the government was more and more criticized both by "Irodalmi Ujsag" and "Hetföi Hirlap".

(2g) The above named article in the October 15th issue of "Hetföi Hirlap" draw straight lines from Gerö

to Rakosi to the USSR. All the newsprint was the more convincing for for the past decade only government newspapers had appeared, and of course all that was printed was true and now this was printed. Every party functionary was shut up if one showed him a news article of this sort.

(3) As outlined above.

(3a) It was not tied to a date as the revolt in 1948 was, it was ~~simply~~ simply the first opportunity when in a mass

demonstration the masses could and did assemble. The earlier chance at Rajk's funeral was different for this would have only reformed communism and nobody felt so intent about it.

- (3b) The terror in Hungary was built from above downward. Once the top leadership was shook up as it was as a result of ~~the~~ ^{de-} Stalinisation, its tremors and effects were felt downward. Officials became unsure of the chain of command. With increasing disillusionment the party became more and more a home for opportunists and their percentage was forever greater of total party membership. As the party was reorganized further down, people also worked against each other. The hierarchy was destroyed on which the power of the system rested. With the loss of idealists' cooperation membership became mechanical and not conscious. The final blow to demoralization was given by the newspapers. We must remember that until now the papers were official government organs and expressed nothing but official opinions which was equal to the bible. When now these papers began to criticize the government it had a tremendous effect on party officials. It gave them a much bigger picture of the total events than they ever had before and

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it presented direct contrasts with former policy. Thus
the authority resting on a hierarchy was undermined.

- (3c) The aims were the results of the meeting in the technological university on the 22nd and the demonstration took place in this token to advocate the realisation of the 16 points and to make a pro-Polish demonstration. However as an immense mass assembled the meaning of the demonstration has gradually changed.
- (3d) At the radio station.
- (3e) The masses' leaders, after the meeting in the technological university on the 22nd, agreed with the police on the exact wording of the slogans to be shouted the following day during the demonstrations. These were all cleared with the police. They were mimeographed and distributed to a man with strong pair of lungs who then chanted the slogans to the people around him who then took over the slogans.
- (3f) No one wanted a revolution, ^{and} if fighting broke out only in self-defense. But no one was against it for no one was for it. They were only shooting back into the AVO attackers.
- (3g) Many were unarmed and did not participate therefore but the whole mass was anti AVO and if anyone was neutral he was not on the streets on that night. But their number was not more than one or two percent of Budapest.

Father Ben

(3h) "The people of ~~Imre Nagy~~ and Kossuth should go hand in hand!"

"Imre Nagy into the Government!" "Workers, peasant kids, we go with you together!" "Poland shows the way, let us follow the Polish way!" Later these slogans changed during the same afternoon. One started hearing "put out the Hungarian flag, take in the red flag," "Put out the star, cut out the Soviet emblem from the flag!" One also heard "We will not give back any land", also "Equality, freedom, we are not Fascists". These were primarily shouted because everyone was afraid and had it uppermost in his mind that the communists will try to taint the whole demonstration with Fascistic overtones. Still later one could hear "Every nation's soldiers should go in their own country". Around 4 p.m. one heard some "Ruski go home" slogans but these people were quickly hushed by the mass. Later in the evening one could hear "Ruski go home, the wagons are waiting," "Pack Russians," "Russian troops should go home and take Stalin's statue with them". After the ~~butchery~~ ^{murderous} butchery on Parliament Square one heard everywhere "~~murders~~ Reds" and "a liar of ~~the radio~~ a radio". On the whole ~~that~~ there were few positive slogans.

(3i) Yes.

(3j) If you fight against the Russians and the AVO there is no

time to decide on political principles.

(3k) Those who preferred national communism were relatively unimportant. Most people did not care what form of government will follow as long as the Russians went home and left Hungary in peace.

(31) There were no such in the revolt and if any individuals may have had such thoughts in their heads they were never heard publicly.

(3m) This would have ended the AVO and what happened before the ~~Fourth~~ ^{Fourth} ~~Revolution~~ would have continued.

(4) On the 23rd in the afternoon I went to the square of March 15th and joined the demonstrators there, then we went to the ~~Ben~~ ^{Ben} statue from there to the radio station by when the shooting started. I got home by 2 a.m. Next day I heard the shooting, went to Budapest and the mother of a friend of mine locked me up in her bath-room. So I couldn't go fight. Finally I got ~~houses~~ ^{out} and two Soviet ~~army cars~~ ^{armored} at the end of the tank column ~~which~~ ^{which} had their tires shot were destroyed by us ~~for which they were~~ ^{since} they were unable to negotiate a curve. In the afternoon I visited relatives and slept on Boráros Square. The 25th was quiet. Occasionally revolutionaries shot at

police officers out of a mass of people and the mass then closed in. During the afternoon demonstrations on the Parliament Square led to mass murder when about 300 people were butchered by the AVO. In the wave of this we demonstrated again going past the American consulate back to Parliament Square. Later I went to a friend and got a carbine, and on Friday I was sent for the first time with a group of boys by someone who said "the Russians are congregating at Boraros Square". Indeed the Soviets were stationed in the back squares where they could not be attacked from close-by houses. From there they ~~patrolled~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ patrolled and controlled the side streets. We tried to break down along ~~Mester~~ ~~MESTER~~ Street but we got under cross fire. I was shot in the leg and not until I ~~kept~~ played dead did the Russians stop shooting. Later I was picked up and taken to my god-mother's house which was right in the neighbourhood and I was bandaged. A lot of people were shot on this street corner who simply wanted to cross there. All got shot in the leg. Apparently the Russians had their machine guns fixed at this corner. On Friday I went downtown to look around and finally on November 1st I joined the Nemzet Orseg ~~XXXXXXXX~~ at the Technical University.

- (a) The AVO men put on military uniforms but they were obvious from a 100 yards ~~what they were~~. They looked a certain way and also their uniforms were brand new and shining. The Army by this time only wanted to keep order and ~~when~~ not even that after Thursday they disappeared. The Russians actually sold ~~them~~ out the AVO. ~~and~~ The police was completely inactive except apparently in the Kobanya police barracks where on the 24th when freedom fighters demanded weapons they had a little battle with. Two Hungarian tanks came to the rescue and when they fired into the barracks there the police surrendered and gave out all their arms and ammunition.
- (b) A good term is ~~Lekopett~~ ^{Lekopett} that is they simply were-off their units. Frequently they handed over their arms to the freedom fighters. ~~and~~ On Saturday many soldiers around Boroster insisted to keep their arms for they had to account for them but they gave all the hand ^{grenades} ~~granats~~ and ammunition ~~what~~ they had for this was not inventoried.
- (c) On Thursday after the Parliament Square massacre I saw the mob ~~accost~~ ^{accost} a man in a leather coat. This was suspicious for leather coats were suspicious. Also he apparently did not have good identification papers and he was nearly victimized. I came to his ~~adistance~~ ^{assistance} trying to say that just because his coat he was no AVO man but

the mob was insensed and since they found none of my papers which I destroyed in fear of being captured they thought we both were on the other~~13~~ side. Fortunately a friend of mine, ~~was~~^a ~~was~~ ~~approved~~ bona fide a freedom fighter identified me and they let both of us go. Most AVO men were jailed at the Deak Square Prison. The lot of propaganda made of killing a few was very bad for us. We blamed the Western newspapers for much damage on this. At the most 80 or 100 AVO men were executed but all should have been.

- (6) Everyone organized. There were five or six committees of revolution. One of them was in the Prater Street. When we went to Boraros Square a young man out of nowhere suggested we go there and we did as a group but we just went by our^{selves} ~~selves~~. There was no coordination or plans. We did have enough coordination when someone sent food up from the country to send it on to Prater Street School where a ~~headquarters~~ was and we went in to eat there. Even there a commander was only an elder man who enjoyed respect and when he left someone else took over. There was no organization. Supposedly Maleter was around but I never saw him. We acquired various arms and ammunition

even guns. Some of them had ~~only~~ wooden shells ~~at their~~ ^{only.}
~~disposal~~. We sorely missed anti-tank weapons.

