

NO. 442

"A" FACTSHEET AND RATING

LL

p. 1

July 1957
Vienna

1. V-18
2. [REDACTED]
3. Vienna
4. 43
5. M
6. Hungarian
7. Roman Catholic
8. Roman Catholic
9. Widower
10. 1 (died)
11. Journalist, editor of Hétfői Hírlap
12. Engineer of Forestry and Journalist
13. -----
14. Gentry (landowner middle class)
15. 12/2
16. No
17. No
18. Yes
19. University of Sopron, Forestry and Mining
20. Budapest
21. Budapest
22. Pest
23. -----
24. December 12th, 1956
25. Baden bei Wien
26. -----
27. -----
28. -----
29. -----
31. "8"
32. "8"
33. "8"
34. "8"

Respondent is a highly intelligent and articulate journalist. Deeply religious. His honesty is without question. At the same time he can hardly control his emotions, which may influence the objectivity of his judgments. He is a Hungarian gentleman, coming from the historic nobility, but without the haughtiness of his class, with a strong sense of social justice and political democracy.

(1) If only for a moment the reins are loosened and the terror suspended, everything which has been preached for years would collapse as castles in the air. In the so-called Satellite states, life is only a question of to be or not to be. We left behind us long ago the existentialist question. It did not matter any more what will follow. The explosive driving force was "at last, I can freely tell and show what I think inside." The cork was pulled out of the bottle and the jinnee ~~was~~ released.

(2) Respondent objects to the use of the word revolution and prefers to call it "népfölkelés", popular uprising against tyranny.)

The psychological foundations were laid by the March Party Resolutions of 1955 and the following Rikosi speech. Then, again Rikosi had followed it up as an anti ~~unhappy~~ thesis with his Csepel speech. After he has delivered his self-criticism in the Sport Hall of Csepel, the printers greeted each other next day with the word: "Végre!", which means: "At last!"

In the evening following this speech, first time could one see people uninhibitedly forming groups and discussing things on the street.

The first real revolutionary manifestation, in my opinion, took place in the evening of September 7th, 1956 at the appearance of Hétfői Hírlap in the districts around the National Theatre, the Apponyi Square,

and the Béla Bartók Circle, when in those places the editorial, entitled Tiszta Lap, which means "clean page", was read aloud to hundreds of people by some strong-voiced men.

- (2a) On December 13th, there was a public session of Party organisation in the Press Combine on the Lenin Boulevard. Gyorgy Fazekas, former partisan officer and Miklós Gimes, a former young ideologist of the Party (Szabad Nép has used him for four years as its ideological editor), have spoken up in the Rajk case and have ~~xx~~ expressed their opinion about the perfect negativism of the Party policy. This gave the sign for Irodalmi Ujsag to sound off its well-known characteristic voice. And so began from step to step the peculiar alliance between the so-called "Europäer" Communists within the Party and the suppressed, voiceless young intellectuals outside of the Party, for a common goal. This goal: A freely breathing and with the rest of the world freely communicating Hungary, but with due respect to the brute force of Russia, a Hungary resting on the fundament of Socialism.

- (2b) (i) The 20th Congress. This has given oxygen to the explosion to the hitherto suppressed fire.
- (ii) Moscow's reconciliation with Tito.
- (iii) Rehabilitation of Gomulka.
- (iv) Eisenhower's speech in which he asked Congress for an expeditionary force in case somewhere human

rights would be outraged.

(v) The Free Europe Radio Station.

(vi) KFM Poznan.

(vii) The earthquake in the beginning of March and the catastrophic floods at the end of March. Great masses of people have taken these natural catastrophies as heavenly signs.

(2c) Rikosi's self-criticism at Csepel. On July 7th, 1956 on a Saturday, I have made this note in my diary that day: "Mindennek vége - szügyanakkor kezdődik". ("It is the end of everything - and at the same time the beginning.")

(Interviewer has seen the little notice-book of the respondent and checked many of the items noted at the appropriate dates.)

(2e) The fact that the writers growing disgusted with the lying against their better selves for over a decade - happens whatever will happen - began to write the truth.

(2f) Szabad Nép: Tibor Méray, Sándor Fekete, Tamás Aczél, Pál Szabó, Prof. Simonyi, the atom-power researcher; Irodalmi Ujság: Miklós Molnár, Zoltán Zelk, Mihály Papp (he was working as mailman for four years); Béke és Szabadság: Róbert Kertész, György Máté, Sándor Haraszti; Művelt Nép: Károly Akos (his article "Egy tanár és a debreceni lunatikus." - "A professor and the luna-

tic of Debrecen."), Gyula Antalfy ("Szarvasbögés" - in English "Belling"), Miklós Molnár (he translated from Albert Camus the last scene of his play "Caligula"), ~~XXXXXXXX~~ László Vértess ("Az ismeretlen C-14" - "The unknown C-14") This article was written about an isotope, but under the cover it actually dealt with the political development of Hungary in the last years).

Besides this, there had been some poems and radio plays smuggled into the broadcasts which were originating from Alice Halda, who is dead to-day.

- (2g) The discussion in the Petöfi-Circle about the freedom of press and opinion. Also its second discussion about the rights of the citizens and the question of the youth. These had not been world events, but have been the most important forerunners and preparers of the coming Revolution. ~~XXXX~~ Zoltán Zelk's poem "Beláttam mindent", in English "I gained an insight into everything" or rather "I admit everything" in the last ~~July~~ July number of Irodalmi Újság.

- (3) The reason could be looked for in the depressing feeling ~~xx~~ of the aimlessness of life and the circumstances could be looked for in the wider possibilities afforded by the 20th Congress and also in the first permitted travels of the Hungarian intelligentsia including the Hungarian youth in June, July, and August in the West.

- (3a) On October 23rd only for four hours - since Gerö and his ^{were} ~~entourage~~ ~~was~~ still on their way from Belgrade - the government lost its ~~was~~ head, became insecure; there was nobody who would give strict orders according to the intentions of Moscow. The students who had been already in the state of ferment and were organizing themselves and ~~shook~~ ^{Pest} the city, which is sensitive like a seismograph, have found, just as an explosive material, the point of least resistance.
- (3b) The answer could be found partly already in the preceding question, but the real psychological cause was best expressed by a Communist slogan: "A Párt a mi eszünk, irányítónk és fegyverünk." ("The Party is our brain, our director, and our weapon"). The brain was not present, therefore the organs and members had ceased to function.
- (3c) The intention was a well-meaning, mute demonstration, nothing else. What has followed is only the consequence of Gerö's intentionally provocative speech and measures ordered by him.
- (3e) Everybody ^{had} ~~the~~ same aim: To get rid of, at any price, what they had.
- (3f) Two insignificant sections of the population: The backbone-broken bureaucrats, left in their jobs and the surprisingly numerous informers, who had been paid by the Secret Service of the Party and behaved loudly, although they had been in constant fear of ~~ENEMY~~ death.

- (3g) I can assure you, on the ground of my personal experiences, that except the mothers of many children, nobody.
- (3h) I developed in ten years an allergy to any slogan; so that it has ^{not} interested me and I cannot answer to this question.
- (3i) I think, the question is naive. The ~~pop~~ popular uprising was against the anti-Humanism. There was no question about different political theses, only of the elimination of a group which has achieved power and had arms through the exploitation of an ideology. Politics are regarded by the Hungarian people only from one angle, namely: Is it useful or ~~inixxxx~~ is it not? The popular uprising broke out against a demoralizing and anti-human leadership which was leading the country towards a complete bankruptcy.
- (3l) There were. Just as I could not imagine that John Foster Dulles would not take arms against those who would take all his properties away from him and would throw him out from his apartment.
- (3m) Suppose ... for two months there would have been a characteristically ^{Hungarian} battle for power, but after that the peasant majority - because we still remain an agrarian nation - which is still sober and attached to his land and house, by its weight would ^{have} stabilized the situation. Since I know the excellently qualified middle-aged Hungarian political intelligentsia, I am

convinced that with a little Western help, a Denmark of Central Europe could have been formed out of Hungary with an unquestionably enlightened and strongly socialist~~ally~~ and humanistic~~ally~~ minded government.

- (4) I was writing newspaper (respondent was editor of "Hétfői Hírlap" and contributed much to the content of the two revolutionary numbers of that paper). I have taken part in the fighting to the best of my ability - and - I have buried my family.
- (At this point respondent became emotionally upset. The interview had to be interrupted for a short time. As he later related, in the morning of November 4th, he was working in the editorial office of Hétfői Hírlap to get the paper ready for distribution in the evening. When he heard the cannonade of the attacking Russian tanks, he hurried home through the unguarded garden paths, only to find his house shattered and only parts of the bodies of his wife and child lying around, which he then buried with the help of his neighbours on the spot.)

- (4a) We have to clear up something: Against the police - I understand the Hungarian police in blue uniforms - thanks to the admirable boldness of the Chief of Police of Budapest, Sándor Kopácsi, ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ we did not have to fight. See the article written by me "Köszönet a kérendőrségnek" - "Thanks

to the blue police" in the October 28th number of Hétfői Hírlap. From October 23rd to October 27th, the ^{have} arms and ammunition of the blue police ~~has~~ been our only, in every respect reliable, military supplies. Against the Russians and the AVO the fight was carried on under the leadership of a few ~~initially~~ intellectuals by the entire youth between 12 and 24, and the workers of Budapest and its environment, up to the point of final exhaustion. The most important centres of fighting had been the Heroes' Square, the Tunnel in Buda, the Kálmán Széll Square, the Ganz Electricity Works in Buda, the central offices of Szabad Nép, and the Kossuth Academy. Almost the entire Budapest garrisons have joined the Revolution, except pessimistically counted maybe 30 %.

(4c) I have seen such on the ~~Revolution~~ Republic Square, on Maros Street, on Andrássy Avenue 56-58, and on Széchenyi Square. It was ~~awful~~ awful.

(5) With the writing, editing, and distributing of Hétfői Hírlap. We had to transport and distribute the newspaper in the city by ourselves.

(5e) We have published three pamphlets with the signature of Hétfői Hírlap Barátai, the friends of the Hétfői Hírlap. All three can be found in the archives of the UNO.

(5f) I was the secretary of the revolutionary council of

newspaper publishers (Lapkiadó Vállalat).

- (6a) It consisted of 32 members, 9 have fallen, 7 have been taken to the hospital.
- (6b) The groups organized spontaneously.
- (6c) From printers to hooligans, who came up from the street, it contained all kind of people, e.g., there were two typist girls in it, then seven students with submachine guns from the student council, and five journalists, who were caught in the office, because they could not go home to ~~their~~ their families in the suburbs. Everybody could join who would obey the orders of the most competent in the group. You have to understand that up to about November 9th everybody was reliable. The so-called "fifth column", which was organized by the AVO and the Russians as their most reliable help, now did not dare to join the fighting groups. After all, they would not have dared to shoot at the "comrades" and we were watching very carefully for what was the ammunition used by our colleagues.
- (6d) Since further existence of the group was impossible, it scattered and was absorbed by the every-day life occupation of the city. (Lehetetlenülés folytán feloszódtunk).
- (6e) I do not want to answer this. It will be the duty of historic research to find it out.
- (6f) It was strict discipline.

- (6g) Usually, somebody who had been to the war and had sufficient skill and experience.
- (6h) The same.
- (6i) Everybody listened to the experienced people.
- (6j) In my case, we had a security service organized for four street blocks. We had maintained connection through a fisher-man on the Danube with our friends in the Ganz factory on the Buda side. From them we learned always exactly the movements of the Russians.
- (7) The only one was Maléter. He never left in the lurch any groups who have turned to him for help. He never even asked them who they were. He would attempt the impossible, even risking his own life, but he would rush to the help of those who needed him. I saw him twice myself and both times I received everything from him I was asking for.
- (7a) There was an adventurer, former representative of the Smallholders Party, who is known under the name of X Dudás. He was a totalitarian. No true Hungarian, no student wanted any community with him. He was terrorizing and looting. He had a room for executions in the Szabad Nép office. He was a Mexican-style "maszek" revolutionary. I went to see him on November 7th, 1956; for our plea for urgent help - we had been only three blocks away from his group - his answer was: "You can get everything, but I will send along one of my adju-

tants and you will sign a declaration to be sent to the UN, according to which there is no other possible leader of the country but Károly Dudás." The Dudás group as such has counted very little from the point of view of the Hungarian Revolution. It was rather a wanton group of adventurers. It got its surprisingly up-to-date armaments for vodka ~~XX~~ ^{and} great quantities of cigarettes from the Russian garrison ^{of} Székesfehérvár, which was relieved and immediately entrained on October 29th. X

The only serious difference of opinion occurred, according to my knowledge, between the young workers of the Ganz Electricity Works of Buda (there had been 27 Jewish technicians among them) and the workers of the Eastern ^{Station's} Railway's section of the Sheet-Iron-Rolling Works of Csepel. Those of Buda have protested vigorously against the excesses of revenge. In my opinion, ~~these~~ ^{the boys} of Buda had been hundred percent right, since murder, as they have maintained, is permissible only after a legal examination of the case. On the other hand, it has to be kept in mind that the past ten years have made beasts even out of saints.

(7b) This question could be left out quite reasonably, because, starting at 9 o'clock October 23rd the entire Hungariandom stood up against the Eastern oppressors as a truly classless society.

(7c) The same answer.

(7d)

The clergy, Catholic, Calvinist, and Jew, rose to the summit of its calling. ~~XXXXX~~ On the Üllői Street in the block of Üllői Street 56-61-72 I saw with my own eyes a Rabbi and a Piarist monk to give the last rites and consolation to their dying believers. Perhaps it is worth to mention that the last fighting groups in the Buda Castle consisting of 62 students have been led by a Franciscan monk. The Piarist monastery on the Makarevko Street, formerly Mária Street, has taken in all wounded and helped everybody who turned to them up to November 9th.

Regarding the behaviour of the peasantry, I have to note that as far as Székesfehérvár, which means that from about 60km radius, each peasant boy came up to join the fighters. From Dorog on October 26th, 290 ~~XXXX~~ 16-21 years old youngsters came up, mostly the sons of miners. They were the first ones to attack the Party headquarters on the Akadémia Street.

(8)

October 24th, on 0 hour 22minutes has arrived to Budapest the first armoured division from Székesfehérvár, called in by the government. Adhering to the truth strictly and objectively, I have to say that up to their relieve on October 29th, only tank was shooting against tank, not on the people or on foot soldiers. The casualties among the people between October 23rd and 29th were caused by the AVO and by the units of

the NKVD from the Vilm a Királynő Street. After that the Mongolian division - from which we received the first news October 21st, 4 p.m. from Csap - have taken over the duty of "restoring the order".

(8a) There is a Hungarian proverb which was born during the last ten years. It says: "Az orosz vajban és prézliben sütte is orosz marad", which means: "You can fry XXX a Russian in butter and bread crumbs, he still remains a Russian."

(8c) On the Street of the Red Army (formerly called Kidegkúti Street) was an orphanage for the Korean 'orphans'. There were around 250 16-21 years old students. Over a hundred of them have been fighting with admirable discipline and courage in the groups of the Ganz Electrical Works in Buda, in the Kálmán Széll-Square, on Castle-Hill, and in the Belloiannis and Csécska Machine Works in the Lágymányos area.

(8e) Against all rumours to the contrary, from my own XX experiences I have to state that there were indi-vidual cases, but reports about the defection of whole groups or even divisions are lies.

(8f) On October 27th, Saturday, the airport of Ferihegy was surrounded by two battalions of the armoured divisions stationing at Fehérvár. All passenger carriers which could be found in or around Budapest, were seized and used for the transport of Soviet officials to the

Soviet Union. (See the 8 p.m. turn of HTI on October 27th). The result of this operation remained unknown. One thing is clear: The influence of the Soviet officialdom was zero. Decision and action was in the hands of the troops, not of the officials.

- (9) Surprisingly enough, through the phone, the Hungarian post, the short wave amateur radio stations, and the motorized news service of the university youth/~~which~~ which can be said/perfect. We have known about everything.

- (9a) This question—for an understandable want of knowledge of ~~the~~ the factual situation—is inexact. It should be put in the following way: What role was played by the printers? Because journalists, well-informed journalists, journalists who stood entirely on the side of that popular uprising, ~~was~~ ^{were} enough. The real problem was that of the printing. The Printers' Union (Social ~~Democratic~~ Democratic) has done the utmost in accepting and publishing everything which could further the cause of the Revolution.

The role of the newspapers was only informative, since it would have been superfluous either to create moods or to give ideological directions. A perfectly unanimous, active populace was expecting only the affirmation or refutation of uncertain rumors floating around, from the newspapers. We thought of those "pártszerűen" edited "pecsenyét sütő" pamphlets, like

Kis Ujság, A Reggel, Uj Szabad Ifjúság, Népakarát, etc., etc. by political adventurers as exasperating phenomena. There are four newspapers which could be regarded as authentic: Magyar Nemzet edited by Tibor Pethő, Néphadsereg with the Kossuth coat-of-arms on its mast-head, Hétfői Hírlap, which was actually a Monday paper, but had two extra editions during the Revolution, and the Igazság. Very interesting and objective work was done by the staff of MTI under the direction of the vice-director Károly Hudák, who is no more among the living.

I would like to record it only as a fact that on November 3rd 3 p.m. I went to the head office of MTI on Naphegy. I received for Hétfői Hírlap the complete news material from October 23rd to November 3rd for hours and minutes prepared and bound in volumes.

(9b) I was a reporter, thus, I had all opportunities at my disposal.

(9c) BBC which had the only authentic broadcasts; Radio Free Europe, which has done a brilliant service, especially to the fighting units by re-broadcasting the broadcasts of the secret short-wave radio-stations operating in Hungary. On the other hand its news service and commentary cannot be called either sober or politically sound and shrewd. The Voice of America has been generally 5-6 hours behind the events. Its commentaries were also directed rather by enthusiasm than by ob-

jectivity. Radio Paris has given mostly nonsense. Radio Madrid, fortunately nobody believed it. The Hungarian Radio from October 27th, in the wake of events, thus between the upper and the nether mill-stone of broadcasting difficulties and situations changing from minute to minute. Its staff, judging objectively, has worked with the greatest possible sobriety. We are eternally indebted to the foreign journalists in camp~~ing~~ at the Duna-Hotel, especially to the ridiculously young reporter of Herald Tribune, who was at the service of his Hungarian colleagues every day at every hour with coffee, with money, with drinks, and with reliable news.

- (10) This complex question can be answered clearly and factually from October 20th. On that day, it was a Saturday, at 9 a.m. in the Duna-Hotel I and my colleagues in my company Miklós Gimes, Iván Boldizsár, and Péter Csobády have received the following news from a Hindoo journalist, who just arrived the night before: "It is something cooking for you in the Kremlin. I have seen many tanks moving in westward direction between Kiev and Kolomea. I do not know, but I do not think that it will be good for you." On October 21st, Sunday, we received the following report from the correspondent of Hétfői Hírlap in Mátészalka, which is only 21 km from Csap,

the Russian border station: "I have counted up to 1111 the motor cars arriving here. Please, answer me immediately! For heaven's sake, what is happening?!" On the same day, on October 21st, Sunday 4 p.m. we received from MTI on the K-line (this was a private line, not operated by the city's public phone system, of which each editorial office had one.) The confidential and at the same time warning information: "Order of the Ministry of Interior: Until further order all fuel, explosives, ammunition, sterilizing material, and medicine can be issued only against the signature of the Minister of Interior and the ~~secret~~ counter-signature of the Minister of Defense."

