

NO. 218

"A" FACESHEET AND RATING
(Unrevised)

NN

p. 1

July 1957
Feldafing

1. M12
2. [REDACTED]
3. [REDACTED]
4. 23
5. M
6. Hungarian
7. Lutheran
8. Lutheran
9. S
10. O
11. Student
12. Student
13. [REDACTED]
14. Middle Class
15. No
16. Austria, before 1945
17. No
18. No
19. Sopron Műszaki Egyetemi Karok
20. Other Urban
21. Sopron
22. Sopron
23. Small Holders
24. Nov 8, 1956
25. 3 months in Holland, since then in Germany
26. Perhaps after the University
27. [REDACTED]
28. Amerikanischer Informations Austausch Dienst and
Military Information
29. [REDACTED]
31. "8"
32. "9". Either the entire interview or nothing.
33. "9"
34. "8". Either entirely or not at all, and I tend to believe
the latter.
35. Adjustment:
"9" in Hungary
"7" in Exile

- (1) The West saw an example of the Soviet Union's relation with its satellites. Actually the situation is all the same today at home, or worse than it was before the revolt. But the Hungarians saw that all people in the country were sharing in their opposition to the regime.
- (2a) In the prevailing terror the communists started to make small concessions. They began by admitting mistakes of party secretaries. This, of course, came to head with the review of Rajk's position and trial. Party mistakes were publicly admitted in the press ever since the summer of 1956.
- (2b) Stalin's death portended a change, a change brought about by the new program of Imre Nagy, aiming at the improvement of agriculture and the slowdown in industrial construction.
- (2aiii) This showed the weakness of Soviet foreign policy positions which they finally realized by themselves and tried to correct.
- (2aiv) This was much discussed and programmed in university political seminars run by the party. The Polish events brought home the similarities in atmosphere and feelings in the neighboring countries.
- (2avi) Rakosi enjoyed great hatred and he got all the blame from the party. But only minor improvements were scheduled after his discharge.
- (2avii) This moved great masses. Not because of Rajk's person, for whom noone was sorry, but because this was open admission of the political murders before and after Rajk.

- (2c) During Gerö's regime, when the return of Imre Nagy to the gov't began to be demanded more and more insistently.
- (2e) Earlier the writers were passive or suppressed like Laszlo Nemeth. He too was "discovered" only 6 months before the revolt. The population enjoyed the freer tone of the press and the Petöfi circle etc. enjoyed much popularity for discussing economic, political and cultural problems.
- (2f) I think Boldizsar became the editor of a new paper, the Hetföi Hirlap. The lead article of the 1st issue written by the editor made the paper of immediate importance. In this he insisted to stand for truth and freedom in his editorial policy. With this the other papers also began to be freer, even Szabad Nep showed some changes. I recall an article in Szabad Nep by a county party secretary, presumably one from Miskolc. His name is probably Földvari. In this he writes how he, after having a flat tire, went to a peasant home, and talking to the old peasant, realized the gulf existing between the party and the people. This must have been in the first days of September.
- (2g) I think the one article by Boldizsar, mentioned above.
- (3) The conditions ever since 1947 were the basic cause for the hatred of the Russians.
- (3a) The above listed historic changes came to a head by the end of October. More immediately in the last few months the Petöfi circle had increased freedom of thinking, of speech, of meeting. One heard free opinions. New programs were voiced.

Gerö's appointment was a great disappointment and it only brought increased criticism of him and the regime and actually his last speech upon his return from Belgrade was best designed to start the revolution, as it did.

(3b) The small changes permitted by the gov't were gradually used and increased by the people. Originally minor concessions were made. Workers meetings in plants were permitted. And free criticism of production by workers was encouraged. This was a direct result of the hopelessly ^{once} low production standards. Of course/this much liberty and criticism was permitted the trend continued. Coordinated with this, eight major plants in Hungary were permitted since last year to schedule their own production plans, instead of receiving their orders from the central ministry. Subsequently other, smaller plants were given such independence; with one word, the ^{economic} very unsatisfactory/conditions made the regime agree to these concessions, and once criticism of economic matters ^{of} and/production was permitted, it soon turned to political affairs as well. By not clamping down on the trend, I presume they were hoping to gain the masses' allegiance to some degree.

(3c) In Sopron there was a quiet demonstration on the 23rd, laying wreaths on the monument for the 1848 revolution. This was planned and carried out by the university youth as organized by MEFESZ, formed the previous day. The police permitted demonstrations only if they were silent.

The MEFESZ on the 22nd, was formed because in the last few years DISZ was a non-entity in the lives of the university. Neither did it have contact with the students nor with other DISZ organizations and so the stepping in of MEFESZ was a natural solution. On the 23rd classes were suspended and with the help and encouragement of the professors the students' demands were collected and mimeographed and these then sent to all the plants and establishments in town.

(3e) Noone was for an armed revolt, but in every plant management was changed.

(3f) A very few AVO men were locked up on the 24th as well as some of the party secretaries. At the university one marxist was kicked out, who tried to play ^{out} both ends in the revolt. Other than these, all were against the regime and with the revolt.

(3g) Such were very hard to find. Possibly some people were more measured in their demands or in the pace they wanted to proceed in. Others were more impatient. Some communists may have wanted to keep out of trouble by pretending to be neutral.

(3h) The withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary, free elections, civil freedom, Imre Nagy in the gov't. As the revolt proceeded, trust in Imre Nagy has waned.

(3i) In the first hours it was not. However, it was against the gov't and the party leadership.

(3j) This meant several things. It meant being anti-Russian. It also referred to personal antagonisms, for the communists had a knack for making themselves unpopular.

It also meant general opposition to domestic and foreign policies of the party and the actual party leadership. Aside from this, the party itself was very unpopular.

- (4) On the 22nd MEFESZ was formed. On the following day we had a demonstration and finally, on the 26th, aid started coming in from the border with food, medicine and other things. We then channelled these shipments on to Budapest. About that time meetings were started in the plants. These were organized by MEFESZ. We talked to the workers and had them pick a new management and new workers councils for their plants. Also, supply of the town had to be organized, because a general strike tended to cripple all supplies. But all workers agreed to keep the food processing plants working. The strike was to force the Russians to withdraw. By this time MEFESZ and the revolutionary city council were running the city affairs. We also joined the border guard in catching any communists who wanted to escape to the West. We collected about 150 prisoners, all told, on the border, in town and elsewhere. I myself went to six plants and helped to change the plant management. Very soon we had lost touch with the country, since the radios didn't function too efficiently and no other communications existed. But we did form an armed guard, receiving our arms from the Army and the police. On the 4th we tried to block the road leading to Sopron which forms a pocket in Austria. For this, we asked the help of the heavy artillery batallions in Süttör.

Some of the guns did show up on the highway, but somebody sabotaged their work because the striking cap was removed from them. There was no resistance possible when the Soviet tanks showed up later in the afternoon, under AVO guidance. The Russians came into the city, occupied a city block, blocked off the streets and we realized the end of the revolt was at hand. The Russians let out the prisoners from the jail, who started organizing the gov't again. Most of us were getting ready to leave.

(7) There were no differences.

(7a+b) Cooperation was excellent among all groups in Sopron.

