

NO. 406 "A" FACESHEET AND RATING NN p. 1
(REVISED-1)

July 1957
Innsbruck

1. IN-6
2. ---
3. Innsbruck
4. 27
5. M
6. Hungarian
7. Catholic, likes Reformed Church
8. Catholic, " " "
9. S
10. O
11. Agronomist
12. ----
13. ---
14. White Collar
15. Sgt. 1951-53
16. West Germany 1948
17. No
18. No
19. 6 years (2 trade schools)
20. Rural
21. Harkany
22. Baranya
23. None
24. Dec 4, 1956
25. Austria
26. ---
27. ---
28. ---
29. ---
31. "10"
32. "10"
33. "10"
34. "10"

- (1) The Hungarians were primarily against the terror and against the presumed and actual Soviet exploitation. The Revolt was not a result of Hungarian temperament, as many tried to picture it. The primary cause was the boundless terror which ruled though there was a perceptible reduction in this since 1953. Also there was cruel intervention into the lives of the people in the class war going on. Besides these there was fullest exploitation of the nation and full disregard of human beings and the new upper tenthousand ~~xxx~~ ^{ed} exploiting the nation for their own and the Soviets' sake.
- (2) The greatest opposition results from greatest suppression. The first reaction to this suppression was universal passivity. The peasant produced only for himself. He developed his own immediate land - up to an acre he was permitted to own this - on a very high level, carefully cultivated and his one own cow that he was permitted to keep was very well kept. But he neglected the common fields. In addition one was continually exposed to spiritual and mental terror whenever an AVO man passed one by.
- (bi) In its effects it gave opportunities for differences of opinions to arise in USSR and elsewhere but it had no direct effects on later political developments. But the

unconscious realization of inner disagreements gave people a little more courage to voice their opinions.

- (bii) This was a breathing space for peasants and when the trend was reversed the peasant became for ever more sullen and resisting.
- (biii) It meant the beginning of the change. Everyone was concerned with the idea of the Yugoslav state^{which} ~~xx~~, included the workers councils. People were getting interested in this national Communism.
- (biv) Any debate of this size permits further debate among the people and in the end leads to the forming of opinions. At first no one dared to support Stalin, later Party functionaries began to emphasize again the positive aspects of the man.
- (bv) They tried to misrepresent this as Western provocation but actually the people sympathized with the Poles. It had no practical meaning for the Hungarian Revolt for people had enough problems at home.
- (bvi) This was fully appreciated and it meant a step forward since the bloody Communist was personally hated and considered dangerous. His decline meant added freedom.
- (bvii) The Hungarian press was strongly critical. The whole theater disgusted the people.
- (bviii) These things were felt less in the countryside.
- (c) Imre Nagy's second government. This lasted until he realized that he was not master in his own house.
- (d) There were cross-currents. Under surface there was out-

ward pressure demanding democratization. In which way was not made clear but a political and economic thaw was expected. However, inwardly efforts were made to stop this trend before it even got started. The general sense of expectations was great and so was the insecurity. In the papers articles appeared demanding the revision of kader-sheets and the whole system. Former kulaks were reclassified as small holders. A friend of mine who was occupied as a political secretary at a machine tractor station worked with peasant problems. He wrote a critical study on the peasant situation asking whether the class fight should be maintained or abolished. His study was suppressed yet he was busily working at reclassifying kulaks ~~into~~ small holders. Actually one became a kulak if one's lands produced 350 Goldcrowns per year. Below this figure one was a small holder although those who kept hired hands were kulaks and in addition one could be so designated by the village council or functionaries. Frequently men with choice houses were branded exploiters of villages, deported and jailed, and their houses given ~~price~~ to whoever ~~needed~~ needed ~~xxx~~ them.

(e) They gave it full mental guidance for in a country of such terror one was not isolated from the masses. One couldn't be, for one saw the injustice everywhere. They were the first who raised their voices.

(f) Yes, there was. But I was fully occupied with my own work and I had no time for literary papers. Free-~~forced~~

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Land, a bi-weekly of the Kolchosa association and Nepszava, People's Voice. But long before these made any moves one heard of the literary papers and of their critical stories and essays. On the other hand Szabad Nép was very cautious and while it followed the trend, it always left itself room for retreats.

(g) Not any single item.

(3) See above at question (1).

(a) Public opinion needed ripening and time was needed to open mouths to form opinions and finally to give these opinions expression.

(b) Many functionaries found themselves in controlling positions interested only in the economic benefits they could gain. But these also felt the contradictions and shortcomings of the system. These people were much too insecure to take any action during the Revolt. When action was needed confusion prevailed and they blamed each other. The functionaries neither dared to nor had a moral basis to take a stand against the events. After all the Party secretaries listened to Rakosi after 1948 waiting for a new agricultural system. This was promptly disclaimed in 1953. There was a complete turn-about later in the same year. The competing policies between agricultural and industrial preference contradicted each other. A supporter of the regime had no foot to stand on. A local Party secretary was now forced to reclassify a kulak to

* Term used by respondent was TSZCS, throughout interview.

a small holder whom he the years before had to classify as kulak while the village laughed in his face. All had their own opinions but the functionaries had simply repeated the views of the central government. They couldn't afford views of their own. In spite of all this the lower officials joined the people because they were too close to realities. The intermediary group of officials who transferred commands from above had suppressed their own views before. Many of these now joined the Revolt.

- (c) See points and demands above in question (1).
- (f) Those who were personally hated were personally afraid. The Megye (or county) tractor station director went to his office after the Revolt with a sub-machine gun and he pointedly kept it on his desk all day. He had to destroy many people between 1951 and 1953 to get ahead. This type frequently preferred politics to work. Generally speaking functionaries were poor in their fields and lazy besides. At least such was the general opinion. They were concerned with building a new caste for their own.
- (g) Mainly the village and small town middle class was afraid. Some people felt they could not afford to take sides in this Revolt. Also a group of functionaries was in this section who were temporarily baffled and lacked any direction.
- (h) "Russians should leave!" "Abolish crop deliveries!" "Abolish progressive taxation for the farmer!" "Use the Kossuth coat of arms!" "Reveal secret trade agreements!"

These may sound surprising from peasants, but to keep at all ahead economically the peasants had to start to read and think and they became rather sophisticated.

- (1) No, it was not. I know that on October 26 the county committee met in Pecs. The demonstrating youth demanded that the committee joined them. The old Stalinists separated from the rest of the committee and the younger ones joined the mass or else went away.
- (m) No one during the Revolt wanted to return the land or factories but small trade and small industry was to be fully developed by private enterprise. Whether a Western democratic type or a nationalistic Communist type government would have succeeded is difficult to determine.
- (4) When we heard of battle in Budapest I wrote a circular to the kolchoses under my care and asked them for food contributions in the name of the workers council. I asked for two truck loads of food. Instead I got twenty-four truck loads. The city of Pecs was on a general strike then but got seventy volunteer drivers immediately when they found out our purpose and our chief engineer went up to Budapest with the trucks. As a revolutionary activity we destroyed the Soviet statue in Harkany. The rest of the time we listened to the radio, worked out the agricultural future of Hungary covering both our expectations and the possibilities. We kept in contact with Pecs and supplied the strikers of the Sophia

iron work with food. We also decided with the workers council to go ahead with the Fall seeding but maintain the strike in other ways. Our one policeman in our village switched his uniforms twice and made no trouble. We had no fights at all.

(a) I heard of fighting only against Russians. Not one Communist was hurt. We took the weapons from the police and let them go. On the 25th when the AVO barracks were taken over no one was there but I did not hear of any Russians fighting against each other.

