

NO. 207

"A" FACESHEET AND RATING

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LL

p. 1

July 1957
Feldafing

1. [REDACTED]
2. [REDACTED]
3. München 13, Türkenstrasse 58
4. 34
5. M
6. Hungarian
7. Lutheran
8. Lutheran
9. Married
10. 2, Ages: 5, 3.
11. Translator
12. --
13. --
14. Intellectual
15. --
16. Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia
1945, 1955-56
17. no
18. no
19. University of Budapest, Faculty of Philosophy
20. Budapest
21. --
22. Budapest
23. --
24. November 29, 1956
25. Austria, up to December 14th, then Munich.
26. Uncertain
27. No.
28. --
29. --
31. 10 No
32. 8 No
33. 8

- (1) Besides the spontaneity of the Hungarian Revolution you have to know that the events in Hungary formed an integral part in the chain of events in Eastern Europe. There was a sudden lightening in Czechoslovakia end of May 1956. Then the Polish events. In Hungary people were shaken up by the new political program of Imre Nagy in 1953. Public opinion never changed afterwards inspite of the fact that Imre Nagy was removed at the beginning of 1955.
- (2) In June 1956 with the Petöfi Circle. This was by no means only a movement of the intelligentsia. If there was a meeting Wednesday evening, by Friday even the old uperintendant anties on the Üllői út knew about it and discussed it.
- (2b) The 1953 springtime economic difficulties and the strike at Csepel. 1953 July 3rd Imre Nagy's program. 1954 November or end of October the Congress of the Patriotic People's Front. 1955 March 8th when the Rakosi clique published the critic on the policy of Imre Nagy and that certain party resolution. Then in Spring of 1956. Here I cannot name any particular day or month. This was a very interesting period of ferment when from day to day the bankruptcy of Communist policy became more and more apparent. In June and July the Poznan events and afterwards the Polish developments have been of decisive significance. With these the Hungarian developments proceeded parallel. It is interesting to note that during the Summer there was a summer vacation also in the politics. In September 1956 the national assembly convened. There instead of the previous automatic votes and reports now they

discussions under more parliamentary forms. One minister was even voted down. After this there was only the Polish events and the Gomulka story missing. The death of Stalin was rather a foreign political event. But the first Premiership of Imre Nagy, with his promise of remedying ~~XX~~ the serious economic difficulties, had a deep effect on the internal politics of Hungary.

(Tell me something more about the Csepel strike, please, which you just mentioned?)

Up to 1953, according to their quarterly statistics, there was about 20 - 30 per cent development in industry. In the Soviet Union the same figure was only 10 per cent. About 1953 in Hungary they arrived also to the 10 per cent. People were demanding a new regulation of the norm and wage system. Food supply was scarce, especially in the capital, in Budapest. The first real serious strike since 1946 took place in Csepel at the Rákosi Mátyás works, ~~XXXXXX~~ former Weisz Manfred ~~XXXXX~~ works. At the end of May or beginning of June 1956 about 20,000 workers went on strike. The Government quickly gave 200 - 300 forints bonus to each worker and thus succeeded in ending the strike. It has lasted only one or two days and it remained secret. Almost no news have reached the outside world about it.

(2c) ~~XXXXXX~~ only for July 1953, the new policy of Imre Nagy.

(2d) My conviction was that Hungarian politics are entirely dependent ~~XX~~ on foreign politics. A lasting change could only take place after a change in the Soviet Union, consequently I

have not expected any sudden change in Hungary.

- (2e) The writers won the great merit that they wrote and spoke. The role of the writers ~~XXXX~~^{also} began ~~also~~^{XXXX} in 1953 when from one day to the other they have turned away from the official Communist artistic and political lines. Already in 1953 the writers have joined Imre Nagy in overwhelming majority. In 1955 the Writer's Union in its petition to the Central Committee of the Party has complained about the censorship and demanded freedom of the press and opinions. This petition was signed also by the actors and by other representatives of the intellectuals.
- (2f) e have to go back again to 1953. It was the end of that year one could notice a freer tone on the pages of Szabad Nép, the official paper of the Party. This was apparent especially in humorous stories, reports. Now they began to criticize sharply the anomalies of the last years. This lasted up to January 1955. On ~~XXXX~~ March 8th, 1955 the Party resolution has named by name and condemned Szabad Nép. Many people were removed from its editorial board. The old tone returned up to March 1956. In that time Szabad Nép, Magyar Nemzet, Irodalmi Ujság and the Radio, these were again the leaders in forming the new policy and expressing opinions in a very sharp and definite form. Since September 1956 there was added the Hétfői Hírlap, edited by Ivan Boldizsár.
- (2g) Since March the Irodalmi Ujság and from September the Hétfői Hírlap. The articles in these papers have not criticized the general political line, but rather the small injustices which affected the "little man". That's why they had such a tremendous

effect.

- (3) There were psychological and political factors. There was no definite idea of what should be. Only that it was enough from the lies, enough from the terror and enough from the misery. In 1956 there was relatively great tourist traffic both ways. Many, several thousands tourists from the West came to Hungary. At the same time 20 - 30 thousand Hungarians went to Czechoslovakia and about the same number of Hungarians went to Rumania and thus many started to think why are living the Czechs better than the Hungarians and why are the Rumanians living worse. This was a problem for the great masses. The more intelligent ones started also to compare prices and ~~causes~~ ^{courses} of the foreign exchange. Why was, for instance, that the Hungarian rice sold in Czechoslovakia for one third and in Austria for only one tenth of the Hungarian price at the same time when in Hungary was a shortage of it. People have measured up the foreign countries first of all on their ~~stomach~~ stomach.

(3a) Because of the Polish events.

(3b) There were two components: 1. There was much more to be controlled than for which the regime was prepared. 2. Changes occurred also in the psychology of those persons who were supposed to exercise the controls. For example; If in 1955 a bus with thirty English sportsmen arrived to Budapest you could control them but in 1956 when 500 people arrived there were difficulties to control that number of people. By the same token in the factories there was such

a general discontent and protest that there was simply no possibility to control it. Besides since 1953 there was serious reduction in the personnel of the police and of the AVH mainly because of financial reasons.

- (3c) The fourteen points petition expresses the primary intention of the demonstrators. The secondary intention was the publication of the fourteen points which led directly to ^{the siege} ~~the~~ of the radio station.
- (3f) There was no possibility of opposition. Simply nobody would get the word who would have wanted to oppose it.
- (3g) Those who had slept that night.
- (3h) "Out with the Russians!" The fundamental principles of the Revolution were expressed in the fourteen points, formulated by the Writer's Union. These remained with unimportant variations throughout the whole Revolution.
- (3i) Not at the beginning but later when the Revolutionaries succeeded to break into the AVH centers and have seen what was going on there and when the AVH began to shoot at the people, then in one or two days the Revolution became anti-communist. The fact that at the first moment the Revolution was not anti-communist that does not mean that there was any sympathy for Communism. It means only that nobody has taken seriously the Party. Already in September it was questioned whether there was any Communist in Hungary besides those few paid Party secretaries. This opinion was justified by subsequent events when between October 23rd and November 4th the different political parties began to organize.