(8) They took over the barracks, stopped the traffic in the streets, but were quiet and did not show themselves. They never came out, except in their tanks. No violence occurred.

(8c) We had about 35 or 40 Koreans, who were studying at the University. When the revolt broke out, they asked to be taken to Czechoslovakia and a bus took them there. They were very quiet and we never had contact with them before or after. It was a very studious group, fully retired in their own, little world. They just started to pick up a little Hungarian.

(9) Via the radio.

(9a) We had some of the Budapest papers and we've also started to print a revolutionary paper in Sopron.

- (9b) We had some visitors, but they did not bring much news that we did not get thru the radio.
- (9c) I personally had little time, but I was told by the people who did listen.
- (10) The former city council, its executive committee and its president were replaced at a meeting organized by MEFESZ. All plants and institutions sent delegates who elected the revolutionary council of Sopron.
- (10a) The police, for instance, remained. But the compromisers were relieved from the police force.
- (10b) The Party ceased to exist. Its leaders escaped and many party secretaries were jailed, including the city's secretaries. Approx. 60 people were involved in the communist leadership of Sopron. Party offices were locked shut, some literature was burned from the little propaganda book shops, but others left in their lockers. The communist party officially ceased to exist when Kadar and Nagy formed the MSZMP, the Hungarian Socialistic Workers Party. But even for this there were very few applicants. The large majority were for the middle class parties, the small holders and others. There was general hope for an Austrian type solution for Hungary.
- (10e) The prosecution was relieved from its duty and new prosecution set up.
- (10f) There were only border guards in Sopron, so-called Green AVO! But these sympathized with the revolt completely.

- (10g) I don't know.
- (10j) The Army and the city police aided the revolt to a large degree with arms and supplies.
- (10k) The National Committee, which was in places called the Revolutionary Council. But there was no difference between these two, ^{it was} only a local title.
- (10l) See above.
- (10m) More parties, civil freedoms and a most democratic type gov't.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) Yes, it was. For abroad and also for its domestic effects.
- (11b) Yes, without Soviet intervention.
- (11c) No armed assistance, but we were hoping for United Nations operations, perhaps with troops to keep order till the next elections.
- (11d) Well, Poland did have a revolution, and as far as Czechoslovakia goes, they did have a higher standard of living in the past few years, but on the other hand they did not have the political changes during the previous summer, which we had in Hungary. Rumania, Bulgaria were simply more backward.
- (11e) After the 23rd he was made Prime Minister and he was forced to call in the Soviets on gun-point. Later, he admitted this quite freely and openly, but the population lost much of its confidence in him. He would have been a Prime Minister only until the next free elections.

- (11f) Maleter had a very good reputation, Bela Kovacs the small holder, Kiraly, and, of course, Mindszenty.
- (11g) Students and youth in general took the initiative, together with a small group of writers. Second, the workers; third, the intelligentsia, but they were more passive and more afraid; fourth, the soldiers; fifth, the peasants, for the peasants were distributed over the land and they were not able to go into revolutionary action.
- (12) I often thought of leaving.
- (12a) I could not have put up with the old system again.
- (12b) Yes, my family urged me, altho they stayed behind.
- (12c) No.

- (1) A student of geodesy.
- (2) I have only held summer jobs, but I had many of these in the last 6 summers. I worked as a helper in the water works. Then I worked another summer in the construction business, as helper, and later I helped the engineer on the construction. Another summer I worked in a lumber yard. Another summer I worked in a transportation company and one more time I worked in the state vineyards. Last summer I worked as a draftsman doing my practicum in Budapest in a geodetic office.
- (2c) During 2 summers I had to go to military training camps for a month each and therefore I only worked one month in those years. In the other years I worked 2 months every summer.
- (2e) The last one was a state engineering office, concerning itself with city planning, designing water supplies and construction layout.
- (2f) It was a large, scientific organization.
- (2g) Budapest Institute for Land Measuring and Soil Survey.
- (3a) It was in my field.
- (3b) Nothing particularly.
- (3c) In my other jobs, people with 3 years of schooling ran the plants or offices without understanding management or production principles. Here the manager was a competent, educated engineer.

- (3d) Quite good. We had quite new German instruments to work with, but even here always more was demanded from us than we could possibly do. On the whole it was a very pleasant job, because the other young man who was training there and I went out on a job and independently did our work.
- (3f) Eight hours.
- (3g) Six days.
- (3h) We did not have overtime on this job, but previously we had overtime. I took the job in the transportation company, because of the tremendous overtime that we could accumulate. Later, however, overtime was prohibited. Yet, in the plants it was necessary to fill plans. So, people did not get paid for it in some instances. Only some with good connections with the management could get a day off for overtime worked.
- (3l) Yes. On my last job a young engineer was late once or twice and he got bawled out in front of the whole office.
- (3m) I think they raised norms several times.
- (3o) That I had a chance to meet the director of our organization, who was a very intelligent man and a good engineer.
- (4) It was a motley crew. In the office several ex-Horthy⁷time artillery officers worked, since geodetic education was non-existent in Hungary until 4 or 5 years ago. But an artillery officer was capable of learning the job in relatively short time. So they let them work there. Aside from these colleagues we had some old declasse people.

These were ex-judges or directors or lawyers and they carried our measuring posts around. They had a very easy job, but they only got, I think, 700 ft. a month. My partner and I often felt sorry for them and let them sit down for a rest, while we carried the posts ourselves.

(4b) This was no problem in an office made up of all educated people and our boss was very good.

(4d) One complained about the domestic conditions if one trusted one's neighbor and co-worker.

(4e) Not markedly. Instead ^{the} there were in/plants people picked out as Stachanowites and these made tremendous money. They were not better than the other workers except they got the easiest pieces to work on in order to improve the quotas. This was perhaps the most basic difference among workers.

(4f) This was a nominal organization and they did not defend the workers' interests.

(4i) I don't know the exact spheres of the committee. I'm not sure who was on it.

(4j) Yes. Professor Janossy as a world famous atomic physicist once wanted to flee the country. He was caught, brought back and rewarded with new luxuries, a car with a chauffeur and a new villa. As far as I know he never joined the party.

(4k) Yes, many.

(4l) I knew of chief engineers who only had 5 years of school, but tried to play their role without success.

- (4m) Party men from way back or else opportunists.
- (4p) I never found out.
- (5) This was disliked.
- (5b) I would have become an architect. I wanted to be one as a boy and since my father is a civil engineer this was near in the family. Aside from that, I found, and still do, that ⁱⁿ engineering one finds the least amount of politics. I was simply put into the geodetic faculty and found myself there.
- (5c) I could have found a position in the field.
- (5d) I think they mainly want money.
- (5e) To travel and to participate in cultural events.
- (5g) It does not matter.
- (6) We were worse off.
- (6b) I would have loved a motor-bike, but I could not have afforded one until after I had worked for several years. We, the family, bought a radio about 3 years ago.
- (6c) This was about average.
- (7) My father made 1,760 ft. a month. This was about average ³⁰ for an engineer, but it was little for a man with years of experience. Others in plants got more money than he got from the city.
- (7b) He got less than doctors made, but probably more than others.
- (7d) Only my father.