- (7) The Korvin, Prater Street, and Kilián groups. Perhaps there is a bit of local patriotism in me.
- (a) Yes, definitely. If one took the other man's weapon there was always a fight or if he didn't bring enough ammunition when he was asked to. There was a little more bitterness between those who fought during the first few days and then got tired and wounded and ^{with} ~~redrew~~ and then were replaced by big mouths who were great patriots when the fighting stopped. Of course these did their share after November 4th. We felt however at the time that they could have come sooner. After October 29th all issued certificates to everybody. All organized in the plants and universities and these groups were based on military patterns.
- (8) All differently. The ones arrived on the 24th at about midnight shot madly with their sub-machine guns. During the 24th they actually slowed down and on the 25th there was a kind of truce but it was unofficial. On the 25th they accompanied the demonstrators to Parliament Square

holds, and there it happened that they fired into AVO strong ~~holds~~ when the AVO started firing at the demonstrators whom the Russian tanks accompanied. On the next day however the 26th they started shooting again and they fought until the 28th when Nagy asked for an armistice which was kept by everybody except a few Russians.

- (c) Saw one Korean fight with the revolution. All the foreign students apparently sympathized with the revolution but none of them actually committed themselves.
- (e) Apparently some did. Out of hearsay I know this. Of course on the 25th they fought or fired at AVO people on Parliament Square. See above.
- (f) Their influence was not obvious before the fighting started and supposedly all authority rested with Hungarian Government. A fighting flared up after the 24th, quieted on the 25th and they fought again in the streets on the 26th to the 29th. After the 29th it was quiet until the 4th and then they again returned.
- (9) Various radios, the telephones as long as they worked, and messengers and eye witnesses were our best sources.
- (a) They printed poems and wrote editorials but their news coverage was not very good.

- (b) Rumours. We heard by word-of-mouth that the Héunyadi SS Division is entering Hungary, that ^{UN} ~~THE~~ troops are entering Hungary, American troops, ~~csandör~~ ^{csandör} troops. ~~Any other troops.~~ The communists said earlier the West was arming against Hungary. We were waiting for anyone to come to help us.
- (c) Those who were at home did and then spread the news.
- (10) Time was too short. Nothing actually functioned and everything changed.
- (a) All institutions continued and all were transformed.
- (b) The party organization fell apart, their buildings and offices were destroyed but their people were left alone if they were decent people.
- (c) They later maintained order without their weapons. No police units participated in the fightings at all on either side but many single cops came over to the revolution. We only knew this from the blue trousers they had ^{as} on ~~as~~ they took their jackets off and perhaps wore civilian coats.
- (f) The higher officers above grade Captain withdrew or disappeared, the lower grades stood with the people. Many joined the revolt.
- (g) I don't know.

- (h) They changed teams, picked out communists.
- (k) The revolutionary committees of Dudas ect. there was also the Maleter group I fought with and the Szena Square group.
- (l) In many plants the old management remained which was unfortunate. In many others new leadership was elected. In my plant the old head-bookkeeper was made chairman of the worker's council but he was the world's greatest coward. In Buda where he lived he apparently sent his wife shopping. He was so scared of his own life.
- (m) A republic although some people had royalist ambitions.
- (11) It was my greatest experience. I think of it all the time.
- (a) Yes, it was decidedly although it was very expensive in terms of Hungarian blood. It has shown the unity of the people, the dislike of the communists, and it revealed many AVO excesses. Now the whole world and especially the Hungarian people ~~know~~ know where they stand. They have a black and white picture and they have a good picture of real Soviet suppression.
- (b) Yes, if it had arms to use especially anti-tank weapons from the West. We were dreaming of them all the time. Were Hungary then helped by the West all the other satellites would have gathered courage and shaken off

the Soviet yoke.

- (c) Yes, arms and at least the minimal of diplomatic aid. No one wanted world war three but the US could have threatened at least as much as the Russians threatened London and Paris with bombardements but there was no aid at all, diplomatic ^{or} ~~as~~ otherwise.
- (d) The main difference is the structure of the Hungarian popular will. Only the most courageous people took a stand as the Germans, Poles, and Hungarians. Also one should remember that Hungary was ^{farthest} ~~farthest~~ away from the USSR in its philosophy. It was Catholic and always ^{opposed to Communism.}
- (e) He is a communist and for a time he endorsed national communism and later after much pressure and after much delay he became a pure patriot by November 4th.
- (f) Maleter perhaps.
- (g) It is hard to choose. In the fighting the peasants would rank perhaps fifth or sixth out of seven but considering that they brought food to the city for little or no money facing the danger this involved they were just as involved as the fighters. If one were to draw a line one would have to see first the students and young workers, second the workers, third the peasants, fourth the soldiers, fifth political prisoners and others, sixth the intellectuals who did not participate especially not the old

middle classes in the revolt, and last irresponsible elements.

- (h) We didn't expect the workers to do so much but we didn't expect anything to happen on this scale.
- (12) On November 6th.
- (a) Five different reasons in this order: First the urge to escape overcame me. My nerves were shot. Second military obligation loomed before my eyes. Third I was afraid of the revenge I was exposed to. Fourth we all knew that this was the last chance to leave Hungary, that the iron curtain will be stricter than ever, and finally my sympathies lie with the West and the West lured for it gave us chances of advancement and university study.
- (b) This was an old plan of mine but on the 5th in the evening as we sat fellows together I simply announced: "Tomorrow I leave" and I did.
- (c) When we finally left we all hoped to reach some friendly army troops coming into Hungary from the West. We expected to join them and return with them. This was a pipe-dream.

NOTE: Respondent was eager to tell of his experiences after November 4th. He went home on the 3rd in the suburbs of Budapest. Next morning he wanted to sneak into town with his submachine gun but found out that the Russians were ahead of him. He called up the university where he registered in the Nemzetör what to do. A group of ~~many~~ boys all armed about twenty in number waited for orders. The commander of the university Nemzetör sent message that they should not undertake any action until the Russians would reach Parliament ~~Building~~ Square and unless they would bombard the Parliament building. This man is now in very high position under the Kadar regime. We went into town anyway and had a lot of fighting with the Russians. By the 6th ~~we were~~ we were decimated and demoralized and decided to leave town.

- (1) I was Gymnasium student and I was not permitted to go to the university. after my graduation I worked for three years. I worked for ~~approximately~~ two years as a bookkeeper and one year as a dispatcher.
- (2) I worked as a bookkeeper. It was one of thirty large state construction outfits who monopolized the construction field in Hungary. The second job was in an earth construction company similar to the first but concerned mainly with excavations. I was transferred from the first place to the second. The third company was a military construction company on the divisional level. This one constructed AAA embankments in the vicinity of Budapest and built adjoining officer's quarters. This plant was called OLEP and it was part of the national air defense command. I worked there as a dispatcher and a bookkeeper. The organization was distinguished by its headlessness. In the fall of 1955 they took out several tons of cement to the building site and left it there for a month. Of course it was a total loss. Its jobs were never finished. I first worked in the office and ~~then~~ later out of the barracks.
- (3) I did not like this job. It was very simple work and I only did it because I could not go to the university

- (d) Furnishings and equipment were very poor. All the work was done by hand and there were constant shortages of trucks, materials, and of everything.
- (e) It took me three hours a day to commute to my job, about one hour and a half each way.
- (f) We worked from 8 to 5 with half hour lunch, Saturday from 8 to 1.
- (h) Yes, from January to May 56 I worked 67 hours overtime and I kept a record of it. We had to beg and argue to get paid for it. On this last job it depended on how much money the plant had at the time whether we got paid it. We never got paid in full.
- (i) There were seven legal holidays including May 1st and 2nd.
- (j) I had 14 days a year plus 1 additional day for every two years on the job.
- (k) My last job paid best but it paid for no overtime. The second job I had ~~f~~ paid for overtime on the basis of some ministry directive. Of course we took advantage of this and in one month I made over 900 Forints overtime. I simply went into the office Saturday 6 a.m. and stayed there until Sunday p.m. We cooked, slept, worked, and even went to mass on company time. When our boss was around we had to work like dogs but when we could sneak away we took advantage of ~~xx~~ it. On his turn he too sneaked away when-

ever his boss was not around and so on off.

- (1) For a while they deducted fines up to 10% of a month's pay for one lateness. Later this was prohibited and people were simply dismissed after three latenesses. For unexcused absence one was simply fired on the spot.
- (m) There were always some changes. They eased the schedules here, toughened it there, but basically there was no change and there were only minimal wage increases. Concerning the construction industry I have many experiences. Once a little house was built without any foundations on a pile of sand. Of course our quota was overfilled by 300%. The workers only dug a sham foundation. I worked there in my last year of school during the summer as a helper. Once I saw a piece of pipe simply left out of a water connection. The building had to be finished and dedicated and yet a piece of pipe was missing. So instead of applying for it, ordering it, having it approved the plumber simply put on two ends on the pipe and plastered up the space between these two sections. No one noticed it at first and once they started to turn on the water ~~then~~ they started to look for the shortcoming. By then the plumber was far and gone on another job.
- (n) There were countless supervisors, at least 20% of the workers were supervising workers.

