

- (1) The most important thing about the Revolution is the fact that it was not prepared, its spontaneity is the most important. I participated in the Revolution from its very first moment. In the morning of the 23rd, I received the Sixteen Points from the students of the Technological Institute; these sixteen points were born at a students' meeting in Szeged and by the morning of the 23rd they were out in the streets and people could read ~~the~~ <sup>them</sup>. For the support of the sixteen points a demonstration was called for three o'clock before the headquarters of the Writers' Union in Andrassy Street. Gero and his party has returned that same day from Yugoslavia and the demonstration was prohibited through the Ministry of Interior. However, later the ban was lifted. It was around ~~11:30~~ 2:30 that I got in contact with the demonstrators; first I watched them from the window of my office, I joined them at five o'clock when we went to the statue of Bem. The spiritual basis for the Revolution was created by the writers and artists; their sympathy with the Polish events and the sixteen points of the students, and the publication thereof, created the occasion. In Hungary there had been no democracy in the classical sense of the word since very long time. People were hoping for it after the Second World War, but these tentatives were thwarted ~~the~~ <sup>by</sup> the Communists. In 1948, after the merging of the Social Democratic Party into the Communist Party, it became obvious that everything was hopeless. Also in '48 occurred the break with Yugoslavia and dictatorship was being established with full speed. An outstanding

event was the Rajk trial: it was plain murder. On the 6th of October 1956 he was exhumed and reburied with great ceremony; this was a basic condition <sup>for</sup> ~~XXXX~~ negotiations with Yugoslavia. ~~This~~ ~~THE~~ process started with the speech of Khrushchev at the ~~XXXX~~ ~~E~~ occasion of the XXth Congress of the Russian Communist Party. The leaders of the intellectual life, though they were the favorites of the regime, were not satisfied with the activity which was forced upon them. Writers, artists, and scientists were trying to find a better solution. Articles criticizing rather sharply the mistakes of the regime were beginning to appear in the Irodalmi Ujsag, Muvelet Nep (a weekly published by the ~~XX~~ book publishing enterprise of the Party), Hetfoi Hirlap (a weekly appearing every Sunday night, editor-in-chief Ivan Boldizsar). It is characteristic of the popularity of the last-mentioned weekly that one Sunday evening I was in a crowded trolleybus and one person had the Hetfoi Hirlap, which was handed down from person to person during the trip. The Irodalmi Ujsag could be had for 30 forints, whereas the regular price was one forint. Within the Party there was a complex and multidirectional rift: one, the orthodox group, this was the Rakosi-Gero line, others belonging to this group were Revai, Istvan Kende, Gyorgy Nonn; two, Imre Nagy and his group: Geza Losonczy, Gyorgy Fazekas; three, the Rajk-concept: those who were rehabilitated from the Rajk-trial were most probably thinking of a Tito-like solution; there is no doubt that there is a sympathy with Tito and an understanding in certain principles. Another manifestation

of this mood was the Petofi Circle, which was formed in the DISZ, forum a ~~form~~ forum of university students where students and professors selected subjects and discussed them. Very interesting things happened there; I was in contact with students, that's how I was informed. For instance, there was a discussion on the uranium ore mines near Pecs and Professor Janossy, the nestor of the Hungarian atom physicists, was present. He was asked how is it that not the Hungarians, but the Russians are exploiting the uranium mines at Pecs. Professor Janossy said that he doesn't know anything about this, his business is only atom physics, but he doesn't know about the Hungarian uranium ore; the top Hungarian atom physicist doesn't know about the Hungarian uranium ore! Sometime during August 1956 Mrs. Rajk was present at one of the meetings and she said the following: her child, at the age of one year, was taken away from her and now she received a child of eight years of age. She does not know whether it is hers, but she decided to raise him up to the best of her abilities; she had gone through tremendous sufferings and she hopes that her child will be able to fight for a better, purified solution of communistic aims. The wittiest address was made by Zoltan Vas, then President of the National Association of Cooperatives. "I don't know, he said, why the comrades are criticizing to this extent the regime, when ~~there are~~ there are no doubt ~~of~~ improvements: for instance, I am quite sure, when the bell rings at 6 o'clock in the morning, that it is the milkman

who is coming." Tibor Dery, Gyula Hay, Zoltan Zelk also participated in the meetings, which from the spring on had become more frequent, every second week approximately. Every sort of questions was touched upon, but mostly the established dogmatic theses were discussed, attacked or clarified, and this in itself was practically a sacrilege compared to the past years; previously the theses of the Party were something like the Koran, which could not be touched. Also in the field of theaters and films a certain degree of democratization could be observed. Heretofore there was a policy of planned programs; in the Ministry of Education there was a Dramaturgical Council which decided whether the plays to be produced correspond to the political aims of the Party. This Council was abolished sometime in the spring in 1956. In consequence, in the Theater of Operetta they played operettas by Lehar and Kalman, and the success was basically a success of demonstration. People were fighting for tickets. Also in prose theaters new plays were produced: "Galileo" by Laszlo Nemeth, "Thousand Years" by Karinthy; and to me personally very important, the "Liberty Hill" by Joseph Gali, which had no little part in the later events. The premiere was on the 6th of October. Gali is a young <sup>playwright</sup> ~~man~~ who received in 1954 a "red diploma," but the play could not be produced because of its contents.\* For two years he has been polishing the play; a great Hungarian actress Hilda Gobbi wanted to play the leading role of the mother in the play. After the abolishing of the

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\* See Appendix, p. 49-a ff.

Dramaturgical Council, the director of the theater of Angyalfold accepted the play. The opening night was fixed for the day of the reburial of Rajk and the anniversary of the death of the martyrs of Arad. Political personalities also attended the opening night; the regime, in view of its "self-criticism," could not refuse to see it. The play consisted of 14 scenes and after each scene there was a tremendous applause. The political big shots felt as if their teeth were extracted. Also the presentation of the play was excellently located in a workers' district and the public, which watched it, had an important part in the later events. That's how things ~~went~~ went on until the 23rd of October. To further illustrate the process of softening I should like to mention the free traveling to people's democracies. Even among people's democracies there is a difference in ~~the~~ living standards. For instance they are much higher in Czechoslovakia (which is not at all justified as far as Hungary is concerned; in Hungary agriculture and light industry were quite prosperous, therefore the fact that living standards are so low in Hungary is the consequence of grave mistakes.) In consequence, there is a greater freedom, people are not afraid of tomorrow and one also has to remember that Czechoslovakia was a Western-type democratic state ~~before~~ before it fell victim to communism. The Czechs at this moment are taking advantage of their belonging to the Russian sphere of interest; the Czech heavy industry assures prosperity. For instance the price of a pair of shoes is about

one-tenth of that in Hungary, the worker can buy himself a car, they don't need a permission: in Hungary one had to have permission and only special persons could obtain it; all this explains the "tranquility" in Czechoslovakia. In Yugoslavia there is greater freedom in general. Other people, like artists, could go to Austria by the artists' ship or to watch ball games. In Austria, where there is no planned economy, they could observe even greater prosperity and liberty. End of August I went myself to Czechoslovakia. I was at that time working with the <sup>Touring Theater Company</sup> ~~and the state theater~~ and (with a collective passport) we went, a group of forty, for a theatrical tour to territories mostly inhabited by Hungarians. We worked there on a commercial basis, as opposed to the system in Hungary, which was subvention: we sold each performance to the Czech-Hungarian Cultural Society for 4000 crowns each; officially the forint is at par with the crown, but the purchasing power of the latter is about seven times as great. This sale price meant 100 crowns for everybody in the group, and also the Cultural Society made some profit on the performance. What is important is that in Czechoslovakia one could make business, whereas in Hungary this was impossible. We smuggled in also various articles from Hungary, like salami or watches, the customs inspection on the border were quite informal, whereas in Hungary it is usually quite thorough; this is also business for the Czechs. The gravest situation among the people's democracies obtains in Romania. This I know because I am from Transylvania.