(b) Apparently the officer corps sabotaged the anti-Russian operations.

(5)

(f) Yes, I was elected to the workers council.

(7) All parties had their own little programs which was ~~disturbing~~ disturbing for the smallness of their thinking. It was generally felt that this party politics could have waited till later after the major problem was solved. But all were united on the major demands of the Revolution.

(a) Aside from that noted above no one cared much about these details.

(8) They were very coarse with people, shouting at them ~~not~~ to ~~congregate~~ stop to congregate. No one approved of

Soviet intervention and all sincerely hated them, each and every Communist inclusive. After November 4th we needed the Soviet town commanders permit to pay our workers. In our hatred we were fully united including the functionaries. The Russians themselves were generally very scared in the unarmed town of Pecs.

- (9) Word-of-mouth news were the thing. They were not too distorted and they were always ahead of papers or the radio. We listened mainly to the Pecs Radio and also to other free stations and Western stations.
 - (a) They were not very useful.
 - (b) We got a lot of news from returning trucks on the 27th or 28th.
 - (c) Yes, see above.
- (10) Wherever people were disliked by the mass they were relieved ~~changed~~. Personal antagonisms were disregarded but where the co-workers or otherwise established general opinion censured someone, these were kicked out. No one was harmed. Some functionaries were locked up for their own ~~protection~~. Janossy, the assistant party commissioner in our district, asked me on the 5th to get word to Pecs that the Siklos Communists were still in the jail. Of course I refused. Otherwise the workers councils functioned well. After being properly elected they were ^{and} fully absorbed with the tasks ~~and~~ daily problems of admini-

stration, maintenance of food supply, and transportation. They also tried various ways to solve the overall issues. This involved preventing chaos and to create a systematic changed government and administration. The party secretary in our tractor station spoke up in the workers council saying "I admit my own mistakes in the past, permit me to stay on as a tractor driver in the future". The council agreed. Some of the Communists locked themselves up in their apartments, some started counter-revolutionary activities for certain.

- (a) The kader and personnel groups were disbanded as were the crop collection offices. ~~None of the organizations were forced to dissolve themselves.~~ About 80 percent of the kolchoses started to dissolve themselves. In most cases this went on systematically, in some haphazardly.
- (b) The Party organization was dissolved. Actually the MSZMP was started. Its activities were very limited and of the old officials some disappeared, others kept quiet, and the rest tried to save themselves over into the new MSZMP.
- (g) I don't know.
- (h) They changed their presidents and secretaries took over some members into the new revolutionary councils which were formed basically by the old opposition. There was some lack of legal ways of ~~being~~ change.
- (j) The workers councils and the revolutionary committees.
- (k) New parties were sprouting everywhere. The New National

Guard was founded and the Workers Guard. The latter had two rifles which they brought back (~~scared to me~~) when the Russians returned. In the National Guard mainly young people, students and workers joined.

(1) These were very democratically elected, made up mainly of young people. They certainly would have continued to function-

(m) I wouldn't know..

(11) I think about it very much. It's my only problem.

(a) Without trying to impress anyone, the Revolt showed to the world that a people would stand up against the tyranny and Russian suppression. Aside from this Hungary herself did not ^{gain} ~~lose~~ much ^{from} ~~use~~ the Revolution. In terms of blood, in terms of economic losses, the bloodletting was tremendous. A very large group of the thinking and talented people had left the country.

(b) Of course, without Russian intervention.

(c) We expected nothing in the beginning but everything after the second Russian attack. Arms were wanted. For ten years we got the picture drawn of 24,000 csendörs poised for an attack on Hungary. We also waited for United Nations' moral pressure.

(e) He couldn't organize the Revolt. It is mainly his reputation that's substantial.

(f) Can't think of anyone comparable.

- (g) 1) To start the Revolt: The students, 2) The active fight was carried on by the young workers, 3) by the workers, 4) by the intelligentsia, 5) by the soldiers, and 6) by the peasants. Actually their rights, too, were first demanded by the workers and students.
- (12) On December 2nd I decided and I left on December 4th. When the first Russian tank came in for repair to our tractor station and my buddy started joking that they are coming for the statue destroyers this gave me the final push. I couldn't have lived under that system any longer.
- (b) Yes, with my friend who was a party secretary. He was sorry that I was thinking of this and he couldn't advise me. He wouldn't take the responsibility one way or another. My brother refused to advise me, too.
- (c) Yes, to stay.

(1) Agronomist.

(a) Gardener.

(2) I worked as a tractor station agronomist and for the last two years as chief agronomist at the tractor station.

(a) The same.

(c) Since 1951 but I also had two years military service since.

(e) Our machine and tractor station owned 60 tractors and about 400 cultivating machines. Their objective is to mechanize kolchozes and secondarily to help independent peasants. Besides these practical considerations it had many political objectives, primarily to get the peasants to like large organization and cooperatives. In fact, a tractor station had separate economic and political divisions for a long time. It still has an independent party secretary for the political division. A tractor station is basically an excellent idea but the domestic type of it is over-bureaucratized, irrational, and ineffective. In relation to the investment involved it is not successful. Due to political aspects involved however, they never worried about productivity. It was a planned-loss operation. However, the station couldn't fully fill the work-needs of the outside, completely apart from whether it was to be a paying proposition from the inside. Basically it is possible to make a station productive and useful for both the peasants and

state but not in its old form.

(3) Yes, I liked it.

(a) I liked all strictly production matters and there are many ways to find out the peasants' production experiences. There are also many ways to introduce innovations. The average peasant is suspicious of innovations and good ideas often fail because of this suspicion. He prefers to be conservative. He has become the more suspicious since in the past decade he has often be tricked into bad deals.

(b) I disliked the bad directives. They forced quadrant corn growing on us and they insisted we raise cotton. We had no competent people to direct it, no workers to raise it, no machinery, no understanding, inadequate soil; with one word no requirements were there. But the ministry took a uniform pattern for the entire country and issued idiotic rulings. If absurd orders were challenged one was told this is political, it must be carried out, no opposition will be tolerated. My friend, the party secretary, was frequently disciplined for following his common sense. The state went ahead and made trade agreements with other countries and then it insisted that the plans be met to live up to the agreements. Large sums were wasted on rubber, soy bean, etc. When the project failed they either had a mea culpa, or else they called it sabotage. The state directives did not permit interior

gardening agriculture which was encouraged on paper instead the peasants' land was actually prescribed to be used for so much grain (a quota ^{varying} ~~varied~~ from 38 to 41 percent) 7 to 8 percent fibres plant, and a thousand other restrictions, and proscriptions. Intensive garden agriculture wasn't given a chance other than ~~that~~ ^{that} of empty propaganda slogans. The peasant or the kolchos failed to get the fertilizers he needed ^{and} when he needed it, nor was DDT available ^{were} nor any other basic requirements. ^{MET} The peasants were willing to learn. Old peasants came to me at dawn on Sunday mornings to get advice how to use fertilizers for various crops. Unfortunately lately many low quality recent new agronomists were turned out by academies and universities and the old ones were persecuted. Once he was fooled the peasant lost confidence in the agronomists as a breed. For a time tractor stations were primarily political organizations and gave political directives without regard for expert opinions. One's independence was nil and one had to choose between oneself and the Party. My predecessor was an older man. He always followed directions and made many silly things that way. Fortunately in our time the director cooperated with us completely. Typical problem of this type is when the director is illiterate and he refuses to follow or support his experts. Technically speaking the situation improved greatly since 1954 after which time engineers were assigned to tractor stations. The technical