This was the time when I have written in my diary the following words: "Et ne nos inducas in tentationem!"

October 21st, Sunday 8.20 p.m. a phone call from Sándor Kopácsy, the Chief of Police of Budapest: "I have received instructions from the Ministry of Interior to prevent the gathering of crowds when Hétfői Hírlap comes out in the evening by using police squad cars checking the papers of the people and making arrests. You come out just the same, the order will not be relayed." This was the first sign of the unreliability of the Security organs.

On October 22nd, Monday at 9 a.m. confidential information from MTI: "Gerö's visit in Belgrade will end

instead of according the plan ~~was~~ Wednesday already Tuesday morning."

On the same day, on October 22nd at 1.30 p.m. I was in the Journalists' Union, where Sándor Horáti, member of the Preparatory Committee for the general meeting of re-electing officials, received a phone call from Nyiregyháza. "Sándor, what are you doing again up there in Budapest? ~~There~~^{We} are full here with square-mugged (szögletes pófájú) Mongolians." On this news Géza Losonc y only remarked: "~~There~~^{Boys,} "dicke Luft", it would be advisable if we would agree when and where should we meet, if something ~~will~~^{would} happen." This we did and, as it turned out later, the suggestion was really foresighted.

In the evening, in my home I was greeted by the AVH lieutenant, who lived on the first floor: "Mister editor, (he used the "ör" instead of "elvtárs" =comrade) what do you say, perhaps I can quit my job."

(I have been living ~~here~~ legally only since September 15th in Budapest; I never knew this man, he never greeted me before. In fact, I got the creeps when this AVO-man approached me! Then he disappeared without trace on the morning of 24th, but on November 18th he came back with his family in all his glory.)

On October 23rd at 11.30 a.m. I saw off my sister to the airport on Ferihegy and was given a lift back to Budapest on the car of the Swiss Commercial Attaché

and his guest who just arrived from Moscow. The guest was Monsieur Ramone from Lucerne. He turned to the attaché and asked him in French, probably thinking that I ~~would not~~ ^{would not} understand: "Tell me, M. l'Attaché, do you count on it that you might have to leave Budapest soon?" In his surprise the attaché stopped the car: "What do you mean?" Answer: "Within the next days I see the situation in Budapest very black!"

On October 23rd at 1 p.m. at the Hétfői Hírlap editorial session Ivan Boldizsár, the chief editor, to the greatest surprise of all of us, without any introduction, said the following words: "I know that among the plans of the colleagues or, maybe, already in your pockets you have many exciting and constructive articles unmasking the faults of the régime. But I want you unmistakably understood that Hungary's survival depends on the inviolability of her treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, otherwise she will perish." (Where did he know from, he never told us.) At 2 p.m. a student delegation from the Technical University appeared at our editorial meeting. They ~~were~~ handed us 40 exemplars of their points of demands, which they have lithographed, and invited us politely for their silent demonstration in sympathy and admiration for Poland, which they had planned for 4 o'clock p.m. At 2.30 p.m. MTI reports the order by László Piros forbidding the demonstration 10 minutes after, we received a phone call from the

Technical University: "We have not taken notice of it. We are going to march. We ask you for participation."

What has followed is known already too well. I would like to mention only one thing which I have not read anywhere: At 8.30 p.m., when I was standing in the crowd before the broadcasting studio, suddenly I noticed that we ^{we} ~~we~~ standing and trampling on machine gun cartridges. With this news I struggled out of the crowd and hurried toward our editorial office. On Gutenberg Square,arked closely to the walls of the houses, I found three empty AVH trucks. have the suspicion that these three trucks brought the reinforcement for the AVH at the Radio and the civilian provocateurs who have mingled into the crowd. As we know exactly, Gerö has made up his speech already in Belgrade, but at 6 p.m. he had recorded a new text for the broadcast. At the same time he gave the order for the Internal Security Organs for active alert. In this connection, I think it is important to mention also another fact. According to the reliable report of Sándor Fekete, the foreign policy editor of Szabad Nép, the doctrinaire Party journalists of that paper on October 23rd between 3 and 4 p.m., received a confidential phone call from Oszkár Bethlen, the shortly before removed chief editor, who told them to leave the editorial offices secretly and remain at home that day.

The government took refuge in the atomic bomb secure shelter of the Central Party Headquarters on Akadémia Street, which has been ~~not~~ equipped with telephone, short-wave broadcasting and receiving station, and the perfect machinery for news gathering and the distribution. According to eye-witnesses there ~~was~~ were ~~XXXX~~ food and other provisions stored up, enough for a large staff for at least a year. From this place the régime tried then through its secret or double-faced agents to influence or rather to reverse the course of events. I would mention as an example that on the evening of 23rd, due to the urgent demand of the masses, Imre Nagy was dragged up to the balcony of the Parliament and forced to deliver his speech by the driver of Gerö and two AVH-men holding their revolvers to his back. Imre Nagy has excellently recognized the seriousness of the situation and told already in the second hour of the students' demonstration to his young friend, Miklós Gimes, who later became his chief of press, in his revolutionary government: "Let us permit ⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~sew~~ ^{the} ~~age~~ of the first ^{four} ~~days~~ to flow past and afterwards with ~~the~~ a sound peasant head will start a Hungarian policy in the interest of the people." No wonder that under the above-described circumstances his evening speech to the crowd on Parliament Square was pitifully weak, although he has pronounced all the decisive words: He spoke of the patience needed, of the unconditional rule of

law, and of humanism, which he pronounced with deep emotion four times during his speech, which he delivered in such impossible circumstances and under such terrific stress. According to the excellently organized news service of police chief Sándor Kopácsy, immediately after his speech Imre Nagy was put under "government supervision" in the Central Party Headquarters on Akadémia Street. From this moment on during the days of successive government re-organisations, the life of Imre Nagy was in ^{the} hands of Ernő Gerő and Suslov, who was in Budapest and thus all his public announcements which he did because of his trust in the future and because of ~~the~~ his natural human cunning, in my opinion can be held against him only by fools.

Accordingly, the government has existed only in principle and in the Radio announcements - ~~the~~ in the reality the government ceased to exist.

The Party organisations? What a miracle, what a wonderful experience! In the morning of October 24th there was no more a Hungarian Workers' Party. Those who have continued to work according to the Party line (párt-szerűen) had been excellently paid and willing for everything; AVH Moscowite agents, who had been clamoring together with the crowd, only by dropping some remarks, have been doing their job of contamination. I witnessed the liquidation of three such acrid remarks dropping fellows; one in the beer hall Apostolok, one

in the Budavár café-house in Buda, and one in the Gul Baba restaurant at the Buda beachhead of Margithid. In the pockets of all three of them ^{were} documents and money which have betrayed their occupation.

(10a) The Party organisation and the Party news service has collapsed immediately. The AWP (Allami Ellenőrzési Központ) has ceased immediately. The supreme Party direction from Akadémia Street has ceased. There was no more ministry or office working. The role of the government and of the institutions were taken over by spontaneous self-help from the part of the Hungarians, and by military measures from the part of the Soviets. On the third day the Party headquarters everywhere had been yawning from emptiness, the functionaries could not be found, and 25 % of the officials had been only too happy to surrender even the most confidential and not yet burnt files.

(10c) About the blue police everything was told above. If somebody speaks about anti-revolutionary activity of the blue police, he probably does not know that on the 25th the AVH has attacked with arms the headquarters of the blue police and has looted its wardrobe in order to get some uniforms for its own use. The police force of the régime consisted of Russian tanks those days.

(10f) The army has ceased to exist. Partly it dissolved and a part of it joined the Revolution, another part went

home, while many troops have been through the disarming action of the Russians, closed in to their barracks and held virtually as prisoners.

(10g) See under (10).

(10h) The local councils - they made big fires and have been burning. They had been happy that they could reduce to ashes and thus destroy without trace the immense masses of their backlog papers.

This was the ^{picture on} ~~sketch~~ the 7th day of the popular uprising, when only very few of the best-informed ^{knew} that János Kádár and Ferenc Münnich, two members of the provisional government have fled to Moscow together with ~~SNA~~ Suslov.

(10i) The churches, after the ten years long oppression with little informed and naive enthusiasm, started out for a missionary campaign. It has to be told to their credit that the question of the lost church properties was not even mentioned. ~~EX~~ All priests of every denomination, who dared to move - miraculously there were usually the older ones who did - have behaved worthy of their sublime vocation.

(10j) This question was formulated without the factual knowledge of the situation, because we could say that they have used the drivers of the transportation service, the personnel of the MAV (The State Railways of Hungary), the post-office or the blue police; but this was not the use of an organisation to further their

own ends, but the simple fact that each Hungarian has worked for all the other Hungarians.

(10k) Embryonic Party organisations in the majority with adventurers of the Pancho Villa, style; a fraternal union of political prisoners was created (Politikai Foglyak Bajtársi Szövetsége), which has been probably most active in saving people. The others have been phantasies walking in the clouds which on the first shot on November 4th have been, quite naturally, dissolving in the air (this is strictly my personal opinion).

(10l) The Workers' Councils, as later events have proved, have been the successful examples of the hard work done by the Soviet-Communist agents smuggled into our midst.

The fundamental intuition of the workers was the establishment of trade union councils, with other words, the defense of their interests and not an organ of directing the production. Their good intentions and preparedness ^{have} been thwarted by the independent thoughts killing effects of the last ten years, which made easy way for the demagogy. About the question who has run them, only so much: He who dared.

(10m) See (3m).

(11) The Revolution can never be forgotten. Of its usefulness I was convinced by the radical change of world

opinion during the last 7 months and also by the intellectual flourishing of the great majority of the Hungarian youth, which have escaped and found new working grounds in Europe and abroad. But the most useful was probably on that account that it has finally destroyed all credits of the fairy-tale which has preached up to now the possibility of the realization of the Communist ideal.

- (11b) The Revolution could have won, if the West would have exchanged its ten years' propaganda for hard currency, instead of remaining by empty words.
- (11c) We have expected help from the West, first of all, on the grounds of the founding document of the UN. Secondly, on the grounds of the encouragements which have been begun after the 20th Party Congress and which we've taken at ^{their} face value by the Hungarians with good faith. (Not only Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, but even BBC has sent us messages that they are waiting only for our initiative, everything else would follow automatically.)
- (11d) The reason why the Revolution erupted in Hungary, lies in the fact that among the satellite countries, Hungary is the only country whose population - because of its spiritual endowments and on genetic grounds - could never have any community with the Panslavic dream, formulated by Lenin. And another fact, why Hungary was the country which has given to Communism the lie

by fire and blood, is the fact that from the Hungarian psyche you can take away everything, only its fundamental character, its belief in God - never. He would either die ^{of} it or ~~XXXXXX~~ would win ~~XXXXXX~~ it back by fighting for it.

- (11e) Imre Nagy was a clever well-educated man with the Hungarian peasant's sober and deep wisdom. However, because of his unfortunate circumstances in his early age, he received his political training from the false school. He admitted his shortcomings to his closest friends in 1949 and said the following: "I must start to make serious efforts to learn more about the European history and political economy." As a leader he had only one decisive fault; he was never driven by desire for power. He was a Hungarian peasant, who wanted to live in peace. This deficiency in his mentality was the greatest obstacle for him to exert his influence actively in the direction which he saw so clearly to be the right one. Regarding his role during the Revolution, it was a pity that he was rather a philosopher and instead of giving orders, he was inclined to meditate over and harmonize things. In order to be fair to him I would like to ask whether any other European politician, who when unexpectedly squeezed into the vise of from one hand a spontaneously erupting national protest, and on the other hand of a satanically perfectly organized and with a hundred times

greater potential force of a great power, could be either wiser or more successful. Imre Nagy was only a man and the task which he was expected to perform would have overtaxed the capacities of a super-man of the atomic age. And finally, it should be not forgotten, but understood, that as much as it was prepared from the part of the Soviets, as ^{much} it was unprepared and unexpected from the part of the Hungarians - the Revolution. And Imre Nagy was only one man with a very limited circle of friends consisting of about 14 people only, which could not be called even a number in regard to the tremendous task of reorganisation of the state, especially under such circumstances. There was a wise saying in Budapest on November 14th: "Imre Nagy was similar to that reliable ship boy who was conscientiously polishing the door handle while the ship was sinking."

- (11f) Actually only two: Malóter and Sándor Kopácsy, the chief of police, trained in Moscow.
- (11g) I cannot establish any order of preference. It is without doubt, that the writers have started. It erupted at the Technical University and has carried along then unanimously the whole Hungarian society. Perhaps ~~from~~ my personal experience of that day, as a newspaper reporter, will show what I mean. On November 23rd 4 p.m. the students started their march. Already some older intellectuals and many workers

who just came from their jobs have joined them. The first flag was burnt by the soldiers of the Ban barracks. The same have given the first machine guns to the students around 8 p.m. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, when the latter, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ coming from the Radio Station, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ have asked for help. About 9 p.m. the first truck arrived from Csepel with engineer students, who had been practising there and with the news shouted from the top that for ten o'clock the Red Csepel (Vörös Csepel) will be here. At 10.30 p.m. before the Eastern railroad station in perfect order and armour ~~XXXXXX~~ the four student companies of the Mexiko Street Soldiers' Academy marched forward under the leadership of their officers. All irresponsible elements, according to the well-known psychology of every Revolution, have been there. However, it is extremely interesting how the mood of the public has restrained all irresponsibility^{up} to November 4th. This was really miraculous. Of course, I am speaking here about common crimes, since political irresponsibility, as e.g. the founding of ephemeral parties, has been mushrooming. On the other hand there was a general sober attitude toward them which could be expressed with the following words: Let them spend the fury of their ambition. The future leadership would have, undoubtedly fallen into the hands of the excellently organizing, serious intelligentsia.

- (11h) Yes. Only one thing was not anticipated by any of the middle-aged Hungarian intellectuals; namely that exactly that technical youth which was pampered above any sound measure by the régime, that they would start it and, as they have disclosed and proved during these few days, they had behind them already an 8 months long thorough-going organisational preparation.
- (12) On December 9th, ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ the early morning of Sunday, at 4.30, when the wife of Miklós Gimes called me on the phone and gave me the last message from her husband for me, which he entrusted to her in the last moment, when the car of the militia stopped before his house: "You should leave immediately and you should write the book."
- (12a) My decision was motivated by the fact that I could not see any reason, why should I perish silently after I have lived through those horrible ten years, of which for 4 1/2 I was not even a free man.
- (12b) I have not discussed my decision with anybody, because by this time already the demoralizing fear has taken over again the country and again nobody could be trusted.
- (12c) I have thought of another alternative too, namely that I would disappear in the Hungarian forests with the help of my Hungarian colleagues, but already on the second day I had to discover that, because of quite understandable reasons, nobody dared to hide me.

- (1) I am a forest engineer. I received my degree from the School of Forestry of Sopron/ⁱⁿ1937. At the same time, in September 1936, the parliamentary representative of the city of Sopron, Miklós Lázár, who was the chief editor of the Monday paper A Reggel, has invited me to be a trainee with his newspaper. From that on I learned how to write in the newspaper and after 1938, when I had absolved the one year obligatory practice in forestry, journalism became my second vocation.
- (2) Up to 1944 I have changed several times my occupation from forestry to journalism and back. From December 1945, I became the editor of the report column in Szabad Szó, a Peasant Party newspaper. As a non-Party member I was dismissed on April 1st, 1948 by a Party resolution. On May 8th the political police has arrested me, however, ^{I was} set free after 6 months, but was obliged to report regularly during a three years period. I was put on the 3000 list; that meant that I could not make more than 600 forints a month and that only by manual work and only with a state-owned corporation (it was called the 3000 list, because first 3000 intellectuals had been prescribed as to be screened. Each company ~~XXX~~ had this list and if somebody reported for job with his working permit, they could check on him. In order that nobody could escape from the consequences of this regulation by changing his name, the job application

form contained a question asking where was the person registered on April 1st, 1948, namely his address from that time has been recorded on the 3000 list too.) From December 1st, 1948 up to ~~SEPTEMBER~~ September 15th 1949, I was at the Ornithological Experimental Institute of Gödöllő - sub titulo bird-keeper - in reality the director of the Institute. From September 15th, 1949 to March 1950, I was labourer at the Coal & Furniture Transport & Moving Corporation at the South railroad station of Budapest. From the end of March 1950 up to February 1951, I was working for the MEH (Melléktermék és Hulladék Ertékesítő), which was a By-products and Refuse Disposal Co-operative, as collector of rags with a little cart. From March 1951 to May 1951 I was working as surface man at the MAV, the Hungarian State Railways, I. Rolling Building Direction. From May 1951 to September 15th 1951 I was working for Sztálinváros XII., Chief Building Direction as a concrete and iron carrier. From September 20th 1951 to the end of February 1952, I was a swine-herd at the Parker Producer Corporation of Baracs, and afterwards up to May 30th, at the Parker Producer Corporation of Bölske. From July 1st 1952 to April 1953 I was a truck driver at the Várpalota 31 1/2 Town Building Corporation. From May 1st 1953 to September 15th 1954 I was a soil-mechanical driller at the Power-Line and Cable-Laying, Planning and Executing Co. From October

1954 to January 10th 1955, I was hiding in total illegality. On August 10th 1956, I have received a call for rehabilitation and on September 1st I was offered a contract to Hétfoi Hirlap, as editor which I have accepted.

(2a) See (2).

(2e) See (2).

(2f) I have to state it quite objectively that the plans worked out at the desks of the Party without actual knowledge have been unrealistic and impossible to execute. The experts, and I mean the real technical or financial experts, had only all the responsibility but without any directing and commanding powers. During those years, when I have been working at so many different places, there was not one company in my experience which would not have at the time of the year's end balancing at least 80 % deficit. The political terror, the fear from the AVH, and the unimaginably wide power given to the Party functionaries at companies has silenced every serious critic and spontaneous readiness to help. Even workers with the best kader-cards have become completely indifferent and would execute without any contradiction the most evident stupidities with the remark: "It's not my business, it's not my responsibility, why should I argue."

- (3) Let us take my job at the Dunai Vasmű, that means Danubian Iron Works, in Dunapentele. The plant was called later Sztálin Vasmű and the town Sztálinváros. I was there a concrete and iron carrier brigade worker. How did I like it? I was glad that I could find a job at all, no matter what kind of a job and where.

- (3d) The technical ^{level} ~~XXXXX~~ (and I should know a little bit about it, after all, I am myself an engineer), even if we take the 1949 situation for comparison, has been sinking catastrophically. The reason: Prescribed time limits, the task wage system, work competition, and the forced pace of work which was never judged or remunerated according to the quality of the output, but only according to quantity. An example: The construction of a ~~thick~~ ^{ferro-} concrete shell according to a ready draft with the statically calculated hooking of round irons, the framings, and wirings would take by a construction with 4 m height and 40 tons supporting power, when performed by three skilled construction workers with reinforced concrete, who would do a quick and trim, but conscientious and thorough job, at least 6 hours. The norm for this job was set in Sztálinváros at three and a half hours. As a result of this, at the first normal loading the Foundry's bogie-track crumbled like a house of cards.