- (8) Last summer I made 1,200 ft. 50 of them went for a peace loan. I paid no union dues since I did not have to join for the 2 months. We paid some sickness insurance, which was newly introduced, but I don't know how much it was. I guess I got between 1,050 and 1,100 ft. For my father the net figure was 1,600 ft. out of a gross of 1,760 ft. we had no savings.
- (9) We lived in our own house where there were 2 apartments. We got 140 ft. rent for the other apartment, but we had to pay about 300 ft. of taxes a month. I think we also had some insurance expenses and for repairs and so in our own house our own rent was very high. We had a 2-room apartment with kitchen, so it was quite comfortable.
- (9c) The balance of the salary went for food. In Sopron there were frequent lines, especially in front of the butchers on Saturdays. Actually one could not go down at any time to the butcher shop and buy meat. It was ^{during} easier/the week. In the store, if something was sold out, one had to wait for a month or more til the replacement arrived.
- (9d) Not out of my father's salary. I usually saved from my summer job for clothes and sometimes my father took on a job on the side to make money for such purposes.
- (9e) There was no phone in our house after 1945. Gas was 60-70 ft. a month and electricity was 45-50 ft. Regarding fuel, we often bought small quantities as our money lasted throughout the spring, summer and fall.

But one had to be careful, for they often were sold out of fuel during the winter months.

- (9f) I spent about 40-50 ft for cigarettes a month. We drank rum very rarely.
- (9g) This was not too expensive, for there were many ways of getting scholarships. One form was social aid, which up to 400 ft. a month was ^{given} ~~even~~ for those who were financially needy and of proper social background, that is workers' or peasants' children. Then, there was a regular scholarship for achievement. Students who were below average had to pay up to 200 ft. a semester tuition. Average students went for free and above average students got up to 240 ft. scholarship aid. The third type of scholarship was the Rakosi scholarship for party merits. These ranged up to 700 ft. a month and these were quite plush.
- (9h) Almost nothing.
- (9i) About 30-40 ft. a month. We had a laundry woman come to the house.
- (9j) This was a minor expense.
- (9k) We used the medical services.
- (9l) None, for we didn't go anyplace. But a trip to Budapest for my summer job cost from 120 to 200 ft. roundtrip on an express train.
- (9m) See the house tax above.
- (9n) None.

- (10) Very bad and this was very obvious. They were pushing heavy industrialization, altho there is no basis for it in the Hungarian economy. On the other hand the Russians are using our resources, like our uranium, but everyone neglects agriculture.
- (10c) The Horthy regime was generally disliked. Undoubtedly the economic system was better than it is now. Also, there was a better political system than now.
- (10d) An improvement, temporarily, after 1946. But the communists's planned economy had ruined the economy since then.
- (10f) They permitted MASZEP, because they realized the bankruptcy of the retail trade system.
- (10g) The standard of living was the same, in spite of small shifts one way or another in prices. A price reduction advertised, for instance, of **b r e a d** meant that the quality of the bread would be declining, but as soon as this happened a higher price bread was introduced, even higher than the original price and the cheaper bread declined in quality further. Once it reached the point that people refused to buy it, the gov't scored its goal. The regime reduced the prices, but it also increased them.
- (11) It played a rather large role. A general disgust was perceivable with the poor economic conditions and the low standard of living, especially when one could compare it with the style in which the party bigwigs lived.

- (11b) Other important elements were the lack of freedom of speech and the lack of travel opportunity.

- (1) I had four years of elementary school in a Lutheran school; four years of secondary school in a Lutheran lyceum and then four years of secondary school in a state gymnasium. Subsequently I had completed 6 semesters of geodetic study at the university of Sopron. I finished one gymnasium before '45.
- (1e) I applied to the faculty for architecture, but I was accepted on the geodetic faculty, so I went there. But actually I got to like it since all the experts in this field instructed on the Sopron faculty. I think the engineering schools in Hungary, on the whole, compared with the Western schools, except for some kader teachers.
- (3) We had constitution studies in gymnasium; also, our history, especially that of the 20th century, was taught from the Soviet point of view. At the university I had about 10 hours of lectures on political and related subjects out of a total of 36 to 40 hours a week. Thru the years, I had to attend 4 semesters in Marxism, 4 semesters in political economic matters, 6 semesters of Russian and 8 semesters of defense, that is military science. We had to get ready for these classes and we also had seminars, with examinations besides.
- (3c) It was generally considered additional work, useless and senseless.
- (3d) I did take 4 semesters in national defense training, but after that I got excused from it thru the kindness of a doctor.

- (3e) There were two to three levels of proficiency one had to reach. These were in different age groups in which one had to qualify. These things meant physical proficiency and accomplishment.
- (4) To win youth for themselves and to educate a socialist youth. At the same time they tried to prohibit various other trends. Their aim was to completely control the direction of youth, education and interests.
- (4b) It generally failed. This was clear to me thru contact with young people thru many years. There is a tremendous interest in the West, how people lived in the West, what their aims and goals were, what they wanted, how they developed. This was true for all age groups, but youth was even more interested since actually they succeeded in isolating them from the West.
- (4c) In the secondary schools some poor peasants' and workers' children were kept in school for free. In their earlier years these kids felt a sense of gratitude, perhaps in contrast with those who were in school entirely on their own resources. But this distinction disappeared by and by. Later, at the university I met several of these boys and we were all on the same basis. They and we all were anti the regime. Even during the course of the past 2 years this earlier feeling has changed, as I know from my younger brother. He does not think that there is any loyalty among these workers' and peasants' descendant boys towards the regime, now.

Of course, in 1948 when DISZ and these organizations were started, it was great fun for the functionary whom the regime picked. These young boys "elected" to their offices enjoyed certain privileges. They had close contact with teachers and they could direct their classmates around, skip classes and actually teachers often tried to flatter the DISZ secretaries. The school "DISZ" secretary, usually an upperclass boy, sat in with the faculty, when the report cards were made up and had actually a say in the grades. This was abolished after a year or two. At the university the DISZ secretary was an ex-student, usually a graduate and his was a fulltime job.

- (4d) These above mentioned people enjoying a position of prestige, etc., went along with the regime.
- (4f) Yes, people were more disaffected in the schools more recently, as my brother's experience has shown.
- (4h) In the beginning it occurred that the young functionaries at times informed on their classmates, but this too tended to disappear with the years.
- (4i) Between 14 and 16 it is most effective. Young people are not quite children at this age and they try to absorb ideas; yet they are not critical and if they have no ideas to compare and to contrast with, then perhaps they believe the communist dogmas.
- (4j) Between 1948 and 1951 teachers gave preferences openly and graded folk collegiates easier. These were the youngsters who from poor family conditions and backgrounds were assisted in their education by the state.

Actually, in our secondary school, only the director and one more teacher accepted the regime, that is, followed the lines. The teacher, a youngish man, taught history and geography, but he couldn't spell "Kossuth". We thought he was neurotic. Generally speaking, all lectures on political aspects were monotonous and dull. Noone had interest in them, least of all the teachers. On the other hand, the teacher was very careful not to show partiality against the folk collegiates etc. or extreme familiarity with the middleclass boys. Everyone went thru the routine, but generally noone was afraid that the political indoctrination would stick.