After the war the Armistice Treaty imposed upon Rumania to deliver raw materials like oil, wood, crops, minerals for reparation,<sup>8</sup> and therefore there was no possibility to develop a <sup>the R</sup> Rumanian industry. As a consequence job openings were restricted. Logically this was which caused the deterioration of the situation in Rumania under the Communists. People are standing in queue for half a pond<sup>u</sup> of flour and from early in the morning for bread, which is bad, and the economic misery strengthened the political oppression. In 1948 I fled to Hungary. I come from a family which is considered class-enemy: landowners, and I personally was planning to become a diplomat. Nothing was realized from the ~~the~~ <sup>principle</sup> ~~the~~ proclaimed by Stalin with regard to the self-rule of national minorities: the attitude towards <sup>the</sup> two millions of Hungarians was liquidation and Rumanization. First the Hungarian University was restricted, the administration has become Rumanian and the Hungarian language was not allowed as official language. After 1948 there was a wave of arrests. There has been a movement in Rumania to establish an independent Transylvania, something similar to Switzerland (I participated in this movement). This would be the only possible solution <sup>for</sup> in Transylvania (Erdely) because of her independent history and culture. AS a matter of fact, in the course of history, only in Transylvania was there true democracy throughout Eastern Europe. About conditions in Yugoslavia I heard from one of my best friends, who went there to a ball game and by mistake he

received a visa for 8 days instead of one day; he and his friend decided to take advantage of the extra seven days and to have a look at Yugoslavia. Luckily they had an official car at their disposal, because otherwise they didn't have money and they were even starving during their trip. They could travel entirely freely, except for a passport examination at the border, nobody asked them anything.

In Hungary people traveling in a car with a foreign plate would have been more disturbed. The following were their observations:

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The system of workers' councils in general; (this was imitated by the Hungarians during the Revolution.)  
It is possible to criticize Tito; Tito has a direct contact with the people, he would go out among them, talk to them, and discuss with the peasants. The country shows a remarkable industrial growth. There are industrial plants, there are highways after the American pattern;. There is true equality, not like in Hungary where there is difference between Party members and non-members, class-enemies and good class background. There is only one privileged group in the country, that of the partisans who fought at the Second World War for the freedom of Yugoslavia. Positions are filled through open competition, the jobs are announced by the workers' councils, which operate quite independently. In case of equal competence a partisan would get priority; this is the only advantage they enjoy. Otherwise there is no discrimination, background does not count, the only thing which counts is expertness. I had occasion to discuss the situation in Bulgaria with somebody from the theater;



from the point of view of prevailing conditions, her place, would be more or less between Rumania and Hungary. I don't know much about Poland.

- (2) It started exactly in the evening of the 23rd of October, before the building of the radio, after the first shot was fired (by the AVH). It was not a revolution, it was an uprising of the people. A revolution is a movement against an existing social system; the Hungarian movement was not against the social system, but against the oppressors from Moscow and their representatives in Hungary, for the Hungarian independence.

- (2 b) The death of Stalin and the process which it started: the various unmaskings, the ~~1956~~ XXth Congress of the Communist Party in Russia; the events in Posnan; these are the milestones. Also the raising of the question of co-existence and international negotiations in this respect, for instance the Conference of Geneva. What did you think of the Conference of Geneva? We were rather skeptical. People did not know exactly the contents of the <sup>Treaty</sup> ~~Treaty~~ of Yalta, but there was the prevailing feeling that it had a decisive influence on the ~~the~~ fate of the countries in South-East Europe. The negotiations in Geneva were carried on in the spirit of Yalta; this was difficult for us to understand. I have a great respect for President Roosevelt, but the West did nothing to prevent the Russians from taking possession of these countries in Eastern Europe and this in turn made people in Hungary skeptical.

- (1) See above.
- (ii) Yes. In my opinion the most delicate problem of communism as a whole is that presented by agriculture; it follows from the traditional nature of the peasant that they want to possess the land. The forced industrialization of agriculture (state farms, collective farms) encountered the same difficulties in Hungary as it did 30 years ago in Russia, where Lenin was obliged to revise his policy. What is bad about this policy in its essence, that they want to take away the land from the peasant. The Government of Imre Nagy was trying to correct this problem and logically the leaders of <sup>the</sup> intellectual life focussed their interest on the same problem; industry became also affected and altogether it contributed to the beginning of a process of dissolution of the consolidated terror. It is characteristic of the extreme difficulty of the problem that the regime didn't have the courage to treat Imre Nagy in the same way as it did Rajk, because whereas the murder of Rajk was accepted by the people more or less because it was considered as an internal struggle within the Party, to touch Imre Nagy would have meant to touch the peasants and this could have called forth a reaction which could have paralyzed the life of the country. As in fact it became paralyzed after the Freedom Fight, when they dared to touch Imre Nagy.
- (iii) The reaction of people was that it can hardly be a serious business where opposite things are being said alternately; it only proved

that the system which is enforced in Hungary and which is the follower of the system in Moscow is just as much lacking in seriousness as the Moscow line itself.

(iv, v) See above.

(vi) Rakosi retired from public life in August 1956, ~~szempantakly~~ amidst self-criticism; the conclusion is obvious: the one who was glorified and who was proclaimed to be infallible has made mistakes and had to disappear.

(vii) See above.

(viii) Yes.

(2 c) The turning point was in the afternoon of the 23rd of October, when ten thousand<sup>of</sup> people marched and sang the Hungarian National Anthems.

(2 d) Yes. When I saw those singing and marching crowds.

(2 e) They played a decisive part. Every movement is preceded by a spiritual preparation and in Hungary it was the Communist writers who did this: Tibor Dery, Zoltan Zelk, Gyula Hay, Lajos Tamasy, Laszlo Benjamin.

(2 f) Even the tone of Szabad Nep has changed, but this was only the echo of the general political change, it was only following the events, it lost its characteristic of guiding public opinion as the leading paper of the Government. There was a weekly picture magazine of rather popular character, called Beke es Szabadsag; a journalist named Istvan Vajda wrote a series of articles about conditions in

Yugoslavia, which contributed to the better knowledge of the situation in Hungary. This magazine began to look almost similar to those ~~XXXXXXXX~~ published in the West.