then
supervision before was in the hands of repair mechanics.
We also had our health problems. We had no adequate
drinking water for our 140 workers. In 1955 a new well
was dug but it was not active in the fall of 1956 and
since the stations were new there were inadequate repair
and roof facilities for the equipment and the people.
One great improvement over the Austrian conditions as I
see it, is the sickness insurance. In that ~~part~~ ^{regard} the
regime was very good and we had no complaints whatever.
~~Unfortunately~~ ^{in case of} Unfortunately ~~for~~ accidents there were
several level investigations and the compensation was
low. Pensions were horrible. The equipment left much
desirable. With the exception of three or four tractor
stations out of eighteen in the county none had ^{mechanical} plough
sharpening ~~ers~~ ^{ers} ~~ing~~ ~~machines~~. This is very hard work if done by
hand. ~~but no one had a machine~~. Our resources were
limited, our tools were few, and there was no replace-
ment for lost equipment. Generally our equipment was
coarse, huge, heavy and we never received any specialized
useful small equipment. I saw the agricultural show in
Moscow and they operate on the same system. Their equip-
ment is much too heavy. It is hard to ruin but it is too
heavy for the soil. On top of it the Russians sold their
worst equipment to Hungary, equipment they refused to use
themselves. Sheds were built at the stations but there
was not enough room for all the equipment. Much was out-
side year-in, year-out either ~~for~~ ^{because} it was not needed or

we else preferred to keep the iron machinery out ~~wherever~~ ^{which only}
while wooden equipment rusted/~~and~~ rotted. In 1952/53 the quality of work
suffered due to the insufficient number of machine operators. This was later improved though competence was low for 50 to 80 percent of them changed jobs yearly. In subsequent years the inadequacy of the machinery was the major cause ^{of} ~~for~~ low quality production. Poor wages were the main cause for the quick turnover in employees. Whenever a job was successfully handled the screws were tightened, the norms increased, and people played musical cheers with their jobs. They left one job for another, picking always the relatively most lucrative ones. Theoretically a man who quit his job without the employer's approval was not eligible for work for the following six months and employers were subject to pay ~~100~~ a 100 Forint fine for hiring such men. The state owned lands were actually ownerless. They were neglected and no one cared. There were no resources to take care of them and ^{there} ~~they~~ were up to 2,000 acres useless in our county. When the vinyards' produce value was raised to five times that of regular land the peasants started destroying their vinyards. I myself destroyed my own vinyard secretly for I couldn't afford to keep it. At the same time there is strong government campaign for new vine-planting. But this again is just on the surface. In the famous Villany vine district there are perhaps 300 acres of excellent vinyards. Of this maybe 3 or 4 acres are well tended today. The

rest is used for raising corn and fattening pigs. The size of peasant backyards is limited by law to 1 acre. This is the land the peasant spends all his effort on and he tries to circumvent the 1 acre ruling by putting land in a son's name and many other ways. So he has 2 to 3 acres ^{and} all his efforts are spent / on this land for he pays no taxes on this land nor ~~are there~~ does he have contribution obligations on this backyard. Thus the rest of his land is neglected. The forming of kolchoses made production insecure. Both in- and outside of these co-operatives, The peasants were either afraid of being forced in else afraid of being taxed to death. To force the government's land program all ~~at~~ land has been classified in six categories. The best land was preserved for the kolchoses. These also received preference in equipment, seed, fertilizers, manpower, machinery. The second preference of land was given to state farms, (Unless the majority of the land was state land in a district in which case it preceded the kolchose). Third preference in land distribution went to the private owners, Fourth preference was village ~~reserved~~ reserve land. Fifth was state reserve land, and sixth was kulak land. In 1945 when the land was taken from previous owners it was either distributed or else made into state farms. 1948 saw the beginning of the kolchose organizations going on till 1953. By 1953 about 16 to 18 percent of the acreage was in kolchoses. During 1953 many kolchoses

were reduced in size or altogether dissolved. In 1954 again new kolchoses were started up and in 1955 a new organization of kolchoses was carried through. Since 1956 there was reduction in ^{the} number of kolchoses again.

(f)

This varied. From 5, 6 a.m. to 9, 10 p.m. during summer campaign periods. Tractor drivers worked the same hours but our ~~time~~ was supposedly to be the same as that of physical workers. Ten hours in the summer, for mechanists eight hours. These, too, often worked more to fill the norms. In addition to our routinework we had the kolchosome organizing and agitation work. The county functionaries organized these campaigns called "village walking". The villages were divided into sections and two people sent into each section. Usually one party man and one non-party man ^{went} together from house to house. Also sometimes the peasants were called to a meeting. Theoretically all kolchoses were voluntary organizations and we were to convince them showing the productivity, the easier tax rates, and easier collection duties to the peasants. In practice the local county party organization defined the niceties of the agitation work. Sometimes a peasant was beaten up by the police and sometimes a peasant was attacked by agitation teams around the clock for three, four days. We working at tractor stations were the obvious agitation teams. Some went for a trip, some took the work seriously, and others simply refused to go. The peasants were prepared for these trips and they were

properly scared by local party organizations - sometimes openly, sometimes coveredly. I went on these trips and had a good time. We would go to a house and ask the peasant for some milk. Then we inquired about his last year's crop and then we went on to the next man. In many instances it wasn't so simple for the peasant. Often economic pressure was used if not direct threat or terror. The man was simply robbed with fines and excessive taxation and then given the alternative to save his animals in the kolchos or see his life's work ruined. If the head of the council had bad intentions he would assign excessive delivery obligations to any one peasant and crush him financially. In one instance a peasant was fined 2,000 Forint for letting the dung juice leak on the street from his yard. Much depended on the ingenuity of the council president or the party secretary. They would threaten a peasant with deportation. Sometimes a peasant would join and he would soon be kicked out of the kolchos, by then having lost his equipment and animals. According to law a kulak was not entitled to any kind of compensation and there was continual haggling about the value of material and shares of production brought to the kolchos. When the peasant joined the kolchosa all value was assessed by the committee unilaterally resulting in eternal fights among members. Kolchos meetings were remarkable for their extended length. Many would last

till 2 a.m. and while the speaker droned on everyone slept but later all would argue for hours. On the other side of the coin is the fact that agronomists are available to cooperatives. So are state experimental farms and their techniques and results, and institutes can do a great deal of good if they are well used for the peasants' advantage.

(g) Some summers I got three free Sundays. My workers worked eight hours and six on Saturdays. Agricultural workers worked ten hours and eight on Saturdays. But all could be ordered to work twelve hours in campaign periods.

(h) There was no overtime in practice. Actually workers who were eligible for premiums were authorized no overtime at all. Our office got perhaps eight hours of administrative overtime for a month per man, and if this was the case this was superb but in practice we had no overtime pay at all. Even on holidays, of course, like August 20, we worked till the middle of the night thrashing.

(j) With excess leave I had 26 days a year but I didn't take it all last year.

(k) Yes, it did.

(l) This is not practical in a small plant.

(m) There were frequent changes in norms. For instance, a tractor driver's norm was established on a national norm by the agricultural ministry. On specialized machinery that we had I established the norm.