Another example: To Sztálinváros arrived the Belloi-annis stakhanovite speed-up bricklaying shock-brigade

one day and to show us an example they have carried up a 240 qm wall on 47 qm territory in three days, each of them making 2900 forints. There was great celebration, wreaths, and medals . . . and then they left. The

second night after their departure, the entire wall together with the concrete ceiling put up already has collapsed.

Hygienic conditions? Yes, there was everything there - on paper. The reality was something entirely different: Bad water, impossible housing conditions, only one warm-water shower room with 45 sprinklers for about 2000 people, latrines, mess-tins with one spoon, and unbelievable filth throughout the territory of the entire construction. Anybody who could ^{would} find a place to live in the surrounding villages, from where we went to work by using the very well-organized truck transportation service.

- (3e) Generally 2 hours a day.
- (3f) 8 hours, but at the transportation, where I was working, if a waggon arrived, and it usually did arrive, our work-time was prolonged for 11-14 hours.
- (3g) 5 1/2 days. Saturday we quit working at 1 p.m.
- (3h) Overtime was paid within the task wage system, which meant that e.g., if we had to carry material which was difficult to transport often we made less by working 14 hours than other times with 8 hours work.
- (3i) Sunday and the holidays of the Communist state.

- (3j) After each fulfilled month one day.
- (3k) It differed according to the different jobs. The management and the intellectual workers have received usually 24-30 days vacation, according to their collective contracts.
- (3l) Lateness at the second time was punished by fines; absenteeism, at the first time, was punished by deduction from the salary, at the second time, by dismissal.
- (3m) The norm system was always changing, mainly because the norms has received a premium if he was able to cut down the norm. It was carried out at the start by great enthusiastic speeches during the evening meetings and, at the end, by diminished figures on the pay-roll.
- (3n) The brigades leaders, who were called the state slave drivers (állami hajcsárak), were paid better, and if this did not work, a few workers were taken away by the AVH, just to give a little incentive to the remaining for more enthusiastic work.
- (3o) I possessed working papers, which meant that I could live in a relative security.
- (4a) The majority of them had been peasants fleeing the land because of the hardships of collectivisations. There were also many bums, who have not been rooted anywhere and who have not had anything but the little bundle they carried with themselves. Besides, there

were great many déclassé intellectuals.

- (4b) Within a brigade, which contained about from 14-16 men, there was usually good co-operation, if for nothing else simply because of the instinctively felt existential imperative. Besides this we have not been communicating with others. Everybody was afraid of everybody. We have not even seen our superiors, they never left their offices, only the Party secretary and the popular educators.
- (4c) Everybody was happy, if he could go home after work. Fraternisation was only in the pubs.
- (4d) Everybody was speaking everywhere and all the time about political questions, but the true opinions you could hear only in the pubs.
- (4e) Party members had the opportunity of getting ahead. Outside the Party there was none.
- (4f) In no way.
- (4i) There was a "shop triangle", because the Party members had to be placed into good paying jobs.
- (4j) Up to 1955, non-Party specialists could at the most work in their own line, but without the possibility, ~~but without~~ of recognition and getting ahead. Besides, he was subjected to the direction of a superior, who usually has not had any other qualification besides being a Party member. This man would heed sometimes the advice from the specialist, but more often not.
- (4l) Only the political ^{agents} had interfered with the operations.

On this see also under (3d).

- (4m) From 1955, when the bankruptcy of the state economy became apparent and partly because of Imre Nagy's policy, they had been forced for more sober considerations. Only in two places there was no discrimination and the greatest possibilities were offered for a good job for everybody, namely at the so-called "rejtjeles" code jobs of the army and the AVH. In those places one mistake could cost somebody's life. The best specialists were selected after careful examination and information, who then were given the alternative: "Either you work for us and you receive so and so much salary from us, or accidentally your file will come into our hands."
- (4n) In principle the sons of workers, peasants, and "progressive" intellectuals. In practice, everybody who has accepted, professed, and preached the dialectically changing views of the Party and took upon himself the necessary "confidential" works connected with it and did not have any inhibitions caused by humanist feeling or by his conscience.
- (4o) See under (4n).
- (4p) The director of the personal office was usually a Party man with^a "celluloid" Party book, which was issued only to members of the AVH. There were everywhere built-in AVO informers, if not professional, then informers recruited by intimidation and money. They

belonged usually to the type three of Studdard, namely they were sly, ready to everything, city lumpen-proletariate. They usually had no Weltanschauung, education, or a solid trade. (The great number of this type could be ascribed to the last 40 years of Hungarian political life. I mean that complete deafness and blindness of the last 40 years ~~and~~ ^{when} even those smacked of Communism in the eyes of the officials who tried to improve the situation of the masses on the ground of justice and Christian humanity.) The activities of these people have been very interesting. We called them the "besurranók", the sneakers. They raised their heads everywhere, had a well-organised circle of friends, had unlimited amounts of money and drinks at their disposal.

Let me give one example: At the Chief Building Direction XII. of Sztálinváros, the room of the personnel department was always empty. During the Sztálinváros purge in September 1951, which was carried out against inimical elements, ^{we got to know the} first time the officials of the personnel office. One was a driver, who was always all around the place; the second a waitress in the canteen; and the third a sandwich man, who has carried a little portable buffet hanging from his neck, all day long among us. These three have been always carrying gossips and speaking confidentially with the workers and you can imagine what a painful surprise

this discovery was for all of us.

- (5) It was a form of hidden slavery. One could not quit, only could be dismissed. If he dared to quite despite, his work-book was marked with the words: "He left without authorisation", which meant that for 6 months he could have been given job only by the Office of Labour Reserves.
- (5a) The 3000 list has caught up with me everywhere very shortly. Therefore, as a sneaked-in enemy, I could quit "with consent".
- (5b) I would have returned to my original job, forestry engineering, because it would have been impossible for me to write newspapers and especially because the only closed community, where one could live securely, was the society of the foresters.
- (5c) I did not have any chances to get ahead.
- (5d) After 1950 there was only one wish shared by any normal Hungarian: "To keep alive and to survive."
- (5e) I would like to have a one-room-and-a-kitchen wooden house, ~~xxxxxx~~ somewhere deep in the forests, a cheap vehicle with which I could keep up contact with the world, and I would try to replace my lost library and finish my research on wild biology and in my free time I would write.
- (5f) Nothing. I was well enough informed about the Western mentality.

- (5g) I have lost my family.
- (6) For this you ~~find~~ find the answer in my previous answers.
- (7a) In 1947, first ~~ex~~class editorial salary: 2.100 forints. Between 1948 and 1955, 600 forints. I was not permitted to have more than 600 forints salary monthly.
- (9a) Before Imre Nagy and after Imre Nagy, without exaggeration, at least 10-12 hours weekly. It has differed very greatly. Sometimes we had to stand in line for rice, although Hungary's rice production was at least 1 1/2 times as much as the consumption; other times for toilet paper, for shoe polish, for cheese, for bread, and often for milk. It was a common occurrence that you could not get any eggs, although before the Communist régime came into power in 1947, which was 2 1/2 years after the end of the Second World War, Károly Bárányos, the Minister of Agriculture, had announced that the production of the first-class, export-ready eggs had already surpassed the production of 1938, when Hungary was abundant in agricultural goods and had exported great quantities of it.
- (9b) Public supply with consumer goods was dialectical. With state permission or rather following the order of the state economical authorities, the so-called scarcity-goods could be bought only in compulsory

linked buying, with other words, you had to buy with it a certain amount of surplus goods. In the villages, from one day to the other disappeared the most necessary goods, e.g. horseshoe-nails, pocket-knives, lamp batteries, cooking oil, scythes, nails, and kerosene. The reason for this was the so-called Central Economic Planning, with such people at the top who had not the slightest ~~xx~~ ability of supervision and coordination, ^{the shops were} ~~with~~ e.g. in Pécs in March 1953, ~~there was~~ stocked ~~up~~ about 5 waggons ~~full~~ of workers' overalls unsold. In Tolna, not far away, at the same time in the stores you could get the same overalls, which would have cost only 17 forints in official price, for 64-85 forints taken from under the counter, that means illegally.

(9c) The black market was a buying opportunity only for people in well-paid jobs. People like me could only buy in the state-operated shops whatever there was there and what one could afford.

(9d) From June 1954 to March 1955, at once there was again everything available. This was the only change.

(10) I have no opinion about this, because there was no economic life in Hungary. There was only planned economy in the Communist sense. In my opinion, you can speak of economic life only there where the work and the production, the wage and price, and the human profit is

from the point of the individual intelligent and progressive. In the system of State Capitalism all this loses sense, everybody becomes official, nobody has anything to call his own, has not a vested interest in anything, but is interested only in keeping his salary and to steal as much as he could without getting into trouble. (There were some ^{honourable} ~~honourable~~ exceptions to this, but those had been quickly eliminated in a true Party manner.)

There was no economic life, there was only the doctrines of materialism running amok. Even to ask a question about the progress and evolution betrays a lack of factual knowledge about the real situation. If somebody can take as a progress Sztálinváros or the combine of Borsód or Berente or Tiszaalök, or even Tiszapalkonya, where in a 100 km radius there is no coal, but that did not prevent them to build there a power station, then we can see clearly the truth pronounced by the Swiss economist, Jung; "The Russian-type Communism, due to its misinterpreted materialism could be compared to the greatest curse of contemporary humanity, namely to the senseless cell-building work competition of cancer."

- (10c) The same as I have said about the present situation of the Hungarian refugees. A brutally mutilated country was entrusted to a social stratum which had personal friendly ties with the Great Powers. Every-

thing was promised, but only 10 % of the promises was cashed. The economic situation before 1941 looked fine in the show windows, but in the reality only 30 % of the population have lived a human life according to the European standards, 70 % were just vegetating. The situation of this majority differed from to-day's situation only in so far that earlier the individual had his right of self-determination and the result of his work was his own. Therefore life had a sense.

(10d) Between 1945 and May 1948, in a relatively democratic state of affairs, the country has started out in the path of a remarkable progress. There was plenty of initiative and plenty of opportunity to earn. After the 1948 change of régime, the economic life deteriorated to such an extent that finally it brought about the Revolution.

(10e) Yes, I heard about discussions. But in this connection we have to keep in mind that the question of production of the satellite states was a Soviet economic question. This was handled independently from other questions, which, according to the Soviet definition would fall under the category "nationality" questions. The governments of the satellite countries, in the first place the Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Rumanian governments, had been composed of Moscow-trained personnel, who had been actually Soviet officials, who, except their knowledge of the language, had been complete strangers

to the country in their power. If there was any discussion about production and consumer goods, there was only a wisely tolerated Potemkin discussion. Every plant, every sector of production, not openly but in fact, directed by the strictest terror, was working according to the plans of Moscow's interests. The best characterization of these countries is that they had been both in view of work power and also of production capacity only colonies of the Soviet Union, pushed into the utmost limit of dependency. Providing the country with the necessary consumer goods was entirely indifferent. The most important job of the AVH was to discover those accumulating phenomena which could eventually hinder the execution of the plans of Moscow. If there were such phenomena, urgent promises were made for more production of supplying the scarcity goods and the raising of the living standard.

(10f) If the treasury of the state, inclusive the Party, has been empty, following Lenin's NEP doctrine, they left freer play to private initiative. It is only natural that the sole fact of the possibility of private property and the great driving force of the formula: "I am working for myself" has accumulated in a short time quite a considerable capital, if you take the whole community of the maszek people. Then the Secret Service was set to work to discover the capital in private hands, whereupon the state struck down and

nationalized it. In the last two years only the stupid and the idealists had taken the Maszek fate upon themselves.

(10g) In 1956, knowing the mood of the people, but only partially (and as all partial knowledge becomes totally wrong when generalized) and under the influence of Polish and Yugoslav examples, ^{they} have loosened up the spiritual and economical terror. In the leading positions people who had also the right of giving signatures on decisions affecting other people's life, could make lots of money and feeling the new mood (according to my personal feeling also because of Party directives to that effect) became mollified and more generous. Individually, I was living in illegality and in spite of this fact I was able to work different interesting and serious work at the Radio and with different papers and even at the Scientific Institute of Forestry, so that between March and September 15th I made a monthly average of 3000-3500 forints, which amount was carried under different items in the book-keeping of the above-mentioned employers. During this short period, as we have learned from documents which came into our hands between October 29th and November 2nd, the AVH had strict orders, which have directed its work to be concentrated mainly on the informative activities and only the minimum administrative activities were expected.

(11)

In the older generation of the workers, who had seen better days, have been decisive. Also from the point of view of the young intellectuals. The older intellectuals and the younger generation of workers, on the other hand, have cared very little about material things outside of the most basic needs. The greatest complaint was, first of all, the great fear and total insecurity of life. Nobody knew when and why would he be liquidated.

Material questions had the most decisive importance for the mothers of families. The woman could not stand any longer the hardships of every day life, the little penny worries; and the women had been for 80 % of the Hungarian society indirectly the greatest power of influence.

- (1) Four years of elementary school, 8 years of gymnasium, and 4 years of School of Forestry Engineering. In addition I had absolved ^{two years as a private student at} the Institute of Biology and received a doctor degree.
- (1a) From 1920 to 1936 plus two years.
- (1b) I went to public school for the 4 years of elementary school, then I have absolved the 8 years of the ~~XXXXX~~ gymnasium at Kalocsa in the school of the Jesuit Fathers.
- (1c) I wanted to become a forester.
- (2+3) Not applicable.
- (4) The first goal was the unconditional departmentalisation. They needed specialists with blinkers. They had before their eyes the old formula for ruling: "Divide and impera". In this connection I would like to mention something unbelievable for Western ears; namely that students, enrolled at the university, not only had all their courses strictly prescribed, but they were not allowed to attend any other lecture, which they might have been interested in. There was no such a thing as choosing an optional subject or course; and if the student was caught in trespassing his strictly defined territory and attending a lecture belonging to another sphere, he was not only severely reprimanded for his unwarranted interest, but in some cases was thrown out from the university altogether.

- (4a) The accent was on the unconditional inoculation of Marxism-Leninism.
- (4b) 10 years is not enough to reach the desired goal, mostly you still have there the parents, who grew up and were educated under a different social system.
- (4c) The greatest fault of the régime, from the point of view of its interest, was the deplorable salary of the teachers and professors. The Hungarian professors and teachers have done everything out of fear, but nothing out of conviction. The behaviour of the pupils depended almost entirely ^{on} ~~XXEX~~ their home education, where the mothers with straight and sober thinking were in majority. But in my opinion, children, in any case, cannot be educated by dialectics, because the child's intellect is most logical.
- (4d) They loved the class autonomy, because within its frame they could tell their opinion to their teachers and this opinion was in innumerable cases very painful.
- (4e) On the other hand the study competitions were intensely disliked, because the judging of the results depended ^{on} ~~from~~ the quantity of the knowledge which fell into the category of the Party line. ("partyszerű ismeretek")
- (4f) In line with the steady changes in the interests of the state and the Party, the aspects of education were changing too.
- (4g) The youth is not different, only due to the circumstances, it is frighteningly more experienced and

more realistic.

(4h) See (4g).

(4i) To become a Communist, in the Soviet interpretation of this word, is purely a matter of character. For a short time, maybe for 4-5 years, somebody could be seduced, but to convince him would be possible only by facts. Now, in 4-5 years anyone will discover that the facts are standing diametrically opposite to the thesis of Communism.

(5) My father died 1932. Up to 1919 he was chief captain of the border guard of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. After that, up to 1926, he was under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Interior

(5f) We were living as human beings.

(5g) Five.

(5h) Three brothers, all alive.

(5i) It was not possible for me to live together with them.

(5k) Only for my disadvantage.

(6) I was married.

(6a) My wife, thanks to her knowledge of languages, was able to do translations for the Foreign Tourism Company.

(6b) From 1943.

(6c) My wife and my child died on November 4th.

(7-13) Not applicable.

- (14) We lived in constant fear and anxiety for each other, just as a ship-wrecked white family would live in the midst of cannibals.
- (14a) We did everything for each other what was possible
- (14b) Thousands and thousands of families have lived like this.
- (14c) I tried to meet a member of my family.
- (14g) I did not have the right of free movement, and actually I could travel to Budapest only with permit.
- (15) It is not a Hungarian, it is a general European phenomenon. Due to the realistic matter of fact approach of the women and, at the same time, ~~and~~ the often fearfully idealistic approach of the men, the crisis of the family is the same in Hungary as elsewhere in Europe.
- (15e) On the field of child education, you could experience often the bewildering phenomenon that, while under the influence of their experiences, the parents were willing to compromise with the methods of Communism, the integer and pure logic of the child turned them back to the right path. In other words, the child has educated its parents.
- (15f) Divorce became epidemic. Its reason was the abnormally forced emancipation of the women. Man has lost his authority. You could hear time and again: "What do you think who you are. I make more money than you!" Generally in the countries under Communist direction, the most sensitive and at the same time more materia-

listic nature of the women has developed the type of the independent, self-sufficient women, who tried to escape all responsibilities and worries of family life. For the majority there was no sense and no end in having children, because the questions, on what material basis you could have them and for what could you educate them, could not be answered by many.

The statistics on divorce are unknown, because it was not published. But it must have been great, because in 1955-56 the Communists have started a great propaganda campaign in the interest of the protection of family on the basis of Communist morality.

- (16) In the first place among the workers and the peasants. At the middle class and the aristocracy this change took place already earlier, especially it was noticeable since 1940/41. The causes for this were manifold: The pressures to leave the parental home and live in the crowded living spaces of the cities; the tone of speech and behaviour in the working places, which has been a far cry from all Christian morality. Then, the speech delivered by Magda Jóború, under-secretary of People's Education in 1948, which was disseminated by great hords of people's educator brigades, who were sent on trucks to every village and at the same time the Asiatic acts and behaviour of the Russian occupation troops in the first years, have caused fundamental

changes in the moral values and attitudes of the youth. Let me mention as an example the agricultural, technical school of Dunaföldvár and Szekszárd-Bánk (these two schools were under unified direction). There the director, during his evening control visit has found the 14-15 years old girls and boys together in the dormitories. He called to account the Party secretary supervisor. His answer was: "Didn't I tell you, comrade director, that we ought to have asked for the costs of a cultural club-room in our budget? After all, the youngsters must have some fun, don't they?" XXXXXX (I was told this story by the director himself.)