- (4) Nothing exceptional. On October 7th or 10th about 25 Polish students of Hungarian of the Warsaw university came to Budapest with two of their professors and two or three officials of the Ministry of Universities. They were joined by the Polish students studying in Budapest with scholarships. All were put up in a large villa on Svábhegy. Since I was a student of Slavistics and spoke Polish well my job was to guide them in Hungary and take care of their material needs. As everybody can guess, this was a very difficult job during the tumultuous events at the end of October and beginning November. I had no time to participate in the Revolution with arms. I had my hands full in protecting our Polish guests. You cannot imagine what it meant in those days in Budapest to go out with these Polish people. The Hungarians usually mistook them for Russians and this could have turned out to be very unpleasant in those days in Budapest. Then, when I succeeded in explaining them that my friends were Poles, the Hungarians nearly killed them with their kisses and embraces. It was an impossible task to keep the young Polish students at home. They went out fighting for the Hungarian cause on the streets of Budapest and one of them was killed, several wounded. They have returned to Poland around November 10th. The Revolution has filled my heart with joy. I have hoped that this will have its echo not only in the West but even more in the East. On the other hand the thought has tortured me day and night during the Revolution that, as we say it in Budapest, "Hogy mászunk mi ki ebből?" In English: How can we get out of this mess?.

- (4b) The Hungarian soldiers and the blue police have joined the Revolution en mass. They were the ones who have given the arms to the people.
- (7) I do not know who had the greatest authority since there was no real organization.
- (7a) I have no information about such conflicts or disagreements.
- (7b) They did very well.
- (8) There was a great difference between those Russian troops who stationed for longer time already in Hungary and those who were brought in during the Revolution. In Monor there was a regular fight between the two kinds of Russians. Monor is South of Budapest, about 40 kilometers on the road to Cegléd. On November 3rd when the Russians surrounded Budapest they wanted to relieve the troops who have stationed in Monor already for two or three years. These troops simply did not want to leave and started to shoot on the new troops. The new troops attacked the barracks with tanks and in fact smoked out the old troops from there. There ^{were} many casualties on both sides.
- (Why did not want the old troops leave? Was there any sympathy from their part toward the Hungarian Revolution?)
probably
No, there was no sympathy ~~probably~~ with the Revolution but with the higher living standard. The troops in Hungary have received all kinds of bonuses and lived far better than the military in the Soviet Union. They simply did not want to go back to the Soviet paradise. Unfortunately I had no chance

to talk with the Russians during the Revolution, thus I don't know what effect it exercised on them. That it had certain effects is without any doubt. The above described events in Monor were reported to me by eyewitnesses who brought up food to Budapest and with whom I had a long talk.

(8a) On October the 24th I saw a Russian armoured battalion consisting of twelve tanks and accompanying trucks to defect and go over to the side of the Revolution at the Buda bridge-head of Margaret bridge. They arrived from Tata flying red flags, but apparently ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ somebody has told them what was all about, thereupon they have exchanged their red flags for the Hungarian colors and, instead of blocking the bridge, which had been their order, they lined up on the pier without any apparent bellicose intentions.

(8f) In the first phase of the Revolution, nothing. The majority of the Soviet troupes turned out to be useless. Only after November the 4th, when some real specialists of Hungarian affairs from Moscow arrived, has been the Soviet leadership in Budapest affectively reorganized. According to foreign press reports ~~Bojkov, the XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{lecturer} of Hungarian literature at the Moscow university, was entrusted by the Kremlin with carrying out Soviet policy in Hungary. I have known Bojkov personally ~~between~~ 1946 and 1950 when he was the vice director of the Szovinform bureau in Budapest, thus having all information from every important man and matter in Hungary. Bojkov appeared in Budapest at the beginning of ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{December}.

In my opinion it was his, Bojkov's influence, which ~~caused~~ caused the momentary ease off in Hungarian politics between the departure of Serov and the consolidation of the Kádár regime in January. As I knew Bojkov, he was a man who would follow the Party line and Moscow's order without question, but he always had a certain sympathy toward Hungary. The fact alone that he has learned the Hungarian language quite well, in my opinion is proof for this.

- (9) From the radio, from newspapers and from information received from friends and acquaintances.
- (9a) A tremendous number of newspapers appeared in those days. I read everything I could get hold of.
- (9b) I can't recall but as an example I mentioned above the events in Monor.
- (9c) I did. I listened to domestic, to foreign and all kinds of radio stations I could receive on my radio set.
- (10) Only the Central Office of the Party was functioning in the ~~and~~ Akadémia ~~K~~ Árpád Utca block. The Budapest Party office was ~~sieged~~ ~~XXXXXXX~~ by the revolutionaries and occupied. In the country everywhere party offices were ~~seized~~ and put out of business. I don't know about the other ministries but when I went up to the Ministry of Education in a certain business, I could not find any official function but the distributing ~~of~~ potatoes to the people. Within October 29th and November 3rd, during the time of relative quiet, revolutionary councils were formed everywhere but these occupied themselves only with raising

advances, with distributing food and with revealing to the public the hereto secret kader cards piled up in their offices.

- (10a) I just couldn't tell and probably nobody else could.
- (10b) With the exception of the National Headquarters, the Party was everywhere dissolved and the Party offices were requisitioned for other parties' use.
- (10c) The blue police went over to the Revolution or rather it tried to ^{maintain public} ~~maintain public~~ order. There was not much need for this, because in the first phase of the Revolution there was practically no crime committed. I mean stealing, burglary and other common crimes. The police behaved rather passively toward the fighting groups.
- (10d) A part of them has obeyed orders of the Party. Many have disguised themselves and went to hiding. Others have fled to the West. On November 2nd and 3rd members of the AVH had to register at the Markó Utca district court in order to be examined regarding their past.
- (10g) I don't know.
- (10h) In most places the local councils were formed by new people. Often every day there was another council. Sometimes during one day several councils were formed.
- (10i) There have been a revolution inside the churches too. There were many personnel changes. The so called "peace priests" were simply thrown out.
- (10j) They have formed enough new organizations, they did not have to use any of the older ones.
- (10k) Who would be able to tell this? I personally had only contact

with old organizations, like the radio, the Scientific Academy and the Writer's Union. There were rather Parties and Revolutionary Councils formed than new organizations created. The only important organizational form was the Worker's Council. This was extremely important.

(101) According to my knowledge the Worker's Councils were elected and this was done with the greatest care and knowledge of the individual candidates. Only such people were elected who held really the confidence of the people. Not reactionaries and not careerists. Only the best things I can say from all those Worker's Councils ^{with} which I have been in contact personally. It is also very important to know about the Worker's Councils that it was the common organization of the worker and of the intellectuals of the factories. There was no conflict between the workers and the clerks, engineers etc. as it was predicted and expected by the Communists.

(10m) A democratic and coalition government. There were negotiations between the Small-Holders and the Peasant Party. The former had great masses, the latter had good leaders. This fused new Peasant or Small-Holders' Party would have formed a coalition government with the Social Democratic Party and in this Coalition the Communist Party would have been represented by Imre Nagy and Losonczy. Imre Nagy would have remained a permanent prime minister. This would have been necessary because of the Soviet Union. These parties together would have represented Hungary. We did not think that the other parties had much vitality. Of course, all

this
~~XXXXX~~ would have been a temporary solution and lasted only
until the next general, democratic, free elections.