- (n) There were periodic norm reorganizations. Actually the period from 1953 to 1955 saw few changes. But minor changes were carried out continually. If a norm was filled by 2 or 3 hundred percent this was considered disproportionate and a work supervisor from the National Bank would come down suggesting increasing the norms. If the norms were too high we would apply for a reduction and sometimes our plea was accepted, sometime rejected. In some instances we could set local norms. For years we had to follow the absurd, centrally set norms for thrashing small grain like clover. The work was intensely disliked and we never got it done for the pay was ridiculously low. Finally in 1956 we received the right to set our standards and our quotas and norms were fulfilled. Before the work wasn't completed and whatever was done was done wastefully. Workers left their jobs after earning 12 Forints a day. In 1956 when we had limited self-determination on this matter all made good maney and all enjoyed the work.
- (o) I guess these were available but I was not interested and didn't get any.
- (4) This was no problem for I had good cooperation. This was unfortunately not the rule, for the neighbouring tractor stations were different. At our station all of us were young, glad to work, and all did our work well. I had the most disagreement with my friend who is

out here in Austria with me. As chief engineer, he, of course, was for a preservation of his machinery and I was for fullest utilization of same. Of course, we always came to a sensible compromise. Our director was an ex-locksmith who after the war worked at the agricultural ministry and he started university studies but dropped them. He was technically versed if otherwise not well prepared. But he did not interfere with our work and let us do our own jobs. Unfortunately this was one out of fifty similar situations, a real rarity.

- (b) Very well. After all my friend and I were elected to the workers council during the Revolt.
- (c) We lived together in the same official quarters.
- (d) We blamed the regime. All of us did. Though a party member, our director approved our criticism as long as this was valid.
- (e) Of course. There were about 20 out of 140.
- (f) It concerned itself with vacations and such side benefits but not with work time or the real concerns of the workers. Its functioning was almost non-existent.
- (h) This was concerned mainly with firing, and it usually justified the management's point of view for its members depended on the management's good will.
- (i) These were the advisers to the director. Actually if not he then the party secretary would decide. The UB itself was not very useful.
- (j) He couldn't for he wasn't left alone enough. In
long

agriculture you need to know the area you work ~~in~~ with.

One couldn't do an adequate job when continually shifted and being politically unreliable meant steady transfers.

- (1) I personally refused to budge to any political pressure and it is possible to do this. Of course, I was a single man, had no family or apartment needs and no obligations. I often gave out orders contrary to those of the party secretary but if one is tied to a job this is dangerous. One agronomist was interned for letting the corn stand too long on the ears when his machinery broke down. In the internment camp he became the head agronomist again. This time without pay.

(n) People who repeated the slogans and gave no hard time.

(p) I don't think so.

- (5) It is hard to leave on one's own but as noted above drivers and other hired hands were always hired when they were needed even if it meant paying a fine. Of course, you couldn't leave a leading position so easily. I was refused several times.

(b) Private gardening. I like this field and this was the schooling I was permitted to get after I was jailed for illegal border crossing.

(e) I wanted a very good library and I wanted to be a Maszek gardener and do a good job of it.

(g) Anything but station agronomists. It's too much work though it's most interesting.

- (6) As a single man though I supported my grandmother we lived very well on 1,800 Forints. Before I made 1,350 and we~~x~~ could live fairly well on that.
- (b) One could dress but no cameras or such luxury items were included. Perhaps we could have bought a radio.
- (d) At 76 my grandmother still maintained her garden and it wasn't for the fun of it.
- (8) Of my 1,800 Forints I had about 200 in deductions. Of this 70 Forints went for a peace loan and 1% income tax.
- (9) We lived in our own house paying 1,700 Forints tax on it per annum.
- (b) They took two rooms but left us three which was ample. The station paid 1/3 of my lunch and dinner in the local restaurant. They paid 2,20 Forints for each meal and I added 4.70 for each meal.
- (d) Perhaps 500 Forints per month.
- (e) 100 Forints electricity bill per year.
- (f) About 110 Forints per month on tobacco.
- (g) Nothing.
- (h) Sometimes we went to Pecs but this was too irregular to amount to much.
- (i) I wouldn't know.
- (j) 100 Forints a month.
- (k) Nothing.
- (l) I had an official motorcycle for my use.

(m) See above.

(10) There was too much centralization in every field and there were many onesided foreign trade agreements.

(c) As we knew it the standards of living were much higher but it had the disadvantages of many unemployed.

(d) One cannot disregard the effects of the war and the problems of economic reorganization.

(f) In agriculture the kolchoses became garden centered, concentrating on their backyard. Among the artisans and trades half-trained men carried on without permits or without paying taxes. The legitimized maszek was suppressed before 1955 by restriction of his raw material supply.

(g) They have improved.

(11) They were the one main cause.

(b) The terror was perhaps the weightiest of all reasons for the Revolt.

(1)

- (a) I went to elementary school from 1936 to 1940, to gymnasium from 1940 to 1944. I had two years trade school between 1944 and 1946 and from 1948 to 1951 I completed a gardening and vinyard trade school.
- (e) I liked this last one and this is what they accepted me for to study.

- (2) No, I did not. I wanted to go to the university but my father was unable to pay for it. Later I was unable to even try to get to the university since I went to West Germany though I returned.

- (e) It was materially hard for me ~~but~~^{as} clothes and books were still an expense we couldn't swing.

- (3) We had four hours of compulsory ideology a week but no one had any opinions on that.

- (4) Internationalism and the adoration and imitation of the USSR, ^{and} less emphasis on Marxism-Leninism than praise of the USSR. Theoretically this was reversed in the university but even there pro-Soviet propaganda was put ahead of theory.

- (b) People learned to hate it. There was some left over socialistic feeling among the students but mainly as a reaction to reality rather than as a direct result of propaganda. One could see from real life the real direc-

tion of things.

(h+i) Not very much. Perhaps it is most successful in the secondary school but even there the child's surroundings deny the ideas of the school. They could not instill hatred of kulaks, partly for the young people stayed under parental influence and partly because they saw reality around themselves.

(5) Elementary school teacher.

(a) No.

(f) Better.

(g) We were four children and I had a stepmother.

(h) My father is dead, died in 1952. One brother lives in Keszthely and the other one in Szekszard.

(i) I lived with my grandmother.

(k) It did no harm.

(12) Of course.

(13) None. We were good friends.

(b+c) No disagreements.

(14) My father died in 1952 and I lived alone most of the time since.

(b) This happened frequently.

(c) I read some. I had rarely a chance for theater or movies. I played basket ball.

- (g) I didn't have to go to seminary meetings for our party secretary left us alone.
- (15) They loosened. The family drew apart and moral concepts have deteriorated.
- (b) Dependence increased substantially.
- (e) There were many more nurseries ~~who were~~ bringing up the children while the mothers worked.
- (16) I think they changed quite a bit. The boys got more ~~feminized~~ feminin and the girls got more masculin. There was certainly closer contacts between the sexes and less of the traditional politeness. ~~with them~~ Also there was less mutual respect.
- (b) Same as above and there were no great preparations before marriage. Of course, I don't know much about how this went on before.
- (d) Decidedly more.
- (e) Secretly yes.
- (f) They were not more strict.
- (h) Perhaps. They didn't have such a sense of shame anymore.
- (i) Yes, many more were working which was bad for the family but the need was great.
- (17) It had declined.
- (b) Great amounts of thefts were committed in the fields.

There were many frauds committed with premiums. The general attitude was more relaxed concerning theft from the state. The number of thefts has increased though socially it was still condemned. The system also was condemned which forced the people to steal. The idea was not accepted as proper. One old peasant kept stealing clover regularly from the kolchos fields and peasants began to watch him. When they had proof they came to me. I once visited him and warned him, told him to stop. I suggested he do some work in exchange for the thefts for the common good. He immediately did it and was happy about it as were the other peasants. The party secretary who heard of this kept quiet. People had a general sense of commiseration and tried not to hurt each other.