- (c) It was ^{quite} ~~just~~ good to be able to go on a vacation. I was in for two summers for two weeks each and had a very good time on one spot, a not very good one on the other.
- (4) On the lower echelon where I worked there were mainly elder women and very young people both male and female.
- (b) People generally got along well. The bosses were a different story.
- (c) No.
- (d) One of the reasons for moving people around was that a new man always dampened the atmosphere. Everyone was cautious until they found out who he was. Once people got warmed up they talked very freely.
- (e) The party members automatically got better jobs.
- (f) They conscientiously collected the ~~extra~~ dues.
- (g) They tried to increase the importance of the unions since 1955. If one was not a union member one only got 65% of one's pay during sickness while union members collected 75%.
- (h) Yes. Concerning my overtime I went twice asking for compensation and finally in both cases I was advised to collect from my boss who signed the overtime sheet. Well, I did not try to collect. What actually happened was, the bosses were under pressure to meet deadlines and they did it with overtime work and then the plant would not assume the expense.

- (i) The only kind I heard of was the director, the chief engineer, and the chief accountant. The first was over the other two and the chief engineer had more authority than the chief accountant, although all three had certain direct powers without the intervention of the other two.
- (j) If he was very good, of course. My uncle got the Kossuth prize as an atomic physicist. He had no party affiliations. A good football player could do anything he wanted and was fabulously rewarded. ~~Thus~~ The average competent person could keep his job but he would not advance very much.
- (k) Frequently, and frequently without any competence whatsoever. At times they had three to six months long planned ~~manager~~ manager courses during which any reliable person without competence was turned into a competent manager.
- (l) No, he usually went to the personnel boss who went to one's own boss and then back to the person on whom the report was made. Political supervisors ~~seldom interfere~~ ^{seldom interfere} ~~selected in the field~~ directly. Production went poorly as it was. It was little more mischief they could do. However, if a political appointee suddenly had ^a inspirations of technical competence that was often disastrous on operations.
- (n) Activists of good worker or peasant stock, else intelligentsia if participating in worker's movements.

- (p) The personnel department, that's where the Kader sheets were kept.
- (5) If another plant requested you and the former plant gave you up often it happened that a worker who would request a transfer would not be permitted to transfer for several months and finally let go but by that time the job he wanted to ^{get} ~~take~~ was already taken. I myself easily got another job when I was let off for I was young and I was on the bottom of the ladder.
- (b) A kind of family tradition would have made me a diplomat^e but I did not have a chance to study.
- (c) No.
- (d) They want to make money.
- (e) Enjoy more classical music which is my hobby, also literature.
- (6) We were worse off. It got worse from 1945 to 1953. Ever since then about the same.
- (b) For years my father has dreamed of buying a watch and I was trying to get a bicycle but we never could make it. The family bicycle was one broken down ^{left by} ~~from~~ the Russians ~~that~~ when they took ours in '45. Since then this was

soldered
~~reworked~~ and patched up a twenty times.

- (c) About average.
- (d) The Soviets make a great deal of money. They ~~produce~~ ^{profit} themselves to death they ~~and~~ make so much and ~~more~~ ^{production} ~~activity~~ is rewarded to a very small percentage.
- (7) Does not apply.
- (8) I made ~~1,000~~ 1,100 Forints a month. I took home about 1,000. There was no additional source of income. Deductions ran something like this: 3% on health insurance, 10% on peace loan, 1% union dues. They also took out two ^{Disz} Forints a month for ~~peace~~ dues. There were always a hundred different and sundry causes one had to aid for which collectors came around. My father made 900 Forints ^{on} ~~and~~ his job as a payroll clerk in some small outfit near where we lived in the outskirts of Budapest. Only two of us made money.
- (9) Since June I didn't eat much, not more than once a day. But this was my fault for a young man had to have some fun. So the extra-meal money I used for whatever the money was needed. I kept about 150 - 200 Forints for my own purpose.
- (a) We paid 250 Forints for rent. This bought us two rooms in a summer house. We cooked and washed in one and all five of

us lived there. Unfortunately there was no water and we got it from the corner of the street. This was built during the war as a small weekend house with a garden.

- (c) The entire income was spent on food and basic maintenance except for opera tickets. We went about once or twice a month ~~week~~ and the tickets were very cheap. One could buy a seat, the cheapest one for about an hour's work pay.

Food was available at any problems where due, mainly to transportation problems. Meat wasn't always plentiful.

Generally production schedules were very poor. I remember one time no one in Budapest could buy a ~~scouring~~ ~~sewing~~ ~~knit~~ pad.

My aunt wrote me and I brought some home from ~~Tisza~~ ^{Tiszalök} where I was at the time. At times one could not get any wine but since rum was cheaper many people drank that.

- (d) Nothing, really. I had one new suit in twelve years. We had a shoemaker who made our shoes for years and later on he made the shoes almost for free. He merely charged for the materials.

- (e) We only heated at night and had no problems of gas, telephone, for there wasn't any. I don't know about electricity bill.

- (f) There was much rum all round but I didn't drink much.

- (g) Was free.

- (h) The opera as noted above.
- (i) I don't know.
- (j) Nothing.
- (k) We had the insurance.
- (l) This was expensive. I spent 12 Forints per week plus 1 1/2 to 2 Forints per day in town. It would have been cheaper on Hév but it would have taken even longer than the bus.
- (m) There were none.
- (n) We did ^{buy} ~~by~~ an electric iron for 100 Forints. This was the cheapest, one we couldn't set the temperature with.
- (o) I don't know.
- (p) Well, till 1948 we lived by selling our things. Later there was no more to sell.
- (10) It was a bad ^{economy} ~~economy~~. ^{From} ~~In~~ every angle it was bad.
- (c) It could have been better then, but it was better ^{than} ~~as~~ it is now.
- (d) The conditions worsened. After '48 they were about the same but the after-war-period cannot be compared due to the heavy war damages.
- (f) Some made a lot of money and quickly enriched themselves. The government quickly nationalized many of these. This

way they kept profiting from private enterprise and killed the goose several times when he laid his eggs.

- (g) They were better. Things were a little cheaper.

- (11) Economic conditions played a large roll.
- (b) Freedom of speech and Soviet suppression were also very serious.

- (1) I graduated from secondary school, from gymnasium.
 - (a) From 1942 to 1953.
 - (b) Both.
 - (c) Yes. I went to the cisterciense for two years, to Váli Street School for one year, Bartok Belá School for one year, and St. Stephan Gymnasium for three years.
 - (d) Yes. I took a six months course as a bookkeeper after I finished school.
 - (e) My residence and permits to live in various parts of Hungary determined it.

- (2) No. I wanted a university education.
 - (b) To get a degree.
 - (c) Yes.
 - (d) Very good.
 - (e) Of course not.

- (3) Yes, our school had a special course in political economy. This was marxism.
 - (a) I liked all courses, especially history and Hungarian language and literature.
 - (b) Yes.
 - (c) All studied it but no one cared much for it.

- (d) Air defense course only.
- (e) The mass sporting system was very good. A lot of people started to sport and so we had many first class athletes.

- (4) It had two basic purposes. One to educate youth to complete mental dependence and controlebility. Youth should not have any independent initiative or original thoughts and all developments should be in permitted channels.

This was true in the political contexts especially. ~~It was expected that initiative~~

The communists wanted that all initiative should come from them and the pupils should completely rely on their guidance and control. They educated the people to become dependent on them for their thinking. The second main purpose of communist education was the unconditional love for the Soviet Union and for communism.

- (a) All of these were important. I don't want to pick any one specifically.
- (b) The revolt had discredited both the main aims of communist education as I listed them above for youth turned against both.
- (c) They were all bored with it and were with complete antipathy toward it. This feeling grew gradually ever since 1950. People were sick and fed up with the most, the best,

the most outstanding etc., attributes the communists never failed to use on themselves and the Soviet Union. Their overpraised and overrated self-importance made themselves generally disliked. Also it decreased the trust placed in their statements no difference what they said.