- (4k) There were some tensions between the folk collegiates and others in the secondary school. I was once accused of forming a clique in the class and was almost kicked out of the school, on the urging of the DISZ secretary. But our teacher smoothened it over and I stayed, especially since several children of simple parentage also belonged to our group. In the university we were much more united in our ideology than it was the case in our secondary school. This was in spite of the seminars, lectures and 10 hours of indoctrination we were exposed to.

- (5) He was a chief engineer of the City of Sopron. He stayed in his job until 1947, when he was B-listed. He was unemployed for some months and then taken back in his old job, since they could not find an adequate replacement. He has been there since. His boss is an assistant bricklayer, but being aware and afraid of his own ignorance, he lets my father do his job.

- (5b) He makes less money than comparable chief engineers would make ~~insay~~, a planning office. Other than that, it was satisfactory.
- (5c) Budapest Technological University graduate.
- (5d) We had one and kept her till 1945. She helped my mother with the chores. Also, we were small then.
- (5e) They took everything but the house we lived in. The following was the real estate they expropriated from us: a summer house with a garden, a plot and a 10-family apartment house with some stores in it.
- (5f) Average middle class, perhaps better.
- (5g) Five of us.
- (5h) My sister got married. She was the oldest.
- (5i) All but my sister.
- (5j) It was a disadvantage for I was not permitted to study what I wanted at the university. It also meant a minor disadvantage in a job when job-hunting, in receiving scholarships, in getting vacation possibilities.
- (11) Entirely close relations.
- (12) With my father.
- (12a) My father spoke German and he explained the Viennese broadcasts to us, particularly about the international situation.
- (14) Very good relations.
- (14a) Quite close.

- (14b) There was not much difference in other families.
- (14c) I read and went to social affairs.
- (14d) Conversation.
- (14e) Very little when I was at the university.
- (14f) I wanted to work with photography, but I had no opportunity.
- (14g) While in secondary school, one could not always be on the street after 8 p.m. For a while we had to get permission to go to the movies or shows. But the policy on this changed from year to year. At the university we had little free time for we had many exams. Also, in secondary school we had political meetings frequently, from once a month ranging to once a week. This varied also year to year. They lasted 2-3 hours in the afternoon. In the university this was reduced to no more than ~~once~~ a month and one did not go more than once every other month. Another attempt was, to make brighter kids tutor with dumber ones, either in groups or in pairs. But this, too, disappeared in a few years.
- (15) Where both parents worked, probably relations have loosened since 1945. To this was added the attempt to keep the children of working parents in school for the afternoon.
- (15a) Generally, yes. In some extreme cases the wife may have competed with her husband in her job and income level. In such an attempt, of course, she would have succeeded best by following party lines. But this was very rare.
- (15b) When both worked, in some instances, women were more independent perhaps, and relied less on their husbands.
- (15c) Relations loosened, perhaps, when both parents worked.

- (15d) No, I don't think so. There was less change on land, since all members of the family were used to work on the land together.
- (15e) No examples come to my mind.
- (15f) Yes, the number has increased.
- (16) Relations are more informal.
- (16a) This varies. Several classmates of mine, at the university, were married.
- (16b) Perhaps the girls are now more independent.
- (16d) I think there are fewer virgins to marry today. Generally this is no longer a social problem.
- (16e) It was prohibited, but independently there was much of it in Budapest. Also, one could meet a girl easily and get results without monetary considerations.
- (16f) In spite of prohibition they were less strict in the last few years. Abortion also was permitted if it was justified by a doctor or also for economic reasons in the last year and a half.
- (16h) The state endorsed illegitimate children to some extent.
- (16i) Many more work now, receiving full equality.
- (17) I think they sunk.
- (17b) Quite frequent in plants /schools, wallets, coats, watches disappeared but actually stealing state property was not considered a theft at all. Some people brought home as much as they could use at home. Some brought more and sold the difference.

Railroaders, Russians, AVO border guards, specialized in smuggling. There was also much embezzlement, especially among people who were pushed upstairs by ~~the~~ party into positions of leadership and responsibility.

- (18) I met him thru the daughter of a neighbor in 1952.
- (18a) A Student.
- (18b) YES.
- (18c) We talked, went together to parties and to shows.
- (18d) Now and then.
- (18e) No.
- (18f) Yes.
- (18g) He must have a friendly spirit and a sense of understanding.
- (18k) Yes, but it woul have amazed me if he had accepted such.
- (19) Lutheran, but my parents are more so.
- (19b) Religion was attacked in the school and voluntary religious instruction the way it was permitted meant, that noone studied it. Also, it was a disadvantage for one's father's and one's own future.
- (20) Yes.
- (20a) Generally yes.
- (20b) They preferred to extinguish it, but they were unable to do so. Instead they aimed to insulate it and to distract as many people from the church as they could. Being a church goer or especially a Presbyter, meant disadvantages.
- (20c) There were none in Sopron, but churches in Budapest had them, +

But these were not bloody communists either. They served on peace councils and such.

(20f) For a period people were being watched.

(20h) Once or twice a month.

(20i) This was determined by the type of position one had. If one felt threatened, one went less. More women and more older people went. The majority went out of conviction.

(20k) Somewhat less important for youth. Young people were not interested in many things, and the church was one of these.

(20l) It had some role, for religiousness is basically opposed to communism.

(20m) This was made very difficult.

(21a) Engineering. There is the least of politics involved. Also perhaps medicine.

(21b) Watch what you say where.

(22) The higher party functionaries and the various factions connected with them, the blue AVO officers etc. The 2nd level was made up of managers with good party connections, also artists, regardless of party affiliations. These had generally high pay. The basso Mihaly Seekaly made 30,000 to 40,000 ft. a month. This was to bolster the arts program of the regime. The third level was not very far from the second. Average plant managers, the new intelligentsia, and managerial class, again with party affiliations. Also, some Stuchanowites who were pushed up in an unreasonable way and perhaps the party's medium-size bosses.

The fourth level was the employed intelligentsia, doctors, engineers, and also the miners. The fifth level was that of the workers, medium peasants and good kolchoses members. Here also belong the small, whitecollar workers. The sixth level was that of poor peasants, poor kolchoses members and helpers in factories as well as the declassé element.

(22a) With the 500 ft. scholarship it puts me on the bottom row.

(22b) In the employed intelligentsia level.

(23) Many more today than there were before, for the communists had divided the small, middle and big peasants and similar divisions exist among workers. Helpers on the bottom, average income enjoyed by skilled workers and a small group of Stachanowites on the top, who were artificially favored to increase standards and norms.

(23b) This new division cannot remain and it is obvious from a minor fact which we often noticed. In land measuring, while out in the field, our 4 declassé helpers were greeted very politely by passing-by workers. They felt the difference in their background and position, regardless what they were doing now.

(23c) I disliked the new stratification.

(23d) The real divisions are only between party functionaries and others.

(23e) There is more equality.

(23f) Yes, but the newly risen management class lack basic politeness and knowledge, while the other classes kept their old relationships enjoyed before between each other.

That is, the workers to workers, and the intellectuals to intellectuals.

(24) None.

(24a) None. Perhaps the workers and peasants had some advantages.

(25) They had no particular disadvantages, but many who were in the trades were hurt.

(25a) Different, for many had good jobs thru the party.