(18)

- (a) I met a good friend in first class of gymnasium.
- (b) He took a commercial matura but had to work as a waiter for his father was connected with the Arrowcross.
- (c) We courted girls together, went to movies and excursions. The two families knew each other. Since I was rarely at home I got much of my social breeding in his ~~home~~ family's home.
- (d) Yes, we did.
- (e) No, it didn't.
- (g) A friend's selflessness and comradeship and help.

- (1) I had various types of friends. Another close friend of mine, a boy I grew up together with, and went to grade school with, became Communist Party secretary in our area. We met again when I returned to work in that part of the country. He knew my views and we often argued. The rest of my friends were made up of my colleagues at the station.
- (19) My mother was Reformed, my father was Catholic. I am Catholic but I prefer the Reformed views. I was never a bigot and never too religious. I believe in God.
- (20) Yes, they were attacked with propaganda and they disliked church attendance.
- (b) They used it temporarily while this was advantageous but in the end they would have liquidated it.
- (c) I didn't know any. On the other hand I knew a Reformed minister in a village who was most courageous and very Hungarian. A patriot, he sang the old Hungarian national song "I believe in God and the resurrection of Hungary". He gave fiery sermons against the suppression. I never saw a Catholic take such a stand. He would read the Communist inspired ~~par~~ pastoral letters and notices by taking his gown off and walking to the end of the church. Afterwards he would return and put on his gown.
- (f) Yes, of course. It was not an ^{advantage} ~~advantage~~ but no one got in trouble. At times my secretary friend warned me but

they didn't dare to ~~xxxxxx~~ oppose church going^{openly}. For someone in a top position it may have been risky to attend church but for the average man it was not.

(i) Young people went rarely, the peasantry steadily, older people also. My brother went to spite them although he was not at all religious. He is the chief accountant of a firm.

(j) It's less ~~important~~ important for them.

(l) It had much local meaning as you see from the Reformed minister mentioned above but no organized meaning.

(21) Electronics engineer or atomic physicist. The future is theirs.

(b) To educate himself.

(22) On the top was the upper party and government leadership enjoying unlimited economic rewards, special schools for their children, (This I know from a secret party document,) Special stores and two personal cars. The second group was that of party functionaries, AVO officers, ~~and~~ a ~~new~~ class concerned with politics not with work. The third group was that of civil administrators, enjoying excessive salaries for little work. They were not productive. The larger plant managers and personnel people also belonged in this group. The fourth group would be the specialists, professional people and smaller plant managers. The fifth group

would be of workers and slightly below them the white collar workers. The ~~xxx~~ sixth the peasants and on the bottom in the seventh the occasional workers, the helpers, and temporarily employed people.

() In the fourth.

(b) In the fourth.

(2.) One, the upper tenthousand and two, the rest.

(b) Decidedly so.

(c) Not good in this way.

(d) The top tenthousand is separated from the rest.

(e) Except for the tenthousand on top the economic and social levels are more equalized now. There is closer relation between the worker, the intelligentsia, and the peasant. The only great social gain they gained is that they now all have a common enemy, the exploiting few.

(g) People are less polite. They went from one extreme to the other. Szaki is a cosy, jovial nickname applied to almost everyone. It's short for Szaktars, meaning colleague and you often hear engineers called mernök szaki by the workers. This implies inevitable loss of respect.

(24) Most hurt were the peasantry.

(a) Those gaining personal influence, the AVO and Party, and other government leaders.

- (25) People are generally not anti-Semitic nor pro-Semitic.
One didn't hear much of the Jewish question.
- (c) None.
- (d) I don't know.
- (g) It decreased since the war.
- (h) As everyone else.

- (1) Domestic politics concerned me more ~~than~~ directly.
Also one was forced to participate willy-nilly.
- (a) Actually it's at the end of the list of my interests.
- (2) Until 1949-50 I was not concerned with politics at all.
I was a child and I did not consciously talk politics.
First independent opinions I began to have in 1948/49.
My concern was primarily that of the village politics,
agricultural reorganization, and collectivization.
Here I may mention that I don't know of anyone who
voluntarily without economic or political pressure would
have joined a kolchese ever. And this I based on my
knowledge of 60 to 70 collectives through the past eight,
nine years and the peasants' ideas. By 1951/52 it became
clear that collectivization as an effort failed. Thou-
sands of acres were not worked and the animal stock was
substantially reduced. Actually the pig situation was
quickly restored by 1947 but the cattle situation was
never restored for the needs were much greater than the
reproduction. The quality of the cattle was very poor
in Baranya county and the quantity was also very low.
The peasants were careless and not interested. Handlers
often didn't feed bulls properly or didn't walk them for
~~they were~~ either lazy or else underpaid. At any rate they had no
personal interest in ^{their work} ~~it~~. The peasants' burdens were so
big that he reduced his own stock and obligations. In
the kolchese the peasants kept one cow well. This was

his own. The rest was neglected. Thus there was no fodder, helpers were underpaid, and there was general lack of interest in cattle-raising, as in agriculture in general. Though the regime paid lip-service to specialization in agriculture actually all kolchoses had obligations in every field of agricultural production. Thus whatever was easier neglected like cattle-raising, ^{that was} ~~they were~~ neglected. Generally the cost of mechanized production in ~~the~~ relation to actually produced goods was very low. We only got about 6 to 7 ^{ctwts.} ~~centweights~~ of wheat, 7 or 8 ^{ctwts.} ~~centweights~~ barley etc., and 12 ^{ctwts.} ~~centweights~~ of May corn. My interest in politics in relation to ~~that of~~ the tractor station and my kolchoses. As noted above their relationship was twofold. There was political influence exerted on the kolchoses and economic help given. The relationship between the two was regulated by annual contracts. The station had to meet its production quota and often forced its services on the kolchoses. The idea was to mechanize as much of the work as possible. Often the kolchoses horse teams were not used but they were obliged to use our machinery. In the case of early Spring seeding, for instance, the work is easier done with a team of horses but we forced our contract on the kolchosa. At the same time our machinery was busy just ~~when~~ then and sometimes the work wasn't done till it was too late. This was also true for weeding. The curse of the machine station was the old

type Soviet imported combine. It functioned without a straw collecting facility and if the straw was left out it usually got ruined by the time the straw wagons picked it up. But the peasant was forced to contract for this combine unless a strong-willed man headed the kolchosa in which case he may ^{have} won and ~~get~~ contracted for a bundling machine, permitting trashing later. The individual peasant small holder almost never had the advantage of the special machinery services aside from plowing and other soil work which was forced on him regardless. But he never had any help for harvesting when he probably would have needed it most. His needs were beyond our capacity. The insides of the tractor station operations were a different story. There much of the repair was done on cannibalization and for the periodic inspections of equipment frequently the same machinery was borrowed from station to station. This equipment was then returned after the inspection. Whenever a station had to get rid of some equipment it was specified that it had to be in good repair. So for months endless haggling went on who should repair the equipment. Those who still owned it didn't have the allotment to maintain their own equipment plus the one to be handed down. Those who were to receive it meant to get usable equipment. Tractor stations all had "black" tractors. These were tractors officially turned in as decrepit, useless equipment but actually kept while some

junk was handed in to the junkyard. Our tractor station once traded a time-punch clock in for a tractor. A deal considered very advantageous ^{since} ~~for~~ the workers spent long minutes in the morning signing in with pen and pencil. Another chapter was the inventory taking at the station. It occurred that a couple of tractors got lost for a larger part of the summer and only for inventory in October did people begin to look for them. Sometimes they were found under haystacks buried or in ditches. Frequently other kolchoses or soldiers took off with our equipment for which we retaliated in kind. A typical case was that of the motorcycle allocated to me as official transportation. We had repair facilities available for this one and so everybody's private motorcycles were repaired with equipment requisitioned for this. As a result the annual repair bill for this motorcycle equaled the price of a new one. The fulfillment of quarterly quotas and work norms was an art in itself. Work sections, land areas were switched back and forth between quarterly quotas or allocated land but as a result we always pepped up our norms and quotas.