- (2 g) I was impressed by the tone of the entire press. I remember in particular the first editorial of the Hetfoi Hirnap sometime in August, which was entitled "Let Us Start a Clean Sheet"; therein the journalists made a vow not to lie any more, and they kept ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> indeed until the suppression of the Revolution.
- (3) See above.
- (3 a) Because that was the moment that the very representatives of the authorities fired into the people <sup>in</sup> whose interest they were supposed to exercise their power. And also because the spiritual preparation was completed, the people was politically ripe not to tolerate such treachery.
- (3 b) The explanation is very simple: the control system is carried out by people and not by machines, and subjective influences account for a lot. Besides, the system was not perfect, otherwise there would not have been breakdowns in it, as has been the case occasionally in Russia itself. Another reason is that their task was an unpopular one, they had to deny their innermost feelings; when there was a possibility to purify themselves, they gladly seized the occasion. I have to call attention to a very interesting point. One of the main reasons why a reign of terror could be established in Hungary was the fact that for a very long time there has been

no democracy in Hungary and people lost the habit of leading a democratic life. The AVH was created in 1945 in an atmosphere of hatred, in other words, because of the horrible crimes committed by the extreme right, those Jews who had suffered by them were filled with hatred. Logically these people made up the group which formed the basis of the AVH. These people had little to do with labor movements and they were of petty bourgeois and sometimes great bourgeois background. The AVH, which had come into being on such basis, despite reiterated efforts to freshen its ranks by workers' cadres, retained more or less its character of 1945. In no other country were there after the Second World War as many trials by people's courts ending with death sentences as in Hungary and nowhere had executions such <sup>an</sup> enthusiastic public as in Hungary. The AVH became entirely separated from the people despite the fact that among its more simple members there were to be found such who disapproved of its activity. (How do you know about this?) There was a young peasant boy in <sup>the</sup> employment of <sup>the</sup> Touring Theater Company where I worked; previously he was one of the bodyguards of Rakosi, he was one of those peasant boys who, when called in for military service, were <sup>assigned</sup> ~~assigned~~ to the AVH. In the fall of 1955 he participated in a conspiracy which aimed to placing well-intentioned people into the leadership of the country after having killed Rakosi and Gero. The attempt against Rakosi's life should have taken place at 6 o'clock in the morning; ten minutes before six the guard

was relieved. For a month he was being beaten, however, he was released afterwards, partly because he was a minor and partly because the investigation did not succeed in clearing up the entire matter; he was discharged from the AVH and he was under <sup>police surveillance.</sup> ~~surveillance.~~ First he worked as an unskilled hand and later he succeeded to obtain a job with the <sup>Touring Theater Company.</sup> ~~theater.~~ This episode proves that there was an interior opposition within the AVH. From this inner division it follows that even the members of the AVH were not so much defending the regime as their own ~~lives~~ lives during the Revolution; because during that first night everybody was united in Hungary.

- (3 c) It was clearly stated in the 16 points which have become known all over the world since. I have to emphasize that the demonstration and later the Revolution fought only against the suppression by the Russians and by the Rakos-Gero clique and not against the ownership by ~~the~~ the people of great industry, banks, and land.
- (3 d) The demonstration started at about 2.30 p.m. and they marched through the city to the statue of Bem. Later the popular wish manifested itself to tear down the statue of Stalin, which was done. At 9.35 p.m. ~~the~~ part of the demonstration <sup>org</sup> went to the building of the radio and they demanded to have the 16 points read into the radio. In the meantime Gero made his speech and this was the stupidest speech a politician could have made throughout world history. Already in the afternoon I felt that the mood of the people

could be kept in peaceful channels/<sup>only</sup>if Gero would have resigned and Imre Nagy would have been entrusted with forming a new Cabinet. However, the speech of Gero by itself would not have led to open fighting if it would not have been coupled with firing at the committee <sup>asking</sup> ~~asked~~ for the broadcasting of the 16 points. It ~~is~~ is characteristic of the mood of the simple people of Budapest that I left the radio building by motorcycle to pick up some friends in a distant residential section and by the time that I came back to town sometime after midnight, everywhere voluntarily formed workers units examined each vehicle in order to check whether they are not transporting arms for the AVH. Their manners were above reproach, but when I told them that we were working for the press, they became friendly and they said; "go ahead, the people need the papers for tomorrow."

- (3 e) Not on the 23rd. Everybody had one thing in mind, to see the Russian troops leave the country and the abolishment of the AVH, and the independence of the country.
- (3 f) The question did not arise, it was natural that there should be a <sup>revolution</sup> ~~restoration~~. There was nobody who would have dared to oppose it. No doubt there were Communist high functionaries whose career was affected, indeed finished, by the Revolution; they immediately fled to Czechoslovakia. But it has to be noted that there was no armed resistance to the Revolution on the side of the regime, with the exception of the AVO building, and any further opposition by Communists was exclusively ~~in~~ in self-defense; nowhere did the

state apparatus resist the Revolution in an organized fashion. Whoever fought against it, fought for his own life, and even that was in most of the cases unnecessary. Nobody wanted to kill either Communists or Jews, or even members of the AVH: all we did was shooting back. I remember an interesting episode: on the 27th of October I was notified in the editorial office by ~~THE~~ students from Szeged that they are in Buda and they should like to establish contact with our paper and in general with the events in Budapest. With two friends of mine and a chauffeur we started by car to pick them up; in Buda we had a flat tire and the chauffeur started to repair the car. I had no arms on me. All of a sudden I see a Pobjeda car coming, which was usually used by AVH people. I stopped the car, I don't know exactly why. There were six people sitting in it, each of them had a machine gun at his feet. "Did you read the newspapers?", I asked them. From the vague expression on their faces and from the fact that obviously they had no idea of what was going on I concluded that they must have been some bodyguards of one of the Communist big shots in a residential section and without being properly informed, but sensing vaguely that things were not in order, they decided to flee. I let the car continue its way because I knew that on the next corner the Freedom Fighters of Mr. Szabo will further examine the car. Szabo was a simple worker, but he turned out to be a genius of strategy. ~~He~~ <sup>He</sup> was the leader of the so-called group of Szena-ter. In the meantime our own car was



repaired and we started; by the time we passed the group of Szabo, we saw the Russian car pulled up at the curb and the six persons inside were being led away. From this episode it is interesting that these people were afraid for their own lives and despite the fact that they were armed and I was not they did not attack me as an enemy of their own regime, because they did not know what was going on exactly. Everything had fallen apart, but they did not want to defend the regime, they wanted to save their own lives.

(3 g) Nobody. If there would have been indifferent people, we could not have achieved the same results. This was a national uprising and it was united.

(3 h) The Russians should go home; Imre Nagy should be Prime Minister; Independence for the country; Hungarian uranium should be in Hungarian hands; Let us preserve the purity of the Revolution; There should be no lynching and no looting; The guilty ones should answer for their deeds before the law; Free press; that's how it began. Later other slogans were added, for instance: Mindszenty should be Prime Minister; Free elections; Neutrality. All our objectives were positive; in our paper (Igazsag) there was an editorial in connection with lynching: there should be no arbitrary judging, whoever is guilty should appear before the court, if we want to achieve something better, we have to realize it with better methods. Before the building where we had our editorial office, a Russian tank was shot, the Russians came <sup>in</sup> and asked for asylum.

We gave the<sup>m</sup> civilian clothes and let them go. One of the Russians had a wound in his leg, he told that he received it when his officer forced him ~~to~~ <sup>with a gun</sup> to get on the tank. He said he came from Gruzja, in ~~1955~~ 1955 there was also a revolution there, which was oppressed in the same fashion; the simple soldiers did not want to fight against the Hungarians, only their political commissaries forced them to do so.

(3 i) At the very beginning, no.