- (11) Yes.
- (11a) I think it was useful.
- (11b) No.
- (11c) We did not expect help, except economic help in the form of long-range credits and goods.
- (11d) Hungary was a place where a development which led to the decomposition of the Communist system, has begun first. Among the Soviet Satellites, Czechoslovakia has the highest living-standard and a minor form of political terror. Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria have much worse economic situations but they are under milder pressure politically. In Hungary the economic situation was enough bad in order to cause discontent. On the other hand, the political terror was the worst. For instance, in Poland they did not take away private homes. In Czechoslovakia the common rent was not as wide-spread, neither the Kolhose-system, nor the persecution of the Kulaks has been enforced as cruelly ~~enforced~~ as in Hungary. At the same time, Hungary had still propably the most vivid contacts with the Western countries. In the Soviet foreign exchange system Hungary had the most disadvantageous position even vis - a-vis the ~~other~~ Satellites.

Rakosi was the best pupil of Stalin as Szabad Nép often wrote.
Even in May 1956 ^{and} Khrushchev/Bulganin tried to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
bolster up Rakosi's position by sending him a long telegram of congratulation which was reprinted in Szabad Nép.

Hungarian interests and only afterward the interest of Socialism.

(11f) Losonczy, Vásárhelyi Miklós, Németh László, Boldizsár, Tardos, Méray, Kovács Béla, Maleter only later appeared and I don't think that he had any role in the politics. I named these persons because these were the people who took part on the negotiations between October the 29th and November 3rd which would have prepared the fusion of the two Peasant Parties and besides would have mapped out future policies. Kovács Béla and Maléter did not take part in these negotiations. They had other roles in the Revolution.

(11g) Workers/^{students} and intellectuals. The duty of the peasantry consisted rather of securing the food supply. Actually the order has changed from day to day among the three mentioned at first. For instance at the beginning the intellectuals were on the forefront, then the students, later the workers who were joined by the soldiers. Finally there remained only the workers.

(11h) Yes, I did.

(12) On the 29th of November.

(12a) I went shopping and have forgotten something that's why I went to a phone and called my wife. She asked me not to come home because the police was after me. They had searched the apartment for me, having orders for my arrest.

(12b) I just called a friend of mine whether he is coming with me or not. He came and we left.

- (1) I was a translator.
- (2) I had linguistics works. I participated in the making of the Hungarian Russian, Russian Hungarian dictionary. Besides I have done some literary works.
- (3) I liked my work.
- (3a) I was working at home in my apartment.
- (3a) That varied very much, I would say about 10 hours a day when I had enough work.
- (3g) This varied also.
- (3l) For not deliverin^g in time they would deduct 2 pe r cent from my commission.
- (4) They were intellectuals and we had the most perfect understanding.
- (4a) They were all university graduates, writers and scholars.
- (4b) Fine.
- (4c) Yes. At the Writer's Union, at the Academy, at the University and in small restaurants and on the Danube when we went out boating.
- ((4d) Yes, with the scholars all the time, with writers only after 1953 I talked openly about politics.
- (4e) In my occupation only the administrative organs have made such distinctions. Also the publishers have been discriminating. For example: I as a non-partymember could not get any job at the Szikra, the publishing house of all political and ideological works, although there I would have found

the most work. Nor could I find work with the radio after 1949.

(4f) I have not been a member of any Union.

(4j) He could not get ahead.

(4k) Yes.

(4l) They did not interfere ^{with} ~~my~~ my work.

(4m) This has changed from year to year. For example those who had participated in the Spanish Civil War had been removed from all repsonsible jobs in 1949.

(4o) Had to be a stupid person.

(4p) No.

(5) There weren't any.

(5b) I would have chosen scholarly career, maybe professor of linguistics at a university. I have the strong feeling of vocation for this career.

(5c) No, I don't think so.

(5d) Of course, that is only natural everywhere in the world.

(5e) I would spend my money on books. In my free time I would read and travel a lot.

(5g) Yes, because this is a free occupation.

(6) We did not have a secure status and our living conditions varied a great deal. From 1945 till 1947 I was in the hospital from 1947 to 49 I was expelled from the university because I had not have the right kind of proletarian origin. From 1949 until 1956 I was a translator and simultaneously between 1953 to 55 I was again student at the university.

My income changed according to the amount of work I was^{able} to get and I could do besides my studies. In general, I had better living than the average people because there were very few who knew Russian and such translators who knew Polish, were almost non-existent.

(6c) I was always in the higher category. When I had work, I was paid well.

(7a) In 1948 I was making about 1500 forints a month. In 1952 about 2500 forints. (In the meantime they had raised their royalties and commissions in connections with the general currency and price regulation on December 1st, 1951) In 1955 I had about 3000 forints.

(7b) This was much higher than the average income, for example it was 3 times as much as the salary of a highschool teacher. I could say that this corresponded to the basic salary of a Secretary of State, without of course his premiums and bonuses etc.

(7c) Perhaps, it was somewhat less because I could not take as much work as others, since I was studying at the same time at the university.

(7d) Nobody else.

(8a) About 36000 forints.

(8b) 3 per cent deducted for taxes. (This was all the deduction, on the other hand, I have not received any social services, care, or compensation. Actually the Writer's Union had a so-called

literary fund which corresponded to the Union's health services and social insurances, besides it provided for two weeks vacation etc. Members paid 4 per cent of their commission to this fund. However, it was not obligatory to belong).

- (9a) 350 forints monthly. We lived in a residential district in an apartment house, we had a four room apartment plus all utilities.
- (9b) Ours was good.
- (9c) About 1000 forints every month. We did not stand in lines. The availability of food varied. Lard, flour, soap, lemon were not always available.
- (9d) 5000 forints
- (9e) 4000 forints
- (9f) 2000 forints
- (9g) 1500 forints
- (9h) 2000 forints
- (9i) 500 forints
- (9j) 4000 forints
- (9k) 1000 forints
- (9l) 800 forints
- (9m) 1000 forints
- (9n) A trip to Czechoslovakia which has cost me about 10000 forints.
- (9o) About 16000 were spent in State stores for food, liquor and books. About 5000 forints on the free market for cloths, and about 2000 forints on the black-market for coffee, cocoa and lemon.

- (10) In my opinion it was entirely tragic.
- (10c) The great landholder system was ripe for destruction.
- (10d) There was a deterioration, because Hungary became a dependency of the Soviet economic interest. Within the Soviet Satellites block Hungary was in the worst position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.
- (10e) I heard only about them 1953 June discussions inside the Party.
- (10f) In 1953 after the change of course, partly with state support a private small business or commerce reemerged. This was a nationwide phenomenon. Statistics on this matter could be found in the 1953-54 volume of Szabad Nép, the articles of Csikós-Nagy Béla.
- (10g) They were better than in ^{the} years before 1953 but they were worse than in 1954.
- (10
- (11) They were important but not the most important.
- (11c) First of all the material conditions of the workers were serious and, for the peasants, the system of forced deliveries.