- (16a) The sober thinking has sunk back to an almost primitive level. In the villages and in places of work in the country, the bride-groom is often 18 and the bride is 16 years old. The average age of boy and girl at the time of their marriage is 20 and 18. The average duration of a marriage is between 6 months and 1 1/2 year.
- (16b) It happens; in very rare cases I have experienced something different. The usual case is a marriage out of a previous sexual relationship. The parents are responsible for this only so far that the economic misery has forced them to let their children go to work at an early age.
- (16c) Officially it was abolished by a legal order; in reality there was an existential prostitution. The possessors of power, be that a Party secretary, or the director of the personnel office of a small company,

or a minister, they all have exploited their opportunities in this direction. (The hunting lodges of Gyulaj, Högyész, Gemenc, Pilis-Muflonszállás, Bükk-Jávorkút, etc., furnished and equipped with princely luxury on the hunting reservations, which were marked as government territory and guarded by AVH, could tell many interesting stories about these. I myself, having been a forester, and having many colleagues and friends in that occupation, have seen some of this and heard about some of the others). In Budapest it was organized by the so-called "tömegvendégek", - regular guests of the espressos and by the directors of the companies, in order to increase their business and raise their "tervteljesítés" = fulfilment of the plan. With one word, there was prostitution and it was much greater than ever before.

(16f) On paper the Communist have been stricter in everything. But again this question could be answered only by stressing my previous statement, namely that all activities of the régime were Potemkin shows, by which they hypocritically tried to clothe their colonial government policy into the respectable garment of morality.

(16g) Birth control was entrusted in the spring of 1956 to a medical council of the district dispensaries and was effected by the official authority of the state. Personally I am a Catholic and respect the authority of the church.

- (16h) It has changed. The state was happy about it, because it would like to use them as its janissaries.
"Anyának szülni kötelesség, leánynak dicsőség!" which means: "To give birth is duty for a mother, for a girl it is glory." This was the slogan, disseminated widely by the people's educators.
- (16i) It has changed fundamentally. It led to a grave crisis of the family. This, however, has developed from about the middle of 1953, a wonderfully advancing and spreading moral disgust and nausea and provoked a strong reaction which started to manifest itself in the behaviour of the youth, especially in the villages and among the university students.
- (17) In a state where there is no private property, no security of life, where the régime considers the greatest guarantee of its own safety ^{the} ~~in~~ creating ^{of} an atmosphere where nobody can trust anybody, where the people applauding the festive speech ~~today~~ to-day, could be executed to-morrow for the same, there on the one hand will develop ~~xxx~~ spontaneously a wonderful highwaymen's code of honour, "betyárbecsület", on the other hand complete amorality will be the rule. The best example for this could be found in the attitude of the workers, who would ask: "Why should it be a crime to defraud public institutions or state companies, if it is true that everything belongs to

us!" Not once or twice, but very often I have heard skilled workers calculate in the following way: "I could take that job, I guess, because I could scrape together (összekalapálok) 1.800 up to 2.000 forints monthly and the pickings (szajré) will make another 1.000 forints; from this I can maintain already two households (namely to work far away from his home)". Only those did not steal who did not want or who had been extremely stupid.

An example: During the cradling of the concrete-slabs of the cooling-towers of the Power Station at Inota - it was early spring and very cold - the workers asked the carpenters: "Aztán szakikám, legyen elég hulladék!" = "Be sure that it will be enough chips!" Now, in ordinary circumstances, with one board of an inch's width, by careful calculation, the cradling of a half cell-slab could be managed. But at Inota 4-6 boards of an inch's width had to be used for the cradling of one cell-slab. The chips disappeared from night to night. On the other hand, one could regard as a constructive result that XX the villages surrounding the "great constructions of the Socialism" contain the most new peasant cottages, built from excellent materials, and with healthful construction (of course from the material "removed" from the site of the Socialist constructions.)

(17c) The so-called "confidential" assistance was very widespread, but in a typical Communist manner. It was done through the semi-official "kijárók" (= procurer of lobbyist), who had been usually, from the point of view of the Party, reliable lawyers and people with similar occupations. The fee was paid to this middle-men rather than to the men in the top office who made the favourable decision. Each ministry had such middle-men and there were four or five lawyers whose names were whispered all over, employed also by the AVH.

(17d) They have not been numerous. One of the greatest sociological riddles of the last 6 years in Hungary. From where did they get money for the best-tailored suits, shoes, and for spending at all the ^{fashionable} ~~reasonable~~ places. During my most recent career ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ journalism, which has lasted for such a short time only, I had the opportunity to track down half-way one of these interesting characters. He was living in a furnished room, his occupation officially was technician, his job was: One year vacation without pay for reasons of health. I was able to bring out totally only one basic attitude from the subject of my unfinished report: "Idenézzen Tata, engem nem érdekel ez az egész. Klassz nőkkel akarok járni, csinos üzleteket kötni - jól akarok élni!" (=Look here Daddy, I am not interested in this whole business. I want only to go with classy dames, make some nice money, and have a good time." Actually this

attitude was already the sign of the infiltrating Western bourgeois materialism.)

- (18) He is my second cousin. We know each other since our
XXXX childhood.
- (18a) A Roman Catholic priest.
- (18b) He is one year older than I.
- (18c) We used to go and hide together in little restaurants on the Buda side and e.g., we translated into Hungarian Orwell's "1984", Huxley's "Ape and Essence", and some interesting articles of the "Digest", which we have received from a cleaning woman working at the British Embassy. Besides we talked about politics and politics and again politics.
- (18d) See under (18c).
- (18e) There was no change, but both of us had been under observation, our meetings were reduced for about three or four in number during a year.
- (18f) The friendship continues.
- (18g) Not materially, but spiritually and with human feeling and understanding should stand by all the time. It is much easier to make money than to receive friendly words which would dispel fears and would clarify feelings and notions.
- (18h) It was the most difficult; everybody was afraid of everybody else.
- (18i) As a consequence of my situation during the last years,

I was not able to maintain a circle of friends.

(18j) It has saved one from total desperation.

(18k) The question is under what circumstances and with what intentions would he have accepted it. In my case, we would have had to terminate all intercourse, because perhaps it would not have hurt me, but he would have certainly gotten into trouble because of his contact with me.

(19) My parents were Roman Catholics; all members of my family belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.

(19a) See (19)

(19b) I am/^apracticing Catholic.

(20) My personal religious life was not affected, but to practice religion was made, in many ways, quite impossible. Just to give you one ~~example~~ example: From the fall of 1950, it was impossible to attend a spiritual retreat. Such a thing would have been regarded right away as a counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

(20a) It has affected each church equally. There was no exception. The reason for this is that Communism itself is the most dogmatic, the most bigot, and the most intolerant, materialistic religion: "He who is not with us, is against us." - This is the motto of Lenin's breviary.

- (20b) The Communists want to extirpate all religions according to elaborate plans, which are taught in their Party schools. They are using them with the help of people ^{amenable} with weak character, or ~~amenable~~ to money, ~~XXXX~~, and, according to the mass psychology doctrine of ~~h~~ Le Bon, through the contamination of the leaders, they are hopeful to contaminate the masses too.
- (20c) Here I would like to remark that I am fully sharing the saying attributed to Leo XIII.: "I see the greatest proof for the divine origin of the Catholic Church in that, that its own priests cannot destroy it." The first guard of the "peace priests", with the exception of Richard Horváth, who suffered from a inherited "latent paralysis", all had been gravely mishandled under Andrassy Street 60 and have acted in a psychosis of fear. After that, the rest following the ~~thesis~~ thesis of Le Bon mentioned above, seeing the example, out of weakness of character and because many of them have regarded the ecclesiastical office as a life insurance and not as a vocation, have joined to the many excellent names of the first guard. From this follows that good faith is out of question in this connection. Good example is the case of Miklós Beresztóczy, who belonged to the best and most educated and courageously active leaders of ~~the~~ the Catholic Workers' Movement, which existed up to 1944. During the Mindszenty case he was, according to my information, for 3 months in Andrassy Street 60.

Afterwards, he never said one word ~~about~~^{about} ~~XXXXX~~ his experience in jail, not even to his most confidential friends and ecclesiastical colleagues. Even in 1953, four years after his arrest, if a car stopped outside of his office, he would turn pale, start to shake, stagger to the window, and afterwards, relieved from fear, sitting back to his desk, he would still mutter quite idiotically: "Not they, thank God, not they!"

- (20d) It has dissolved the religious orders, with the exception of four teaching orders - three male and one female - whose number was drastically reduced. The priesthood was brought into material dependency from the state. The AVO has screened out the best members of the hierarchy and the priesthood through careful AVO kader systems and with the help of secret informers. The replacement of the priesthood became extremely difficult, since most of the seminaries were abolished and, in those remaining, the number was set at a low minimum. The AVO has maintained agents in each religious community and further diminished the number of the practicing priests by arrests and internments so that up to June 1954, with few exceptions, only the old priests, hardly able to work, and ~~these~~^{those} with weak character remained at their posts. The book-keeping of the dioceses and parishes was put under state control and even the acceptance of private donations was prohibited.

- (20e) Between 1949 and 1953, they tried to intimidate the believers and to make for them impossible the exercise of their religion by an organized service of informers. But contrary to the priesthood, the believers succeeded, because of their great masses, in eliminating this system or rather ~~to~~ ⁱⁿ brand ^{ing} it as dangerous for the mood of the population, for the productivity, and for the fulfilment of obligations towards the state.
- (20f) Yes, if somebody dared to.
- (20g) See under (20f).
- (20h) I went whenever it was possible.
- (20i) In the first place the women. They behave with admirable courage. I have known a teacher who went to mass every Sunday from Húvosvolgy to Újpest, which was about 1 1/2 hour travel one way, because she thought that there nobody would recognize her. The former middle class, that is the now déclassé elements, for whom there was no more to lose, have gone to church without fear and in greatly increased number. The new class of officials and intellectuals have frequented the churches less, but that was rather because of tiredness and indifference. On great holidays, every church was full to the point of bursting apart. This was not only because of the religious sentiment of the people, but in a way it represented a courageous and open demonstration against the whole system.
- In many cases, church attendance and the use of sacra-

ments actually increased during these years. An example for this is ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ the statistics of the parish church in Viziváros, which I was able to look into during my newspaper reporter career. According to that, in 1950 they had 60 communions weekly, in 1952 that number increased to 400.

- (20j) Two denominations have refused to compromise with the régime until the régime succeeded in creating satellites among them. These two were the Catholic and the Jewish communities. The reason for this may be found in the fact that both of them are fundamentally universal, with the same liturgy, with the same central spiritual direction, with other words, they are above state territories and boundaries. The Protestant churches have tried to save their position relying on their more liberal attitude which is responsible only to the individual conscience. They acted with the best will, but they have apparently not known enough the situation and the nature of Communism, because they did not seem to have realized that you need only once to sit down to the conference table with the Communists and give them a chance to prove their "good will", and your cause is lost. The Protestant churches have lost a tremendous amount of their reputation in Hungary. In my private opinion, it is not their fault. Later on they had their "peace priests" too and their situation did not differ from that of the Catholics.

(20k) This question cannot be answered with the limitation on Hungary alone. This is a general phenomenon of the age. All humanity is caught up to-day between two types of materialism. One of them means terror and devastation, the other promises a rich civilisation with great incentives for personal success, but both of them weaken the religious interest of the people or change it to a cold indifference. In Hungary, where Catholicism was not so very long ago the official creed of the country, the faith of the parents was so to speak the request of the right social attitude for the children. During the Communist rule, speaking objectively, it became first of all a political attitude. The youth has seen that many of those people are kneeling now in the churches from whom he heard in his youth from his parents or acquaintances only bad things. He formed his opinion accordingly: "Oh yes, now they are praying, because they do not have any other refuge!" Religious education was only possible within the family and for this, because of the tremendous efforts needed to provide the family with the necessary material needs, very few parents had the time. It is the more interesting that since 1951-52 there had been forming some nuclei of the "religious self-education". These were small groups which organized very secretly since the régime would have treated them harshly if discovered. I have no idea how many percent of the Hungarian youth belonged to

these groups. But to those who do, religion means a lot more than it meant to their parents. I myself have learned from them the new formula: "A Katolicizmus nem egyház, nem vallásfelekezet, hanem életforma és világnézet." ("Catholicism is not a church and not a religious denomination, but it is a form of life and an attitude towards the world - Weltanschauung.")

(201) The fact that it has preached the gospel of Christ and has preached it the same way, with the same content, as it did for 2000 years. Contrary to this, the dogmas of Marxism-Leninism have changed with every year of even every month. Leninism has preached hatred, religion preaches love, reconciliation, and mercy, and compassion. The ~~xxxxxx~~ churches have had many martyrs; and to create martyrs was probably one of the greatest blunder of the régime. Resistance was strengthened also by the common occurrence that in spite of all terror, people could see again and again priests who did not care about their own security and life, but worked tirelessly for the people, consoling the suffering, taking confessions during the whole night in the hospitals, preaching fearlessly from the pulpit and were not ashamed to go from one family to the other for their lunch, because they have not had any material benefits.

(21) Civil engineer.

- (21a) Because this was the only possible career, where a young man could somehow escape the danger of departmentalisation, which led inevitably to a narrow viewpoint.
- (21b) In the first place unconditional knowledge. Secondly, if he would have trusted me and would have accepted me as an older friend - I would have taught him for that politely smiling, unconditional silence. Knowledge and taciturnity have been, even in the Communist system, on gold-dollar parity.
- (21c) This is almost impossible to define. First of all, it was a matter of good luck. Here I ought to mention that the community of Hungarian engineers, including those university professors who had been in the favour of the Party, have succeeded in insisting on a sober selectivity. For example, in 1951, in the freshmen year of the Lóránd Eötvös Technical University - under this it is meant each faculty and each Technical University of Hungary - according to the "campaign for technical replacement", devised by the Planning Office of the Party, 16.000 so-called "working and peasant youths" were herded together. On the faculty of civil engineering of the Budapest Technical University e.g., on October 1st, 1951, 2.700 freshmen had been registered. On October 1st 1952, from this number there remained 900 only, in 1953, 350; and in 1955 January, 110 have received the diploma. It is worth to notice

that at the same time, from those excellently qualified, but because of their bad kader not admitted, young men, usually from the intelligentsia, 60 had been employed as unskilled workers through the intervention of the assistants at the Technical University, who were then given jobs and salaries in the different laboratories and research institutions working under the supervision of one or the other faculty of the Technical University. Of these 60 students, who frequented the evening courses, which were left open, 47 have finished in 1955, almost all of them summa cum laude. (From July 1954, that is from the time of Imre Nagy's first government, all of them had been accepted as regular students by the university.)

It is also thanks to the community of the Hungarian engineers that the middle-aged Hungarian intelligentsia, which was sentenced to destruction by the régime - both men and women - have survived in a comparative safety. Example: In the wide regions of Tiszántúl, where the deportees from Budapest and other cities were settled, the technical jobs were filled out of them at the newly built great power stations of Tisza-lök, Tiszapalkonya, ^{at the} Tiszántúli Tárvvezeték, and the water engineering projects, at the forestry engineering, which has worked on the reforestation of the Great Plain, the office of engineers of Road and Railroad Planning and Levelling in Tiszántúl, and this was the

work of the engineers alone. In this way many thousands of these unfortunate people have been accepted into the frames of state enterprises and as such they could trickle back with the time to their original place of living.

- (22) The best off had been, under all circumstances, members of the AVH and the Party functionaries including their circle of relatives and friends. Immediately after them followed the stratum of the irreplaceable scientists and specialists (~~of~~ the unquestionably privileged and immune status in every society, held by the scientists ~~today~~ to-day, is best illustrated by the example of Kurt Seidl, who was according to common knowledge one of the outstanding advisers of the Schacht economic policy of Nazi Germany. Under the Communist régime he was the chief director of the greatest plant improving experimental stations in Hungary and has been decorated four times with the Kossuth-prize, the greatest distinction which can be given by the Hungarian People's Republic. To-day this same man is the director of the plant improving laboratory of the plant research station in the State of Florida, USA. It is true that he is a fanatic scientist with tremendous abilities and also it has to be said to his credit that he used his great positional advantages exclusively to further his job and to help his colleagues and co-workers.)

Next in the line are the technical intelligentsia and after them the artists, but only if they have accepted the Party line. On the same level with the latter, follow the economic and trade specialists. The situation of the others was average and very unsteady ~~xxx~~ according to the changes and fluctuations in the political atmosphere.

The worst off had been the people in the free vocatinns, but with a Christian ideology (lawyers, doctors, priests, writers, journalists), also the former officialdom of the ministries and other offices, the former landowners, and the former officers of the army, but only if you take the material wellbeing; because above a certain level of intelligence, the spiritual tenacity of these classes counted much, since they had been able to endure hardships often much better than people on a lower level of spiritual education with less odds to face. The class of the so-called "rich peasants" - labelled by the régime with the awful word "kulak", which was introduced to Hungary by the Russians - was almost completely exterminated. (According to ~~sixxxxx~~ confidential statistics in 1951 there were more than a hundred suicides among them.) It is interesting that the God-fearing and deeply religious Hungarian XXXXXXXX peasant, if once he has ~~xxxx~~ succeeded in acquiring some property, he was unable to suffer material losses.

The average worker, measuring by Communist standards, could make a living somehow, but the terrible harassment towards over-production and in the work competition has ruined them nervously to the extent that to-day ^{there} ~~they~~ are latent or active neurotic illnesses among the Hungarian working class by a high percentage which, however, cannot yet be measured and known. In the fall of 1954, on a conference of district doctors held at Budapest, a doctor from a working quarter of Ujpest has reported the following: In his district, which has about 3.000 people, exclusively worker families, 65 % of the ~~xxxx~~adults live regularly with sedatives and sleeping pills. Another example: A drug store supplying a district with a socially relatively mixed population in Buda, has reported its monthly business in sedatives, narcotics, and sleeping pills not in the usual measure of vial, but for the sake of a comic illustration in the weight of 29 1/2 kg. This was done according to officially controlled book-keeping and the news ~~has~~ ^{has} found ~~their~~ ^{its} way to the newspapers. Next day Imre Nagy personally has inquired the truthfulness of this curiosity. (This was a curiosity only so far that the other drug stores never took pains to make their balance in kilogrammes and publish it.)

- (22a) To the intelligentsia which was persecuted because of its attitude towards the world - Weltanschauung.
- (22b) To the group of the scientific researcher, which was

of course impossible for me because of my political behaviour.

(22c) Just as the successful gladiators in Rome.

(22d) If they were ready to follow socialist realism, then it was good; if not, they could go to carry stones or build roads or, as the Goncour-prize winner Istókovich, to draw advertisings for ^{the} state hotel and restaurant industry.

(23) Number one: Party aristocracy. Number two: The indispensable technical aristocracy and the middle and worker class of these two classes.

Number three: an opportunist group of intellectuals and skilled workers as a new middle class.

Number four: A working class which came from entirely different class origins and now has been levelled through their circumstances of work and living. To this we have to add the peasantry too.

Number five: And finally a politically branded, very numerous, and although in a veiled form, but actually slavery. (Thus, we find here the exact cross-section of the Russian society during the time of Catharine the Great - the secret dream of Stalin.)

(23a) For eight years I have been everywhere, lived and worked, and kept my eyes open for observation all over the country.

(23b) No, it has only been a great exchange of the positions

and a new class was created, that of the slaves.