- (d) There was no communist indoctrination in the elementary shhools but there was in the secondary schools.
- (d&e) The average child was bored with everything the communists tried to impress him with. Later in secondary school those who did ~~some thinking~~ do some thinking very much liked the ~~philosophy~~ philosophic ideas of marxism etc. They liked it because this was the only philosophy or thinking they ever had but as they grew older and saw step by step the difference between theory and reality they became disillusioned. Generally speaking all children came to school forwarned from home to leave politics out of their education no matter what the teacher said. Many of those who were interested soon found out that the communist ideas were good only the execution was bad. Of 40 boys or so in my class about 10 to 15 were interested in ideas and politics. Of these again about 3 to 4 were nationalistic communists that is people

who thought communism to be a good thing but it was poorly done this time.

(f) As this was the only philosophy they ever got they liked it as a novelty. However, they were more and more disenchanted with it when and as they made more and more comparisons of reality with the ideas. The number of idealistic communists decreased steadily.

(h) I don't know what it was before.

(i) Age 14 to 15 is most effective. A boy of that age feels the high ideas reach him and he cannot match it with his own experience or other ideas. He feels elevated even if on a primitive level.

(5) My father was an official in Budapest's city hall. After the war he was kicked out on a "B-list" unreliable. A year later he was taken back and he was offered a big job if he joined the party but he refused. So he was sent to ^{outlying} Sashalom, a small ~~outlying~~ place as a police court judge. While there he got sick and when again pressed to join the party he quit his job.

(c) He was a lawyer and had two doctorates.

(d) Yes, we had three until 1947.

(e) Yes. It was simply taken away. We had several houses and also farm land. Our villa on the Roszadoms

was sold right after the war for we were advised it would be confiscated anyway. We then moved into town and then they confiscated our houses, also our farms leaving us with 8 acres in the end. Later we even lost that.

- (f) Better off.
- (g) We were six.
- (h) My mother died in '55 after eight years of cancer.
- (i) All relatives lived together. My brothers and sister were young. Before '56 however, I lived ^{with} relatives in Budapest while my family was evacuated from the city.
- (j) My two brothers, my sister, myself, and my father.
- (k) It was to a great disadvantage.

- (11) Yes, very well.

- (12) Of course.
- (a) About everything.
- (b) No. We agreed in most everything.

- (13) No. We had no disagreements neither about my friends nor about politics or any other matters.

- (14) After our mother's death we children cooked alternately every day. We were a very close family. Of course we fought a lot but there was much love. There was a lot of tension due to our circumstances.
- (b) I think ours was more successfull than other families.
- (c) I had many friends and many girl-friends and went to the opera and theaters. Theaters more rarely.
- (d) We rarely had things together. At times we went rowing on Sundays.
- (e) In the evenings sometimes but I didn't go home very often in the evening.
- (f) More music, more travels. I wanted to take motor-bike trips and wanted better clothes.
- (g) There were less and less controls in the last few years. Previously they kept one in meetings till 9 p.m. quite frequently in school, or plant, or what have you. Of course we had our family chores and Friday was my day to cook.
- (15) I understand they have generally weakened.
- (a) Generally speaking, yes.
- (b) Perhaps this had decreased because women worked themselves. Thus they became more independent. But since both partners

in a marriage worked both were more dependent on each other for the home chores.

- (c) The relationship between parent and child has weakened.
- (d) The youth from the land has left for town. There were up to two million people in Budapest. Most young people were unhappy in agriculture.
- (e) The basic difference that now children get educated in day care centers and study centers. They spend the whole day there usually from eight to five. So the parents don't see them much.
- (f) There were many more divorces now.
- (16) Presumably ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ morals have sunk lower than they had been before but historically each generation accuses the following with this.
- (b) The parents' ^{role} ~~role~~ has lessened.
- (e) Yes.
- (f) They were less strict. Only seemingly were they strict. They preferred - we thought this as an escape vent for youth and young people's interests.
- (h) I don't know.
- (i) They are now working. That makes a lot of difference. Relations are more informal.

- (17) I would not know.
- (b) Everybody steals. In different ways everyone does.
The aptitude is that the state is ours therefore we
only take ours.
- (18) We met in Budapest in 1951.
- (a) He was in school with me.
- (b) Yes, the same.
- (c) First we played buttons games and marbles. Later we
talked about literature, music, played bridge and tarrock
together.
- (d) Yes.
- (e) No.
- (f) Yes.
- (g) If he loves me.
- (h) It is never easy.
- (i) Writers, musicians, lawyers. Generally educated people.
- (k) Neither would he have been offered a job nor would he have
accepted ~~any~~ such a job, but otherwise it would not have
influenced our friendship at all if he was a good friend.
- (19) Roman catholic. We were all religious.
- (b) I am religious myself.

- (20) Yes.
- (a) Jews not so much. Christians generally yes and Catholics primarily.
- (b) They wanted to eliminate religion by first strangling it slowly. This is of course part of a communist dogma. They would only have used it temporarily before exterminating it.
- (c) These were not popular but they were not important. They were primarily propaganda tools of the regime. Apparently many people left ~~church~~ church sermons when "peace priests" officiated or spoke.
- (d) Imprisoned its opponents, generally attacked the church but left those alone who did not openly oppose the regime.
- (f) One could but if someone was clerical this was reason for dismissal. If the information got on one's kadar sheet this was no advantage for either to keep the job or for an ~~advancement~~ advancement.
- (g) It was generally out of fear that they did not go to church. So I did know of people who were actually put in worse jobs than they had once they were branded "Clericalis".
- (h) Generally yes.
- (i) Generally women and elder men, also many people under 18. Rarely men between 18 and 40 but this seems to be quite

universal|everywhere. The reasons for this were intertwined on many ground.

(k) It has less meaning to them now.

(l) It attracted those going to church in spite of the regime.

Also Mindszenty's opposition kept the people aware of their national heritage and independence by standing up against the regime. Therein lies his importance.

(m) It is almost impossible to have religious classes. They make it so difficult, however, they are not prohibited. But they ~~don't~~ classes for the other end of town in the middle of the day and one has to get there just in five or ten minutes. So the best part of a religious class is spent in walking to and from the class.

(21) A physician or an engineer.

(a) They both make good money especially in the contry side, although even in the town the medical insurance practice of the doctor is quite good. His pay is above average. Supple-mented with private practice he is doing well. An engineer is doing well to begin with and in the rural area he gets additional ~~additional~~ compensation.

(b) Join the party and be good in your field. But of course I couldn't have told this to a friend.

(c) Workers descendants. Anyway good Kádars.

(22) On top the AVO, the upper communist tenthousand, some artists, actors, and sports figures. The second level is made up of plant managers, ^{kolhos} ~~enklhos~~ managers, party secretaries, engineers, doctors etc. The third level then is the mass. There are gradations there, too.

(a) To the mass.

(b) To the mass under the circumstances.

(d) It depended how ~~they cooperated~~ far they cooperated.

(e) The average Maszek lived on the mass level but some reached up to the next stage, say the doctor level if they were much in demand.

(23) Workers, peasants, intelligentsia, communists.

(b) The former upper tenthousand was replaced by the new communist ^{segments} upper tenthousand but the other ~~segments~~ stayed in their place.

(c) Both systems are bad.

(d) Not in the bottom 3 ranks but the distinctions were reduced.

(e) There is greater equality now.

(f) Yes, this is very good, the old caste system was very bad matched only by the Indian castes.

(g) People are closer to each other. Some forms of politeness have gone into disuse. The personal address of "Te is more frequent now. It also creates more natural relationships. But basically ~~people~~ people are still polite. There is a feeling that everyone is in the same boat and that creates a

natural sympathy between people. There is also much "Galgenhumor" around. There is a general "Gemütlichkeit" and "I don't care" attitude prevailing.

- (24) Yes, the aristocracy, the priests, the Arrowcross and the old middle classes etc.
- (a) The workers. They had some few small advantages. They could send their children to the university more easily. In the plants they would have easier access to theater and sports tickets. Also they may have better chances for summer vacations.
- (25) They enjoyed no exceptions. But it is a fact that the Jews were in many leading positions. Actually the leaders generally were Jews. As the joke has it there is no difference between the Hungarian flag and the Hungarian government. They are both rot, weiss, and grün, meaning Rakosi, Vas, and Gerö.
- (a) They hated it ^{like} ~~but~~ everyone else, maybe more since it limited their business enterprises and their proverbial mobility.
- (b) 80% of the top leaders were Jews. I mean the top 3,000 jobs in the country.
- (c) Yes. They were all in opposition to the regime.
- (d) They sympathized with the revolt but I never saw one fighting. Many of them escaped to the West.
- (e) Nothing particular. The communists were hated like the ~~national~~ non-semitic

communists and else everyone else was normally regarded. This was very important during the revolt because everyone watched against any antisemitic appearances. The demonstrators and revolutionaries were very keenly aware of political implications. of any anti-semitism.