- (1a) I went to highschool between 1933 and 41, then to the university from 1947 to 49, and again from 1953 - 55.
- (1b) Public schools.
- (1e) Personal inclination.
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) Not always. I was excluded from the university in 1949 because of political reasons.
- (3) There were. For example Marxism, Leninism, Political Economy and Party Philosophy.
- (3a) I liked subjects which belonged to my field. I did not like the others.
- (3c) There were. I had the worst opinion of those, mainly, because I think that there are unscientific.
- (3d) I did not have that. I was exempted because of my disability.
- (3e) It was.
- Catholic
- (4) The application of medieval methods in a Bolshevik setting.
- (4a) Discipline, unconditional obedience and beliefs that the Communist leaders are speaking ex cathedra.
- (4b) It was not efficient.
- (4c) They rejected it.
- (4d) Nothing.
- (4e) Everything.
- (4f) No.
- (4g) They are different. Their general knowledge and education

is smaller. The family environment is missing. Their conduct is not that of old times.

- (4h) Yes. They learned hypocrisy, not so much within the family but toward the outside world.
- (4i) Up to now it was not effective and now after the revolution it can be even less. Of course exceptions are possible. In general, the effectiveness of Communist education is in inverse ratio to the degree of education of the parents and their children.
- (5) He was an accountant.
- (5a) He has changed his job several times but not his occupation.
- (5f) The worse off.
- (5g) Four.
- (5h) They are all still living and working.
- (5i) I was living with my wife and with my two children.
- (5k) It was neutral.
- (6) I was married.
- (6b) Since September 1950.
- (6c) Two.
- (6d). Five years old.
- (11) Well.
- (12) Yes.
- (12a) Generally about all sorts of political questions.

(12b) No.

(13) No.

(14a) It was very close.

(14b) It was better than the average.

(14c) Reading and sports, usually boating on the Danube; went to movies, theaters, and other entertainments mostly together with my family. Our social life had an inward trend toward our home and family circle. We had been more at home than among people. We have occupied ourselves with the education of our children much more than the average people did.

(14g) I disposed with my leisure time freely.

(15) They have loosened.

(15a) Yes, except if it was a marriage because of political interests. It was the rarest case when husband or wife have testified against each other or denounced each other.

(15b) Yes.

(15c) They grew estranged.

(15d) I do not know the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ countryside.

(15e) There were, because the parents had less time to educate their children. The children have grown up more on the street than at home.

(15f) The number of divorces is definitely higher than before 1944.

(16) I think that 1945-46 was the lowest point in this respect. Since that time the pre-war situation has returned.

- (16a) The age limit was lowered. Most people get married nowadays between 18 and 24.
- (16b) Perhaps not.
- (16c) The greatest change is that the husband can never make enough to support the family alone. Therefore the wife has to work too and so they can't care for each other enough. The man is among other women and the wife is among other men all day in the office or in the factory and, when the woman returns after ten hours of work in the evening, she finds all the household^{work} waiting for her. She grows old before her time and is soon both spiritually and physically ruined. To this is added the shortage of apartments. The young couples have to live crowded often in the same room with their parents, or they have to live separately, because they can't find one room for themselves.
- (16d) Definitely. The main reason is money. As the saying goes in Budapest: Nobody can live on his salary. The girls and women who do not steal, live out of the men. Best information on these conditions is contained in the newspapers, for instance in the Nők Lapja since 1951, In the Érdekes Újság, and other papers, they contain reports and letters to the editor dealing with this particular situation.
- (16e) There was, but not public.
- (16f) In theory they are more strict, in practice they are much more corrupt.
- (16g) From 1950 up to 1956 the abortus was prohibited. In fact this was enforced strictly only up to 1954. Prophylactics were not manufactured and there was no import of contra-

ceptives. Since the last year these things are already permitted.

- (16h) It has changed. The discrimination from the part of the society has lessened.
- (16i) It has, for worse. The girl who gets married, has to take up on herself a double slavery, namely namely, at her work and at home.
- (17) It sank.
- (17b) Yes, everybody is stealing who can put his hand on something. People have good financial and political reasons for acting this way.
- (18) In 1941, in Budapest in a protestant Bible Circle.
- (18a) Engineering and forestry.
- (18b) Yes.
- (18c) Long conversations.
- (18d) We did.
- (18e) No, it didn't.
- (18g) ~~CONGENIALITY~~ Congeniality.
- (18h) No, this was never easy.
- (18i) Intellectuals, representatives of the Hungarian cultural life.
- (18j) It meant a lot, sometimes everything.
- (18k) No, it would not. There are situations when major force compells you to do things which you really don't want to. Then, there is such a thing also as joining with the intention of working against it from within.

(19) Lutherans.

I lived a more intensive religious life than the average Lutheran.

(20) Yes, it did.

(20a) Yes, but not at the same time. First they had to finish off the Catholic Church, because that had the greatest masses behind it. They had a schedule also in this matter. I must admit that in spite of the wartime good understanding and cooperation between the Catholic and Protestant leaders, after '44 the latter, thinking that compared with the immense properties of the Catholic Church they have nothing to lose, have hastened perhaps too eagerly to make peace with the new regime, thereby leaving the Catholic Church alone in the battle.

(20b) They have tried to stamp out religion. They dissolved religious institutions, as for instance schools, orphanages, hospitals, thereby reducing the influence of the church. They have controlled the religious life of the individuals, whether they went to church or not etc.

(20c) In my opinion part of them were sincere people with good will who wanted to save their church. Smaller number of them were simply careerists.

(20d) Many were removed from their offices. The Lutheran clergy of Hungary has lost in these days about 30 to 40 per cent of its members. Replacement was minimal. In the fifties the Lutheran ~~THEOLOGICAL~~ theological faculty was transferred from Sopron to Budapest. The number of students who could be admitted

was set very low. Another reason for the scarce ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{replacement} was the very low dotation or the lack of any financial dotation. To this was added the problem of all ecclesiastical schools. If somebody went to a parochial school, it was certain that his future was done with. He never would have the chance to go to an university or to get a better job.

- (20e) It affected his kader card. He could not get a responsible position and he would even risk his job often times.
- (20f) One could if one was willing to risk the dangers mentioned in the previous answers.
- (20g) Yes, many did.
- (20h) No. I did not.
- (20i) Older people in pension or people with free occupations went more often, young people very seldom. Workers did not go often to church. In this there was not much change, they didn't go before the war either. After all week work they were tired and you could hardly expect them to up on Sunday for the services.
- (20k) It's less important because they did not get to know it. There is no free religious instruction. If somebody wants to go to the gymnasium and afterwards to the university it is advisable for him not to go to the religious instruction. On the other hand the priestscan't speak either in that way they would like to. Then again it is better to go to outings on Sundays than to go to church when you have worked all week long. This is the attitude of many young people. The Protestants can't hold any more of their Bible Circles, the Catholics their Maria Congregation because these things are regarded

as secret conspiracies against the regime. The Boy's Scout organization which, in Hungary, was very much organized on religious basis, was dissolved. After all, where could young people learn about religion, where could they meet religion.

(201) In my opinion they have not had important role.

(21) Technical.

(21a) Because with such an occupation you could always and everywhere succeed.

(21b) He should learn thoroughly his trade or occupation.

(21c) Everybody.

(22) 1. The government and party functionaries, the officers of the AVH and of the Army.

2. The leading artists and writers.

3. The top technical intellectuals.

4. The Maszek people on the Váci Utca, I mean by this the better shops. In the reverse order the worst off were:

1. People in pension or, even worse, people without jobs, the unemployed.

2. The office clerks and public officials at the railroad, post office, police, to these belong the teachers and professors.

3. The workers and the peasants.

(22a) To the Maszek group.

(22b) To this one.