(3 j) By communism I mean those classically formulated economic measures and social organizations where the means of production are owned by society and the productive forces partake in consumers' goods according to their needs. The Hungarian Revolution should be ~~be~~ divided into several periods. First, when it broke out, there was nothing ~~like~~ <sup>but</sup> independence from Moscow and the establishment of a Cabinet in which the leading role is taken by Imre Nagy. In this phase the problem of ownership of the means of production did not arise yet, therefore in this sense it was not anti-Communist. The Russian intervention, which occurred at dawn on the 24th of October, brought the popular mood nearer and nearer to a democratic solution in the classical sense of the word, that is a government elected by free elections and based on a multi-party system. It would be an error to think that on the 23rd of October people wanted more than a solution similar to that in Yugoslavia; in the meantime the people realized <sup>that</sup> through their united uprising they have such power in their hands which could insure them greater liberty than that <sup>with</sup> which the Yugoslavs had to be satisfied. Of

course, they were confident that the great Western democracies will lend their helping hand in their efforts to build up their own democracy. That's how Imre Nagy took the step of including in his Government as temporary Ministers of State the politicians delegated by the different democratic parties. I was thinking myself a lot about the problem, what would have been the fate for instance of the metallurgical plants in Csepel, until recently called Rakosi plants, which was originally in private ownership (Manfred Weiss). Only a solution along the lines of British nationalization seemed probable to me.

(3 k)

Because it did not start out as an anti-Communist movement, but it aimed at the bettering of the conditions in the country by Communist methods. The Revolution broke out from one moment to the other and it was not possible for the prevailing public opinion, which was the result of twelve years of oppression, to change from one moment to the other to a democratic public opinion in the Western sense of the word. To achieve this a certain transition was necessary, a transition which proved it again, and stronger than ever before, that the power in Moscow, which keeps proclaiming the appealing slogans of communism, and its Hungarian representatives, are alien to the people and in fact are their enemies. For twelve years the regime maintained that it is fighting for the interests of the people. Now the people spoke and said unequivocally what it wanted and it was good what it wanted; and this will of the

people was to be oppressed by arms, tanks, and murders. It was logical that people had the courage now to turn against Moscow, because it became obvious that the proclaimed slogans were all lies. Also because those Communists who participated in the Revolution were confident that in the case of free, <sup>universal</sup> ~~general~~, and secret elections <sup>the</sup> that Communist Party which desires to realize the true Communist objectives will receive sufficient votes to ensure its existence. I (In your opinion, would they have received enough votes?) No, in my opinion there would have been two parties with a decisive majority: the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Social Democratic Party; it would be difficult to evaluate which of the two would have received the majority.

- (3 1.) Some attempts were made also ~~by~~ by such elements to gain positions, but later on any such possibility was pushed into the background. I shall explain what I mean through an example: the objective of the <sup>Touring Theater Company</sup> ~~the touring theater~~ was to promote by its program policy the transformation of agriculture. It was called into being on Party directives and few of its members were not Party members. The composition of the artist membership was as follows: Young actors and actresses just graduated from the Academy of Theatrical and Film Art; talented worker players selected from the dramatic groups of industrial plants; actors silenced for their political attitudes before the Second World War, but who received amnesty later on. One of the members was a former chairman of one of the <sup>political screening</sup> ~~committees~~

committees of the Chamber of Actors and Actresses, which during the War were checking the Jewish members and those of Jewish origin. This person became elected into the temporary revolutionary council of the theater. The temporary revolutionary council was relieved and a permanent revolutionary council was elected. This man, because of his extreme rightist manifestations, was not reelected into the permanent committee.

- (3 m) Then there would have been no armed uprising. The first shots of the Revolution were fired from the building of the radio, where, alongside with Hungarian AVO units, clad in the uniform of that same authority, individuals of Russian language and Russian citizenship also were on duty. Armed fight was carried on with Russian military formations because, as I have explained in detail above, those Hungarians who fired at the freedom fighters did so not in defense of the regime, but in <sup>that of</sup> ~~their own presumed security~~ security, which they presumed to be threatened. If ~~there would have been no Russian intervention, Imre Nagy would have formed his temporary government, and after the proclamation of Hungary's neutrality and until free elections could be held, he would have maintained order in the country. ~~NECESSARY~~ <sup>Neutrality</sup> is a deep-seated, long-standing desire of the Hungarian people: let there be an end to the situation which forces us always to take side with one or another great power.~~

- (4) On the 23rd of October I joined the demonstration, I went along with them to the pulling down of the statue of Stalin and witnessed

later the siege of the radio building; on the 24th I did not succeed yet to establish important connections and most of my time was taken up by placing my family in some security; my young son of 11 years of age was very badly upset by the tank firing nearby the house. I also went up to my office in the ~~office building~~ <sup>Touring Theatre Company</sup>, but nobody was present. After the events of the 23rd of October, many demonstrations were organized in Budapest and also for the 25th a demonstration was announced, the purpose of which was to call upon Imre Nagy, who was then already officially Prime Minister, to immediately start negotiations with the Russians in order to have the Russian troops withdrawn from the territory of Hungary and also to start negotiations for a free election. From everywhere in the city people started to gather and marched toward the Parliament, and it can be ~~be attributed~~ <sup>attributed</sup> to the persuasive power of a young Hungarian actor, who also spoke very good Russian, that nine Soviet tanks stationed before the Astoria Hotel also joined the demonstrators: the officers in charge of the tanks opened the top of the tanks and hoisted the Hungarian flag on the tanks; the demonstrators climbed on the tanks and that's how the tanks moved toward the Parliament. Before the Parliament there were already several thousands of people. Soviet tanks were guarding the Ministry of Defense nearby. When these saw the other Soviet tanks coming from the direction of Liberty Square, carrying Hungarian banners and demonstrators climbing ~~on~~ on the tanks, they did not

know that these tanks joined voluntarily the demonstrators, but thought that they were captured and for this reason they opened fire on the demonstrators. Members of the AVO, hiding in the atticks of the Ministry of Agriculture, thought it well to intervene with their arms in the mass butchery and within ten minutes more than 500 corpses were remaining ~~EVERY~~ on the square before the Parliament. These people were civilian demonstrators, they had no arms. This episode was maybe the most important mass murder during the Revolution and it has profoundly shocked the Western diplomats and ~~REPORT~~ reporters who later on came to the scene. The demonstrators fled in every direction; I, with a friend of mine, went towards Rakoczy Street and watched the ruins which were the result of the fighting around the radio building. A young poet friend of ours joined us there and told us that some of them are planning the publication of a newspaper which, independently ~~of~~ from any political parties and identifying itself with the 16 points, will endeavor to maintain the spiritual unity which manifested itself at the outbreak of the Revolution. "We want <sup>it</sup> to be a democratic paper, said my friend, and bearing in mind the transformation which has occurred during the last twelve years and taking ~~it~~ into consideration the complex international situation, until the free elections, we wish to support the Government of Imre Nagy." I decided to cooperate and we created the paper, and though Imre Nagy had been still prevented from action and so he could not give us permission for

the paper (we contacted him personally), relying on the ~~XXXXX~~ armed power of the freedom fighters, we secured the publication of the paper. We established direct contact with the Kilian Barracks and our paper (Igazsag) is responsible for making Pal Maleter a popular figure; at that time there were no leading figures, Imre Nagy was not yet free to ~~XX~~ act, he was under Russian guard, it was important to have a name which guarantees the purity of the Revolution and we saw in Maleter the most suitable person. Thus the paper, which started out as that of the revolutionary youth, became also the paper of the revolutionary Hungarian Army. At the same time we helped to organize the food and medicine supply of the freedom fighters and also their medical care in cooperation with those ~~XXXX~~ physicians and nurses who with their heroism have taken an important part in the Hungarian Freedom Fight. We established contacts with towns in the province and saw to it that they receive a regular supply of the paper: on cars confiscated from the AVH and escorted by armed cars, they were transported throughout the country, to Győr, Moson-Magyaróvár, Szombathely, Szekesfehervar, Szeged, Debrecen, Veszprem, Pecs; the only region we could not supply with the press was that of Nyiregyhaza and Miskolc, because of the heavy Russian concentration. On the 29th of October we received word that in the building of <sup>the</sup> Great Budapest Party Headquarters in Republic Square highly placed Party functionaries and AVH officers as well as Army officers in key positions have taken