(25b) Rakosi, Gerö, Revai, Farkas and many others were all Jews. There were also many on the lower echelons. In the Sopron / professor of Marxism was a Jew and one found them in many good jobs.

(25c) No.

(25d) This professor and 2 Jews on the city council, together with the other city council members, were jailed. The rest of them were neutral.

(25e) Any hatred of Jews depended on whether they were in power. Others in power were hated similarly.

(25g) It is the same as it was before the war.

(25h) They would not be in a bad position. They were inactive in the revolt, but they were expectant and they could gain with a change, for they could re-enter the old trades they were forced out of.

- (1) I was always interested.
- (1a) My interest was less than in my field of work, engineering, or in cultural things.
- (1c) Well, during the revolt, with MEFESZ.
- (2) There was no change in my attitude.
- (2a) The small holders.
- (2b) No.
- (2d) I was always against it. Altho, after '48 I had a better insight into their real nature.
- (2e) I saw the conditions in the Soviet Union, read their literature and disliked it.
- (2f) The second.
- (2g) Old communists; the ones who were communists before '45, did not share my views.
- (2h) The AVO kept the people in check.
- (2i) This created a lack of confidence in others and general fear.
- (3) My personal grievance, main grievance, was that frequently people directed me or supervised me who were uneducated, stupid and had comparable opinions.
- (3a) 4, 9, and 8.
- (3b) 1, which they did not succeed in. 14, they took the taxes out of our salaries before we received them. And 11.
- (3c) 4, 6, and 9.

- (3d) 6, not so much for kolkhoz peasants. 3, this again not for kolchese peasants. And 7, for everyone.
- (3e) 9, the right to strike etc. 3 and 4.
- (3f) The apartment problem was vividly in one's mind if one came home.
- (3g) Those who trusted each other.
- (3h) The main problems were permanent fixtures of the system.
- (3j) Drink was about the only thing to forget with.
- (4) The party under Russian direction. It followed the orders as they were received from Moscow.
- (4e) To prove their "democratic" system and their "democratic" centralism.
- (4f) It was probably greater now than it was before.
- (4g) Yes.
- (4h) The top positions were held by communists, the lesser ones by middle class people who had no special blemish on their records.
- (4i) For the last 2 years only people with completed secondary education could become officers. Mainly peasant and worker youth went into the Army and it was a relatively easy profession to follow.
- (4j) The party hacks, but the responsibility usually rested with the assistant manager.
- (5) Yes, if one was not a member one could not go to the university. Other than that, only functionaries had advantages.
- (5c) Workers who did not continue to study, had more chances to avoid having to join, but often the DISZ secretary pressed the youth of a whole plant into the organization.

- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) Last year, in the gymnasium, when the whole class was
- (5k) entered. In the last 2 years at the university we picked a harmless man for secretary and he left us alone.
- (6) Many joined to keep their jobs or to advance.
- (6c) To pay dues and attend meetings.
- (6d) In '51 and '52 many were forced to join. Some people were excluded.
- (6e) Some became loudmouths.
- (6f) Only those who were once convinced could now be disillusioned. An opportunist could not be disillusioned and the idealistic ones saw the realities.
- (6g) One could attain a fine position if one was in demand professionally.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) I don't know. I never found out.
- (6r) Directly, Rakosi.
- (8) Opportunists were about 40%. Say, 57% were forced to join in order to keep their positions. There were perhaps 2% National Communists and 1% or so, people who were either too stupid or too blind.
- (9) The top DISZ secretaries in Budapest were pro-Rakosi until the revolt, like Janos Gosztanyi. In the local DISZ'es there was only an insignificant number of real DISZ members.

Here again there were many opportunists and many or most just joined by pressure.

- (10) One felt ^{the} lack of freedom and individual isolation.
- (10b) It was the armed control agency of the Party to keep people under control and to eliminate undesirable people.
- (10d) They had these in plants. In the lumberyard where I worked once there was a young man, uneducated and vulgar and he was certainly a spy. In the city of Sopron we knew of a man who tried his hand at everything, all the trades and all the tricks, also the AVO. Another one in Sopron was an ex-officer who lived very well without any income, for he had no job. He visited all bars, restaurants and spied on people. You cannot hide yourself successfully in a small town. Some people were also forced into spying.
- (10e) Reliable party men were often willing to join. The organization was entirely volunteer and the people were fully reliable. Most joined for the money they could make and also some for sadistic pleasure, but actually few of them were real communists.
- (10g) They could steal anything if they came to search a house. They also got the best homes, big cars and high pay. I have never met one who could have passed for a civilized, educated, decent person, even tho they were frequently in civilian clothes.
- (10h) Unless one was a traitor, an AVO man was safe.
- (10j) The police was more human and it was subordinated to the AVO.
- (10k) They were completely coordinated.

- (11) When I was a second-year student at the University, we had during defense classes military maps distributed among us. Someone apparently scribbled on the edge of one some silly, vulgar remarks with the instructor's profile. They went to great length to find the culprit and presumably even called in writing experts. The AVO called in 3 people from our class and they were cleared. I was the fourth to be called in. A short AVO Lieutenant told me I did it. He threatened to hit me etc. and punch me in the nose and throw a chair at me. He didn't do any of these things and after a couple of hours I got up, looked at my watch and said: "I'll have to go now, for I have to pick up my bicycle from the repair shop." He agreed to this, but told me if I said a word of our experiences I would get to feel the AVO for sure. My uncle, who was the fire-chief of the town, was once jailed in '46. He was never judged by a court, frequently interrogated, and kept in jail for 18 months. He was let go in 1948, but he couldn't find a job til 1954. Then, being a mining engineer, they let him work, since these were much in demand.
- (11c) Those who went thru the AVO treatment had enough and they never talked.
- (11d) Kulaks very frequently. Also former political or other leaders, that is pre-1945 leaders. They were systematically arrested in the early 50's.
- (11e) These had no importance in Sopron. But in Budapest a relative of mine couldn't get a permit to visit us in Sopron from his block warden, for our town was in the border region.

- (11f) I don't think one can.
- (11g) Some prisoners worked, but all prisoners were taken from Sopron to Győr or Szombathely where AVO headquarters were.
- (11h) Volksdeutsche were deported out of the country and people whom they considered unreliable, they deported from our border region to the center of the country to villages there.
- (13) Keep cool - don't speak!
- (13a) A factory helper, perhaps, is in the safest job if he doesn't speak.
- (13c) Yes, they are extremely useful and "protection"^{influence,} as it's called, is more important than ever in Hungary. This is accompanied by great degrees of corruption.
- (13d) Once one is in trouble, this does not help.
- (13e) It does help and it is generally used for such purposes.
- (13f) Yes, and to give an example of the opposite: I once worked with an ex-officer of junior grade, who as a young man, after the war, started working as a truck driver. Sometime after 1950, it must have been, he remarked in company that he once killed 3 Russian soldiers during the War in a house, somehow. Within 3 weeks he was executed.
- (14) The programs were changed as the need appeared to impress the masses or to intimidate them. I think the strongest period of terror was from '50 - 53. During Imre Nagy's first regime there was some decrease in the terror, but a strong reaction followed.