(22c) In certain sports excellent, for instance in football, in other sports, better than the average.

(22d) Only the outstanding artists have received really outstanding salaries. There were many artists who lived in great misery. The young artists could not get to be known and could not get any jobs. The older and renown artists have also pressed them down, the young ones, who had really talents and tried to get acknowledgement for it.

(23) Workers, intellectuals, peasants, etc.

(23b) A great land-holding and capitalist class disappeared and the clergy dissolved in the masses.

(23c) I think it is good.

(23d) No.

(23e) It's more.

(23f) It's good.

(23g) People got closer to each other. The material circumstances were levelled and together with it the forms of social conducts. Nowadays nobody is invited anymore for a dinner because nobody has money for it, even less dishes. The tone of social conduct is polite, at the same time at your job, in the shops and in the offices people are cold and without any interest.

(24) The Germans, the so called Swabians, have suffered the most. The other minorities had long ago their cultural institutions as schools, newspapers, etc. The Swabians have been only since 1954.

(24a) The Slovaks have received the greatest consideration. After 1945 Czechoslovakia wanted to exchange 700.000 Hungarians

against 100,000 Slovaks living in Hungary. That's why the Hungarians have rather ~~papered~~ the Slovaks, in order to prevent this population exchange.

- (25) Besides the progroms in 1946, as for instance in Pócspetri, for which primary the Communists were responsible, although they blamed it on certain Catholic priests, in 1949, during the purge of the Party, it were mainly the Jewish party members who were eliminated. Again in 1952 and 1953, in connection with the showtrials against the Jewish doctors in the Soviet Union, many Jews were excluded from the Party and arrested in Hungary.
- (25a) Hostile.
- (25b) Rakosi, Gerö and other leaders ~~w~~ere Jews according to their descent but according to their behavior they were not. You can't speak from Jewish solidarity in my opinion. In each Communist trial there was at least one Jew on the bench of the defendants. In the Rajk trial just as in the later ones. It is interesting to mention that you could not speak in Hungary about the Nazi persecution of the Jews and about the Concentration Camps
- (25c) Yes.
- (25d) The same way as the other people.
- (25e) Between 1949 and 56 this problem slowly disappeared. The Communists were no more identified with the Jews.
- (25f) Up to 1949 there was anti-semitism exactly for the reason because no knowledge was given about the Nazi persecution and race regulation.

(25g) There was less antisemitism because Jewish origin did not mean any advantage in somebody's career and, on the other hand, in the Party there were many former arrow cross people.

(25h) I can't see, I am not a ~~prophet~~ ~~prophet~~ prophet.

Special Note:

(16g) After 1945 the birth rate steadily increased up to 1951. In 1951/52 it has decreased and the number^{of}/illegal abortus have increased. This was connected with the sinking of the living standard. In 1952 there was an order which has permitted abortus only in case of illness. In 1954 a new order has permitted that in case of difficult housing conditions or after the 3rd child in certain cases abortus was permitted and to investigate such cases there were social committees formed. Finally in 1956 the abortus was made legal irrespective of such committees' recommendations.

- (1) Yes, always. This was my illness.
- (1a) A great deal.
- (1a) No.
- (1c) Never, in no way.
- (2a) Yes, with the Peasant Party, because it was radical but it was not yet entirely Communist. It had imagination and ideas about the land reform and it had very intelligent people.
- (2b) Yes, to the Social Democratic Party.
- (2c) No, did not change.
- (2d) I considered as a necessary evil. Necessary because since Hungary was in the Soviet ^{sphere} ~~area~~ of interest it was inevitable.
- (2e) On the one hand, my knowledge of the Soviet system, on the other, my ideological differences with the basic principles of the Communist philosophy.
- (2f) II (always against the regime).
- (2g) Yes, I think that about everybody who did not live out of the regime.
- (2h) There was no possibility for individual actions. Even less for organizations. That's the reason why the Revolution was also so unorganized.
- (2i) I think they were very effective. They have put all the information on anybody's kader card without checking of this informations. In his place of work everybody has his kader card. In the central government offices and in the great factories next to the personnel office there was a section called the "secret record section" where the officials had been members of the AVH. The mail of this section was not

sent by the regular channels but by special couriers. Besides this, there were kader cards of course in every police station.

- (3) The steady and constant lying and that the man had to live in a glass cage: all his movements were observed and controlled and that the man, inspite of the laws, was an outcast. He was entirely delivered to the pleasure of the authorities. For instance he could be transferred from his habitation, he could be interned and even disappear without any trace for years.
- (3a) VI, IV, IX.
- (3b) VIII, the other numbers were all important enough, not to be left out.
- (3c) XII, and XIV, the others all of them.
- (3d) XIV, IX, VI.
- (3e) XV, IV, III.
- (3g) People talked about it to each other, only not with the competent authorities. Since 1953 it was a steady theme of our conversation not only among the people but even in the newspapers. See the numbers of Szabad Nép.
- (3h) These originate in the nature of the system.
- (3i) Many as the water in the sea. For instance the bad quality of the consumer goods, all aspects of the socialist commerce, the corruption of the officials, the peace loans etc.
- (3j) The disappearance of the social barriers and that the people got closer to each other.

- (4) The Soviet Embassy and the leadership of the Communist Party.
- (4a) My personal experiences. The Soviet Embassy has worked with an immense apparatus and has made often direct decisions regarding political affairs in Hungary.
- (4b) Executive role.
- (4c) Rakosi.
- (4d) Nothing.
- (4e) They wanted to give the impression of Democracy.
- (4f) The bureaucracy was much greater than before 1944. In the production, both in the agricultural and industrial production, over 20 per cent of the workers worked in the administration. There was in every shop a production section, a quality control section, a planning section, a personal section, besides the Party Committee, the Trade Union Committee, Accounting section, etc.
- (4g) Yes, because the salary was very low and because it was possible, namely, the general moral atmosphere was such. As for an example, I could get work only if I would pay to the competent official 10 per cent of my honorary.
- (4h) In general, such people who did not work in the state apparatus before 1948. They were new people.
- (4i) In general, from working and peasant youth. Its advantage was that they got out of their physical work and the relatively better payment they have received.
- (4j) In general, either directly from workers or in more rare cases from technical intelligentsia, born from working class parents.

- (5) No advantage whatsoever, only annoyance.
- (5a) The membership dues, the loss of free time and the obligatory political instructions.
- (5b) No.
- (5c) You had to be smart.
- (5d) No, I did not.
- (5i) Yes.
- (5j) No.
- (5k) The youth section of the Central Party Committee. The chief was a man named Ervin Hollos.
- (6) From 1948 to 50 it meant material and moral advantages. Afterwards, it became uncomfortable, especially because you could be called for account and also because of the nature of the objectives.
- (6a) It was demanded by the nature of the AVH, of the Army and of the police. In the central offices above the group leaders. There were everywhere exceptions in small numbers, except in the first three categories I mentioned. The smallest percentage of party members was in the intellectual and scholarly circles.
- (6b) Those who needed it for their careers, to be party members.
- (6c) You could hardly speak about rights. Their duty was to follow the party line and to execute the policy of the Party.
- (6d) Yes, in different times and for the reasons mentioned under letter b.