- (23c) I did not approve of it, neither before the war nor after the war.
- (23d) In social communication, no-- but this is again Potemkin show - in reality it was quite impossible to break into one class from the other.
- (23e) In one thing the whole society of the People's Democracies became equal and in this respect we became really a unified society: Everybody, without exception, was afraid. But exactly this fear has formed in practice glaring inequalities between the different strata of society.
- (23f) This is bad.
- (23g) I have generalized here, although generalizations have usually their faults, but I still think that it became uncomparably looser and less refined than up to 1947. If somebody was polite, nice, and ready to help - we have been afraid of him and with reason. At the same time we have to keep in mind that people with such an education or rather lack of education, reached the leading and directing positions who with the haughtiness of power have demanded the aping of their behaviour. It is interesting that a great proportion of the trained skilled workers and of the young intellectuals who came from peasant and worker kaders and received their diplomas from some of the higher educational institutions, with the passing of years,

acquired quite a high standard in human and social behaviour. It was a most interesting psychological study to watch, how during the much heralded dictatorship of the proletariat, the intelligent worker and peasant stratum took on bourgeois habits and morality with an admirable ease.

- (24) Yes. Up to 1951 the Swabians for reasons apparent. Between 1951 and 1952 the Serbs of Tolma, Békés, and Bács-Bodrog counties because of Rákosi's hysteria about the Titoism.
- (24a) The Slovaks, but only at the beginning. At any rate they have received their national schools, even a higher educational institute, newspapers, cultural centres, and permission for starting ~~x starting~~ organisations. (Private opinion: Catherine the Great's Panslavic dream.)
- (25) The question is very touchy. To understand it, some preliminary explanations have to be given and some facts explained: At the end of 1948, the key-positions of the Party, of the government, of the AVH, and of the economic planning, which means all economic positions, had been occupied, counting even with strict objectivity, at least to a degree of 65 % by Jews. The Hungarian Jewry was not so numerous that in one direction or other everybody ^{of them} would not have some ^{family} ~~familiar~~ connec-

tions. And characteristically of the excellent ability of acclimatisation of the Jewry, they have perfectly learned and accepted the Sögor-Koma mentality of the, 400 of for a hundred years ruling, gentry class. (This Hungarian expression is untranslatable into English. It means that everybody is somehow or other a relative and a friend.) From this many things follow which do not even need explanation. Only one section of the Jews has suffered the same way as the Catholics - the religious Jews; with that difference that because of the foreign currency hunger of the Communist economic policy, they could receive steady and significant help from their co-religionists abroad, who have proved their solidarity admirably toward their brethren behind the Iron Curtain.

(25a) The Hungarian Jewry has to be divided into two:

One part was filled with a burning desire of revenge for their sufferings inflicted on them in 1944. They had been fanatic Party workers from 1945 up to the beginning of 1953. This was the less numerous part. For the other greater part, a definition was given by an excellent Jewish economist, who has great conceptions and clear views. According to him the Jews have fitted themselves into the existing economic and political life, tried to make good business, not for the régime but for themselves, deliberately, because the Jew carries in his blood the economic talent and after the first year of the régime each of them has already seen

in what way will it ~~will~~ be possible to ruin it sooner or later.

It has to be mentioned also that most of the really valuable and qualified talents in public administration ~~were~~^{were} saved by the so-called Moscovite, but in fact very clear-headed and human Zoltán Vas and by his narrow circle of assistants in the planning office and through the different economic establishments which were founded by him.

(25b) Partly I have answered this, partly it is public knowledge.

(25c) I had. Mostly doctors, journalists, and artists. I do not know whether in their situation I would not have filled the same place as they did. One is certain: Around February 1953, when in Budapest there was no more than perhaps 20 % such better paid jobs, where not a Jew would have been, at once there was started a countercurrent: "Watch out, we cannot continue this any more, we have to cut down!" I had three friends with whom I had been in Leitmeritz, in the German concentration camp together, who had been in leading positions in the planning office, in the National Bank, and in the Foreign Trade Bureau. I received my information through them about this movement, which has indicated a turning point in the behaviour of the Hungarian Jewry. And, in fact, with the exception of a small, blind minority, the Jews from the end of 1953 started with great determina-

tion to ferment and to disintegrate the system. A good example for this is that in January 1954 the working ~~community~~ community of about 22 young Party ideologues have started with admirable courage and readiness for sacrifices to take up the connection with the young Hungarian intellectuals who had been, up to that time suppressed and forgotten (some of the names of these young Jewish Party ideologues are well-known, like Miklós Gimes, Miklós Molnár, Tibor Méray, Sándor Fekete, György Fazekas, Endre Enczi, Zoltán Zelk, etc.)

(25d) The Jewish students behaved just like the other Hungarian students. If we want to make a nationality question of the Jewish problem, we ought to mention that in the Ganz Electricity Works of Buda, the Jewish students had 70 % loss; from 26, 17 have fallen.

(25e) A certain sympathy stemming from the guilty conscience because/^{of} the events of 1944 coupled with a great amount of anger. This is humanly only understandable, since everywhere where you could make money and was comfortable, you could see only them. Otherwise it sounds a bit comic, but the reality is what was already defined by Ferenc Deák in the following way: "In Hungary it is a nonsense to speak about the Jewish question, since every Hungarian, even the tanyai summás (seasonal worker on detached farms) has at least one Jewish friend by whom he would swear. He would say: Yes sure, nasty is the Jew, that is true; but I have a friend,

he is a Jew, but he is a "fenemód jó ember" (jolly good fellow). If - continues Deák - ten million Hungarians have a "jolly good fellow" Jewish friend, then the Hungarian Jew is just like us; some are nice and some are nasty."

If we have to make a distinction between Hungarians of Jewish origin and Hungarians of Christian origin, I would have formulated the question differently; namely would have asked, what was the attitude of the Jewry. And for this question the answer would be: Only stupidity and prejudice can make a people responsible for an inherited, 3000 years old character. This is, of course, a view dictated by humanism. What was done by the Jewish members of the AVH surpasses the capacity of the neurology to give a diagnosis, because that was beyond any hysteric paranoia and sadistic imaginations. This I can tell you from my own personal experiences. With a little knowledge of people, in spite of all its horror, one could make the judgment that those people were completely unaccountable for their deeds. I, who had been already treated in the cells of the Gestapo, can only thank to my strongly construed Asiatic nervous system and to my deeply religious Christian education, that I could remain wholesome in this respect.

(255) I quote again Ferenc Deák, because his wisdom is actual even to-day: "In Hungary he is anti-Semite, who is envying the Jews more than necessary." Anti-Semitism

as such has actually achieved a form of education because of the envy stemming from the misery of the people, since the most poverty-stricken, lonely Jewish widow has received at least twice a month a good-sized IKKA package. A simple teamster, with whom I was working together, told me : "Listen, we should not beat these people, we should force them to come among us and, by God, teach us how they do it!"

At the same time we have won a certain political maturity by our inherited anti-Semitism. Example: On a meeting of the foresters, there came up the question of the steady gains of ground in all positions by the Jews. The opinion expressed by the people present at the meeting turned out to be surprisingly unanimous: "It does not matter, those asses as the Russians are, out of their bigotry will not let the Jews make money. Naturally, the Jews will start complaining. That will be only good for us, because that ^{will} be heard from New York to London and Tokio, everywhere!"

(25h) To give an answer to this question is almost impossible. It is a pity that about 70 % of the Jewish intellectuals left Hungary during the recent months. I say a pity because, in my opinion, in the case of a change we would have to "re-import" our young Jewish economists, cost what cost, because of elementary need of them in Hungary. The reason for this lies in the fact that only they had, in these last ten years, through their con-

nections, the opportunity that they could achieve a really excellent knowledge in private and national economy. The children of the Hungarian intelligentsia have been barred from ~~this~~ these studies, the children of the worker and peasant kaders, apart from a few exceptions, have not gone to that field, because the unconscious desire to imitate and ape the past patterns, was still strongly present even in these classes. I am convinced that in Hungary, in the future, there will not be any more a Jewish question, only a question of characters, in which both, Christians and Jews, will fall. Extreme passions ~~exist~~, of course, will be always and everywhere found.

- (1) Politics as a science, as a study discipline, has never interested me. Alas, politics in its practical sense is in that part of Central Europe, where Hungary is situated, not only existential, but a primary necessity of survival already since nine centuries. Another question is, of course, why the instinct for successful politics is fundamentally missing from us Hungarians with the exception of a few chosen spirits.
- I was compelled to have a political interest all the time. In the first place, because, with a few exceptions since the seventeenth hundreds, Hungarian politics were made and directed always by foreigners, radically different from us. That is the reason why it has been created in Hungary, since the time of Széchenyi, a special political science, namely the "Nemzetpolitika", national politics.
- (1a) Up to 1943, I have preoccupied myself very little with it. From the time of my recognition of the Pan-Germanic dangers, my vocation and politics became twin brothers, equally nourished.
- (1b) Yes, Between 1950 to the end of 1953 I was not interested. I lived from one day to the other, I had no time outside of the primary question of survival for anything else.
- (1c) As a journalist, from 1936 - 1944, in a Christian and Socialist direction. From the end of 1945 to 1948, in the same way. From 1954 to 1956, I allied with every-

body, in the press, in lectures ^{for the destruction of the regime} by "counter-people's education". ~~for the destruction of the regime~~

- (2) In the Christmas number of Szabad Szó of 1945, in the inside editorial, I have compressed in one sentence my fears: "We have just escaped the consumption under the "Drang nach Osten", only in order, perhaps, to perish on the slave-dock of the "Drang nach Westen". (My editorial article was taken over by the Kanadai Magyar Hirlap and also in German translation by "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", where it can be found in one of the issues of the first week of January 1946.) Thus, I can say that my view of the future was not optimistic and that I have anticipated some of the horrors which came.
- (2a) I have accepted the editorship of the newspaper of the Peasant Party, although I was not a member of that Party, because due to my criminal lack of knowledge about Soviet ideology, I have regarded as the only safe haven of refuge the Hungarian peasantry.
- (2e) The only factor is that I have regarded the false philosophy of dialectical materialism always as gravely anti-human, because it has built from part-truths and, in addition, on entirely false psychological foundations a system of castles in the air, which they claimed whole and perfect. Perhaps I was influenced also by family tradition, namely my father had to hide for his life during ^{the} Bela Kun proletarian dictatorship.

(2f) (ii)

(2h) The question was formulated without factual knowledge. Against the colonial governing body, which has behind itself all the open and secret support of a victorious power of 250 millions, What could do a 9 million minority which suffers in additon from great existential and psychological troubles. Besides, the primary instinct in every man of the world is survival. Where a system is so tho~~roughly~~roughly machiavellian that it is able with satanic skill/^{to}divide one from the other and incites them against each other, then there is only one explanation for this question: Fear.

(2i) The kader-card was one of the effective instruments of this elaborate system of fear.

(3a-g) There was only one all containing grievance: Without free opinion and without free initiative according to the ability and talent of the individual, the purpose and meaning of life was taken away from us. And if one has to do things which are meaningless, have no sense, that is the ~~greatest~~^{cravest} humiliation of the human being.

(3j) This was different according to the individual. For me it was the firm conviction that, even pessimistically counted, there were no more than 10 % who have done it out of their hearts. Example: In November 1953, I was walking with a colleague of mine ~~in the~~^{on the} Margit Bridge. At the bridge head in the Pest side we stopped for a

minute and my friend pointing at the AVO headquarters building, said to me: "I bet you, the half of those inside are unreliable." At that moment we were shocked by noticing that behind us an AVH captain was standing and listening. Almost paralysed by fear we started out quickly, but he followed us and passed us, but while doing so he muttered with half of his mouth turned to us: "You are wrong - there are not even 20 %!" Besides this - our belief and the consolation of our religion.

- (4) In the hands of the Central European section of the Moscow Party organisation.
- (4a) In each ministry and important government department, besides the office of the minister or director, there was the room of the Soviet adviser.
- (4b) Magnetophone (tape recorder).
- (4c) See under (4a).
- (4d) The same as of the masses of workers who had been marched out and lined up to listen for Rákosi's speeches.
- (4e) For the same reason why Potemkin has built the villages on the banks of the Don.
- (4f) The Hungarian bureaucracy was nurtured by the K. u. K. bureaucracy. This was then inoculated by the Russian bureaucracy, which had been ridiculed already by Chekhov, with the result that, when an excellent Hungarian professor of oncology (cancer research) tried to

get a cobalt isotope for his laboratory , he was given exactly 65 papers to be filled out for the requisition. The professor exclaimed with desperation: Hungarian bureaucracy was up to 1944 a brontosaurus and this brontosaurus suffers now from elephantiasis!"

(4h) The people in responsible positions were systematically replaced by new kaders educated in the Party schools; the lower officials of the bureaucratic machinery were known already by the ancient Romans as never having strong character and backbone.

(4i) The officers have been recruited from the worker and peasant youth. Their advantages were about the same as army officers generally have in any country.

(4j) Exclusively Party members. I have to note here that up to the end of 1954, the most directors have received their job as a present for their good Party work, for the protection of the state security, which meant, of course, the denunciation of reactionaries to the AVH. He did not need to have any qualification and did not need to work or participate in any productive activity. The only thing he had to do was to listen and watch, sometimes, perhaps, to speak up according to the Party line, but no responsibility was attached to his high job.

(5) Membership in the DISZ was concomitant to our educational institutions, just as if you take a bus or a

train, you have to buy a ticket. Membership in it did not mean either advantage nor disadvantage. In fact, this was ^{as} much a phony organisation as the trade unions were. Originally, of course, it was meant to be a great organisation educating the entire Hungarian youth to become good Communists, but practically it turned out to be a dead idea, its only usefulness being to increase the revenues of that part of the Party treasury which was designated as "cash for free use". Its disadvantage was apparent already from 1951 by those who had accepted ~~these~~ ^{these} functions. The youth has commonly called them only by the derogatory words "rohadt spicli", which means rotten denunciators and has excommunicated them from among themselves.

- (5c) In no way, only if somebody was neither a student nor has been working in any state enterprise or office.
- (1k) The kader replacement group of the ideological head-section of the Party.
- (6) Only so far that he was safe existentially, but only those derived any advantages from it who actively participated in the organisational work of the Party.
- (6a) The question is good, but not exact. Nobody had to become a Party member; however, there were many who had been forced by different methods. Such were, during the first organisational fury, the indispensable specialists and technicians, all those who had been elected

to become a Party member by their own circle of co-workers, who did this as a safety measure in self-defense against any future eventualities.

(6b) Many - not out of conviction, but because of opportunism.

(6c) With the right of getting ahead and succeed and with the obligation of a very widely interpreted Party loyalty.

(6d) I have known many. Most of them have joined between 1949 and 1951 out of existential need.

(6e) An opportunist would remain an opportunist, whether he has a Party book or wears a cassock. However, on people with undeveloped or wavering character it ~~can be~~ ^{could} often exert an influence, even following the norms set up by Studdard, ~~wik~~ with stunning effects. Example: A journalist, coming from a unitarian minister's family from Transylvania, who was working with a moderate newspaper, ~~heard~~ ^{felt} that because of his wife's excessive ^{spending} standing he had to make more money. He became the ideological editor of Szabad Nép, became a bigot Bolshevik, denounced his best friends, among them his own father, and when I, after being 15 years friends, have asked him only for so much that he should provide me through his important connections with a 15 day permission to stay in Budapest (since I was deported and not permitted to stay in the Capital), his answer was: "With pleasure, but I have a question: Are you loyal or are you an enemy?"

I have known a young doctor who became Party member out of ~~x~~ pure idealism. His father was an old district doctor, his mother assistant professor of organic chemistry. He became the confidential doctor of the AVH within two years with the rank of a lieutenant colonel.

In this connection I must tell you that the so-called "becsavarodott"kommunisták" - (this is an expression created by the streets of Pest, impossible to translate, the/closest would be probably "wrapped-up Communists"), you could recognize right away and pick~~KE~~ out from among hundred people, because of their astonishingly uniform physiognomy. Sharp searching looks, dry, parched faces, inhibited bearing/^adisciplined way of walk, peremptory, aggressive tone of speech, coloured with the characteristic head-voices of the hysterics. I was often warned by cab drivers, by the waiter^{by the}, a tram conductor, and even by the blue police-man on the corner: "Szaki, vigyázzon, légiveszély!" ("Joe, watch out, air-raid alarm!"), while they only winked toward the conspicuous Party member nearby.

(6f) In spite of my numerous personal experiences, I want to emphasize that it will be exclusively my individual opinion which I am about to tell.

Those who have done so because of personal grievances were in a small minority. The majority has done it because, sooner or later, they came to the inevitable

conclusion that everything that they have done for the Party in the name of the programme announced by the Party was useless and remained without any tangible result. Those, however, who could safeguard their ability to think, had been unable to wrestle with that dialectics, according to which to-day's dogma became in half a year anathema and the Party had revealed something entirely different as the new dogma, only to change this again in a short time. A true believer, a Communist electrical engineer, told me in the summer of 1953: "Old boy, you know, I have returned my Party book, and when the secretary asked me why, I told him: "I have learned from the Party how to lie, deep and high, wide and long, but crosswise I cannot any more!" (This engineer, because of his excellent knowledge and work, could keep his job even afterwards. He had his work-book, only he did not get premiums any more, which ~~mean~~ were assured him in the collective contract and he did not receive any more extra payment for field-work, which meant that he lost about 65 % of his salary which he received as long as he was a Party member.)

- (6g) Persons who were needed could have been, as they said in Pest, St. John the Baptist, as long as they did not find somebody else in his place; he was given everything. As soon as the new kader replacement was ready, which happened in about four years' time, most of these people

were eliminated in the most brutal way, since they have seen too much and knew too much about the impossibilities of the Communist management of business and industry, etc.

(6r) The Section for Hungarian Affairs of the Soviet- Communist Party in Moscow.

(6s) Mátyás Rákosi was son of a Jewish grocer from Zemplén. He has an astonishing flair for languages. Besides Hungarian, he speaks excellently German , English, French, Spanish, and several of the Slavic languages. He has a razor -sharp logic. This I can tell from personal experience. I have had long talks with him seven times in 1946-47. According to my conviction, he has an inherited megalomania, in view of his looks, a comical vanity complex, an indoctrinated persecution mania, besides an immense but entirely one-sided education, the patronizing manner of a royal prince, the pleasure in aristocratic tastes (e.g. precious paintings and art objects in his villa), and pastimes. (hunting).

(Interviewer asked respondent: "How was it possible that Rákosi, a Jewish boy from the country, was admitted to the Diplomatic School, the Oriental Academy of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, when these institutions were traditionally the preserves of the aristocracy?")

At the beginning of the present century, Rákosi was a founding member of the Hungarian Galilei Circle. During the last 30 years of the Habsburg Monarchy, due to the

elastic attitude of the ruling liberalism, it was very much appreciated, if somebody could sacrifice a substantial amount of money for the interests of the state, in which case the social origin did not count. Rákosi has made use of the funds of the First International to secure his admission to the Oriental Academy.

Ernö Gerö; as editor of Szabad Szó, in 1946-47, I have spent many days in the company of Gerö at the occasion of the great bridge building projects, notably in Szolnok and Szentes. We have spent several evenings together in interesting talks and afterwards I was twice his guest in his ministry. I have to mention right here that these talks were held against me in 1948, during my arrest. The AVO had the records of every word, I said.