- (15) The entire state was controled from the Soviet Union. Economically, a lot of exports were made to Russia without payment. On top of it, the state and social form of the Soviet Union were closely imitated and steady propaganda was used to praise and respect the Soviet achievements. They steadily harped on Soviet development and on Western decadence.
- (15a) In an iron factory there was a Soviet director until one year ago when he was withdrawn to Russia.
- (15e) It was strongest in the political life. The least result it had in socialist education.
- (16) One spoke only of the regime in the most intimate family or friends circle.
- (16c) See above.
- (16d) One couldn't criticize a party-motive movie as boring, not in carelessly chosen company.
- (17) Not much.
- (17b) No.
- (17c) If he has connections.
- (17d) Very difficult. The plants don't want to give up their workers. Also, the man must find an apartment in the new town, which is very difficult.
- (18) Fear was the greatest source of strength. Their weakness was their economic weakness and the fact that they could not gain the allegiance of the masses.

- (19a) There was full passivity. If one went to meetings one showed passivity and lack of interest.
- (19b) Aside from the opportunists all segments of the population were opposed.
- (19c) See above.
- (19d) It did not decrease.
- (19e) It continued.
- (19f) It was mainly personal. As far as organization went I think it was limited to conversation among friends.
- (19g) There was some passivity among simple party members.
- (19j) The writers who did not write or were not published.
- (19k) Rarely, for production was coupled to the salary.
- (19l) The MEFESZ existed in '46 - '47. It was returned to power in 1956. The PETÖFI Circle was the center of the intelligentsia.

- (1) Radio Vienna. Then, if we could get them, Radio London, then VOA and in the end RFE. But RFE was not very popular, there were many untrue news and false promises.
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) The Szabad Nep, for my father had to subscribe to it. I regularly bought Szinhaz es Mozi. I also bought Művelt Nep, but rarely, and also rarely Irodalmi Ujsag.
- (2c) Because Szabad Nep was there, and the others I read for the reviews etc. The theater paper was interesting and informational.
- (2e) These were unimportant, except for those who wrote the articles and put them up. Then they hang there for a year.
- (2g) There were Russian magazines, but I didn't see them. Also, there were some English and French communist papers.
- (2j) Sometimes.
- (3) Once or twice a month I would see Italian neo-realistic films and French films, whichever they permitted to enter Hungary. Among the Hungarians I would see historic movies and any and every opera film that came to Sopron.
- (3d) This was mainly in '55-'56. Also the decision was made then to make other than propaganda films in Hungary.
- (3e) In Sopron the "Rolling Opera" came and the theater presented classic pieces, but rarely. I did not like the propaganda plays.

(4) I read Hungarian writers and foreign writers published before 1945. I read Cronin's "Via Mala" by John Knittel, Maupassant, Bel Ami, and the Hungarian writers Jokai, Mikszath, Ady.

among the modern ones Arpad Toth and Lőrinc Szabo.

(4d) I got these from friends.

(4g) After '48 a big censorship and house-cleaning cleaned out the libraries and one could not get the things one wanted.

(5) Yes. Opera and sports.

(5b) Yes, a set that received short-wave broadcasts also.

(5e) If there was a good program.

(5f) Whenever there was a good program and wherever I was.

(6) Evenings.

(6d) London was most objective. We could not get VOA well, tho we preferred it to RFE.

(6e) If someone was caught he was branded unreliable politically etc.

(7) From friends.

(7a) News of the world and the West.

(7c) These were frequently unreliable and untrue.

(7d) Many.

(7e) Anyplace.

(7g) Yes, we listened more to foreign broadcasts.

(7h) This depended on how safe one's place of work was, else one limited one's conversation to friendly company.

- (8a) Sports news, theater and movie schedules, perhaps.
- (8b) International news, we felt them to be unreliable.
- (8c) No idea, they were always lying, but I think they were more reliable after August '56.
- (8d) We compared them with the radio news from the West.
- (8e) All the same, but some papers were more blood-thirsty than others.
- (8f) Yes, I got hold of it.
- (8h) I knew it well.
- (9) There was great interest to find out about the West. Some people lost all hope for a change and gave up, but the majority was interested.
- (10a) Many people perished.
- (10b) I thought, inspite of the domestic line, that it must have been started by North Koreans, on Russian instigation.
- (10c) Was there anything like that?
- (10d) I knew of the armed East Germany and we knew that their power was much greater than West German armies.
- (10e) I saw them and got handbills too. I saw many on the ground and not one of them exploded. But I also saw the news in the movies and accepted with reservation the fact that a house burned down from a balloon and children hurt.
- (10f) We knew the truth from the West.
- (10g) The 4 heads of States met there on disarmament and peace, but there was no agreement.
- (10h) Not much. There were many Hungarian articles on imperialistic agents etc.

- (1) So many things need changing. First of all, the party and its power. A multiple party system, introduction of free elections, free parliament and, of course, the abolition of the AVO.
- (1a) Altho it is difficult to get an education at the university in Hungary, those who did get one, received certain support and did not have any pressing economic needs to meet. There were no high tuitions and the books were not too expensive. Of course, school policies have to be **changed** completely. I don't know of anything in the economic field that doesn't need changing. Production, distribtuion, lopsided export - import policies, unfair trade relations with the Soviet Union and other Satellites - all these need changing.
- (1b) Opinions are divided on this, but the distribution of huge estates is generally approved, altho not necessarily the right recipients received shares of these estates. But actually few people would be for their return to the church or to the aristocracy. I can't even say that factories should be given back too. I'm not sure if there would be general agreement on this. However, if the large plants were returned to their former owners, the workers would not like to have the poor social conditions re-established which prevailed before 1945. The communist policy of aiding cultural life should also be continued, but ^{not} only for those who are useful for the regime. All artists and scientists should be aided.

- (2) I think they are necessary, for opinions are always divided, at least on minor questions and a one-party system could never create a healthy, political situation.
- (2a) If there is to be complete freedom, there should be no limits, either for joining or founding parties. Then it will depend on the masses whether they will join or not, whether they think this sensible or not.
- (2b) No, there should be no limits. I think the communist party should be permitted and I trust in the Hungarian masses that it could not function very well, but under free elections it would be a small, isolated party and it would not be dangerous to permit its operation.
- (3) Full civil rights must be given to all.
- (3c) Limitations are not necessary, it is part of the people's opinion and free expression in a free system and as long as the majority governed the minorities' criticism would not be dangerous.
- (3d) In as much as one's offers an opinion of an anti-constitutional nature, it is permissible, but on a bigger scale to organize a putsch, to destroy a free political system, this should not be tolerated.
- (4) Of course.
- (4a) These are artificial questions, that's why it's a problem. We in Hungary had not had this experience of a free gov't. To some extent, in as much as open opposition or serious counteraction is urged against the state system, it must be stopped. In a free society only majority gov't can be.

By the way, what's your opinion, how is this in the US?