- (6f) They did not get any more after they became party members, or what they have acquired was not secure. There was always looming the danger of their disgrace and fall.
- (6g) Only an excellent technical special knowledge could secure somebody's progress or, maybe, great sport talents.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) Yes.
- (6q) Yes, it did affect. I could have got much more profitable jobs and I would have gone on scholarly career.
- (6r) The Central Committee of the Party.
- (6s) From 1953 the Party was divided along about 3 lines. There were the Stalinists, there were the people around Imre Nagy and there was the Center. To the group around Imre Nagy belonged Zoltán Vas, Losonczy, Mihály Farkas. In the Center there was Nógrádi, Márton Horváth and Révai. The Stalinists were of course, ~~XXX~~ Rákosi, Gerö, Hegedüs etc.
- (7) To the Writer's Union.
- (7a) Writers.
- (7b) It had about 400 members in the whole country.
- (7c) Its purpose was to bring together the writers in an organization and give them an uniform direction. It belonged under the Ministry of People's Culture which, in turn, belonged to the propaganda and art and cultural section of the Hungarian Worker's Parties Central Committee. In the Central Committee of the Party Márton Horváth, and Sándor Nógrádi have occupied themselves with the affairs

of the writers.

- (7d) I was admitted because of my work as a literary translator.
- (7e) Nothing.
- (7g) They thought that they were paying the membership dues for nothing and besides they have lost lots of time because of these activities.
- (7h) With the exception of those 10 or 20 people of whom we knew that they were following blindly the party line. The others had solidarity with each other.
- (7k) No.
- (7l) I was not a member of any of them. I don't know.
- (7m) Since the Trade Unions have not been organizations defending the worker's interest, the workers did not like them.
- (8) Very few.
- (9) This was always very weak. See the official minutes of the DISZ congresses and also the appropriate articles in Szabad Nép. And you have not to forget that there are also miracles happening in this world.
- (10a) Everybody was under observation and control.
- (10b) The execution of the functions mentioned under letter a.
- (10e) Personal experience; those of my fellow students who were studying Western languages have received offers from the AVH right after graduation in 1955. If I rightly remember, they were offered 1800 forints for

starting salary at the same time when the starting salary of a professor was only 1000 forints.

(10f) Among the officer corps of the AVH the Jews have had much higher percentage than their number in the population. Besides this, the age and the social stratification from which the AVH members came, was different. In the lower category of the service, the AVH men were cruel animals without intelligence, almost without exception from the peasantry. You could not find any working youth among them.

(10g) Higher salary, better housing, central depots, central shops, better uniforms, and other advantages.

(10h) No, there were not. See the case of Ándor Zöld or Gábor Péter.

(10i) In the employment of the AVH there were secret informers who have received extra pay for this.

(10g) Bad.

(10k) The AVH was subordinated to the Party. Up to 1953 Mihály Farkas and after that up to 1956 László Piros were the chief commanders of the AVH in the political committee of the Party.

(11) No.

(11d) Everybody. Often innocent people were arrested because of a so-called mistake.

(11g) No.

- (13) Should shut his mouth and should stay in his home.
- (13c) Absolutely so. First of all with the AVH only this costs very much.
- (13d) It did help but not so much after 1955 and also ~~MAKEXXX~~ it has to be kept in mind that papers can be counterfeited very successfully.
- (13e) In almost all cases.
- (13f) Yes, if the person has no bad luck, like for instance denounced by somebody.
- (13g) No, there are not. It was an exception between 1948 and 1953 when because of the controversy with Tito, the Serbian minority was in a disadvantageous position.
- (14) Yes, between 1949 and 53 was the greatest terror. After 53 there were no internments. Between 1953 and 56 there were periods when the Blue Police was permitted and again periods when they were forbidden to use corporeal punishment. After 1953/^{at}the AVH also there was a serious betterment in the treatment of the people.
- (14a) In 1946, February/March the so called letter B lists. In 1947 the purge against the Small-Holders Party. In 1948, February/June the Social Democrats. In 1949 January/February the purge inside the Communist Party, mainly against the Jews. In 1949 in the fall the Rajk case. In connection with this, many people were purged party members who participated in the Spanish Civil War and also members of the Army. In 1950 many Social Democrats were arrested, like Kéthly, Maros~~X~~án, Szakasits.

Then in 1951 the so called ~~March Front~~, to which Kádár has belonged. At the end of 1952 and the beginning of 1953 there was a purge against the Zionist doctors and against the Joint organization. This was of course in connection with the similar purge in Moscow. Besides these, there were of course smaller-or rather affecting less people purge waves as for instance the Mindszenty, the ~~Barankovics~~ Barankovics, and the Grösz affairs.

(14b) Naturally, I did.

(14c) After the 20th Party Congress, the fears dissolved. In March 1956 the attitude of the people could be already described "nem félünk a farkastól", we are not afraid of the wolf, as little children used to chant this. The wolf, the Communist Party and the AVH, was still there, but they could not frighten the people anymore.

(15a) The decisions on principles were made in Moscow but the details were worked out in Hungary.

(15b) From Szabad Nép.

(15c) On the political field, the Hungarian Party has followed exactly the Moscow line. In the ~~economic~~ ^{economic} field the KGST (Kölcsönös Gazdasági Segítség ~~Tanácsa~~ ^{Tanácsa}) was the organ which has defined the policies of the Hungarian economic life and in the military field the Warsaw Pact was the decisive.

(15d) Yes, they were loyal party members, but the Hungarian climate in many cases has tamed them. In general, they

were more likable people than the Hungarian leaders. There were many agreeable persons among them. I have met also political and economical specialists. About seven of them I have known better.

- (15e) It was the strongest on the economic field, in the Army and in the ^{AVH} ~~XXXXXX~~. In the cultural field it was the weakest. ^{Soviet specialist} There had been in every ministry, except in the ministry of education and people's culture and in the ministry of local industry and town and village economy. There were Soviet specialists not only in the Army but even in the fire brigades. Of course, in each greater concern and factory. They were sent to these places probably through the ministries, since the salary of the Russian experts was always included in the budget of the ministries, not in the budget of their factories and work shops. Besides these steady Soviet specialists, from time to time there were visiting commissions and delegations, especially on such occasions as, for instance, during the month of Hungarian Soviet friendship.

- (16) Before 1953 in no ways. Later it was a little relaxation in this. In 1956 people dared already openly to ^{criticize;} ~~XXXXXX~~, the real opinion of the people could be measured best on their willingness and diligence to work.

- (16c) ^{the} In/family and in the circle of friends you could be frank.

- (16d) I could speak openly about scholarly questions and about things in my line. On other matters not.

- (17) Money. Bribe was wide-spread.
- (17c) If the transfer was effective already, nothing could be done against it.
- (17d) After ~~MM~~ 54 he could go freely.
- (17e) He can't do anything.
- (18) The strength of the system was in its all-embracing control and terror. Its greatest weakness was the low living standard.
- (19) The opposition was manifested mainly in the work that people performed.
- (19b) The workers and the peasants, because of the work norms and the insecurity as the result of the forced deliveries. These classes could protest most effectively by the slow down and sabotage.
- (19c) The intellectuals. They were the most helpless class who were delivered to the regime. What should a clerk do if he is fired from his job?
- (19d) It increased.
- (19e) It increased.
- (19f) There weren't.
- (19g) Opposition is a strong word for it but there were serious differences of opinion.
- (19h) There was none.
- (19i) Since 1956.
- (19j) Yes. Since 1955.