Gerö was a puritanic, fanatic, Communist Savonarola. In my private opinion, he was the only one who never did anything out of his private interest and never accepted anything. He was the only, within the limits of his faith, has acknowledged, appreciated, and defended every talent. This of course, holds true only up to 1952-53. As a consequence of the characteristic corruption, which has sooner or later affected every Hungarian Communist, without exception, in 1953, Comrade Gerö he too was already hunting.

Gerö had very little general erudition, wore the blinkers of Party ideology toward many aspects of life, but

he had an excellent sense for trade and economy and he was a good organiser too. As far as the interests of the Party were concerned, he had less moral inhibitions than a viper. He speaks Russian, reads English, German, and French, and his passionate hobby was gardening.

Zoltán Vas: He became a Communist only, because he drifted somehow into the circle around Rákosi and because of his excellent abilities as a born reporter. He was entrusted with organisation and found himself arrested together with the group of Rákosi. In September 1956, in the Writers' Union, in the presence of György Mátyás, Tibor Méray, Tibor Pethő, Sándor Fekete, and myself, he told us in his characteristically cordial manner: "If I would not have gotten mixed up into that mess that time and if I would not have gotten excited about everything which was opposition, to-day I would be perhaps in the meat-packing business somewhere in New York. Because I am a typical case - you will be surprised - of that dafke Communists (dafke is a Jewish word which means "just because"), I have to tell you, I envy you; the devil wanted to become a politician. I wanted to do good business or to edit a good boulevard-paper. Now I am ^{fat} ~~fat~~, the Party is looking askance at me, because I have liberal opinions, because having remained a journalist, I am still phrasing ~~XX~~ every thesis and every instruction according to my own ways. There is not much left for me. I will ^{fat} ~~fat~~ with them or because

of them into my grave." He was a smart business man, rich in ideas, who could choose his co-workers and would stand up for them. His great fault was a senseless and misinterpreted sentimentalism, which is known to psychologists as prison-psychosis.

- (6t) The policy of the Party was steadily changing. The reason for these changes should be looked for in the dogmatic disputes and quarrels of the Holy-Synod in Moscow. I do not have any opinion about it. This was no politics, at least not in Hungary. It was only the better or worse execution of orders from above.
- (7) No.
- (7g) From among the mass organisations, the Szabadságharcos Szövetkezet, the Freedom Fighters Association, was the most popular. One could learn how to shoot there and how to handle different weapons. In the countryside (Hidas, Tolna, Dunaföldvár, Veszprém, Lörinci) I heard often: ~~"It is good, if one keeps up with the practice."~~ ^{It is good, if one keeps up with} the practice. You never know, when you will need it!" The other mass organisations were just as the trade unions. This was everybody's opinion. I can say that from many personal experiences.
- (7l) In no ways. They had been good only for the purpose that provided high salaries for worthy Party members without any obligation to work.
- (7m) They cursed them every month, because of the member-

ship dues deducted from the salaries.

- (8) At the beginning, up to 1951-52, perhaps 30 - 35 %. After 1952, 5 - 8 % was the maximum.
- (9) This is an error. The DISZ was never a centre of the resistance. As I have said, there was no such a thing as DISZ but in the file-cards and in the dues' collecting. That youngsters went to a building which had the inscription of DISZ, in order that they could dance there and learn boogie-woogie, therefore they were not necessarily Communist youths. When the Revolution came, the buildings and the freedom fighters' association armories were at hand and had been used, but one should not mistake the paraphernalia for the essence of things.
- (10) The fundamental axis of the terror was the systematically created dependency on the state and insecurity of life. Its pillar and corner-stone was the army of Party members and informers organized against the nation by the distribution of favours and advantages for them.
- (10a) Everybody has felt it, because everybody was afraid.
- (10b) It was organized for the reason which Orwell expressed the following way: "A fanatic minority needs an armed and well-paid army of brigands, in order to be able to maintain its power in the face of the will of the

people. Its duties were threefold:

- 1) informative,
- 2) administrative,
- 3) provocative.

They had to know about everything and everybody. They had to take rigorous retaliatory measures in the right moment and to organize through their agents rumours, moods, counter-moods among the people, or tactically important exposures. Besides these, they had been prepared and ready for all activities which in a Western country would have certainly merited for them capital punishment.

Example: Under No.118 - 138 of Vörös Hadséreg útja (Street of the Red Army) under 7 blocks of private villas, there was built a 4-5 storeys high, underground establishment. It had been equipped with the newest Siemens, Brown-Boveri, Telefunken,^{and}/Grundig machinery for monitoring, recording, signaling, and disconnecting. The talks going on between foreign embassies and legations, and who knows how many other ~~xxx~~ telephone lines could be controlled and recorded here.

Völgy Street 68: The eye can see only four barracks from outside, but inside on four storeys there is one of the most modern printing establishments. Any kind of money, documents, passports, stamps, official papers, seals and signatures could be counterfeited here.

(During the Revolution I had been inside both of these

establishments, walking through with bulging eyes, hardly able to believe all that I saw.)

Maros Street 8-10: Finance ~~department~~ department of the State Security Organs (AVH). At ist building I participated as a member of the transport section of the building company Várpólota 31/2. It has four storeys underground. At the bottom ~~there are 22~~ there are 22 single cells, in the middle there is a dissecting room; above this there is a concrete room of 65 m² extension, which was marked on the plan as a rifle-range. It was isolated at the bottom and at the ceiling by bitumen and asbestos. Above this seven isolated and by 80 cm wide walls seperated 5 x 4 m sized rooms, covered by wood and glass-wool. On the plan it was called laboratory. ^{On the} ~~The~~ last floor below the ground-floor were 4 rooms, which had been on the plan as store-rooms. (If I remember correctly the secret code number of the plan of this building was G-57.) Above ground there were four floors planned as regular office building. There were three interesting things as far as the installation work was concerned: 60 KW high-voltage electric current, high-pressure pipelines towards the lower floors, and the so-called wave-filter isolation of the walls at the entire second floor above the ground. It was interesting that after the installation works of the plumbing of the building, the entire team of workers has been relieved. Who came after us, I do not know. According

to my knowledge, this building was the only one during the Revolution which , because of its electrically protected, solid steel doors, charged with high-voltage electricity, the people were not able to open. (Behind the beech-wood doors, which you could see from the street, there have been heavy steel doors, reminding one of the safes of the big banks.)

The Party building in the second borough on Statistsika Park, has also a four-storey underground prison, just like every other Party building in the capital city. I was present, when on October 28th, 42 prisoners had been brought up from there, of whom 17 had been in single cells and have just learned that they were not in Russia. Their guards had been Russians.

(10c) I have my bitter experience only of three departments: The department of ecclesiastical affairs, the department of press policy, and the department of control of the unreliable elements.

Not of my own experience, but I know from sources which I regard as reliable that besides these there had been a so-called V-Department, which was responsible for the files of the members of government and the leaders of the the Party. Then, there was a T₁-T₂ Department, which has collected informations on the leading scholars and scientists and I heard about the so-called K-Department, which has controlled the steps of the foreign diplomatic personnel.

(10d) They had painfully exact files on everybody who had been only by a hair's breadth more important than the low average. At given time, if they needed some information about some group or section, or if they sensed some danger from some quarter, they would look up their files and would select a person or rather several persons, who had some vulnerable point due to their existential needs or moral life. These people then were arrested on the street, coming from their homes or going home in the evening, or had been lured by^a/phony telephone call in to the trap of the Secret Police. At the headquarters, the unfortunate victims were shown the documents and were given to be understood their complete moral, social, or positional ruin. With excellent psychological sense they would leave the victim with this fact revealed to him alone in a room in an intentionally prepared fear-installing environment and atmosphere, giving him one meal daily, but without saying him a word. During this time, in the neighbouring rooms they conduct so-called "tickling"-hearings, so that the lonely man could hear the noise of the beatings, the savage howling, and the heart-breaking cries and screams. After a certain time, unexpectedly, usually during the night, a well-dressed polite, well-mannered man would step in, who would close the door behind himself with a key, sit down opposite the prisoner and ask him, whispering confi-

dentially! "I hope, you understand that I cannot speak aloud. Why are you here? Do you want to smoke? Tell me, aren't you hungry? I forgot to eat my lunch, I just remember, I still have it here in my pocket!" The patient usually gladly listened to the friendly voice and, because he really did not know why he was there and under the influence of the loneliness of the environment and his nerve-wrecking fear, he would really believe in the good will of his visitor. The latter, before he left, whispered once more to the prisoner: "I will try to help you!"

The prisoner was left alone for another two days. Then, in the most unexpected moment, five men would break into his cell. They would shower him with unbelievable accusations and - knowing his previous life from their records - they would tell him such possible probabilities, accompanied by shouts and smacks in his face, which he well knows that in the system and, exactly against the AVH, no lawyer could ever clear him of. After a few hours, he would be left alone again, only to be ready to receive the good man, who would come now with a bottle of rum in his pocket. Anyone who had a little less than enough strength of character, has drunk out the rum and, within half an hour, almost unconsciously signed a statement, in which out of patriotic duty and of conscious love for the people, he would offer freely and in the interest of the

victory of socialism, his services for the "iron fist" of the working people, namely the AVH. And when he awoke to his conscience, he had already a code letter and number, the fee was fixed according to the individual cases, and he had in his pocket the grant of his most favourite wish, which he betrayed during his drunkenness. (In the Lunatic Asylum of Lipótmező, the No.2 closed section had more than thirty active patients suffering from paranoia and fear complexes, who had been mentally ruined in the way described above.) From the moment when somebody was thus recruited for the AVO, he had to meet twice or three times weekly his "caretaker and instructor" and hand him over the written report about all those questions he was instructed to find out at the previous meeting. I know of several who had committed suicide, several who had told everybody that they should not speak with them, because they were informers of the AVO, and also I know of such, who have conspired with the people or group, whom they should have watched and, on the basis of the philosophical law of half-truths, have entirely misled the AVH. There were many organized informers, but the practice has proved that very few could or did give exact information.

To their most effective methods belonged the induction of their patients into indulging in harmful passions. This could be alcohol, drugs, women, or

gambling. I know of two cases, who have received from their AVO ~~xxxxxx~~ caretaker foreign exchange to be sold on the black market. In whichever form the unfortunate fell into the trap, he became morally dead. I hold in my own hand a prescription, given by the AVO to somebody, for 25 m' morphium to be delivered by the drug-store of the hospital on Kútvölgy Street. I heard from doctors also about dolantine, cocaine, and opium. (Respondent's brother was and is a leading physician in Budapest.) Women had been trained and drilled by similar methods to become slaves and obedient instruments of the AVO.

The agents provocateurs belonged to the organisational body of the AVH. This job, especially in Budapest, has carried with it constant life-danger. They had to have arms and papers in their pockets. (We had very good ears. The people of Budapest have quickly recognized the intention and there was always a young worker or a tough, rough man, who would lay down such a big mouth on the asphalt.) I heard also about anonymous denouncers, but later it always turned out that they were not anonymous at all.

(10e) I do not know anything official or reliable about this matter.

(10f) Those whom I have known, came from the society of uninhibited rowdies and from the intellectual Jews. Their age was between 28 and 35.

- (10g) They have enjoyed extraterritoriality, freedom of action without fear of responsibility, total freedom of movement and speech, and everywhere and in any situation limitless financial assistance and absolute independence of the administrative organs.
- (10h) Yes, except if the fall of his boss ~~at the Ministry of Interior~~ or of the Minister of Interior or of the Party secretary plunged his confidential service-men together with himself.
- (10i) The best description would be: The hypnotizer and the hypnotized.
- (10k) The Party was the AVH and the AVH was the Party. The Party has controlled the AVH and the AVH has controlled the Party. The power was in the hands of the Hungarian section of the Soviet MVD.
- (10l) Yes. I met Sándor Kopácsy in the middle of August 1956. I do not know about his fate.
- (11) Yes, I myself and all my close friends for longer or shorter periods.
- (11a) The arrest of my best friend and cousin, the Roman Catholic priest, whom I mentioned already. On December 16th, 1953, in the night 1:30 a.m., the bell rang at his room in the parish of Tabán. A middle-aged woman called on him and asked him to go along with her to her dying mother and bring along the last sacraments. (Since the Mindszenty affair, they have never taken

away a priest directly from the parish house, lest the believers should learn about it immediately and get upset.) He followed the woman to one of the ~~XXXXX~~ farthest streets of the parish district where, at the said house, he was awaited not by a dying, but by the AVO car and two detectives. He succeeded in taking to himself the Blessed Sacrament in the moment when he realized the situation, but the Holy Oil and the other holy objects were taken away from him by one of the detectives and thrown into the sewer. I am quoting word to word the remarks of this detective, as my cousin told me: "Adja ide azt a varázszacskót, ne büzőlje be tömjénszaggal a kocsinkat." ("Give me that magic bag, don't make our car stinking of incense.")

- (11b) The daughter of Iare Waldbauer, who died not long ago, as the concert maestro of the ^{Philadelphia} ~~Philharmonic~~ Orchestra, went to the US legation, in order to ask a visa to visit her father. She was, however, prevented to enter the legation at its gate in Hold Street by a car, which ran up to the side-walk. She was pulled into the car and we did not see her for 3 1/2 years, until she returned from the internment camp in Kistarcsa.
- A friend of mine, an engineer, who was lying in bed with a serious pneumonia, was arrested at 2:30 a.m. He was virtually dragged out of his bed, permitted only to put on a pair of trousers and a smoking-jacket and was thrown into the AVO car. We never saw him again. Half

a year later, his wife received a package with the trousers and the smoking-jacket and a bill for 3.400 forints for the maintenance and medical expenses.

I myself was taken away by ~~xxx~~ a car, which has been hiding under the bridge of the Nagyhíd Viaduct, when I was coming from my home from Hűvösvölgy. That happened on May 27th 1948.

- (11c) I know. A friend of mine, Catholic priest, was arrested in July 1951. In October he was transferred as a physical wreck to the priestly hospital on Széker Street. He had to stand opposite the wall through four days, without being permitted to sit down for a minute. Afterwards he had been taken to a room with two bath-tubs, one containing steaming hot water and the other icy cold water. He was submerged alternately in one and the other. Afterwards he was put in a cell lighted by four Jupiter-lamps, where he could lay down on a bunk. but every three quarters of an hour, he had to report to the guard, in order to ascertain that he was awake. If he failed to do that, he was kicked up by the guard.

Father Jenő Kerkai, Jesuit sociologist and well-known youth organizer, was led to a "walk", blindfolded and his ears stuffed with waxed cotton, every two hours. According to his description, usually down in some stairs, then through some courtyard, then, according to his feeling in some place where the boilers were,

since it was very hot there and so on and so forth. He was given food once in a day in such a way that he was handed a piece of bread, then from his one ear the plug was removed and he was told that they thought of him as an intelligent man, who could find his water by himself. (According to Kerkai: "This was the most wonderful and the most concentrated spiritual exercise in my life. There were only God and me.") Kerkai was then released, after half a year he was re-arrested and my last ^{news} /of him was that he was serving his sentence in the Vác penitentiary, where he was gluing paper bags and, as we knew from a person released from there, who was working with the Father in the same brigade, he is holding - spriritual exercises.

Generally, people with high intellectual powers, were seldom beaten, they were tortured in different ways, e.g. one of our most excellent linguist and artistic translators, who stood very close to the Communist ideology, became somehow involved in the Rajk affair. For weeks he had to sit 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. on a bench, without a back, but a 25 degree angle of inclination, so that his feet could not reach the floor. He received enough to eat, enough to drink, only he had to sit there motionless and nobody would say to him a word.

(11d) Until the end of 1951, the class aliens, the clericals, people with connections abroad, and the social-democratic intellectuals.

(11e) This question shows lack of factual knowledge. The hazbizalmi and tömbbizalmi could - due to their office - visit any apartment without invitation. They had been the feelers of the AVH built into the district councils. The AVH has learned through them, what was the daily programme of a marked man, who is going to him, and when he is certainly at home. (On October 28th 1956, in the morning, I met the tömbbizalmi of my former home in Széphalor Street. He admitted with humble self-criticism that in 1948, the AVH has learned from him the time when I returned from my vacation, which I have spent in Szabolcs.)

(11f) In no way. We knew it for sure that three of our colleagues had been in the prison of Pestvidék. Somebody was just released from there, who met these three when they were brought in. Still, the administration of the prison answered the request of their mothers and wives in the following way: "We are very sorry, we do not have these names on our records."

It was two weeks by some, six months by others, after which they have permitted the notification of his family and they could send him once a week a so-called "hygienic" package, which could contain clean underwear, soap, toothpaste, and a towel. Visits were allowed only after the sentence was pronounced and three months of the prison term was already served. Afterwards, monthly one from 10 minutes to half an

hour, in the reception room of the jail or internment camp the prisoner could meet his family behind barbed wires and in the presence of a guard. However, if somebody had enough money, he could find out about the whereabouts of the prisoner earlier and take up connections with him through the services of middle-men, the so-called "kijáró ügyvédek", whom I have mentioned already in connection with the previous question. All this, of course, in the more fortunate cases, let us say in the 60 % of the arrests. The others simply disappeared without a trace.

- (11g) I know. There were so-called "public" prisons, as e.g. the Pestvidéki and the Markó. To this category belong also the prisons at the county centres and the so-called penal institutions of the Ministry of Justice. Only those people were brought to these places, whose fate was already decided by the "independent Hungarian Judiciary". The so-called preliminary arrests could take place in any of the AVH headquarters in the country or, as I have mentioned already, in any of the prisons installed under the Party headquarters. The person under arrest - with very few exceptions - never knew where he was. The great concentration and forced labour camps could be found - with the exception of Kistarcsa, Recsk, Öskü, Péti, Dunabogdány, and a few others - in the neighbourhood of the "great constructions of Socialism".

(11h) The district and local councils, with the help of the házbizalmi and tömbbizalmi, at the beginning of 1950, have set up files on persons considered unreliable from the point of view of the state security. Around the middle of May 1951, an order was issued dealing with the future fate of such persons. "A Népi Demokrata-tikus Allam rendjének, termelő erejének, és Dolgozó Népünk nyugalmanak biztosítása érdekében végrehajtandó globális ellenőrző és nevelő intézkedés." ("Global controlling and educating measures, which have to be executed in order to secure the order and the productive force of the People's Democratic State and the peace of our working population.")

The execution of the deportation was left to the district and local administrative authorities. The persons notified were given from 4 - 24 hours' time of preparation. They could take along 15 - 50 kg of personal belongings to the village, which was assigned to them as their new habitation. Transportation was taken care of by the trucks of the AVH.

The history of the deportations would merit a serious study. I would like to say only so much that from July 1951 to the next year, about 60 % of the older and weaker section of the deportees had perished. In the spring of 1956, the deportees were rehabilitated and they could return to their former place of living.