- (4b) Under some conditions like if a gov't elected fails to follow the line for which it was elected and completely changes its policies. If now there were no means to remove such a gov't in a legal way, then a revolt may be permissible. But this, of course, would mean that the gov't had already changed the governmental system.
- (5) See question (1), above.
- (6) Of the highest levels among the biggest industries and plants like Csepel, Tatabanya, and such trusts, gov't control seems quite purposeful.
- (6a) Others should be put back into private hands.
- (6b) It is more useful and simple, perhaps, in a new system, to keep these in state hands, but then, chance should be given to form new, private corporations.
- (6c) I approve of private profit.
- (6d) Those should be kept. The largest, like the National Bank, should be state-controlled, but they should permit the establishment of private banks as well.
- (6e) Now all businesses are state monopolies. Their future disposition would depend on whether all plants will be returned to private ownership or not. If all stay in state hands, then the state would not need the added income of the monopolies. But if some plants are returned, the state may need their income and keep the monopolies for income purposes. I would like to say that I feel the state should perhaps keep the bigger plants in state hands, because under a changed system

a unified economic policy, controlled by the state, would be more able to improve the poor economic conditions out of which the nation would have to be lifted and it would be easier to correct past mistakes. Of course, the fullest freedom should be given to new private enterprises.

- (6f) I can't think of any. In an ideal state the right people would be on the right spot.
- (6g) All retail trade should be private.
- (7) It is healthier to have private initiative.
- (8) The one now in use is absurd and impossible, but under a changed system it will be necessary to have unified planning in order to reprieve the country faster from its economic plight.
- (8a) Not a five-year plan, but there should be some state directions.
- (8d) Consumption.
- (9) Religious and cultural life.
- (10) Yes, for a free country needs protection.
- (10a,b,c) Yes.
- (10d) Yes, if parliament brings them in a free country, then they represent the people's will, after all, ^{the} state's life must be regulated.
- (10e) Of course, they are mutual obligations.

- (11) It did not improve. There are still villages without a doctor and small farmers, who did not enter the kolkhozes, have no rights for insurance.
- (11a) I don't think so. Some plants have medical services, but even before the war they had these. No segments had improvements in their medical facilities available to them.
- (11b) See question (11).
- (11c) The difference is perceptible. Very few doctors live from their private practices alone. Many have both STK and private practices and many of these were less conscientious on official time than in their private practices.
- (11d) The largest part of the country was in the STK, except the small peasants or the declassé unemployed. All others were in it. Actually many doctors were conscientious, others not so.
- (11e) The dentist was a frequent problem. He ruined my teeth in the STK, did a poor job and I lost a tooth. Private doctors are much more conscientious. At the STK they frequently pull teeth instead of treating them.
- (12) There were more opportunities, but there were very few new movie houses built and even fewer theaters. I don't think there are more movie houses now than there were before. I don't well remember the pre-1945 situation, but the decrease in other types of amusement made the movies more frequented.
- (12a) There was no change for me. Before, I was much younger and they did not let me go more often.
- (12b) Relatively many frequented the movies for they were cheap and since other types of amusement were very limited, this is where people went.

The theaters had planned subscriptions and there was a versatile theater lately, where they showed good classic plays. All foreign ~~movies~~ enjoyed tremendous popularity.

- (13) No, worse because there are many temporary shortages now.
- (13a) In '46 there were many shortages due to the war. Now, much is exported while at the same time they refuse to import necessities. They even export Hungarian flour and frequently re-import French flour for bread, which is much poorer in quality. I know this from workers from the bread plant in Sopron. But regardless of the situation in 1946, the situation was not better in 1956.
- (13b) The terror was greatest in '50 and I think the food situation was even worse, but there is not much difference.
- (13c) Yes. One heard during the revolt that earlier, party big wigs got things which other people could neither buy nor afford. In some places packages sent from the West were given away at nominal costs.
- (14) No improvement. Clothes were extremely expensive. In the West almost all buy readymade clothes, but in Hungary the ready made clothes are of very poor quality or the wrong size. Even so, a medium quality readymade suit costs a worker's monthly salary. The cheapest is about 750 to 800 ft.
- (14a) Worse now, for prices rose since. Any rise in wages was surpassed by rises in prices. My father's salary was upped by 80 ft., but the price of shoes rose from 250 to 380 ft. Prices generally rose greatly ever since 1950.

- (15) The papers always wrote of increases and of course, many plants did not work in '45. On the whole I don't think that productivity¹ was increased, only the quantity of goods, as the norms increased and the quality suffered.
- (15c) whatever the increase, it was of no advantage, for it brought no perceptible results in the economic situation of the population.
- (16) The trade unions must be given the opportunity to function and thru these a voice shall be given concerning the workers' social conditions in the plants.
- (16b) Entirely.
- (16c) Not compulsory at all.
- (16d) To the people competent in their fields.
- (16e) In as much as they remain state owned, they should be subject to state control. A private plant should have no responsibility to anyone.
- (17) The present version of them is impossible. Of course, in a free system, if small peasants wanted, they could organize for distribution or production.
- (17a) Not many were formed out of their free will. Most were pressured and forced in. In a free system, small peasants may prefer cooperatives to permit them the efficient use of mechanized equipment.
- (17b) They should be distributed.
- (17c) On the basis of a **voluntary** system peasants should receive back the land and equipment they took into the kolkhozes and if any preferred to stay together, let them.

Tho I don't believe there are such.

(17f) In a democracy those who can and want to, should have the opportunity to buy as much land as they want to. Even tho this may contradict the fact that old holdings should not be returned.

(17h) Of course.

(17i) Yes. A line should be drawn and above it land should be divided. Up to 1000 - 2000 acres it should be returned.

(17l) Yes. Thru banks they should get long term loans.

(17m) For those small farmers with 8 - 12 or so acres it would not be disadvantageous if the Stations existed. Actually they should be disbanded and whoever wants the machinery, they should buy them cheap. Small peasants could either buy singly or jointly.

(17q) Yes.

(18) Complete separation.

(18a) Yes.

(18b) No difference.

(18c) No. For this creates a relationship.

(18d) Also, and I didn't want to say this, opportunity should be given to go or not to go without prejudice on the person.

(18e) No.

(18f) The state schools.

(18g) The old church lands should be distributed among agricultural workers and the smallest farmers. The buildings needed for religious purposes should be returned. The schools should remain in the State's control.

- (19) Those who were forced to join and had no major role or an anti-popular record, should not be prosecuted. But those who committed crimes in the eyes of a free system should be judged by proper courts.
- (19b) They should be hung or something of the sort. People would finish them off before there were a chance for court judgement. But if they are still alive, they should be condemned by the courts. Perhaps, instead of death, they should be sent for a lifetime prison labor. This would be the biggest punishment for those.
- (19c) In as much as they are guilty of deeds which were detrimental to others, they should be judged accordingly.
- (19e) I was a member and nothing should happen to simple members. But if a DISZ committee harmed people, if they got one expelled from school or jailed, they too should be prosecuted.
- (19f) Those not finished off by the people should also be condemned to death or prison labor, all of them! For noone was forced to join.
- (19g) Those politically guilty should be judged. Nothing should happen to the others, certainly not to a traffic cop.
- (19h) Inasmuch as opposition was sincere and they did not turn around again, no judgement should be passed on them. Except in more serious instances where death or great harm was caused by them. I think prison labor would be a better solution for all these, for a great many people would be involved and they shouldn't all be condemned to death. They should be used and they also should learn to work, for once.