- (19k) Yes. For instance, in 1955 between May and July the norms were very much strengthened and then, for instance, in the cable and plastic factory, the workers have destroyed many machines. In each factory ~~XXXX~~, in general, the tools-shop had to fulfill or rather overfulfill its norm because the workers deliberately have destroyed or damaged the working tools and machines.
- (19l) The Petöfi circle should have acted as a safety-value. It was thought that, in order to quiet the dissatisfaction, it would be enough to let the people talk as much as they want. If they only don't do anything else!
- (19n) They wanted national socialism, not to be confused of any kind of Nazism, of course.

- (1) From the radio and from newspapers.
- (1a) The radio.
- (2) I have read all kinds.
- (2a) Szabad Nép, Pravda, Tribuna Ludu, London Times, New York Harald Tribune, Lettres Francais.
- (2b) Yes.
- (2c) Because of the lack of others. To thse I could get through my connections in the newspaper-department of the Radio.
- (2d) The news.
- (2f) There were newspapers that referred only to the life of the factory or plant. About every quarter year they have put out a new wall-newspaper. This kind of news communication did not achieve the success in Hungary as it did in the Soviet Union; it was always far behind the actual news! I, for instance, never saw an up to date wall-newspaper.
- (2g) See my answer under letter a.
- (2i) I think each of them has given me valuable material. The Soviet ones just the same as the Americans.
- (2j) No.
- (3) Seldom. About twice a month.
- (3a) The Italian and the French. In those you could still find art.
- (3b) Entertaining.
- (3e) Yes.
- (3f) About once a month. Generally I went to see the

the classics.

(4) Yes.

(4d) Yes for instance James Joyce's "Ulysses", or "horribile dictu", the works of Bernard Shaw, and, in general the modern Western literature after 1945.

(4e) The Hungarian, the Western and Eastern classics. From the modern ones, Maurois and Gide.

(4g) No.

(5) Yes.

(5b) Yes, I had in 1949 one with 8 tubes, no. 774.

(5d) The news, literature and serious music.

(5e) Daily about 5 to 6 hours in different times.

(5f) At home.

(6) Yes.

(6a) London, Paris, Prag^{ue}, Rome, Moscow, Warsaw. News and music.

(6b) Very often, in different times.

(6c) They had excellent musical programs.

(6d) I had no means of control of their reliability.

(6e) I know of such cases but these were relatively rare. There was no order prohibiting the listening to foreign radio stations but, as every characteristic ~~KRAAK~~^{trait} of the inimical attitude against the regime, it could be put on the kader card and even could be used in trials before a court among the accusations. This relates to Budapest. In the country

in the case of the Kulaks in many cases this was taken much more seriously.

- (7) Yes.
- (7a) Cultural and economical ~~XXXX~~ news.
- (7b) From those who had been abroad, for instance sportsmen.
- (7c) Unquestionably was more reliable.
- (7g) Yes. For instance the employees of the MTI (Magyar Távirati Iroda). Among these, there were scarcely any party members. For example, in the Russian section there was not one Party member. Specialists who had great knowledge of languages, did not have to join the Party, because they were irreplaceable.
- (7h) Where they happened to meet. All places were equally dangerous.
- (7i) No more.
- (
- (8) I did not have good opinion of their reliability.
- (8c) From 1953 it increased.
- (8d) On the basis of intuition. There was no way of control.
- (8e) Yes. The BBC was unquestionably held more reliable than ~~XXX~~ Radio Moscow.
- (8f) Yes. Every week, with ever better opinion of it.
- (8g) Yes, daily. Since 1953 it was an irreplaceable reading material. Its content was getting better and better.
- (8h) Yes. Each number of it. The best opinion.

- (9) Of course, they did.
- (10a) It was necessary.
- (10b) The North Korean and Chinese.
- (10c) Nothing. I had strong doubts. I don't know even now, whether it was or not. But if it was, I agree with it.
- (10d) The information was very bad. I thought it much greater as it is in reality.
- (10e) I heard about it but I never saw one.
- (10f) I have admired and sincerely revered the East Berliners.
- (10g) We heard about it and my hopes were awakened. I think that meetings and negotiations are always better than a war.
- (10h) I heard about them but I did not understand their aims.

- (1) The single party system, the police regime, the planned economy and certain forms of the collective farming.
- (1a) The Revolutionary Councils which were formed during the 1956 Revolution, because these were born from the spontaneous will of the population of the country and ^{they} ~~XX~~ served their role excellently. They were entirely Democratic organizations and have enjoyed the confidence of the population and of each other.
- (1b) The land reform and the nationalization of the great plants and factories.
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) Yes.
- (2b) No.
- (3) Yes, there is no need for any limitation.
- (3b) An UN commission.
- (3c) No.
- (3d) No.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes.
- (4b) If this is the will of the majority of the population.
- (5) The abolition of ^{the "socialized"} ~~the XX XX XX XX~~ economy, the voluntariness of cooperation, the permission of private initiative.

- (6) Yes.
- (6b) The middle and small shops with about ^{up to} ~~under~~ 500 employees.
- (6c) Yes.
- (6e) With limitations. For instance, salt, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages as it was earlier in Hungary.
- (6f) Monopolies of foreign commerce, unquestionably.
- (6g) It did not work. It had a difficult apparatus. Its price policy was bad, its policy of buying was bad.
- (7) No.
- (7a) I am for private initiative.
- (8) It didn't work.
- (8a) In our ^{political} life it was bad, because it increased our dependence on the Soviet Union. Our economic life was not independent. It was a section of the sphere of interest of the Soviet Union. We didn't have any market research. The interests of the consumers were not taken into consideration at all only the interest of the great Soviet Union dominated the economic life, and the planning was made accordingly.
- (9) The culture, the religion and family life.
- (10) There are, for instance, paying taxes.
- (10a) The taxation should be progressive.
- (10b) It would be better without than with it.
- (10c) It is necessary.

- (10d) Yes, those which were voted by a democratic parliament.
- (10e) Yes, to assure the security of the person and of ~~XXX~~ property, to give social services and to perform public works.
- (11) It did improve.
- (11a) Yes. Everybody, except those who are not employed.
- (11c) In practice, each physician is state employee. On the other hand, they have also private practice. That is better and more expensive.
- (11d) Its disadvantage is the great administrative apparatus, its advantage is its generality.
- (
- (12) Yes.
- (12a) Yes, the same way.
- (12b) Yes, they do.
- (12c) It doesn't depend on social stratification.
- (12d) No.
- (12e) In Hungary the theater and movie are relatively cheap. Therefore, in general, everybody can afford it.
- (13) No.
- (13a) In the cities better.
- (13b) Better.
- (13c) Generally speaking most of the money is spent on food. Now, somebody who makes more money, eats better.
- (14) No.

- (14a) Yes.
- (14b) No. That time the reserves from 1947/48 were still not exhausted.
- (14c) It depends on their incomes.
- (15) Yes.
- (15a) Industrialization.
- (15b) Heavy industry, machine industry, and chemical industry.
- (15c) It was bad, because it was much ~~im~~productive investment, for instance, the heavy industry was developed without any raw material basis.
- (15d) It should have been done or should be done with the proper consideration of the raw material basis and other peculiarities of the country.
- (16) Active consultative role. They should be given ~~part~~ also in the direction but not an exclusive ~~part~~.
- (16a) The defense of the interests of the workers.
- (16b) Completely.
- (16c) It should not be compulsory.
- (16d) The worker's councils ~~in cooperation~~ ^{in cooperation} with representatives of the state in the case of state enterprises and in the case of enterprises with foreign investments, the representatives of this foreign capitalist.
- (16e) At one hand, toward the employees, on the other hand toward the source where the money and investment comes from.