- (12a) First time in May 1948, second time in the fall of 1950.
- (12b) The question is wrong. The charge was given to the accused only five or ten days before the trial. Up to that time he did not have the slightest idea, why he was in jail. During the questioning, one was asked the most unexpected questions about all possible subjects under the sky. It should be kept clear that nobody was ~~xxx~~ convicted because of the real cause why he was arrested and why his elimination from the society seemed to be desirable by the AVH. The accusation was usually based on half-truths, but constructed on entirely invented phantasy.
- (12c) The investigation has taken place much earlier than the arrest was effected.
- (12d) First time, I was taken to Andrassy Street 60. The second time: Even to-day, I do not know where I was.
- (12e) My daily food was: In the morning half a litre of black coffee with a slice of bread. At noon time, soup with a slice of bread; in the evening, tea. We knew that our time for questioning arrived, when somebody has received meat and vegetables independently from the others.
- (12f) In May 1948, I was ~~was~~ kept for three days in a private cell. Then, during the night, I was taken up^{to}/an office room, where four AVO have waited for me. I was ordered to squat and, in that position, I was questioned for

about two hours, then I had to lie flat on my belly on a couch and they beat me with sandbag-truncheons on my spine and around my kidneys. Afterwards, I had to take off my shoes and my shirt, and if I could not or did not answer any question of theirs, they stepped on my feet or pressed their burning cigarette butts into my naked upper body.

In 1950, I was no more manhandled this way, but I had to stand first for 48 hours and three days after, for 67 hours, motionless, turned toward the wall between two guards, who were periodically relieved and exchanged.

(At the ~~end~~ end of February 1948, my physician brother has thoroughly examined me and found that, in spite of the German concentration camp, my health was in satisfactory condition. In 1951, he diagnosed a comparatively serious myocardial degeneration with leftward inclination.)

(Respondent has shown his bare back to the interviewer. It is covered by scars and the knots resulting from broken bones can be seen and touched.)

I got the creeps when they told me about my ways prepared in the greatest secrecy and quoted my words which I have uttered in the company of only four or five absolutely reliable friends of mine. In spite of all my investigations afterwards, I never learned where they got all this information from and who was the informer among us. It is only natural that afterwards I never

spoke with anybody, except if I knew the person intimately for at least the last ten years and only if we could speak completely alone the two of us.

(12h) I was not sentenced, I was set free, but kept under police surveillance - I had to report twice weekly for three and a half years - the idea being, according to my conviction, that sooner or later I will lead them to the traces of such people whom they were looking for. (Suspecting this, from the beginning of 1949, I avoided the meeting with anybody, except of my cousin, who has belonged to my former circle of friends.)

(12o) The hygienic care of the prisons consisted of chloride of lime and DDT. Often, if they wanted to break down somebody's willpower morally, - they have done it with me for fourteen days - they would not let him out from his cell and when, not being able any longer to resist the natural functions of his body, he soiled the floor of the cell, he had to clean it up with his bare hands.

(12p) Depriving somebody of his meals, solitary confinement, baths. (There were cases, where somebody had to sit for three days in water.)

(12t) I did not ask for it. I was summoned to the Party (in the Báthory Street headquarters) and I was told that they would rehabilitate me.

(12u) I was re-admitted to the Union of Journalists, I could live again in Budapest legally, my kader-card was torn

to pieces before my eyes and in the official writ of my rehabilitation, the former accusations levelled against me were called unjust and untrue and having formed a part of the terroristic persecution against me and: "The Rehabilitating Committee is recommending you to the proper authorities and requesting a two-room apartment with every modern comfort for you and you will receive an indemnity of 55.000 forints for your loss of income since the cessation of your job in 1948 until September 1th 1956." I did not get a penny and then the Revolution broke out.

- (13) Only one: Never and nowhere should he say any opinion about anything; he should do his job; he should avoid any acquaintances with unknown women, however charming and interesting they seem to be; he should go very little to public places of recreation and amusement; he should not correspond with people abroad; he should speak about his thoughts only with his friends, known to him from head to foot and, even with them, only between four walls and tête-à-tête.
- (13a) There is such; e.g. a fisherman working alone on his own on the Danube. Or somebody who has reliable friends and is working at some representation abroad.
- (13b) If somebody has enemies, nothing can help.
- (13c) That is always useful. Still, the most secure connection remains, if somebody has the opportunity to

establish a confidential relationship with one of the non- Party, but from the point of view of the state, existentially important star of the arts or scholarship or sciences, who has international reputation. (Zoltán Kodály, Dr. László Simonyi, the professor of the Institute for Atomic Research, and a few other similarly famous men have saved literally hundreds of people from the consequences of unjust and false accusations by their immense ~~power~~ prestige and courageous stand.)

(13d) It helps, but only if the person is loyal to the Party. On the other hand the Party was just as generous to Princess Odescalchi, who has been for years Rákosi's confidential secretary. Not the origin, but the service is what counts!

(13e) Even the priests of the "church of Lenin" can be bought with money and money offered for the benefit of the state can work miracles. Entire families, among them people who counted as "criminals opposing the People's Democratic State order", have received passports and the green light for escape.

(13f) Not always. Sometimes silence is interpreted as inimical attitude.

(13g) I can state, out of my ~~own~~ conviction based on numerous objective experiences that the Roman Catholic church and people with Catholic ideology are the worst enemies from the point of view of the Bolsheviks. Therefore, in their political philosophy, these have

to be persecuted by the state ex officio.

(14) From October 1948 up to the death of Stalin, the graphic curve of terror has been steadily rising. For four weeks after the death of Stalin, there was the wildest terror - the terror of the insecurity. From May 1953, it ~~was~~ receded steadily and ended in Imre Nagy's government. From February 1955 to August, the AVH has succeeded in re-establishing its terror régime again. From that time on, it receded more and more, went over to the Party line, in other lines the informers' activities were stepped ^{up} ~~up~~, but only such informative work was done intensively. (It has to be noted here that this time, after ten years of practice, already even people with average intellectual capacities, have recognized from far away or at the first question, the people of the AVH.

(14a) The first lasted from April 1948 to February 1949, the second from September 1950 to August 1951, the third from January 1955 to May 1955.

(14b) In 1953 was the beginning of the ^{defection} ~~dissemination~~ of the Communist intelligentsia from the Party.

(14c) In 1955, the AVH because of the insecurity caused by serious schism and struggles going on within the Party, tried to save its position, probably on the instructions received from the Russians. They did not dare any more to do arrests, but they tried to approach

many intellectuals through their agents, in order to recruit them as new informers by letting them know the compromising data which the AVH had in its files about them. This period was perhaps one of the most beautiful times of the awakening self-consciousness of the nation. Szabad Nép, Esti Budapest, and even the Radio in a comic lecture - not to mention the open conversations on the street and in society - have publicized many cases where the person approached has simply kicked out the AVO.

- (15) The Hungarians were the sheep and the Soviet Union was the shepherd.
- (15a) In Moscow, about what should be done and in Hungary, about how.
- (15b) From 1954, I had a few, very well-informed Communist friends, who had been at confidential positions, but that time, already in opposition to the Party.
- (15c) In that policy of execution, which the Communist leaders have done out of fear and concern for their own power in the face of their/^{own}radically different judgment and opinion revealed to some of his friends. (I consider the following as a reliable account, since the person who told me, at the time of the building of the underground system in Budapest and the great works of ~~Stalin~~város, has belonged to the confidential circle of Rákosi. According to him, seeing the plans

for these establishments, Rákosi has shaken his head and his voice full of misgivings, said: "These are ^{plans} ~~grandiose plans~~, but such ^{which} ~~plans~~ even with a little obstacle in the way, with a little miscalculation, ~~they~~ can ruin us.")

- (15d) With only one; in February 1948, in the Ministry of Agriculture. I was receiving an interview from the Minister, Károly Bárányos, for my paper when the "Russian" - because he was called only by this name - entered. He was a polite man, who spoke very well Hungarian. He just came to the ministry two weeks before the time of my interview there and five weeks after, the great "anti-state conspiracy" of the Ministry of Agriculture has exploded.
- (15e) It was the most pronounced in those fields of production which were the most important for the Soviet Union, that is in the agriculture, in the metallurgical industry, in the nitro-chemical industry, and in the heavy machinery industry. The weakest was in the field of public administration; that was delegated to the ~~XXXX~~ colonial vice-government of Hungary.
- (15f) The answer is contained already in the previous question. Besides this, according to the changing situation at the so-called "centre of gravity" places. (Súlyponti munkák). On the other hand, in the army they could be found everywhere.

- (16) After people have somewhat recovered from the initial fear caused by the terror, they would tell about themselves things - as self-criticism, perfectly in the Party line ("pártszerű fogalmazásban") - which were hurting very much. In three years' time one was able to recognize from far away people with whom you could speak and those with whom you could not. Two ^{themes} ~~themes~~ were absolutely and deadly forbidden: The fact of Soviet oppression and ~~that~~ that the Party is lying. It would cause also immediate retaliation, if somebody would have dared to tell that the workers were exploited. From 1953, the workers began to speak quite openly and from 1954, their example was followed by everybody within the limits of sanity.
- (17) All official orders were all the time violated pro and contra. It was a question of connections, money, smartness, or courage and determination. Contacts were built out through the years, money could be found through connections with people in the great building projects and great business companies, and finally, if somebody with sober circumspection, but courageously dared to be a smart man, he could solve many things.
- (18) The strength of the system was the Soviet power, its weakness was the system itself.

- (19) The Communist seizure of power which took place after thorough preparation by the Party between April and August 1948, has caught the Hungarian people unexpectedly by surprise. It was such a hard hit and it was done with such an onslaught by deliberately lifting the bans before all irresponsible careerist "Lumpenproletariat", who could be won for everything, since it did not have any moral senses, that the nation became dazed for 2-3 years, like one who has lost ~~consciousness~~ ^(consciousness) ~~consciousness~~. There was some dissent and grumbling; there were smaller or greater passive groups, but the terror and the cloak, which was let loose, has flooded and suppressed everything. The only real resistance, as it is well-known to everybody, was the Catholic Church, which has lost in this battle practically all its first-rate fighters. The middle class, the more valuable parts of the peasantry, and the intellectuals in the free professions have proved their bankruptcy in these first years. Why? This is probably one of the most important moments: For the simple reason that for years they have looked upon the events as hypnotised, as seeing a nightmare, which they simply could not believe. After all, Hungary was for 900 years a European and a Christian country. Now, between our whole ideology and education, which was based on Christian and European human ideals and on certain principles of morality, and the flood of lies and common gangsterism, which was now professed

by the state authorities and promoted by arms, courts, and the press, there was such a phantastic contradiction that this had to be first somehow grasped, realized, understood, and explored in all its aspects.

The renowned novelist, Sándor Márai, said to his friends a few days before his escape from Hungary: "Boys, I feel like somebody who went to sleep in a suite of the Waldorf-Astoria and is waking up next morning in the jungles of Brazil with the painful sensation that the water-rats are gnawing in his flesh."

- (19b) No group was able to oppose the régime.
- (19c) Those who have lost any moral standing in the society through their own faults and now serving the new system and making good money without work, could revenge themselves on the society for their grievances, which was actually their own making. And also those who have believed that the system will be able to remedy their just grievances.
- (19d) Between 1953 and 1955, did we recover slowly our consciousness and in that period was formed that spiritual attitude of the nation which finally erupted in the Revolution of 1956.
- (19e) It grew from day to day.
- (19f) It was a personal business of the individual. Those who are speaking about groups are either dreaming or lying.

- (19g) Yes, this was already a group, but this group could count for about seventy percent of the Party intellectuals, in other words, of its leading stratum in all positions.
- (19h) I know about this only so much that the army - with the exception of very few - in case of war would have been not the bulwark, but the mine in the Warsaw Pact.
- (19i) It was, but they have begun to organize seriously only at the beginning of 1956.
- (19j) See Irodalmi Újság.
- (19k) I want to answer this question with the words of a shop-foreman in the shipyards of Obuda, who explained to me a fact - which actually Rákosi has mentioned twice himself in his speech during the March Resolution - in the following words: "Listen to me Joe (Szaki), they are the biggest asses, when they say that the sabotage is organized. Everybody is doing sabotage. I am an old Social-Democrat. Do you know, what it means "spontaneous sabotage" ("öntevékeny szabotázs")? And in addition, it's very useful and lucrative. Copper is needed for the ships destined for the Soviet Union? Plated sheets will be good enough for them! The copper will be sold to the small foundries. I do it and my colleagues do it, often without saying a word to each other."
- (19l) Every trauma, according to the laws of traumatology, sooner or later will erupt in action.
- (19m) (Note: Respondent was recommended for a "B" Interview

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"A" INTERVIEW

SECTION "G"

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on the intellectual ferment preceding the Revolution
of 1956),

- (1) After 1948, the two most reliable sources of news had been the bulletins released by the British and the US embassies. Up to 1951, they appeared daily and were distributed through an organized distribution service free of charge. Most of the distributors had been ⁱⁿ arrested/1951.

Besides these, the Hungarian news broadcasts of the Western countries. Among these the most up-to-date was Voice of America, the most objective, BBC. The broadcasts of the ~~XXXX~~ Radio Free Europe, had been frequently contradicted by BBC.

- (1a) The most important was the British Home Service.
(1b) After that the 6 p.m. and midnight news of AFN Munich and after that its Hungarian language news broadcasts.

- (2) From 1949 to 1953, I was preoccupied with work and with looking for work. I had no time to read newspapers. It was not worth either. I read usually weekly once the Sunday number of Szabad Nép, because out of that I could see exactly the Party line of that week. As far as weekly and monthly periodical literature is concerned, I have read only scientific magazines, e.g. the Természettudományi Közlöny, Orvosi Hetilap, Erdő és Vad Gazdálkodás, and when I could get hold of it, the Digest. This latter I usually read at the reading room of the British and the US Embassies. Sometimes, in one or the other editorial offices I could see the "Neue

Zürcher Zeitung", Die Tat and the Weltwoche. At the editorial office of Magyar Nemzet one could find twice a week the New York Herald Tribune and the Paris Soir.

- (2e) In all places of work there had to be a wall newspaper, but this was prepared only because it had to be and was renewed usually only at the time of official control visits, when the six months old and worn out news had been removed and replaced with the relatively new ones.
- (2g) See under (2).
- (2j) I saw some of the leaflets sent by the balloons of Radio Free Europe. This was at my place of work in the Cserhát and in the Bakony mountains. There was no other illegal printed material up to 1954.
- (3) I did not get to the theaters neither to the movies. I have not seen one movie or theatrical performance from 1948 to January 1956.
- (4) Very much. I used this time to re-read the Greek and ~~Roman~~ Roman classics and to make a thorough study of ancient philosophy. Thus, I have read from the Iliad and Odyssey to the Breviary of Epictetus and from the Ethics of Aristotle to the Summa Theologica of St. Thomas, everything available.
- Volume by volume all the works of Huxley. Through the kindness of the Piarist fathers, I learned about Graham Green and his works. Together with my cousin, we trans-

lated Orwell's "1984" and Huxley's "Ape and essence".
My steady companions have been the Missale Romanum,
Madách's "The Tragedy of Man, and the Ballads of Arany.

- (4e) Berzsenyi, Vörösmarty, Arany, Gyula Juhász, Attila
József; Huxley, Green, Steinbeck, Thornton Wilder,
Chesterton, and Paul Claudel; Gyula Krúdy and Jókai.
Why? Because only this way could one remain an "Athenian
in Sparta".

- (4g) The public libraries, especially in the villages, have
been - with the exception of a few Gárdonyis and in
false covers hiding Márai's and Sándor Török's volumes,
which have been smuggled in by some honest teachers -
just murderous trash, happily not read at all.

- (5) For the Radio the same answer applies as to the news-
papers. One has listened only to the announcements of
the Party and of the government and that only because
of sober self-defence.

- (6a-d) See under (1).

- (6e) They did not punish it as such, they always found some
other title by which they could revenge it. (At the
same time the clerks of the construction direction in
Sztálinváros have listened to Radio Free Europe in the
morning, at noon-time, and in the evenings. In the club-
room of the power-station at Ajka, the Party secretary
has taken upon himself the role of the "hírfelölös" =

responsible for the news. Foreign news could be listened to only in his presence, because this way even the shadow of suspicion was avoided. The motto was: "Watch out, the secretary-"szaki" is not here yet!" In 1953, if there was no stranger present, the workers were dancing in the evening to music from AFN Munich in Ajka. The Party secretary was before an unskilled worker at the power station and he kept his ~~loyalty~~ loyalty to his fellow workers to this extent.

(7) From the end of 1953, the best and most reliable source of information was a number of the internal contributors to Szabad Nép, which has been already in a process of ferment. One could find out from them the true situation in Moscow and at the same time, the excellent summaries of the Western news, prepared by the official news service of the Party.

(7d) There were lots of rumours circulating all the time. The best illustration is that almost classic greeting in Pest: "Tell me some good news, never mind if it's not true!" (Any former inmate of prison or internment camp, or person who had been in preliminary arrest, can testify to the miraculous fact that the inmates of such institutions had always better, more reliable, and objective information about the situation than people living outside in comparatively more freedom. I do not know why this was so, but this is a fact.)

- (7g) There had been, e.g. the district physicians, the barbers working around the institutions of the Party, a few first-class dentists in Budapest, and in the country, the old waiters of a few first class restaurants.
- (7h) The workers in the liquor-shops. In the state offices there was always a so-called "duma szoba", a room for intimate conversation. The intellectuals, on the other hand, mostly among themselves between four walls; the peasants in the villages have gone to one of their wine-cellars, where only the invited guests were allowed to enter.
- (7i) There is, but there are no more discussions, only communication of experiences, "tapasztalat átadás".
- (8a) There was no reliable newspaper, but if somebody learned how to read between the lines, Magyar Nemzet was good for a while and also the Béke és Szabadság.
- (8c) The press was directed and the news service was according to the Party line, "pártos" news service.
- (8de) See under (8a).
- (8f) I started to read Irodalmi Ujság at the end of 1954. Before that time, I have seen only a few numbers of it. It was lying miserably. The most interesting period in the development of Irodalmi Ujság, is between June 1954 to September 1955. These numbers, to a person who can read, are the most excellent documents on the

psychology of the ferment and development.

(8g) From September 1954, every day. For a brain which had the power of combination and interpretation, from this time - excepting a few short lived relapses (due to the fluctuation ⁱⁿ ~~xx~~ the strength of power of Oszkár Bethlen) - it was an excellent paper.

(8h) I was editor of it.

(9) For this, I want to give only one example. When I was working as a driller, I had been in about 85 villages, in all parts of the country within a year. For example, in Lörinci (Máttra Power Station), Tiszafüred, Tiszapalkonya, Szolnok-Külsőváros, Berente (Borsód Power Station), Ajka, Bonyhád, etc. In all these places, you could seldom hear the intermission sign of Radio Budapest sound from the open windows, but all the time, openly and without any shame, the clarinet sign of Radio Free Europe was loudly rising in the air. This fact proves that everybody was trying to be well-informed. (I was present once on a meeting called together to discuss better production. The Communist Party secretary, who presided over the meeting, unintentionally betrayed himself as having listened the night before to the Radio Free Europe broadcast.)