- (a) No, I did not.
- (b) The whole family was not political.
- (e) Practical experience and political instruction. But I had no opinions on it before 1948.
- (f) (iv). I approved of the nationalization of factories, banks, and larger estates though I disapproved of the

manner in which this nationalization was carried out. That is, without compensation and without proper ways. The terror and the human limitations of the program were condemned and aside from this practical sense the theory of destroying hundreds of thousands ^{or} people to promise a better life for the survivors in a hazy future was also rejected by me.

- (g) Of course there were many who did not. Those who lost their property through the changes and those who served the regime blindly and did not see its mistakes.
- (h) The omnipresent terror. This system jailed many without any reason. In 1947 seven students in my class were locked up for making anti-regime remarks. One of our teachers was involved in it by one of his enemies. Finally they made a big law suit out of it and in the end each of them got from four to seven years for conspiracy. Mind you these were young kids. If one complained in a plant meeting about practically anything the party secretary would jump to his feet and say: "You are the enemy's voice", and the person would shut up scared. "The enemy's hand is in it" is a standard joke for every mistake made. At least people kept their sense of humor.
- (i) I had no fear of it whatever. It never influenced my action and I didn't hear of people who were afraid of it. But people did say ~~sometimes~~ at times "Go and put this down on my kader sheet" after an argument with the direc-

tor. Of course, this was different in the university where the kader group was decisive in determining a youth's future. In plants, however, the director was usually in charge and he was rarely overruled by personnel. We got monthly complaints that we had many class alien tractor drivers, ex-kulaks, from the party people but our director told them that as long as he had no adequate replacement he shall keep them. 7 or 8 of these people worked very well and very hard. We never let them go.

- (3) When I was put under police supervision at age 18 after returning from the West, when my relatives were deported, when after the army a county hired me as an agronomist but the kader director refused to take me, when during military service I had daily complaints of the terrific differences between officers and men in this people's army. In the army there was no discipline and officers treated men like rags. Off duty or on one had to walk by officers in salute steps while most of them were uneducated half-wits. Within one's work one had to follow the directives regardless of one's own initiative or plans or ideas.

- (a) (vi), (xiii), and (xv).
- (b) (iii), (v), and (xiv).
- (c) (xiii), (x), and (iv).
- (d) (xiv), (ix), and (iv).

- (e) (xv), (ix), and (vi). But for all of these (xii) was paramount. Not because these troops were stationed there but because of them the country was exploited which was in itself a basic evil for all the others.
- (j) All had a ~~very~~ circle of friends where one could talk in peace and freely. Many had good family lives. All enjoyed the entertainment offerings for no one saved. There was no special aim to save for.
- (4) The AVO. All organizations were directed by the Party. In fact all official decrees started "The government council discussed and decided the following in the sense of the Party Central Committee". This was automatically added to all laws and regulations.
- (f) There was tremendous bureaucracy. Must certainly have been bigger than previous to 1944 and of course, also this was a suppressive system calling for many supervisory agencies. Basically there were then three reasons for this oversized bureaucracy. 1) Large amounts of control was necessary. 2) All directives were centrally issued and had to be channeled to the local level. 3) There was the double system of government and Party machinery with two men for every job, duplicating each others' efforts. This was even true in the army where you had a political officer for every regular one.
- (h) Worker kaders got the higher jobs and ^{there were} fewer skilled men ~~kept the lesser jobs~~ left in the trades.

- (5) No advantages. It didn't function.
- (a) Certainly. My courting a girl, a classmate of mine, resulted in a debate discussed publicly by a DISZ meeting till 2 a.m. The whole school was involved. They had no other complaint but it was improper to mix emotions with school work. Finally at 2 a.m. I got up and told them it's none of their business.
- (b) This depends on the situation.
- (c) One refused to.
- (d) Yes, I did.
- (e) In secondary school I was automatically taken over from the student association to DISZ when the ~~free~~ three student groups merged.
- (f) I was sports and culture responsible. It involved nothing.
- (6) It had some small advantages ^{which they emphasized} ~~and they showed one~~ before one joined. Once one joined they either kept ^{their promises} ~~them~~ or they didn't.
- (a) People in leading position were urged strongly to join. I was asked three times, once given 24 hours to sign up but I refused. I said it would kill my 74 year old grandrother who was very religious. My friend, the Party secretary, defended my right not to have to join.
- (b) Those who wanted to get ahead through the Party. Whether they succeeded in getting ahead was another matter.
- (c) People had quotas to fill once they were members. They

were assigned the task to recruit such and such for the Party or talk ~~xxxx~~ ^{to} this or that person.

- (e) I didn't follow personality changes that closely.
- (f) They knew they were forced to make and believe lies and they were forced to do inhuman things.
- (h) No.
- (q) No.
- (r) The line went straight from Moscow to Rakosi to the county secretaries.

- (7) No.

- (8) Exceedingly small percentage.

- (9) Youth was fired by a sense of justice and decency. But by no stretch of imagination can DISZ be described as a leader in the Revolt.

- (10) The fear was spread through contact with others. A small peasant neighbour of ours, who owned 14 acres, was pursued to join the AVO as a spy and informer. For several weeks he refused but in the end he hung himself. His suicide created a village uproar.

- (b) The official or written orders covered all anti-govern-
ment organization or organizing, protection of ^{the} people's
democracy , and the dictatorship of the proletariat.
Its practical or verbal orders ^{directed them} ~~included~~ to scare and

exploit, harass and trick people, as well as to destroy unwanted people.

- (d) They used people who could be compromised as spies, who were forced to do ~~their~~ bidding. In a jail phony prisoners spied on others.
- (e) The security strong arm boys were drafted through regular army channels. These were used for enlisted duty ^{as} the beating boys. When a man was drafted he was assigned from the very beginning. Either to this AVO group, else the border police, else the regular army, or else to a work brigade if he was politically unreliable. The officer corps of the blue AVO was made up either from ex-police or ex-army officers or else civilians.
- (f) They came from a varied background. S ometimes of worker and peasant background and in the cities often people of dubious occupations of of no occupations at all.
- (g) They enjoyed high pay and many privileges. Most people weren't aware of this before the Revolt.
- (h) I don't think they were. Even they can be 'drilled' or can 'drill' some one else. Every Party secretary can meet his match ~~as it's set~~.
- (j) They were entirely separate though the police, too, had an AVO section. As far as I know they operated separately ~~and~~ in different areas. On Siklos the police chief introduced himself as also the AVO chief of the area offering to ~~operate~~ cooperate with the Revolution.