- (g) Anti-semitism was reduced.
- (h) Without further difficulties they will continue to live in Hungary as long as they are politically clean.

- (1) Yes, I was always.
- (a) I would put them in this order: Music, literature, politics, sports.
- (b) Yes, it had varied. For a while I wanted to be a politician and then politics predominated in my interests. This was till 1950.
- (c) Respondent started to speak then changed his mind. He refused to bring up whatever ~~it~~ was meant.

- (2) I always wanted an independent Hungary in close confederation or cooperation with her neighbours.
- (a) Yes, with small land holders.
- (b) No.
- (c) No.
- (d) Same as now.
- (e) They discredited the national feelings. Under them economic life deteriorated and they ended political freedom. Our experiences with them were bad. After all the Russians had plundered us forty-eight times.
- (f) Alternative (II)
- (g) One never knew. Not until the revolt.
- (h) The terror is the explanation.
- (i) These were effective for no one saw them. Kept secretly everyone feared them. One didn't really know what they did or did not know about oneself.

- (3) Deportation from Budapest and also that I couldn't go to school.
- (a) Respondent was very dubious about picking any. They were all equally important to him. Finally he said that for his own family and for himself number 3, 10, and 12 were perhaps more important.
- (b) ~~None~~ None were less important.
- (c) After hesitation again 9, 6, and 12 were thought more important.
- (d) 14 and 12 again perhaps.
- (e) As being the average /norm of the Hungarian society they had less fear for they did not approach either extremes but 12 was important for them, too, because here again it reflected on all the other points.
- (f) Something was always disliked no matter what.
- (g) Yes, everything centered on the stationing of Soviet troops in the country.
- (h) One could do nothing about it basically. Of course when the bus was late.
- (j) Yes, these were provided by the regime: Sports, cheap theater etc.
- (4) I don't know. I think the upper communist tenthousand.
- (e) To get ~~xxxxx~~ proof of their popular majority.
- (f) Larger than before.
- (g) Yes, some.

- (h) Generally workers, also middle class but unless they were of the fighting intelligentsia they were on the lower levels. The fighting intelligentsia and the workers had the higher level jobs.
- (i) A new type, the old Horthy professional NCO staff. They made excellent officers for the new regime. There were now also many new peasant and worker recruits and these must have had several advantages besides a good income and prestige and what have you.
- (j) Frequently workers and good Kádars.
- (5) Since all were members there was no advantage of membership. On the other hand non-membership was a handicap.
- (b) No, all ~~times voluntarily~~ signed voluntarily but everyone did.
- (c) Yes, there was if one refused to sign.
- (d) Yes.
- (e) In 1951. They distributed 38 blanks in a class of 38 ~~in school~~ and all 38 signed.
- (f) We paid our dues.
- (g) I was culture responsible. This was a good deal for I got all the reduced price theater tickets and sometimes free ones. I was to distribute these in the class.
- (h) This permitted me to skip classes in the morning but I never lost time with it after school.
- (6) Up to 1949 all were urged. Later the party was reorganized and cleansed and it was difficult to join it.

- (b) People wanting to make a career. Those who were convinced communists were already members. As it turned out those who wanted to join couldn't while those who did not want to join it were pressured to join. It was a teasing game.
- (c) To go to meetings, vote in meetings, pay dues, participate in demonstrations. Do social contact work.
- (d) Of course. To gain advantages people joined all the time but the number gradually decreased.
- (e) Among other things he usually stopped to go to church and when talking politics he became more cautious.
- (f) ^{For} Several reasons ~~was not possible~~. They saw the outsiders' dissatisfaction and in spite of their own better jobs saw the gradual economic deterioration and economic stagnation. ^{They} ~~He~~ also realised that the party changes did not mean progress but were based on ineffectual policy changes.
- (h) Not a member.
- (p) I doubt it.
- (r) The execution of the policy was up to the Hungarian party leadership. The Soviets only outlined the general policy.
- (7) None.
- (8) About 30% of them.
- (9) The DISZ remained what it was. It stayed on its own line and

But
that's why the members became separated. ~~At~~ the Petofi
circle was nominally under Disz control. Actually the DISZ
lost its ~~xxx~~ grip on the debates and the conduct of the meet-
ing of the circle. Thus they were completely separated from
each
~~the~~ other as through~~out~~ these and especially with university
youth the party's leadership lost all contact with youth it-
self.

- (10a) Only those who directly felt its power were personally touched,
but indirectly all were affected.
- (b) This is a counterpart of the Soviet GPU and the German Gestapo.
It was a central agency to help control the country for the
purposes of the government.
- (c) There were two main sections: the border patrol, the Greens,
and the political police, the Blues.
- (d&e) People who were generally considered reliable by their neigh-
bours and friends were frequently intimidated by some old facts
that they dug up against them. Then they were terrorized until
they either cooperated with the AVH or else they were taken away
to prison. Also there were some volunteer communists who did
spy
~~spies~~. There was a nation wide system of spies organized either
by police or through the party.
- (f) I don't know. But there were many "juttasi" sergeants. These
people were products of the military educational system of the
Horthy regime and they were excellently trained in military

affairs and not one brain left in their heads. Their will and thinking was completely subordinated to their commanders. These sergeants were rough and stupid and they were absolutely obedient. They were excellent material for the AVH.

- (g) They received very high pay. 9,000 Forints was the minimum. They had separate houses, resorts, and they got the best of everything.
- (h) Yes, unless they were insubordinate.
- (i) Often they were the same people. Frequently ~~the~~ discharged AVH people became managers and informers in plants or enterprises. Other informers were scared into spying or black mailed ~~some of them~~ into it.
- (j) They cooperated well but the AVH stood above the police and gave it orders.
- (k) These two cooperated closely of course. The AVO stood under the control of the higher party agencies but they could hit lower party members, arrest them any time.
- (11) Yes, a very close relative.
- (a) This close relative was a medical surgeon colonel in the Hungarian army. In 1944 he was brought to the West with some field hospital. He went right back at the first opportunity and got his rank back. The communists urged him to resign his commission but he refused. Several months later the AVO arrested him and we lost sight of him for about 45 days.

Then we found out when he found out also that he was accused of stealing medicines. Another two months later a court was held during which in spite of scores of witnesses he was fully vindicated and released. Meanwhile, however, as an officer ~~on~~ ^{under} ~~the~~ ^{and} suspicion he was retired from the army afterwards he could not find a job for almost two years. Meanwhile he worked as a helper. Later on he was ~~given~~ given a job as a health insurance physician an OTI physician. An other case which was remarkable was this farmer who was known to us when my family and I lived in the country after we were deported from Budapest. He apparently kicked out the collecting officers after some argument with them. For three weeks he disappeared. When he returned he never said a word about it. But once I saw his bare back later. It was full with thick scars. If one asked him what happened he came back with a standard reply: "I was never beaten". Another story which was interesting was a school-mate of mine. They walked down the street in front of the ~~street~~ ^{HADIK} barracks. Now its called ~~Maté Szalka~~ ^{Maté Szalka}. Suddenly some warm air hit their legs and they looked down through the window. Within seconds they were taken inside and they spent two days there. No harm was done to them but they had to stand against a wall one whole night. Another case was in which a class-mate of mine met a school-mate of ours on a trolley just after Stalin's death. They joked of Stalin's death and when they got off the trolley a man got off with them and called a cop. Within minutes a

paddy wagon appeared and they both spent four months in jail and received three years suspended sentences. Finally another story ^{is that} ~~was about~~ of our scout-leader with the cistercien gymnasium. This was earlier in 1946, 1947. I went to a scout meeting and a cop asked me what I was doing there standing at the gate. I talked back to him and he almost took me into the station. The same day the scout-masters were arrested for hiding arms. I did not find out what happened to them.

d
(m)

Mostly Hungarians, that is everybody was liable. The AVO preferred old middle class people, aristocracy, and strangely enough there were many arrests at the Hungarian-Russian handball matches in 1955 when the students and the audience whistled at the rough game of the Russians. Several boys were kicked out of school then or from their job.