- (10a) This has finished the Second World War. However, I would have never dared to take the moral responsibility for this act upon myself.
- (10b) The question is one-sided. The first step of aggression was unquestionably started by the Soviets, but the situation was brought to the point of explosion by the power struggle of both, the West and the East.
- (10c) With ~~the~~ an elementary knowledge of the physical sciences, anybody could see through of that mystery story constructed for the stupid masses. It was the greatest impossibility, which will remain a "cause célèbre" in the cultural history of human stupidity. The Soviet documentation has shown, inter alia, an insect with kitin-hull as the spreading insect of the American bacteria. Anybody who has ever studied some entomology knows that the kitin-covered insects have phosphoric acid secretion which kills off, ab ovo, all spore, bacteria, and even viruses.
- (10d) I never took it seriously, because I had informations about the development of the Western German psyche toward pacifism.
- (10e) At the time when I was a driller, I have found such myself. They were prepared with little skill and with saddening lack of knowledge of the real situation in Hungary. I thought of it as irresponsible demagoguery. Even so, it was better than nothing. It kept us believing that the West is caring for us.

- (10f) We have known everything about it. Its suppression has sown into our souls the first doubts about the action potential and the reliability of the West.
- (10g) I knew enough about it, but in Hungarian eyes Geneva was always a "gitt-egyilet" (An untranslatable term. It means a "children's play association, which busies itself with unimportant or irrelevant matters".) and it remained such.
- (10h) We did not care about them. Their ideas and goals have been long ago by-passed by the rapidly changing time?

- (1) The whole system should be changed.
- (1a) The new system which I am thinking of, would contain quite a few things based on similar ideas, but entirely different in execution.
- (1b) People approve of the general, popular insurance system, of the land reform, of the enlargement of popular education, to a great extent^{of} the just normalisation of the excessive social and material differences, of the possibility of success independently of any cast system, of the appreciation of the workers, who have played an important role in the branches which are contributing to the equilibrium of the production of the state, and of making available for everybody the cultural possibilities. But, we were able only to approve of these ideas and principles, but not of the practice, because, in fact, that was almost ^{nowhere} ~~XXXXX~~ and non-existent.
- (2) Undoubtedly.
- (2ab) In this part of the world, it is to-day yet unimaginable. We have learned that those policies, which have been built on anti-human philosophy, are similar to the epidemic spreading insects. We have to use desinfectors against them. It is not right, because it is violating the human freedom, but anybody would be crazy who would let a leper come among his children.
- (3) I am convinced believer in the freedom of speech.

- (3cd) If the government is working honestly and justly, any insulting or oppositional voice would become ab ovo ridiculous. And if the government is bad, in spite of all inhibition and punishment, everybody will speak about it.
- (4) If we succeeded in making incapable of germinating the dangerous epidemics, meetings will serve only to further clarify issues; therefore they will be good.
- (4a) If the government is bad, the government should fall.
- (4b) In one case: If the government of a system is anti-human and anti-society, and if this government, i.e. system, is upheld by armed terror. (Note: Even in this case, only then if there is no hope whatsoever that the sober societies could intervene in order to end the anti-human measures.)
- (5) Hungary can only become viable again, if free enterprise and free competition - kept in a sober equilibrium by appropriate taxation - will serve as the basis for sound economy.
- (6) Yes. The basic materials and productions and their distribution, which are of existential importance from the point of view of production and of the sociology of a country, cannot depend on the business interests of certain individuals.

- (6b) The finishing industry has to be left in the hands of private ~~indiv~~ individuals. The reason for this is the fact that only free competition can secure the most important demand on industrial production, namely the reliable and solid quality.
- (6c) Yes. Without seeing the results of somebody's work and without the possibility of getting ahead and succeed through his own ability and work, labour will lose its meaning for the individual.
- (6d) The private bank, if it is serving the public good within the state.
- (6e) Yes. I think that the practice of the Roman Empire is still right. There, according to the doctrine of Claudius: "The bread and the oil, the wine and the life-beautifying fruits cannot be left to disappear in the sacks of the profit-seekers."
- (6f) Outside the monopoly of the basic needs of life, everything else.
- (6g) The commercial monopolies have killed the Hungarian economy.
- (7) See under previous questions.
- (8) There is no state without some planning of its economy, but it is a utopia to plan more than a year ahead, especially in the field of agriculture. However, there has to be a planned policy, which should be formed in

perfect knowledge of the situation with fundamental training in national economy, with great elasticity and the art of balancing. Everything else has proved its bankruptcy enough in the Soviet sphere.

- (8c) Keeping the economic possibilities of the state before the eyes, to those agricultural and industrial products, which can be fit profitably into a geographical unity or into the frames of an economic union.
- (8d) Demand and supply, never anything else.
- (9) The state has the right of interference only in matters concerning public interest.
- (10) Exactly the way as a member of a family has obligations towards its family.
- (10a) Without taxes there is no state. How high the taxation should run, that will be decided by the right or the wrong social attitude of a society. If it is right, it will take into consideration the weaker and less skillful members of the society too.
- (10b) No comment on this.
- (10c) Good laws and orders will be kept willingly.
- (10e) The state is the totality of the citizens; it is not an end in itself. Therefore the state is for the citizens and not the citizens for the state.

- (11) It has been improved to a great extent. This is the only thing which, although only to a certain extent, but it still means a great development.
- (11a) The Party and persons who were indispensable for the Party could afford anything.
- (11b) The others on a mediocre average.
- (11c) Only so much on this point that, in spite of some generalized but not general, excessive phenomena, the Hungarian doctors have grown up to their vocation.
- (11d) The system developed very nicely during the years. However to the great detriment of it, there were many among its administrators, who have worked with the standard of the well-known "socialist working morale".
- (11e) The work competition campaign among the chemical factories has deteriorated to the extent that e.g. in 1955, weekly three or four urgent telegram circulars were sent out to all drugstores to suspend, or rather hold back the sale of some series of medicaments just sent out by the factory. In Sajószentpéter, in the case of a vaccine against scarlet fever, the warning arrived too late and the result was 160 serious cases of scarlet fever in that relatively small community. That happened in 1954.

Miners working in wet mines need badly vitamin "C". In Sajóbáony, there were signs of scorbutus, in spite of the daily six pills of vitamin "C". The physician of the mine has crushed five pills of vitamin "C" and

this pulverized stuff he sent up to Budapest to the Institute of Public Health for analysis. The official answer was: "The material which you have sent for chemical analysis is talcum powder with some ascorbin acid traces." (Ascorbin acid is the vitamin "C".)

In Borsód County, in the villages far away from Miskolc, the district doctors, who had been exiled politically to that part of the country, but who had to provide for 3-4000 souls, did not receive permits to buy a motor vehicle. The same happened in many other parts of the country. At the Hungarian Medical Congress, which was held in February 1956, Prof. Horányi has revealed the official statistical data for the last two years. According to these, the mortality rate of the country doctors increased as compared to 1938, by 65 %. The cause of that was in 91 cases among 100 arteriosclerosis or one or the other kind of thrombosis, resulting from murderous overwork..

- (12) Yes, but already in 1950 people, even in the villages, have learned how to discriminate. This is shown by the fact that - as we have learned in the summer of 1956, when some of the official account books have been available - the Soviet films have brought in only 5-8 % of the money which was paid for them. On the other hand, many could not afford to ^{go to} a good theatre or a good film, or they had no time to stand in line

for the tickets.

- (13) This question lacks again factual knowledge. With the exception of the "slave" section of the society and the relatively rare times of disorders in distribution, which was caused by pure stupidity in Hungary people ate well. Perhaps not with the variety of a Western restaurant, but sufficiently to satisfy the average needs.
- (14) Much worse. Up to 1946, because there was no clothing, after 1946 because, due to the régime's policy, the clothing industry has been ruined. One could not afford to buy good clothings. For example, a good quality, well-tailored suit has cost the amount which a department head chief engineer has made in a month, 1.700 - 1.800 forints. A good pair of shoes was 550 - 700 fts. The cheaper ones were junk. Well-dressed people have clothed themselves either from blackmarket business or because of their political reliability.
- (15) See Imre Nagy's speech on June 10th, 1953.
- (15c) See under (15).
- (16) The fundamental question here is the healthy organisation for the defense of the workers' interests. This could be called trade union or whatever you like.

- (16d) Those who are absolutely qualified and know not only about their own business, but also about the national economy.
- (17) The same as the people have understood the letters standing for collective farms, namely the Hungarian TSzCs, which was translated for Tovább Szolgáló Cselédek. That means in English: Servants continuing to work in their bondage.
- (17a) According to my experience, the collective farm system was bad.
- (17b) The same is true of the state farms too. The soil will produce only the desired production for the national economy, if it will truly "belong to those who are working on it".
- (17c) Even its memory should be forgotten. Co-operatives are only justified in the Danish form, as protective and marketing co-operatives.
- (17d) The land has to be distributed; this is imperative. First of all, the peasants should get cultivable land, but not as a present, but for a wisely set price which could be paid in instalments. In the eyes of the Hungarian peasant - I can testify to this out of many experiences - land which he receives as a present, has no value. He values only such land which he can know for certainly as his, because he has acquired it through hard labour.

(17f) After a sober distribution of the land, which should take into consideration the geographical conditions and unities, the further development should be left for the skilfulness and knowledge of the farmers. One or the other piece of land, which has special qualities and, maybe, particular geographic unity, should be left, because of its usefulness, as a greater unity, a greater estate, but generally the most reliable backbone of the Hungarian ~~agrix~~ agricultural economy, were always the 60-100 yoke, intensively cultivated farms.

(17g) Yes. Exception would be the animal and plant improving experimental stations which have been developed before 1938. These are more needed to-day than ever before. But the administration and direction of these should not be left to the departments of various ministries, but should be entrusted to the practically working scientific institutes.

(17h) Yes.

(17i) This question is to-day already obsolete. The land-owning class has been almost completely absorbed; from their descendants not even 15 % or perhaps much less, know anything about farming. However, if there would be any possibility for that, just for the sake of creating a spiritual equilibrium, those people who had been deprived from their land property, should get some nominal compensation for it.

(17l) Undoubtedly. In the form of improved seeds for sowing,

pedigree animals, parasite control, long term investments, loans, and cheap fuel for agriculture.

(17m) I would think the Danish form as the most healthy. I would entrust them to the Farmers' Interest Associations.

(17q) Mechanisation ^{the} in/form as the Communists tried to introduce it, is fundamentally mistaken, because of the peculiarities of formation and composition of the Hungarian soil. Besides, natural farmyard manure is indispensable for Hungarian agriculture.

(18) Only so far that the state should guarantee the right of free activities for the churches, The teaching orders, in order to enable them to keep up their schools, should receive a certain agricultural territory. With this exception, the church should be completely independent and should be the church of the people; the people should support it.

(18d) Yes, because of the moral side of the education. Not the teaching of religion should be obligatory, but the religious education, whether in school or in any other form.

(18f) Only to church school.

(19) This has only one solution. The popular judgment has to be prohibited most strictly. But besides that, they should be left to their fate. The people know very

well how to discriminate and select.

(19b) The leaders should be called for account.

(19c) They should be brought before a screening committee, each in the district where he was working, which committee should be set up everywhere according to a ~~very~~ sober principle and under the chairmanship of an indifferent man, qualified in legal proceedings.

(19e) There is no such a thing.

(19f) The first step: All of them should be interned and screened according to the data discovered on their activities and investigate it; the murderers should be sentenced according to the law; the opportunists should be deprived of their first class ^{rights} ~~class~~ as citizens; those who were forced into the organisation, should be given back to the society.

(19g) Except the officers, the greatest number of them could be kept as police-men and the screening should be left for them to do, as a body which would certainly throw out the unreliable elements.

(19h) Free room for them for their further activities.

(20) From the point of view of Western culture, a very important event of world history was the Magyar conquest of Hungary, namely the fact that just at that territory in the Carpathian Basin, a people has settled down which was entirely stranger to all the surrounding peoples. And because it was a stranger

and, in its soul a true believer, up to point of naivety, and straightforward and gentlemanlike, up to the point of foolishness, it has believed that its true vocation was ~~to~~ to defend the West against the blows coming from the East and it has fulfilled this vocation with the greatest sacrifices. Behind the live-fence of this slowly bleeding and weakening people, has developed, strengthened, and become cultured that West which later sat into its neck and has cheated out Hungary of everything which she has ever possessed. Besides this invaluable service of defense, Hungary has given the world, from the days of Louis the Great up to our own days, innumerable artists, scholars, and scientists with a peculiar intuition and creative force.

- (21) Hardly any more to-day, but one thing remains: That intuitive capacity which it brought along from the East and unconsciously still has, namely that it recognizes the decisive problems of the ages before any other nation and tries to find the answer for it. Example: Hungary had the first constitutional monarchy, Hungary had the first social revolution, and with the example of Transylvania, Hungary has tried first the confederative collaboration of different peoples.
- (21a) In that it is intuitive.
- (21b) In that that it could never be slave.
- (21c) In that that it has always put humanity before business.

(21d) In nothing.

(21e) The nation is small. That, in spite of this, the different social strata have specific characteristics, is due to the fact of the strong mixture of foreign elements. The landless peasants and the former Hungarian aristocrats, had both the same fundamental human characteristics. The revolutionary instability of the worker, the greediness of the developing bourgeoisie, of tradesmen and artisans and their separativeness towards the rest of the society, the corruption of the middle class bureaucracy, and the anti-humanistic pride of the leading aristocracy, are the result of the admixture of Slavic, Saxon, Swabian, Turkish, and latin blood.

(21f) Yes.

(22) There was none. Any that would have been such, must have perished either because of the imperial interests of the Habsburgs or the aristocracy, which was put in power by the victorious powers, or because of the power interests of the imperialistic III. Reich and later the Soviets.

(22c) The feudal Hungary actually has ceased to exist in 1919. The Horthy régime has resurrected it only in its shadow, which then during the World Depression of 1931, has died a final death. Feudalism can exist only if there is actual power at its disposition.

- (22f) The social differences have been pronounced. The economic differences, except a small minority, cannot be said to have been great.
- (22g) It was a 20 years long, desperate conjuration of spirits.
- (22h) There was no Hungarian policy. Hungarian policy could have been made only by open sacrifices of individuals. Of this, except the one Pál Teleki, one part of the leading governing class, because it was German, did not even want to think; the other part on the other hand, did not deserve to be called Hungarian nor politician. They were with the words of Berzsenyi: "Hitvány gyöge báb" (contemptible, weak puppets).
- (22i) From 1944-48, there was the most healthy and most helpful period of the last half century.
- (23) We have learned already that the political frontiers are the cancer of Europe.
- (23d) Only in the case, if the propaganda for passionate insistence on the rights of political frontiers poisons the people. My conviction is that the people living in the Danubian valley, can live in peace with each other in the atmosphere of their knowledge about their mutual need to live together.

- (24) Our problem could be solved only, in the first stage, by an experimentally created, Danubian Confederation, (see Pál Teleki's plan), but at the final stage only by a United Europe.
- (24c) The Hungarian scholars and scientists should give the ideas for a solution, in the first place, ^{of} questions of the agriculture, but also scientific problems relating to the real life. The execution and the policies should be left for others.
- (24d) Russia should remain a great Power.
- (24e) Only that these things would only retard the solution which can be effected without these procedures.
- (25) To-day I cannot be yet objective, therefore I do not want to say any opinion.
- (26) Marxism is built up on one single truth and sees only one section. Everything which sounds beautiful it, ~~is~~ because of its false fundamentals, is ab ovo impossible to realize.
- (26c) Lenin was not a Marxist, he only found a theory which he could fit to the messianism of the Eastern Slavdom.
- (26d) Stalin was not a Marxist either. With less culture, but with characteristic Slavic despotism, he was the same as Ivan the Terrible or Alexander I. He was the Czar and the Head of the Church.

- (26e) Tito is one of the last shoots of the mass leaders of the 20th century. In my opinion, he is not an ideologue, he is only a very skilful chess-player with a great sense of political realities and with a great lust for power. He is a phenomenon of our time.
- (26f) Very few of them have any idea about Marxism.
- (26h) Democracy is a political notion. Marxism, to-day, cannot be separated any more from the dogmatic system of materialism. And in a case when a dogmatic system wants to govern a state, democracy is ab ovo impossible.
- (26i) In 1000 years, only for two years, from the beginning of 1946 to the end of 1948. Even this was spiced with Soviet-Russian occupation.
- (26j) In principle, the respect of the opinion of others, the appreciation of the human values, the recognition of private properties and of the right of success of other people, the right of objective criticism concerning the interests of the community, and the subordination of the individual interest to the interests of the society and the prohibition of power, which would be exercised to the detriment of others. But this means for myself that since decades I would have liked to take a lamp into my hand, just like Diogenes, and look for this man.
- (27) I do not know. In my opinion, it is a notion absolutely unclarified and, I think, it does not exist at all.

My suspicion is that under National Communism we have to understand the antagonism toward the oppressive power of Moscow.

- (27c) The same thing applies to Gomulka.
- (27d) He is not a Communist. He recognized the weakening of the Soviet Union and, because he has been deeply disillusioned of the Communist dogmatics, he tried to turn their own dialectics against them in the interest of the Polish independence movement.
- (27e) It might be a prejudice, but with Communism, which not in its principles but in its evolution, has proved its essence, any human feeling is incompatible. Such a system which has as its basic dogma the class struggle, the contradictions within the society and the conscious, ardent hatred, can be called only satanic. Patriotism, on the other hand, is a human feeling.
- (28) I have told my opinion already in the preceding chapters. I want to add only so much that it gives the widest possibilities for the boldest guesses.
- (28b) It did not happen; there is no sense to talk about a conditional past.
- (29) I have no comment on these questions.
- (30) It has to be answered together with (30a):
- (30a) If there would emerge a popular leader, his Party

would win the elections. And if there will be such a leader, his name is certainly not known to us to-day.

(31) Under what they deserved, the groups under a, b, c, d, and e, with the exception of those scientists and intellectuals who are indispensable for the colonial policy.

(31fhi) Above their merits.

(31g) The Party and its favourites definitely above.

(32) Outside ~~the~~ of the Party organisation, which has been paid already by the Soviet Union that time, therefore has lived well, everybody has been under better circumstances.

(33) I have to state again that harmony was only during the respite and during the ferment before the Revolution; even that time it was not harmony among the different social classes, but it was a national harmony, hoping in its delivery from tyranny. The governing principle of the Communist system is the "bella omnium contra omnes" and the state power, as the neutral third, is rejoicing.

(34) Only one thing, that namely the United States considers far more dangerous the Soviet Union for herself than to prove her obligation stemming from her preaching about

the liberation of the oppressed peoples, which is going on since years.

(35) Those who have fought on the side of the régime after October 23rd, that is about 1 1/2 to 2 % of the population.

(35a) Actively or passively, 98 % of the nation.

(36) I have none.

- (1) I would like to ask only one question: Does the Columbia University think it right and proper to conduct a propaganda campaign between two Great Powers, in such a way that it can cause the bleeding to death of a credulous, little people or, maybe in the future, of more little nations, of course, with effective, propagandistic success for the United States.
- (1a) I consider it as a decisive and important gathering of research material, which has few parallels in the political history of the 20th century. The question is, how will it be used and digested.
- (1c) From the lack of imagination.
- (1d) Those things which are really important and essential, in my opinion, will be said truthfully.
- (2a) Under all circumstances.
- (3) I have told these in connection with the preceding questions.
- (3b) I am writing a novel about the human experiences of the last ten years.