refuge, who did not succeed to escape during the events of the Revolution and who, afraid for their life, hoped to weather through the Revolution in the cellars of the headquarters until the Soviet Army, called in by Gero, would bring them "liberation." ~~Mr~~ Mezo was elected as commander of this group, he was an officer in the Army and during the Spanish war he fought along with the International Brigade. Apparently remembering his experience at Alcazar, ~~Mezo~~ Mezo decided to insure the free withdrawal of those caught in <sup>the</sup> headquarters by an imposing outbreak, when he saw that the situation had become hopeless. He made AVO regulars change into the blue uniform of the police, however either he forgot or there was no time to change the characteristic brown boots of the AVO; as a preparation for the outbreak he opened barrage on peaceful crowds standing in line before a food store opposite the headquarters building, resulting in the death of a great many people. After they had murdered dozens of peaceful people standing in line for foodstuffs, armed freedom fighters from the neighborhood, attracted ~~to~~ to the scene by the gunfire, took under siege the headquarters. When it became evident that the freedom fighters were superior in number, they called on those inside the Party headquarters to surrender and part of the AVOs, in changed ~~uniforms~~ uniforms as mentioned before, began to march out with raised arms. At the same time officers inside opened again fire on the people and the freedom fighters in the square. It became clear beyond

doubt that instead of surrender, treachery was being prepared, and therefore the freedom fighters returned the fire, directing it at the AVOs marching out of the building, however, aiming only at the lower part of their legs in order to make them unfit for further fighting. This scene was photographed and publicized throughout the world by the ~~NY~~ reporters of Life Magazine, creating the impression as if the freedom fighters had been committing butchery. Proof to the contrary is an article which appeared in April 1957 in the Hungarian Youth, a paper of the Kadar-regime, in which it was reported that these AVOs people were not dead, but were taken to hospitals with heavy leg wounds, they are alive and making statements to the press. They were promoted to officers by the Kadar-regime, although this hardly seems justified because they have surrendered in a cowardly fashion. Of all this it is evident that the freedom fighters did not butcher, but only made unfit for fighting their enemies; unfortunately Life Magazine did not take the trouble to clear the Hungarian freedom fighters from the charge of mass murder on the basis of these facts; there is no doubt that Life Magazine owes an apology to the freedom fighters. In the morning of October 30, we were taking photographs at Republic Square, in the company of foreign reporters, of the still visible sign of the ~~NY~~ previous day's fighting there. That is where I got word that on the same morning Prince Primate Mindszenty, freed from his prison, arrived at Budapest. I succeeded to be the

first one to obtain an interview with the Prince Primate who had arrived about one and a half hour earlier. This interview did not contain anything particularly substantial because the Cardinal asked <sup>us</sup> to give him time to ~~XXXX~~ catch up with the situation. He promised that within two days he will speak to the press and also to the people of the country. The interview covered only questions regarding his health and conditions of his imprisonment. During the last one and a half years he was assigned forced living quarters in the manor of Felsotarkany, where he could keep contact with his secretary, he could read the Szabad Nep and Magyar Nemzet and the Statistical Review, he received a so-called people's radio (only for local reception) and he was allowed to say daily Mass in the chapel of the manor. During the years previous to this period, he was constantly dragged from one prison to the other, he never knew wherefrom and where to, presumably in order to prevent him to establish contacts with his surroundings; however, when once a year his mother was allowed to visit him, he was always transferred to the prison at Vac. The Cardinal did not give further details. I found him mentally in good condition, he was even making display of his sense of humor. His liberation was carried out by three armoured cars under the leadership of Count Pallavicini, who was doing active service in the Hungarian Democratic Army, and the freedom fighters were represented in the action by 14 armed worker youths of Ujpest. He spent his first free night as the guest of the Revolutionary Army in the barracks of Révság. The interview

took place in the Primatial Palace in Uri Street, the interior guard was mounted by the 14 young workers, the palace was ~~by~~ ~~the~~ guarded by the three tanks and, further, a ring of freedom fighters surrounded the block in which the palace was situated. I received an interesting piece of information from the secretary of the Primate, which however I did not have the time to check: it would seem that the Cominform, which was discontinued in Bucharest, went into illegality and transferred its headquarters to Budapest; under the pretext of constructions for the First District office of the Hungarian National Bank, subterranean offices were built for it deep under the Castle Hill, in the vicinity of the Primatial Palace. Insofar as the Cardinal is concerned, in my opinion it was a great mistake that the Cardinal, by setting up headquarters in the palace in Uri Street, separated himself from the current and pulsating center of political life: the Parliament, missing thereby the opportunity to fill in the political vacuum which has been created around him during his eight years' imprisonment close to the turmoil of the ever-changing political situation. On this same day in the evening I was informed that I was elected into the presidium of the revolutionary committee of the ~~XXXXXX~~ Touring Theater Company, consequently I postponed my planned trip to Vienna to give photographic material to ~~XXXXXX~~ Austropress, ~~XXXXXX~~ so that I can look after the operation of the theater: the auto- and mobile/truck park of the theater was of tremendous importance from:

the point of view of the freedom fight and also the theater represented a cultural-political potential. From here on my activities were divided between the ~~XXXXXX~~ Touring Theater Company (defending the rolling material, ~~XX~~ ensuring the regular payment of salaries, etc.) and the paper. In the evening of November 2 I spoke with Paris by telephone. Previously we had invited foreign reporters as guests to our paper, namely Petrazzini and Leblond; notwithstanding the fact that they ~~XX~~ were coming in a car with foreign diplomatic plate and the French tricolor, the Russians fired at the car at ~~XX~~ Mosen-Magyarovar and Petrazzini was killed; his colleague Jean-Jacques Leblond arrived and was sending reports to Paris. We had an arrangement with the French press agency for an exchange of material. We were to send reports of the Hungarian events and they were to send us the echo of those events abroad and also reports of events in the West. In my ~~XX~~ above-mentioned telephone conversation with Paris I heard for the first time of the landing at Suez. This was one of two events which were enough to make us see that the Freedom Fight will not succeed. The other event was in the nature to deal a heavy blow to the unity of the Revolution. It manifested itself in the activity of Joseph Dudas and his group; Dudas was an <sup>mentally</sup> unbalanced, ..... person, who ~~played~~ had sided with every political shade ~~XXXXXX~~ and was basically an anarchist; his group was an ~~XXXXXX~~ anarchist group. Dudas separated himself from the revolutionary forces which were in the process of centralization

and wanted to nominate himself minister of foreign affairs. In pursuit of his aim, he attacked<sup>k</sup> the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with his group, but the national guards defended the building and made them retreat: this was the first occasion that freedom fighters opposed each other. Dudas then acquired for himself the headquarters of the Szabad Nep with 80 of his men. He made himself ~~an~~ independent from the rest of the freedom fighters, proclaimed himself president of a revolutionary committee (nobody<sup>knew</sup> what it was really), he was just pursuing his own career). This was a heavy blow to the unity of the Revolution, and combined with the news of Suez it made the future look very dark. By this time there were about 22 papers appearing, and there were about 16 parties formed, all this was very ~~more~~ harmful to the unity. (What was the cause of this division?) The objectives became differentiated. Whereas at the beginning the fight was against the Russians and for the independence of the country, later on this began to change into party struggle and groups were emerging which wanted to remedy their own personal grievances when all the forces should have been concentrated for the most important objective: the liberation of the country from the Russians. To give an example, there was the party of political prisoners, which, beside demanding personal satisfaction, had no other political program. (When did this process start?) Between the 31<sup>st</sup> of October and the 2nd of November, because the liquidation of the Party Headquarters at Republic Square showed momentarily the victory of