(g)

The worst part was that one had to pay even while in prison for room and board. I think this amounted to twelve Forints a day, however, they permitted ^{to work} and most people took advantage of this ~~from prisoners to work~~ and many went to work in the mines and later in 1956 even let them learn languages. People who owed were liable to have deductions made from their future salary up to 50%. Concerning mistreatment I think guards could accost prisoners till 1953 but not after that. This was the official rule but not the practice necessarily.

(h)

We experienced it ourselves but we were lucky. One family friend worked with the deportation section in the ministerium on basis

of long lists and so they could give us a three - four day notice before we were deported. It was ridiculous. At that time we lived on Soroksari.^{Ut.} One morning at seven a.m. the 5th floor tenant received a deportation notice for three p.m. that afternoon. So we took all his furniture down to the 3rd floor where a tenant volunteer^{ed} to keep it for him. At 10 p.m. that night the 3rd floor tenant received notice of eviction and then we ~~locked~~^{lugged} all the furniture up to our apartment. Within a day or two we heard that we will be next to be deported. So we sneaked out of town and settled on our last 8 acres of land 50 km from Budapest. We thus awaited the eviction. We were luckier than others who were moved to Kulák peasants and thus they made each other miserable in the most God-forsaken part of the country. Our last 8 acres that we had were taken away from us for a military range. The other peasants received compensation but we as gentlemen kuláks didn't. Also when my father started working in the neighbourhood he was soon fired from every job under pressure of the party secretariate. Finally in the spring of '56 we were permitted to move back to Budapest. In all our ~~misfortunes~~ misfortune much good ~~arrived~~ derived from the fact that my father was a lawyer. He could work all the legal angles and so we kept one step ahead of the party secretary. Whenever an order reached us we asked for a postponement or appeal or some sort of delay which gave us three to four months every time. So the bureaucracy couldn't really

catch up with us. We worked the same angle about a ten-thousand Forint debt half of which was part of my mother's hospital expenses and the other half was tax on our real estate in Budapest between October and December that they demanded from us even though the house was taken away in October. This was I think in 1948. In this case, too, we asked for delays, part payments, instalments, and what have you and as far as I know we haven't paid it yet.

- (13) The easiest is to go west. The local alternative is either to fully accept the party line or else to completely keep quiet. The police was not ^{dangerous} ~~important~~ for those who were on the bottom of the totem pool for they could loose nothing. It was also of less importance for people on the top, the sports figures, and political greats.
- (c) These are very important. My father knew the people in various Offices who kept our papers on the bottom of their files. So there was always a lengthy ~~delay~~ delay before action was initiated. Of course an AVO friendship is very helpful and so is a party secretary.
- (d) Yes, it helps and it's ~~also~~ ~~also~~ also possible but the thing is that one never knows what is entered on the Káder sheet.
- (e) To have a lot of money is good. Actually for ^{200,000 300,000} ~~2,000 to 3,000~~ Forints one could leave the country any time.
- (f) Yes. This was the system and it was also encouraged by the government. They wanted no trouble and no talk back. So .

actually every step of the government policy encouraged a shut mouth.

- (14) 1953 and 1956 were more relaxed years. I think there were increased activities of terror in 1951 and 1952 and 1954 and 1955.
- (a) Separately from these were party purges in 1949/50 I think and again in 1954. The deportation waives for non-party people was in 1950/51 and in 1954/55 there was a rationalization of production during which they "B-listed" and dismissed a lot of people from their jobs.
- (15) The USSR was the standard example and usually everything was introduced in Hungary with the ~~expansionist~~ explanation that this is the way of the USSR and therefore this is good for ^{direction} Hungary. The ~~direction~~ of all policies came from there and the regime was maintained by a maintenance of Soviet troops in Hungary.
- (a) Basic decisions were made in Moscow. The execution of them was up to the Hungarian regime with Soviet supervisors in key positions.
- (d) No contact whatever.
- (e) In the military field on the divisional level and higher, in important plants, in the ship, oil, air transportation plants, in the bauxite and uranium mining.
- (16) One considered everything carefully before one spoke. On

meeting someone one gradually and systematically conducted a private anti-kaderization. This meant one looked the person over, his clothes, his manners, one found out about his friends, and his background as much as one could before one started talking more freely.

- (c) You could be frank with those you knew.
- (d) You could be frank about sports, cultural affairs, and things like this. Politics was always a little bit ^{risky} ~~suspicious~~ with everyone. An added difficulty arose there: People had to be careful what news came through the local press and radio, and what news they gathered only through Radio Free Europe or Western stations, because it was embarrassing to talk about news which one did not find out about through the local press. This gave cause for permanent kidding.
- (e) Things coincided with the rest of the political changes, ~~and~~ in this as in everything else.
- (17) One had to play one's cards as one could, as we did in our presumed debts and our deportation. For instance my brother with 16 was not permitted to attend a gymnasium because of his family background. Well, he went and applied for a trade school and got permit to live in Budapest on that basis. The school accepted him because he was an outstanding pupil. By the time the party secretary from our place found out about it and protested to the school he established his reputation so well in the school that they could not and would not let him go.

When he graduated with honours they recommended him to gymnasium and he was accepted here again. By the time the party caught up with them he made his mark and he was safe.

- (b) Never really. He may try to talk the officials out of it, or cry or whine but he could not defy them.
 - (c) He would need connections.
 - (d) This was not much of a problem, for a worker always had a headstart in this matters and got permissions easier.
 - (e) I tried up to twenty times. Since I did not succeed I was now in for 3 years of army life.
- (18) The regime rested on the AVO, the party system, the spying, and the various councils. Its weakness was that the people were against it.
- (19) There were various conspirations one heard of. Frequently they were accused of hidden weapons, preparing sabotage, or attempting to overthrow the government. There must have been many trials for this. Besides direct opposition there were people who tried sabotage. For a while I think in 1952 or so the factories were burning every night.
- (b) Everyone.
 - (c) The AVO and the party leadership, perhaps some idealists with mental difficulties.
 - (d) If anything, it grew.
 - (e) I have no idea. There are no figures on this sort of thing.

- (f) I think there were groups continually being organized for something had to be done.
- (g) Of course there was the Rajk affair. There were other anti-Rakosi rumblings.
- (h) There were steady house-cleanings going on in the army.
- (i) These were the worst. They were steadily involved in one thing or another.
- (j) Yes, Josef Erdely and many others.
- (l) Greater freedom existed by '56. All wanted the change and the ^{it} Petöfi circle started ~~it~~. The government soon became a tool in the hand of those who were more and more impatient.
- (m) The new intelligentsia yes. The old was not very active in anything.

- (1) The Hungarian newspapers and the foreign radios, Szabad Nép and Szabad Europa.
- (b) The Hungarian Radio and BBC.
- (2) Read papers frequently, every other day. Read the sports paper daily. This was a national must even though I wasn't a sports fiend.
- (a) Szabad Nép and the Magyar Nemzet and sport newspaper. For magazines I only read Vigelia. This was a Catholic monthly magazine.
- (e) Yes.
- (f) This was a torture, for the secretary or who ever was in charge asked one to write news or stories in little articles. First this went on weekly, later monthly and then we didn't change the board but once a year.
- (g) Yes, Mirroir, the French sports magazine.
- (j) No, I didn't. Oh yes, I did. I saw some Free Europe handbills dropped by balloons. It talked about the West German standard of living etc., which looked very tempting then. Now that I see it, it is still true word for word but it doesn't look so tempting.
- (3) Once a month maybe, sometimes twice. I think that was less than average. I preferred Italian and French movies, mainly funny comedies or movies on operas.

- (e) I went to the opera about once a month. In the theater I saw Shakespeare and six times I saw Rostend's Cyrano. In the later years there was less propadanda in the theaters but one had to buy tickets to a propaganda play to get a ticket to a classic performance.
- (4) Yes, quite a few.
- (a) About 80 a year.
- (b) Cronin, Sinclair Lewis, Huxley's "Brave New World", Ajejér "Far From Moscow", Jerome K Jerome "Three Men In a Boat", Edgar Wallace "Red Circle, also French classics like Zola, Balzac, Hugo, Rostend. I read everything I got hold of. Least I read cheap detedtive who-done-its. I also read Zweig and Pourtales and aside from these I read all the Hungarian writers. I read ~~kingrph~~ biographies of Napoleon, Liszt, and Wagner.
- (d) Yes, I wanted to read recent books by Huxley and other Western authors but these were not available.
- (e) I think Rostend, Ady, and Zweig.
- (g) Yes, of course.
- (5) Yes, I did.
- (b) No, we had no radio at home but where I lived until '56 with various relatives they had short-wave reception.
- (d) To music and comedy ~~KZ~~ shows.