- (17) It should be made voluntary.
- (17b) The model farms and animal breeding stations should be kept.
- (17f) Yes, 25 holds.
- (17g) With the exceptions of the model farms mentioned under letter b, it should.
- (17h) Within the limits of a new land reform.
- (17i) No.
- (17l) It should provide for high quality sowing seeds, animal breeding, artificial fertilizers and smaller agricultural machinery.
- (17m) The ideal was good. It could be preserved, maybe.
- (17q) It is desirable.
- (18) Church and state should be separated. The schools should be returned to the churches, nothing else. Voluntary church taxes should take care of the material needs of the churches.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) Within the limit of the protection of artistic monuments and treasures, for instance, the preservation of the church buildings.
- (18d) No.
- (18e) No.
- (18f) To denominational.
- (19) Against the ordinary party member it should not be used any punishment.
- (19a) No.

- (19b) They should be arranged ^{before} ~~under~~ a democratic court.
- (19c) Judgement according to the person and to the case.
- (19e) Nothing.
- (19f) According to the person and to the case.
- (19g) The same, judgement according to the person and to the case.
- (19h) A complete absolution and Salvus Conductus.
- (20) According to my knowledge and personal experience that I have gained seeing the West in recent months, no barbaric invasion, be that the Tatars or the Turks, never went further than the Austrian Hungarian frontier. This proves that Hungary had a positive role in the defense of the West and while during King Mathias, Hungary had the same number of population as England, today it is a small and dependent little country, because of its sacrifice in the defense of the West.
- (21) Yes.
- (21abc) Yes.
- (21d) No.
- (21e) There are,
- (21f) Maybe not so sharp, now the passive resistance has ^{brought to the fore} /in each social strata more sharply its specific character.
- (22) The government of November 2nd, 1956.
- (22a) Hungary economically was a colony of Austria.
- (22b) Because of economic difficulties, especially among the

agrarian population.

(22c) Yes. Up to 1945.

(22d) No.

(22e) 1. It was a general Central European phenomenon. After a lost war, it was natural that in the industrial centers, as in Budapest, the working class wanted to have the leadership itself. I don't have any judgement on this.

2. It was much more nationalistic because it did not depend on Moscow like in 1945 and afterwards. In my personal opinion it did not leave bad impression among the peasants and the little bourgeoisie. Of course, I am speaking now from eastern Hungary. In the west, as I heard from others, the peasantry was very much antagonized by the events of ~~1918-19~~ 1918-19.

(22f) Significant.

(22g) It was great anachronism. It couldn't solve the agrarian problem. In the direction of industrialization, it followed the right road. The democratic progress did not reach the desired level. A great mistake was the revisionist policy.

(22h) No. The revisionist policy has opened the way to Hitler into the Balkan.

(22i) From 1945-47 the situation was better. There was a hope for a healthy development. This was killed by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party.

(23) Yes.

- (23a) Political, economical, and ethnical.
- (23b) To such territories of neighboring countries ~~which~~ where the Hungarians are in majority.
- (23c) No.
- (23d) No.
- (23e) Very well.
- (23f) Well.
- (23g) Well.
- (23h) Well.
- (24) A South Eastern European confederation.
- (24a) A Danubian block. This would be easiest to start with because it has historic and economic ^{precedent} ~~preference~~ in the old monarchy.
- (24b) Austria, Slovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia.
- (24c) An equal member.
- (24d) Russia shouldn't be in it because she would only upset the balance. She is economically so much behind, that she would be only a ballast on the more advanced Western countries.
- (24e) I reject that. I think that the worst solution one could think of. Human beings are not potatoes.
- (25) I have the same opinion of every man. All of them are my brothers in Jesus Christ.
- (25a) Only antropological differences are among them.
- (24b) No.
- (24d) Yes.

- (24e) I was not in Hungary at that time.
- (24g) People of Budapest say ^{it} the following way: The Russians wanted to play the "Herrenvolk" but they did not succeed.
- (24h) The same as under letter g.
- (26) it became obsolete.
- (26a) Nothing.
- (26b) Everything.
- (26c) I consider the Hungarian Communists as Stalinists. This is in no way ideological direction but it is a political.
- (26d) Lenin was a good Leninist.
- (26e) Stalin was a good Stalinist.
- (26f) Ideology was never a strong point of the Hungarian social democrats, at least not since 1945. They were close rather to Kautsky than to Marx or Lenin.
- (26g) No.
- (26h) After 12 years of Communist suppression my political ideas have not cristalized yet.
- (26i) No, it was never.
- (27) "Fából vaskarika" which means its a silly, impossible thing.
- (27a) There were rather such whose ideology could have developed toward a more democratic outlook.
- (27c) It's a tragic experiment because it just cannot succeed, there is no third way.
- (27d) Yes.
- (27e) No.

- (28) I am not a prophet. Probably there would have been a coalition government up to the next general elections. It could have started a democratic development.
- (28b) Yes, he would have remained a perpetual prime minister.
- (29) a. bad
b. bad
c. bad
d. good
e. bad
f. bad
g. bad
h. it is not easy to answer but I think could be classified as bad
i. bad
j. bad
k. bad
l. bad
m. bad
n. bad , and the entire test is bad, because you just can't ~~xxxxxxx~~ throw such a list on people and ask them whether it is good or bad when each word should be discussed and weighed in an hour's conversation.
- (30) I don't know.
- (30a) Imre Nagy.
- (31a) Less.

- b. More
- c. Less
- d. Less
- e. Much less
- f. Less or equal
- g. It is different from case to case.
- h. It's different, for instance in Váci utca it's more,
in the other places it is less.
- i. It's less

(32) The workers, peasants, kulaks, artisans, and tradesmen had better lot before 1948. The standard of living was higher and the possibilities of making money were better.

- (33)
- a. Coincide
 - b. Coincide
 - c. Coincide
 - d. Conflicts
 - e. Coincide
 - f. It never has been a problem.
 - g. Conflicts
 - h. Conflicts
 - i. Conflicts
 - j. Conflicts

(34) I wish the United States had been more dangerous.

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(35)

The AVH.

(35a)

The others.

(36)

No, they did not change.

- (1) No, I have not.
- (1a) I think it was useful, but I don't like the hypothetical questions, what would be if, or what would happen if, what would have been if.
- (1b) Much, but I think there will be lots of loop-holes.
- (1c) From the overdone psychologicalization of the questions, this whole system resembling the Gallup polls in the United States.
- (1d) In general, I think yes.
- (2) I think we have talked just about everything.
- (2a) Yes.
- (3) In my opinion, it would be very necessary to everyone who is interested in the Hungarian question, to read the Hungarian newspapers and other printed materials, in spite of their boring nature. You get much more out of them than from any other source.
- (3b) I am not writing a manuscript about my personal experiences but I am writing a serious essay on the bolshevization of Hungary between 1945 and 1956.