the Revolution and the consolidation of its achievements; the apparent withdrawal of Russian troops fortified these feelings. My own ill forebodings were confirmed through the conversation which I had with Zoltan Vas, in the Parliament, on the morning of the 3rd of November. I wanted to go to Vienna with trucks in order to bring back some of the International Red Cross supplies and I needed the permission of Zoltan Vas, who was then commissary of food administration. He told me that although the Government fully endorsed the idea and would be grateful for the help, he could not give any concrete support to the plan, that is giving official permission and armed escort, because there are five thousand Russian tanks moving in the country in order to close the Western frontier and to form a ring around Budapest and that the task of the present Cabinet Council to which he was proceeding was to find a solution for this grave situation. He proposed to postpone our conversation until the following Monday, when he hoped to be able to tell me more. By this time the National Guard was unified to the extent that it would have been capable to reduce to ~~the~~ passivity those elements who were trying to fish in troubled waters during the Revolution, and in cooperation with the Democratic Army it would have been able to ensure the protection of the country if History would have given a chance to this in the form of one or two more days. The National Guard was organized from politically conscious and armed freedom fighters in order to defend the country

against exterior and interior enemies. The Army, at this moment has disintegrated and ceased to exist: partly it merged with the Freedom Fighters, partly it went cowardly into hiding; the re-organization of the Army was to be carried out through the National Guard; in connection with these problems our paper was in constant contact with the Ministry of Defense. The Kadar-Government keeps proclaiming that Imre Nagy and his Cabinet surrounded itself with reactionaries and that in the lobby of the Parliament former ~~XXX~~ politicians thronged in Horthy uniforms or Hungarian gala dresses or cutaways, seeking positions. I had occasion to go several times to the Parliament, but I have seen no trace of this and, for instance, on the morning of the 3rd of November I met Zoltan Tildy on his way to the Cabinet meeting, accompanied not by "darutollas" ("crane-feathered") generals, but by Chinese journalists.

- (4 c) Yes, I saw; I hate mob justice<sup>e</sup> and I disapprove of it. In editorials in our paper we fought against it.
- (6)a-g) It is rather difficult to speak of the Revolution in terms of organization and groups. The actual fighting began before the building of the radi@ when members of the AVH fired into the crowds ~~THE~~ To make clear further developments, I have to mention here the Association of [the Hungarian] Freedom Fighters, (Szabadsagharcos Szovetseg) which was an organization to train the youth for partisan fighting; there was a training center in every district of the city, where the youth had target practice and was trained in motoring and in parachuting and stocks of 6mm-rifles were kept there. When the



AVH opened fire, the youths ran to these centers and brought out the rifles and started to shoot back; upon this the force of arms was called in, that is the Police and Army, who, when arriving saw that the AVH was firing at the people, handed over their arms to the population and the continuously growing crowd, by now armed and joined later by the Army, besieged the radio headquarters. The AVH was trying to get ammunition to those caught inside; they tried to smuggle in ammunition ~~XXXX~~ in ambulance cars, but the people stopped the cars and distributed the munition to the armed population. During the same night they opened the police stations and armories, and <sup>also</sup> ~~the~~ distribution of arms began from the armaments factory at Csepel. Trucks started to Aszod, to bring back arms, <sup>to Budapest</sup> but I do not know what had become of them. Everybody was fighting against the Russians, it was a popular uprising. Groups sprang up in places where fighting concentrated: for instance Szena-Square, Moricz Zsigmond Circus, Ulloi Street, Republic ~~Square~~ <sup>Square</sup>, Csepel. People who carried no arms were not afraid of those who were armed. Mr. Szabó (Szabó "bácsi") was the commander of the group at Szena Square, Maleter at the Kilian Barracks. There was discipline, voluntarily accepted. The situation was very fluid; whoever is Hungarian, joins the fighters; the decisions were dictated by the situations.

(6 h) For instance Szabo: he was a simple factory worker and yet he was a born strategist; all by himself he assured the defense of Castle Hill (Var). The need of the moment produces the commanders.

- (6 j) At the beginning the exchange of information and direction was done by telephone and through communication from friend to friend; it worked out very well. Later on through the newspapers the fight was turned from its initial instinctive stage into conscious fight. But necessity remained the most important factor. Wherever shooting was unavoidable, it was done, otherwise not.
- (7) The Kilian Barracks and the Corvin Passage were the armed nuclei<sup>s</sup> of the Revolution (Maletér). Very important was the group at the Szena Square to ensure communication toward the West. Also the Seventh District command of the National Guard.
- (7 a) The most important conflict was caused by the group of Dulas; others were temporarily, mostly caused by the physical and nervous exhaustion of the people. There was for instance the adjutant of Szabo from Szena ter, who was the commander of the guard which was protecting our editorial office; the guard was staying downstairs while we were editing the paper upstairs. This man, in private<sup>Life</sup>, assistant to the professor at the Institute of Technology and a very decent man, did not sleep for a week; when the situation began taking shape and one had to engage in politics also and not only in fighting, once he turned up in the editorial office with a machine gun in his hand and started to scream: "They are defiling the Revolution, there should be no lynching!" He was completely exhausted and we tried to talk to him <sup>that he should</sup> ~~and to~~ have some sleep. Later on he admitted that his nerves cracked. He was in charge of the defense of the editorial office during four days from the fourth of November, the beginning of the attack, until

the seventh, when it was occupied by the Russians. The Russian attack began in the dawn of the fourth of November and the building was surrounded by tanks. In view of the early hours, the majority of the editorial team was away and trying to get a few ~~hours~~ hours' sleep; only one of our correspondents (Joseph Gali), who lived in the vicinity of the office, was able to get into the building with a few typographers before the Soviet armored cars surrounded the building. The guard had, of course, never left the building. The paper continued to appear from the fourth through the seventh of November with material supplied through telephone. The majority of the printers had also remained in the building and slept there. They were defending their printing office. The printing offices themselves were under the management of a different enterprise and in that building there were several editorial offices; the manager of the printing enterprise was also in the building and he was forced to let the paper be printed. The manager tried to demoralize the workers, but Gali succeeded to offset his influence; however, in the afternoon of the seventh of November, the command of the guard notified that he will not be able to hold out longer than maybe three more hours, because infantry attack was under way. Whereupon Gali announced that since the workers had nothing to be afraid of because they were working in the printing office which was underground, he will go upstairs to a window at which the gunbarrel of a tank was directed and if the workers are willing to set in

type what was to be the last issue of the paper, during that time he will stay in the window and smoke cigarettes. During the remaining three hours the paper was finished, by some miracle the tank did not fire, and the workers, leaving the building through an emergency exit onto a side street, took out with them the copies of the paper and Gali, whom they found unconscious before his window. Next day, when he told me this story, I think I was most profoundly shaken by his confession that the most difficult for him was to overcome his own ~~cowardice~~ cowardice.

(7 b) Very well.

(7 c) Certainly (see above).