- (e) I listened to a good opera and often not at all.
- (f) Wherever I was. I had many friends.
- (6)
- (a) Whichever one could catch on the radio. BBC was respected most.
- (b) Only in the evenings. No one had time to listen during the day.
- (d) BBC was most reliable, followed by RFE, VOA.
- (e) Yes , frequently.
- (7) Yes.
- (a) These turned out to be second-hand radio news.
- (b) From acquaintances, friends, and factories.
- (c) Less reliable.
- (d) One always heard jokes, political and otherwise.
- (g) Party members and government officials seemed to have more information.
- (h) One could discuss everywhere cautiously ^{or} ~~and~~ one could often fall into a trap.
- (i) There were few cafes left and none of the old custom. Who would have had time to go there or money to spend?
- (8) All news were distorted, even foreign sports commentaries. Nothing could have been believed straight.
- (b) Especially foreign political news but domestic political news were not much more reliable.

- (c) The same.
- (d) The only thing just about one could believe was the schedule of movie performances.
- (e) All were about the same.
- (f) In '56, rarely before then. It was dull before that time.
- (g) One would find amazing lies in it but one could read between the lines with some practise.
- (h) See above in Section R.
- (9) Decidedly. That's why they suffered to get g hold of RFE news broadcast etc. even though it was painful and dangerous. Until this was possible we attended embassies' parties, movie programs etc. Every one did.
- (b) And every one had their ups and downs. All had just given up in disgust one ^{week} ~~wake~~ and start up again the next.
- (10) It ended the war and there were from 20,000 to 60,000 dead.
- (b) No one knows. I have no opinion on this.
- (c) It is not quite so as the communists said. Something similar did take place for by our formula ^{up all} you ~~see~~ that you can find and ~~you~~ divide by ~~two~~ 2 and you come up with half. Thus some truth must have been to it. ~~What~~ What did happen?
- (d) We were completely assured that West Germany was armed to the teeth. We thought that the US was fooling us, ^{saying} that this was only a police ^{force} ~~force~~ but no one believed it. We all thought there is a real fully armed Wehrmacht strong and powerful in

Germany.

- (e) These just brought in handbills but I believe that a plane was lost with a balloon.
- (f) It started and we all hoped for a revolt. But nothing happened. The Russians came and wiped it out.
- (g) This was a great disappointment for we hoped that an agreement will be ^{reached} ~~reached~~ for the withdrawal of troops in Hungary.
- (h) We knew that there were 13,000 Hungarian ^{csendörs} ~~csendörs~~ being trained in West Germany. We also knew ~~that~~ of the Hung^{ary} SS Division trained against the Hungarian people's republic. We were most upset that these units did not come to help us in the revolt.

- (1) It needs replacement in every way.
 - (a) The land reform, the holding of large enterprises in social ownership, this would be neither state nor private ownership.
 - (b) The increased social benefits, vacation and wide sickness insurance coverage.
- (2) Yes.
 - (a) All should have the right to vote but the founding of parties should be regulated for various reasons. The entire extreme right should be controlled and the overall number of parties should also be limited else the country's forces will be splintered.
- (3) Aside from libel, yes, anything should be permissible.
 - (c) They should not be forbidden.
 - (d) Yes, those who want to change the system of government on other than legal ways should be controlled. A revolutionary change should not be permitted as long as free elections permit legal changes.
- (4) Yes.
 - (a) Yes, even then.
 - (b) If no means are given for change through free elections in legal ways.
- (5) The agricultural machinery ~~industry~~ industry and a mechaniza-

tion of agriculture should be developed. Agriculture should be more and more transformed to a gardening agriculture. The bauxite mines should be much more utilized and atomic power plans should be built. The planned economy of today should be wiped out entirely but not planning should be abolished. The heavy industry, iron and steel, should be reduced in its scope except railroad building. In overall organizations the economy should be decentralized.

- (6) I am not in favor of either nationalization or of private ownership but I am for social ownership where the company is owned by the workers on a share basis, however, the state should have the power and the right to direct operations.
- (b) Very small enterprises should be returned to permit the use of individual initiative. ^{Besides} ~~As for~~ there is no sense to divide up an enterprise with three workers.
- (c) It is good.
- (d) State banks.
- (e) Yes, there should be.
- (f) The wine monopoly and things like that are bad but the ones that are age old and have been accepted in the West should be kept like salt, tobacco, and mining monopolies.
- (g) The retail trade is much better in private hands but kösért should be perhaps socially owned like the large plants to create a personal interest of its employees in its success. They should not work on a flat salary basis.

- (7) No, prefer social ownership just like in the heavy industry.
- (8) Planning as it is done in Eastern Europe now is harmful/.
Rigid plans are followed on a mathematical basis and the governments do not care whether a healthy economic development takes place. Yet some economic planning is useful. This must not be compulsory but the government should be able to give incentives to farmers to produce some products as against others. The same may be possible for industry. At the same time private initiative should be preserved and used.
- (d) The free market price would be ~~extremely~~ decisive.
- (9) Religious life, family life, freedom of movement if one does not have a criminal record.
- (10) Yes.
 - (a) In the value of his income, progressively.
 - (b) Is a necessary evil.
 - (c) Is also a necessary thing.
 - (d) Yes, it is true of all legally brought laws.
 - (e) Yes, to maintain order and law and protect the citizen and many others.
- (11) I think it did improve but this is a conditional thing. But of course this is a simplification for we are in the middle of the

20th century and we would expect improvements over the 17th century. This is one of the communist tricks of comparing past performance with present achievement and giving all the credit to the party.

- (a) The peasants have an easier way now of getting hold of medical care. The workers perhaps also improved their position in this matter.
 - (b) Yes, but the top leadership has better care and better doctors at its disposal. However, all can use the insurance plan with the exception of the Maszek and the small peasants who are not members. These must pay through the nose to private doctors.
 - (c) Private physicians are much better. Not qualitywide but because a doctor is overloaded on his job and the same doctor, once he returns from the hospital can spend more time with his private patients and give them better care.
 - (d) These were better than they had been before but they could be much better. I ~~am~~ don't think there were adequate improvements in medical care.
 - (e) I had satisfactory experiences.
- (12) This is a difficult question for these are all the areas of propaganda which were fostered specially by the regime. Many could have gone before the war but they did not. They didn't need it as badly but I think that overall there are approximately the same number of people who make use of these.

- (a) No, I have been going more before.
- (b) Yes, they do.
- (c) Of course city people have a better chance.
- (d) Yes, for this is their only entertainment. ~~xxxx~~
- (e) No, they don't.

(13) No, they eat worse.

- (a) Better than in '46.
- (b) About the same as in '50.
- (d) Generally party leadership has separate means of purchasing. These get everything that the others do not get. They have tropical and citrus fruits, sardines, and all kinds of delicatesses. ^{peasants} However, the do not do as well as the city people would think and I have often seen long lines where peasants stood in line for bread.

(14) No, worse.

- (a) Better then in '46.
- (b) Same as in '50.
- (c) Party top crust is of course better provided as are people in the higher income brackets.

(15) The iron industry has exceeded previous production but generally production was greater before the war than it is now.