- (k) Relations were close but the Party secretary ordered the AVO chief around and the AVO Chief got his orders at Party meetings like everyone else.
- (11) Yes. In the fall of 1948 when I returned from Germany I was investigated for one month. Jailed in a military-political section I was investigated three times. I was also caught going out in Sopron in 1947. That time I was beaten. I was in jail then for a week. The first night three so-called smugglers were brought in and we discussed foolishly that we had it better under the old regime. Next morning we were all called up and asked: "Which one is the Horthy boy?" So I just stood right out. Then the ^{AVO man} started to insist that I want to smuggle letters. I threw my jacket on his table so he could check. This was enough for him and he started beating me on the hand with his belt buckle. I had to stand against the wall, stand on one leg, etc. This was the ^{during} first few months of the new AVO.
- (b) Before I mentioned the head-master of our class and the six pupils who were arrested in 1947. Apparently some conversations grew out of a boy scout meeting in the fall of 1947. All of us were called into the trial. The boys got up to seven years in jail since the thing was blown into a full-scaled political show trial. They actually found a two barreled pistol from the seventeen hundreds. The kids asked a revision of their

confession at the trial on the basis that they were beaten by the secrete police. But the court refused to hear the opinion of the police surgeon on this. Actually this thing was started by a pro-Communist teacher who wanted to get this professor out of the school. He succeeded and the professor is still not permitted to teach in Pecs but commutes 25 km daily to an outlying school.

(d) Those with political pasts and those who made unwise remarks in wrong company. Those industrial or agricultural experts who failed with their production figures and those who had personal enemies with power. There was a very good agronomist who got six months in jail for lack of cautiousness. He once left his office door open at night and didn't lock his desk. He happened to have courted the same girl a police officer courted under back in 1951. This man worked ~~for me~~ till the last Fall. He was a very competent man.

(h) My uncle who was 71 ~~when~~ ^{at the time he} was deported to the Hortobagy. He worked there under armed guard, got a little pay. ^{Mainly} People from border areas considered unreliable, kulaks, and unreliable anti-class Budapest people were deported. ~~mainly~~ Their mail was censored and they received rough treatment. One of the guards told them: "You swine will die here". He mowed grass all through the Summer. The place was Borzas Pusztá. He was taken there in the Fall of 1952, released in 1954. He was not permitted to move

back to Siclos for it was considered too close to the border. Instead he lived in Pecs. He was very popular and respected. His crime was that he once went to a tavern and had a kulak song played for him. This got somebody started at him. Little later they came to him asking for the dog inoculation certificates of two years ago. Luckily he found them. Then they went around counting the hams ~~and the~~ in the smoker. He joked about his experience in deportation for as he said he was in the best of company and he himself almost became a gentleman in the camp. He never had any helpers or excessive land holdings.

- (13) Don't give out opinions and watch whom you are talking to. Also don't refuse to participate in the May 1st Parade.
- (c) I think they do. I think if I had been in trouble my friend could have helped me.
- (d) In court this is a good thing but with the AVO this does not matter.
- (e) I don't know. Perhaps it does.
- (f) Yes, unless one gets ⁱⁿ trouble at one's job or somebody wants one's house. If they want to they can squash someone easily. If a house was needed room was made easily, especially in the countryside. Sometimes it was enough that some political boss desired one's furniture.

- (14) Of course. The strongest terror was from 1951 to 1953. at the time people were worried if a car went by at night. Since 1953 there was considerable relaxation and after that time fewer extreme cases occurred.
- (15) Every directive originated from the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union was ^{preferring} ~~turning~~ agricultural production soon the same took place in Hungary. When arms ^{production was} ~~were~~ emphasized the same followed in Hungary. Industrial expansion was followed in Hungary. Other than that they took everything they could lay hands on. On my Moscow trip I noticed that up to Kiev there were none except Mavag locomotives. I didn't see any Russians at all. The uranium plant which operated as the Bauxite Mines Limited was strictly a Soviet monopoly and it was remarkable that the Kecskemet canning plants had a direct railroad siding into the Soviet barracks in the town.
- (e) Strongest in the military, least in private agriculture.
- (16) In the immediate family one could speak freely. One is cautious, however, with every stranger and preferably little politics is talked on the job.
- (d) One was careful when criticizing the Party, especially for a non-member. A little ~~more~~ freedom was permitted criticizing the economic situation.
- (17) Disregarding, no. Evading, yes, this was possible. The

latter had to be covered up with ~~the~~ statistical lies.

- (a) Mostly the Maszek who hoped to get some material gains. He tried to cheat on his turnover figures to improve his tax picture. Everyone tried to get hold of reduced railroad tickets and things of this sort.
- (b) He could not do this. At worst with influence he could get his quota reduced. Else he often bought free market ^{on the} what was demanded of him. He could get some very minor relaxations if he would cheat on the size of his land or a little corner here and there. This meant of course no substantial improvement in his lot or on his farm. He may be able to cheat himself a pair of boots. Damages were evaluated closely by the state insurance company, and since this was compulsory insurance the estimators handed in phony evaluations with the peasant getting less or no compensation than ^{his} ~~he is~~ due. If actually compensation was paid out this was made into a big case and actually advertised on posters. In one instance a kolhose was hit by hail and lost practically all its crop. It finally got relief from the other kolhoses but not from the insurance company. In the best case after much haggling and arguing the insurance may pay half of the damages incurred. Self-defense against this sort of thing took place by not insuring everything but claiming every damage on the insured part of the animals or crops.

- (18) Its strength was the increased control authority and the AVO. As we figured out in our own tractor station there were two of us controllers for everyone controlled and working. The central direction of operations was a weakness for it could always be circumvented. The result was the obvious economic bankruptcy and also many leaders were disgusted with the system. This was the basic cause for disagreements within the Party.
- (19) Passive opposition. Peasants disregarded work contests, paid their taxes late, evaded compulsory jobs, contributions. The intelligentsia was not eager or willing. Workers participated in quiet sabotage. Wage and norm cheating were the rule.
- (b) The peasantry, the mass of it, for ~~from the beginning~~ but never gained anything. ~~on~~ they only lost. No good at all came to them from the regime.
- (c) The miners. In the beginning up till about 1933. But they, too, got more and more abused. For a time they were a source of strength for the regime but in the Revolt they were just as anti as all the others. However, in every plant the regime could count on some people who preferred politicking to work and stuck with the regime.
- (f) Fully unorganized.
- (1) I don't know.

- (1) Radio, the daily paper, and conversation.
- (a) Radio.
- (b) The daily paper.

- (2) Szabad Nep, Szabad Fold, Magyar Mezögazdasag (Hungarian Agriculture), Elettes Tudomany (~~Life~~ Life and Science), and Agrar Irodalmi Tajekoztato.
- (b) Yes, regularly.
- (e) There was nothing on it.
- (g) I never saw them though you could buy them.

- (3) Yes, weekly.
- (a) I did not have much choice. Saturday or Sunday we went to Harkany or to Pecs.
- (b) Whatever shown.
- (c) Some Italian, some French films, also Russians.
- (e) Yes, in Pecs. Perhaps bi-monthly.

- (4) Of course. It is hard to say how many.
- (e) Jokai, Andersen-Nexö, Herzeg, Cronin.
- (d) Some from the county library and some from friends.

- (5) Daily at the tractor station.
- (d) Novisad but often to the VOA. This with the official radio in our official residence. The height of brass we felt! We also got the Budapest news and the morning agricultural programs, also the evening news primarily

for weather forecasts.

(6) Yes, we did. Novisad which follows the Titoist line, London which was objective, VOA which was less objective, and RFE which we ~~disliked actually~~ actually disliked.

(7) Yes.

(a) Domestic news through friends and relatives, also unfavorable Party news. If a minister was rumored to be removed it usually took place.

(g) Party members and leaders. These were clued in to prepare the people for a change and either to defend or to attack as the situation required it.

(h) On the job.

(8) Much was obviously the opposite of truth. Actually all tightening of reins was believable and all new loosening programs were received cautiously.

(e) All were the same, most unreliable. Frequently work was described finished in one location to spurn on the others and we knew of some kolhoses which didn't even start the work they were supposed to have finished.

(f) It came to the station but I rarely saw it.