- (20) The Hungarians stopped the Mongol invasions and the **Turkish** invasion.
- (21) Yes.
- (21a,b,c) Yes.
- (21d) Basically it did not.
- (21e) Yes, there are.
- (21f) Yes, they existed. But these are not basic differences, only differences in habits, etc.
- (22) In 1945-46.
- (22a) There were not many differences between the pre- and post-Monarchy periods, politically.
- (22c) Yes, til '45.
- (22d) Not right.
- (22e1) A little too leftist.
- (22e2) No aftereffects.
- (22f) Substantial.
- (22g) Better than the communist regime, but not good nor perfect.
- (22h) No, did not. The country was played out to Hitler.
- (22i) There were many changes in contrast with the preceding period and also many differences in relation with the succeeding period.
- (23) Inasmuch as other countries also have strong political opinions and borders, Hungary must **hold** these too.
- (23b) Yes. Transsylvania, Slovakia and those areas which belonged to Hungary before WWI. Hungary has just claim for these.

- (23d) Yes, some. They have different habits and views, but no basic differences exist.
- (23g) Hungarians are in a fine and serious friendship with Austrians. The Austrians are well liked. The Czechs and Rumanians are less liked. Generally, Slavs and Hungarians are not very friendly.
- (24) Territorially those areas where the majority is Hungarian, should be returned. Of course it is more difficult to return lands justly to Hungary where the majority is not Hungarian and it is difficult to have such claims accepted by others.
- (24a) Useful. If a united Europe was formed this would be beneficial. A regional organization would not be so useful, for our neighbors are also agricultural and it's better for Hungary to join with nations which are heavily industrialized.
- (24b) This depends on the degree of union. If all borders are abolished, each country should be represented in a common gov't.
- (24d) It is difficult to imagine a federation with both countries in it, but if the system changed in Russia, this would be possible.
- (24e) No good.
- (25) The average run-of-the-mill Russian person, not a leader, is a bit ignorant. He did not live in any other than a communist system and he has few needs.

- (25a) Of the European stock of Russians many disagreed with the Soviet system, but the Asians are barbarians and they don't know the difference between political systems.
- (25c) I would think in the European part of Russia there is among Russia's thinking people no more than 30-35% communists.
- (25d) In 1945 my father knew a Russian officer who was a doctor and lived in our house. In his opinion the Russian system was not good. He thought that many Russians disliked it.
- (25e) They were feared and people had no sympathies for them. They were horrified.
- (25g+h) People had a uniformly bad opinion of them.
- (25) I read much in it, but I did not find healthy ideas.
- (26a) I approved of minor things. The reduction of the working day, from 12 hours, for instance. Inasmuch as such horrible traditions existed, this was an impossible situation that needed remedy.
- (26b) I disapprove of the economic theories.
- (26c) No.
- (26d) Not even as much of a Marxist as Lenin.
- (26e) I did not see clearly. He was greatly slandered and even after this change one did not get a clear picture one did of the domestic and economic life in Yugoslavia. He is probably closer to Marxism than either Lenin, Stalin or the Hungarian communists.
- (26f) They are not Marxists.
- (26g) They stood close to Marxism. In some degree they are to the right of Marx.

- (26h) If one trusts the ideas of freedom and independence and demands full civil liberty.
- (26i) Hungary got closest to it between 1945-46, perhaps the middle of '47.
- (27) If there is communism in a country, but that country considers its own interests as predominant, not as in Hungary where under the guise of International Communism the Hungarian life and economy is subjected to the needs of the Soviet Union. It also means to some extent independence from the USSR.
- (27a) There were.
- (27b) Those who were rehabilitated in the party, just before the revolt. These people very much applauded Gomulka's policy.
- (27d) He is a Marxist Communist.
- (27e) There is opposition between the two, for the communist idea is for Internationalism.
- (28) He would have kept his promises and established full freedom, independence and re-established civil rights. Had Russian troops been withdrawn, the masses would have forced him to carry out this program, even if he hesitated.
- (28b) Not for long. He wanted to form a socialist workers party instead of the communist party. He would not have had much success.
- (29a) At home this is a bad quality. I don't know another. Socialization as done in the West has put the workers in an advantageous position. If this is considered Socialism, I approve of it.

- (29b) Not good.
- (29c) Not good; in a free society it is unnecessary, for no great differences exist.
- (29d) Not necessary with free parties.
- (29e) Not good.
- (29f) In its 18th-19th century versions it is not good.
- (29g) If there is no class war, there are no class differences. And a middle class would not be. The people of it, tho, would be needed, but they would not necessarily be parts of a middle class.
- (29h) Not bad at all.
- (29i) A folk writer who, at one time submitted to the Party too much, but later retired.
- (29j) Better than Stalinism or Leninism.
- (29k) Much more democratic than the present Czech gov't.
- (29l) Feudalism.
- (29m) Good social democrat.
- (29n) A great person.
- (30) If the parties of 1946 would run, the small holders or a middle class party would win. Unless a strong Christian Democratic Party is founded, without being lead by the church.
- (30a) Imre Nagy was trusted comparatively until a more adequate leader would have been found. But until the next free elections Imre Nagy would have been a very appropriate person to lead the gov't.

- (31a) Less, excepting some of the Stachanowites, who were hand-picked and then unduely favored.
- (31b) Less. But some exceptions have to be made for those kol-khozes which were well run.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Less, due to the high taxes.
- (31f) Less. Some did well who thru their party connections got good jobs as plant directors or such.
- (31g) Those members who got good jobs thru party connections, got more, much more. The little members got either less or as much as they deserved.
- (31h) The MASZEK got less.
- (31i) Same as h.
- (31e) Lawyers did poorly. Doctors who had both private and public practices earned enough.
- (32) Aside from those who benefitted from their party connections, generally all had it better before, especially in the small trades.
- (32a) Of course I disapprove.
- (33) In a free system all these interests are compatible, but not under the present regime.
- (33a) Is in opposition.
- (33b) Is in opposition. One reason is that the peasant cannot get a good price for his produce, if the prices are high.
- (33c) These are in conflict at present.
- (33f) The peasants gained when the priests lost their land. But the peasant was in the end worse off in the Kolkhoze.

(33g) There were, I think, opposite interests.

(33i) There were also opposite interests.

(34) None.

(35) The AVOs Blue and higher Party figures.

(35a) The rest against them.

(36) There was no change in my views.

- (1) Yes, I'm interested in how the economic life in the US is organized on a private enterprise basis. How can a systematic production and consumption be assured?
- (1a) It is good to have such an undertaking, to have a good and unified picture presented to the West on the situation in the people's democracy.
- (1b) I think, much, for personal views and experiences will help in creating a whole picture.
- (1c) I don't know.
- (1d) I think so.
- (1e) I don't know. Perhaps that this is less important, sports life, the system of so-called amateurs is upsetting.
- (2a) In a free and democratic state, yes.

COMMENT OF INTERVIEWER: I have overcome the great temptation to brand respondent simply too flattery-conscious. Rather, I was confronted with a young man of strong conservative convictions. His mental processes and his slow functioning, systematic, engineering mind reminds one of a well-known pattern. The explanation must lie in the fact that the family from which this young man came, had no need to compromise with either their standards or their self-respect over the past decade and a half. Under the present conditions I would think this to be somewhat unusual and extraordinary, but in this case true.