- (c) The increase of the heavy industry for Hungary was ~~down~~ downright bad. ~~Theyxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

- role
- (16) They must have a ~~work~~ to help determine operations.
- (a) As in the West the unions should represent the workers' interests.
- (b) Completely independent.
- (c) Not at all compulsory. The unions should be good enough for everyone to join them.
- (d) No specific plans yet but some one person should direct the operation with workers' representation on the board.
- (e) To the workers of the plants but the state should be invited to supervise and check the books regularly.
- (17) In as much as they are voluntary they should be kept and they also should be aided by the state.
- (b) They should not be productive farms but used only for experimental purposes.
- (c) See above, distributed or kept according to the decision of the members.
- (d) No one should interfere. Ones who want to stay, fine, ~~ones~~ who want to dissolve, fine.
- (e) The ones who took their land in to the collective should get back what they took in.
- (f) Yes, one or two hundred acres should be the top limit.
- (h) They did not take away from any small holders.
- (i) They should return up to 50 acres, say with a top limit of one or two hundred acres ownership in one hand.
- (1) Yes, to aid in the development of gardening etc. but ^{it} ~~they~~ should not pick up tab for unproductive holdings or ^{kolhoses} ~~collektives~~

- (m) They could stay either in state hand or go over to social ownership.
- (q) Yes.
- (18) The two should be entirely separate but the state should aid the church. They have no business with each other.
 - (a) Yes.
 - (b) No, all should be equal.
 - (d) Yes, they should get back the church schools and everywhere religious education should become again compulsory.
 - (e) Yes.
 - (f) To church school.
 - (g) They should get back the buildings and church institutions but not the rest, not the land. They should have the same treatment as all others.
- (19) Those without crimes or blames should derive no punishment at all. We must not have blood baths and counter blood baths again for revenge is a never ending process. Actually all those who ~~were~~ had any connections with the government or party should be screened and all those who may be guilty with any kind of crime should be judged by regular courts. This should be the treatment of people on every level.
 - (e) Nothing should happen to them aside from the regular treatment. The AVO and the police should have the same treatment.
 - (h) All evidence should be heard before courts be it favorable or unfavorable and it should count in a final judgment.

- (20) There were two main trends. One was the defense of the West against the Asiatic invasions, the ^{Besenyös} ~~Besenyös~~, the Mongols, the Turks, and the Russians. The second trend is the Hungarian fight for freedom which is ^a ~~an~~ strong tradition.
- (21) Yes, one should read Gyula Szekfü's , the Magyar Nemzet.
- (a b c) It differs from all.
- (d) Not at all.
- (e) Yes, this has now lessened.
- (f) They were stronger before.
- (22) One should ask: Which was the worst government? Hungary never had a good government.
- (c) Yes, of course, until 1945.
- (d) Not good.
- (e) A post-war natural development of a tired ~~people~~ and beaten people. ^{Actually} ~~Actual~~ the whole thing was unpatriotic, poisoned by the communists later. During the communist phase a lot of people were liquidated.
- (f) Yes, this was significant.
- (g) It did its task for better or for worse in a politically impossible situation. Inadequate as it was it suffered from the difficult political circumstances prevailing.
- (h) This depends on the facts. It was not good to permit the German attack through Hungary on Yugoslavia but Hungary did everything to stop this even to the extent of its Prime

Minister's suicide. Generally the foreign political conditions were so pressing that Hungary had no choice left.

- (i) It was marked by reconstruction and the race for political power.
- (23) The entire Horthy regime was built on revision of the borders.
- (a) They are important in a reduced manner but they are still quite important.
- (b) It is now hard to decide who has a ^{rightful} ~~rightful~~ claim. The solution must be found through federation for no use of military power will bring a solution.
- (c) Not now.
- (d) No. This is a question of propaganda.
- (efgh) All this is a matter of propaganda. With a good policy none of this is a problem. At present our best relations are with the Austrians and the Slovaks, and then about equal relations with the other powers.
- (24)
 - (a) A Danubian confederation within a United Europe.
 - (c) It should have an equal but important rôle.
 - (d) Yes, why not?
 - (e) Enforced exchanges are bad.
- (25) Demographically they are quiet, slow, childish, human, and good natured.

- (a) I cannot make distinctions. I don't know them that well.
 - (b) I don't know.
 - (c) Very few of them are communists.
 - (d) Never.
 - (e) They were feared and hated and there has been no change toward them since.
-
- (26) It is an antiquated museum piece.
 - (a) It is entirely out-dated, and no one takes it seriously.
 - (c) No connection at all. If we consider the improvement of living standard for instance as its basic ^{tenet} ~~tenet~~. Now it is simply a cover name for free plunder.
 - (d) Lenin perhaps but not Stalin.
 - (j) It is also a cover for one of the cleverest politicians of the age.
 - (f) They are not marxists. But who are the social-democrats anyway? way in Hungary? Is Merosán one?
 - (g) Marxism is solely an excuse for concentration camps. No one takes it seriously in the East. The Americans are too naive to really take it seriously.
 - (h) To stand for free elections and free speech and to protect these.
 - (i) Not yet.
-
- (27) If it's international communism it's the Soviet who suppresses the people. Under national communism the local state does the same. In both instances freedom is limited.

- (a) Yes, there were.
 - (b) Generally the old members of the party and they aimed to copy the Tito system. I don't think there are more than 10% of them, of the party members.
 - (c) He is doing a dance on eggs with the Soviets but his government will not be long-lived.
 - (d) Yes, he is.
 - (e) There is no communism any place, it's a Soviet rule. In Yugoslavia they are nationalistic because the ruling class is Yugoslav. In Poland there is real communism, only they try to play the independent's line as much as they dare.
- (28) Parties would have been formed and free elections held and Hungary's neutrality proclaimed. Perhaps a union with Austria would have been arranged.
- (a) His ideas must have gone through tremendous changes in a week's time.
 - (b) Yes, till elections. He could have also remained in the government if he wanted to and he would have been elected regardless of his party affiliations for his personal distinctions.
- (29)
- (a) As an idea beautiful but it's not realisable.
 - (b) I disapprove but I like the new English system of making equal partners of them.
 - (c) Bad if it comes to it for predicates great class differences. Its aim by itself is good for it aims a reduction and elimina-

tion of class differences.

- (d) ^{has connotations} It's bad ~~bad~~ and actually is a ~~bad~~ communist bluff.
- (e) Is bad if the ~~communist definition~~ communist definition is accepted and I reject such categories. But if life in the West is regarded as a ~~phrase~~ praise of imperialism then it is good for all live better under it.
- (f) The same as goes for (e).
- (g) Middle class itself is good. Caste system was bad.
- (h) This is a propaganda word and it doesn't really have any meaning.
- (i) ^{Peter} Veress was a so-called folk-directed writer. He received help from the communists after '45. He went along for a while and when he was no longer needed they threw him out. He is a disillusioned man.
- (j) He showed a different way for communism and was liquidated.
- (k) I don't know much about him.
- (l) Doesn't hurt me one way or another. He is liked for he killed communists. He is one of the Chinese claiming leadership over China.
- (m) She is not very interesting.
- (n) One of the most outstanding and hardest and heroic men of the age. By the way I know he did not want land back for the church only church institutions.
- (30) A Catholic party if there were one. But the church itself is against using the religion for political purposes for sooner or

later it would decrease respect for the entire church. But it would get the votes.

- (a) The most popular figures today are Imre Nagy and Imre Kovács who I think was a small holder and participated in the Nagy government, in the end.

(31)

- (a) Not enough.
(b) Not enough.
(c) Not enough.
(d) Not enough.
(e) Not enough.
(f) Not enough.
(g) Depends. Generally they get more than they deserve.
(h) Not enough.
(i) Not enough.
(j) Got what they deserved.

- (32) All had it better, particularly before 1938. There were no changes.

(33)

- (a) In harmony.
(b) In harmony, generally speaking.
(c) In harmony.
(d) In discord.
(e) In harmony.

- (f) Some discord.
- (g) Great distinctions, some discord.
- (h) In discord.
- (i) In discord.
- (j) In discord.

- (34) None.

- (35) In 1956 only a very small percentage would have fought with the communists. This got much worse after the absence of ~~the~~ Western help in the revolt. Even now many would come over but decidedly less a number than before. Now the majority would be passive more than allied. All however actually would at least be passive and secretly our allies.

- (36) In question (5) I now have a broader understanding and due to new impressions and new ideas. In question (16) the role of the unions is now clear again due to increased knowledge and not to radical changes in my thinking.

(1)

(a)

Interesting.

(b)

Quite a bit.

(c)

Nothing.

(d)

Yes, there is frequently insufficient historic distance though.

(e)

We should ask what do you think of World War III for we think in Hungary that the US will pay dearly for careless military programs and policies but it might win the war after a bloody fight.

(2)

Yes, I do intend to go back.

(3)

I hope you will thoroughly review Hungarian literature especially the development of the European idea in Hungary.

(c)

Yes, I have suggestions. These got to Leslie Laszlo today.

Interviewer's rating: Respondent is an intelligent boy without too wide a vision. Much of his thinking ~~is~~ ~~is~~ is determined by both family background and traditions and perhaps by caution not to cut off his way from going to the United States. As an intelligent person he is not properly trained which is obvious. His mental processes are not very clear. He does lack a university training he was dreaming of. A very likable young man.