(9) Yes, they did ~~try~~ to get foreign news.

(10)

(a) I knew of it. It was quite inhuman.

- (b) I still don't know who started it.
- (c) Idiocy. This was mentioned as a joke. No one believed in it.
- (d) We heard of many divisions and believed it as conditional truth. But we felt that if it were true it would lead to a war.
- (e) I saw ^{one myself} ~~myself~~, but empty. The Party secretary used it to make a raincoat for his daughter.
- (f) I heard of it but I did not follow it. I knew it was anti-Soviet but I don't know who started it.
- (g) Means nothing to me.
- (h) They talked of 25,000 ~~Gen~~ Gendarms and Fascists and black legionnaires but I didn't believe a thing.

- (1) The extreme centralization of the economy and the administration. I would give more initiative for the little man and permit free competition.
- (a) The nationalizations.
- (2) Yes, there should.
- (3) They should say freely what they want.
- (c) Why should they?
- (d) It depends what we understand by this.
- (4) Of course they should.
- (b) If there is ~~xxxx~~ a government which was not elected by the majority of the people, that is if the government was forced on the people.
- (5) See question (1).
- (6) Of course.
- (b) No factories but smaller plants.
- (c) With limitations it's all right.
- (e) Of course some things, salt, matches, etc.
- (7) Of course I am in favor of nationalization.
- (8) In the form used in Hungary it's catastrophic. If plants are to remain in state hands we must have certain

state intervention. Actually plants should not be nationalized by the state but they should represent the small people's interests in these industries. The power should be vested in them.

(c) The state should have a voice in the production of essentials and their costs.

(d) Must be done with state intervention.

(9) One's private life.

(10) Yes.

(e) At least as many as in return.

(11) There is a greater number of new doctors being trained now. While these doctors are not as good as the maszek doctors and they consider their jobs as official chores yet one can say that the medical service has improved, especially since the number of village doctors increased.

(a) The village people.

(b) The maszek has to take the local doctor.

(12) He has more of an opportunity, it's cheaper. He now has the opportunity both financially and as a matter of time.

(13) No, he does not.

(a) Better than in 1946.

(b) I don't know. It's better now perhaps for there are no bread shortages.

- (14) It was cheaper before the war. I was ^{told that} ~~very rich~~ and my father could dress us much better.
- (a) It is better now.
- (b) It is better now.
- (15) It has obviously increased.
- (b) Primarily the heavy industry and also base materials for export.
- (c) Development in the heavy industry is actually a handicap. But development of other industries is an advantage.
- (16) The share holders should control it and they should ~~select directors~~ ^{select directors} ~~take decisions~~ from expert applicants.
- (d) These expert applicants should be made managers.
- (17) It ruined Hungarian agriculture.
- (a) With decreased territory they should be maintained, once the peasants' need were filled.
- (c) Those not wanted should be dissolved, others should stay together.
- (a) The peasants should decide.
- (f) 50 acres.
- (g) Up to 50 acres.
- (h) Up to 50 acres.
- (i) Up to 50 acres.
- (j) They should receive back the values contributed.
- (l) Of course it should.

- (m) They should be kept.
- (n) They should be kept in state or collective ownership.
The state should keep some though to favor the small farmers.
- (q) Decidedly. As long as it is done with adequate and appropriate small equipment.
- (18)
- (a) Yes, completely.
- (b) No, there should not be.
- (c) No, they should not have any support.
- (d) They should not.
- (e) Yes, it should be.
- (f) There wouldn't be any more church schools.
- (g) Return up to 50 acres to the church if the priest is willing to farm it. It should receive some compensation for buildings, schools taken away.
- (19) Let them live. Those guilty should be called to account by legal means. But all those guilty should come as men and not as members of any organization.
- (e,f,g) There should be no distinction made ^{about} what organization one belonged to. Accounting should be done and judgement made depending on guilt.
- (h) This is not enough of an excuse ~~to~~ not to be held responsible.

- (20) Perhaps the 1848 revolt and the protection of the West against the Turks is what comes to ^{mind in} ~~my~~ connection with the Revolt.
- (21) Of course there is.
- (a,b,c) He differs from all, in temperament, in creativity.
- (e) Plenty. The degenerated landowner was isolated from the people.
- (f) Only then did this exist. Since 1945 social classes were brought much closer to each other.
- (22) There was no good government.
- (f) There was a deep gulf between them.
- (h) I am not happy about Hungary's policy. If she tried to stay out she should have tried more and firmer.
- (23) Borders are not anymore important. The Hungarians are now absorbed into the Czech and Rumanian life.
- (d) No, there is not.
- (24) A Danubian Union sounds good.
- (c) It should be a member state with power relative to its population.
- (25) They are stupid and cowardly and childish but they are not bad people. They are a large uneducated mass easily controlled from above.

- (d) In the war.
- (26) These are very pretty ideas which have so far failed in practice and apparently will fail in the future.
- (e) No, Tito is not a Marxist. He is a national Communist.
- (i) Never. In 1947/48 it started out.
- (j) To honor and to respect the others' rights.
- (27) This is no different from the international Communism only that it is to harm or benefit one state only. This means that this state escaped from future Soviet exploitation but the system is still the same.
- (e) They changed. In a strict sense internationalism cannot be nationalism but possibly one can be both.
- (28) He would have most likely approximated the Yugoslav pattern. He would have followed it but he would have had more democracy.
- (a) As we know it it's bad.
- (b) Bad.
- (c) Bad.
- (d) Again as we know it it was bad.
- (e) Bad.
- (f) Bad.
- (g) Bad.
- (h) This is a silly definition.

- (i) He approached my views somewhere along the line of Danish cooperatives.
- (j) I don't know about him.
- (k) He was bad.
- (l) I don't know about him.
- (m) I disapprove of her.
- (n) I disapprove of him.

- (30) Small Holders.
- (a) It is not tied to personalities today.

- (31)
- (a) Below their share.
- (b) Below their share. Although they did not work very much they lost their own lands.
- (c) Below their share.
- (d) Below their share.
- (e) Below their share.
- (f) Professionals got their due.
- (g) They got above their share.
- (h) There were no tradesmen at all.
- (i) They got their due.

- (32) The period from 1945 to 1948 was too short to see clearly. 1948 was the first good year for crops but soon there were many changes disrupting the economy.

(33)

(a) In harmony.

(b) In harmony.

(c) In harmony.

(d) In discord.

(e) Harmony can be established but the regime tried to split them apart.

(f) As long as the church demands wealth it cannot be harmonized.

(g) In discord.

(i) In discord.

(34) I do not think both as equally dangerous. The economic life in Hungary would have gotten under American influence but this would have been beneficial for Hungary.

(35) The AVO and Party functionaries with the regime, the rest against them.

(36) No.

- (1) Much depends on how this material will be used. It maybe that it's outdated by the time it is finished.
- (2) Yes, I hope to go back.

Interviewer's analysis of respondent:

As it becomes clear from the interview respondent is extremely wrapped up with agricultural life and farm life. A very sensible young man, he did not get as much education as his intellect would have absorbed. Due to his independent thinking and also to outside influences perhaps, he became very socially minded subscribing to most of the reform achievements the Communists accomplished. ~~It is doubtful how far he would~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~, compromise with the regime on political grounds but emotially he is committed to a strongly social reform government.

(This interview should be used in conjunction with that of interview 407. These two respondents coming from different social backgrounds were quite close friends at the same tractor station taking in leading positions both. Having had simultaneously experienced the same events their ~~xxx~~ personal interpretations maybe of importance for further analysis of the Hungarian enigres).