(7 d) I of course had contact with intellectuals (see above); for the clergy I should mention my interview with Cardinal Mindszenty; insofar as the peasantry is concerned, it turned out that they have stood up behind Budapest with ~~such~~ <sup>r</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~unity~~ ~~to~~ ~~with~~ ~~there~~ ~~was~~ ~~unmatched~~ ~~unparalleled~~ ~~example~~ throughout the history of Hungary. Before, the peasants took advantage of the political situation, however, this time they were generous. During the strike the peasantry took sides herocially with the workers and supplied them with their farm produce in order to enable them to continue their strike. I was elected into the Revolutionary Council of the Touring Theater Company ~~and~~ and of the Theatrical Arts ~~Association~~ <sup>Association</sup>; I was sent out from the paper to participate in the formation of the Revolutionary Council of the Ministry of Education. The revolutionary councils were elected by secret ballot by the employees and workers of the

various ~~plants~~ <sup>plants</sup> and offices and each council took in hand the direction of ~~the plant~~ <sup>the plant</sup> or that part of it, ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> which it was elected.

- (8) The Russian troops did not know where they were sent; within a period of two weeks ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> were changed three times. The troops stationed originally in Hungary became unreliable because they had a great sympathy for the people, which showed itself ~~in~~ mostly in passivity and sometimes they even joined the freedom fighters; first they were replaced from neighboring countries. It was a great tragedy for the Russians that many Hungarians spoke Russian and thus many of the troops became informed of, and impressed by, the situation. When the troops sent from neighboring countries proved also lacking in zeal, they were replaced by Mongolian troops, ~~who~~ <sup>which</sup> were sent to Hungary with the direction that they are going to Suez or to Eastern Germany to crush a revolution; the Mongolians don't speak Russian, they are beasts. The only thing they know is how to shoot. The Chief of the Soviet Security Police, Serov, was sent to Budapest.

- (8 c) There were many Korean students who took an ~~active~~ active part in the fightings. I even know of four students from Viet Minh, studying at the Agricultural College, who participated in the fightings at Szena Square. (Imre Nagy was Professor at the Faculty of Agriculture). There were many Korean students in Budapest, studying there on scholarships; despite the fact that

there was nothing that could be said against them, and their subsequent behavior proved their true feelings, people were indignant about the fact that so many Hungarians could not study at the University and at the same time so many foreign students were admitted.

- (8 d) They disappeared and tried to escape.
- (8 e) See above: Question 4, the demonstration before the Parliament on the 25th of October, when Russian tanks stationed before the Astoria Hotel joined the demonstrators. Also as I have mentioned before, on several occasions they asked for asylum, & in one instance in our editorial office we gave civilian clothes to such Russian soldiers.
- (8 f) Prior to October 23 their influence was limitless, during the Revol<sup>ution</sup> their influence was null, and after the crushing of the Revol<sup>ution</sup>, from the fourth of November, their limitless influence has been reestablished.
- (9) I lived in it. If I was not on the spot, I discussed things with friends or by the telephone, etc.
- (9 a) The part they played was essentially informative, they did not direct the events; by the time they could have reached that stage, their publication was made impossible. I considered very important the part played by the press after it was forced into illegality after the 7th of November.
- (9 b) ~~He was~~ <sup>We had</sup> innumerable contacts: from everywhere in Budapest and from the province people came to the editorial office, on the other hand

we tried to be on the spot whenever we could; for instance we went out to the Concentration Prison (Gyűjtőfogház). During the Revolution we became the semi-official paper of the Government.

(9 c) We listened to all the radios all the time. The tone of the Russian broadcasts was abominable; on the other hand it was disheartening the procrastination which characterized the attitude adopted by the Western powers in the Hungarian question.

(10) They disintegrated, everything. There was not one organized unit, whether within the Government or within the Party; everybody was trying to save his life, the first effort to reorganize was the Munich-Kadar separation move in the afternoon of the 3rd of November.

(10 a) In my opinion, every institution which had a sphere of action concerning political life, collapsed. The AVH disintegrated, also in the Ministry of Defense was taken over by elements who made themselves known in the freedom fights. The Police was taken in hand by K<sup>p</sup>opacsi; anyway, nobody had anything against the Police, because it did not participate in the crushing of the Freedom Fight, ~~but~~ on the contrary, sympathized with it, and the people working with Kopacsi were all in full agreement with the policies of Imre Nagy. On the other hand, organizations concerned with food supply, like bakeries or "Közért", were working; post office, ~~XXXXXX~~ telephone was excellent, in ten minutes I could get Paris and the or Kolozsvár, they employees of the Post Office ~~and the~~ Telephone did

their part of the Freedom Fight, as others did with arms, by continuing on their jobs; the demand on their service was very heavy.

- (10 e) The ~~E~~ revolutionary councils of courts and the public prosecutor's office were very cooperative in the liberation of political prisoners, even now they are working in a positive sense.
- (10 g) They were active under the premiership of Imre Nagy.
- (10 h) They functioned very well in the country, the position taken by the province was constructive.
- (10 i) My only contact was with Cardinal Mindszenty.
- (10 j) The Association of Freedom Fighters, formerly the Partisan Association, that's where the youths obtained their first arms; they rather took advantage of it than use it to further <sup>their</sup> ~~their~~ ends: since all the old organizations disintegrated, the revolutionary councils were those political organs which took over the functions of the former ones.
- (10 k) The revolutionary councils, the workers' councils, political parties (the Communist Party did not exist actually during the Revolution). The organization of independent trade unions was under way, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Social Democratic Party, etc., there were about 16 political parties by the end of October.
- (10 l) The composition of workers' councils was the following: engineers, business administrator, chief accountant, representatives of



office personnel, of skilled workers and unskilled workers. As it is seen, it <sup>has</sup> ~~is~~ a very broad composition, comprising all the elements and levels of the factory. This circumstance made it possible to the Kadar-regime to liquidate the workers' councils: they played <sup>on</sup> ~~the~~ the theme of class-enemy against the professional members of the councils and thereby began their division. The workers' councils sprang up spontaneously and with great intelligence in order to guarantee the continuation of production, when the Party and Government collapsed, and they <sup>e</sup> ~~w~~ere functioning very well and they would have become a great asset of the economic life.

(10 m) It would have depended on a great many factors, many of which we don't even know. There is no doubt that the wish of the people was true democracy, national independence, universal equal and secret elections, nothing else can be said for certain.

(11) Very much.

(11 a) This is a problem which has to be considered from two different points of view. From the point of view of international politics it is undoubtedly useful because, first, it proved that the "Communist consciousness" of the satellite states is a fiction; two, that it was directed not against Socialism but against Russian imperialism; three, that the captive small nations cannot count on the promised help by the great democracies when they start their own liberation. From the point of view of the Hungarian people it was undoubtedly harmful because, first, it set back

the process of democratization which started after the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in the countries ruled by Moscow; two, unwittingly it helped the coming into force of such terror which is surpassing even the most bloody periods of Stalinism; three, finally, it exposed the country and the people to <sup>economic and intellectual</sup> a considerable/less and, literally, <sup>to</sup> ~~speaking~~ loss of blood, which could hardly be called useful.

- (11 b) Yes. If the help promised by the great Western democracies (radio broadcasts, Free Europe, Voice of America; the BBC was more diplomatic about it; also the French radio; even during the Revolution; speeches of Secretary of State Dulles) would have been given effectively, if the United Nations, instead of ~~XXXXX~~ resolutions which were not needed, would have done what was requested by Hungary: effective action through sending observers and U.N. police <sup>force</sup> into Hungary in order to regularize the relationship between two member-states of the United Nations. The Russians were just as much afraid of a third world war as anybody else and not to make use of this <sup>fear</sup> was a grave omission even from the point of view of political realism.
- (11 c) See above; after the crushing of the Revolution, I would have expected at least diplomatic and economic sanctions against the Soviet Union.
- (11 d) Because it was in Hungary that the authority in power, under particular psychological circumstances and in a particular way, fired into the people, into that Hungarian people which during

her thousand-year long history took arms, not for the first time, to fight for her liberty. It is not by accident that ~~the~~ uprisings occurred in Hungary and Poland: because among all the people's democracies only these two peoples have such historical traditions which justify their choice.

- (11 e) In the first place he is a scientist, and only in the second place is he a realistic politician<sup>ci</sup>. He is an extraordinarily well-meaning person, who sincerely wanted to see conditions in Hungary ~~to be~~ improved and who, for this reason, every since his first ~~premier-~~<sup>premier-</sup>ship enjoyed great popularity throughout the country. People were literally ~~HE~~ hysterical about wanting him back. In my opinion Imre Nagy would have been only a transition, although I could not say who would have succeeded him in case of a democratic development. At the beginning the Revolution was only against the Russians, later it became anti-Communist, and precisely because of this anti-Communist character, Imre Nagy would have lost from his well-deserved popularity because of his Party position~~XXXX~~ in case of an absolute democracy. It is impossible to know how things would have actually developed.

- (11 f) Those strategists were very important who took the situation in hand while the actual fighting was going on. Such as Pal Maleter, Sandor Kopacsi, Bela Kiraly. Also the writers, a young generation: Lajos Tamasy ("The Blood is Streaming in the Streets of Pest," this is the title of a beautiful poem ~~he~~ he wrote), Istvan Eorsi,

Istvan Lakatos; they all expressed the mood of the Revolution with beautiful poems. Also the older generation, Gyula Xllyes, Laszlo Nemeth, Tiber Dery, Gyula Hay, Tibor Aczel (the last-named was the Secretary of the Writers' Union). There was the unanimous stand taken by the actors: Sinkovics, Gyula Benko, Ivan Darvas, Miklos Szakacs, Gyorgy Bessenyei, Elma Bulla, Imre Apati, Hanna Honthy, Sandor Pecsí, Sandor Szabo, etc.

Tildy: they reproached him that he handed over the Independent Smallholders' Party to the Communists; now he tried to work honestly, but his name was more important than his activity. ~~was also an important~~ Cardinal Mindszenty was also an important figure. Zoltan Vas identified himself entirely with the Revolution, he was working to the end on the side of Imre Nagy, Geza Losonczy was very correct. Joseph Dudas: he was an irresponsible element. Nothing occurs to me in connection with Gyorgy Lukacs.

- (11 g) The following is the order of importance I would establish:  
(v), (iii), (i), (iv), (vi), (ii), (vii).
- (11 h) Yes, because in a revolution youth, especially the studying youth, plays always a great part. This is a basic rule of revolutions.
- (12) On the 10th of December, in consequence of the first wave of arrests directed against the intellectuals.
- (12 a) An order of arrest issued against me. (How did you know about it?)  
The wife of my editor-in-chief, after her husband was arrested,

telephoned me that the secret police had a list and she was notifying me and all the other correspondents of the paper.

(12 b)

I had no time. As a matter of fact I was already once arrested at the border, at the end of November, when I took my family and seven young men, who had taken a very active part in the fighting and were therefore in great danger, with the intention of getting them safely through the frontier and then I was to return to Budapest. We left by a bus belonging to the theater, carrying false papers and under the false pretense of buying foodstuff for the theater; we got off at Koszeg, broke up into four groups, and decided to attempt the crossing of the border in four waves, so to speak, within a distance of twenty minutes. Two groups had already left, I and my son were the third one and my wife with two other young men were still left behind. At a bend of the path my son noticed that Russian soldiers were putting men on trucks, so we quickly returned and warned my wife and her escort not to leave. Soon a Russian military car picked us up and took us to a police station where my five young men were being questioned by three Russian officers with the help of an AVO officer as interpreter. Of course I did not know what questions had been asked already ~~and~~<sup>or</sup> what the boys said<sup>d</sup> and therefore I decided to use a psychological method: I started to shout at them in an angry fashion: "Now again what did you do?" The boys understood it and quickly replied that "they went to get some wine

and now these Russian officers think that they wanted to cross the border!" At that time the sale of alcoholic beverages was forbidden and it was only ~~WINE~~ from peasants that one could procure wine. I picked up their line and said to the AVO ~~THE~~ officer in a high-handed way that there was no question of leaving the country, our papers prove sufficiently that we are on a legitimage<sup>t</sup> business and that is how we were allowed into the frontier zone; I also added that since my papers are in order, I refuse to discuss the matter further. The Russians went on questioning the boys; there was in the room also a plain-clothes Russian, who was obviously an NKVD officer who did not participate in the questioning. I decided to go and sit by his side and smoke a cigarette. Somehow I had the feeling that everything depended on him. ~~MYSELF~~ My apparent calm impressed him and finally he decided to let us go back to Szombathely, and warning us not to come again in this neighborhood, he let us go. But I replied that I shall come again because this is my ~~JOB~~ job and I just can't see why a Hungarian in Hungary could not go where he pleased. At Szombathely our military escort directed us to go into the inside of the country and let us go. On the 6th of December I received the telephone call of the wife of my editor-in-chief. I left my apartment within five minutes and went to friends. From there I called up immediately the Greater Budapest Workers' Council and talked to Mr. Fekete, who was in charge <sup>of</sup> ~~with~~ matters connected

with the press; I asked him to immediately take steps in order to obtain the release of my editor-in-chief. I was confident that the action of the Workers' Council would be ~~XXX~~ successful and I continued to hide with my various friends. Since a few years I had separated from my wife, with whom I maintained, however, a very friendly relation<sup>ship</sup> and she lived in a separate apartment with my son; they did not have a telephone and thus I could not notify them. However, I tried to reach my colleagues from the paper and notified them of the danger. The 8 o'clock news broadcast announced that the<sup>state</sup> security police arrested my editor-in-chief for incitement to revolt and the arrest of his accomplices was in progress. I spent the night at Kobanya, at dawn my friends smuggled me into Budapest through a very strong<sup>Police</sup> cordon in a truck transporting ~~flowers~~<sup>flour</sup>. It was agreed that before my office at the Touring Theater Company ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~, a bus belonging to the theater would be waiting for me; I intended first to go up to my office, but when I arrived at Madach Square, I found cars belonging to the Secret Police standing before the building of the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~<sup>Touring Theater Company</sup>; The janitor of another building nearby, where we also had some offices, recognized me and told me that during the night Russians surrounded the<sup>office</sup> ~~other~~ building and were searching for the printing outfit of our illegal press publications, but they did not find anything. Later I knew from my wife that the police was looking for me in my flat. Under the circumstances I thought it best to board the

bus immediately and we drove to Sopron. From there I telephoned to a friend of mine and asked him to notify my wife; I still did not want to leave the country, but my friend insisted that I had to go. At night we drove towards the frontier, I stepped off the moving bus to make the last stretch on foot. I was stopped by Hungariaa frontier guards, but they let me go. So finally I crossed the frontier. My family succeeded in joining me later.

(12 e) I did not want to leave the country because I felt it is my duty to continue the fight, which was started on the 23rd of October, for the human rights. Unfortunately, circumstances which threatened my liberty, and possibly my life, forced me to leave <sup>Hungary.</sup> ~~the country.~~



The following is an abstract of the play "Szabadsaghegy" ("Liberty Hill") by Joseph Gali, as told by respondent:

The heroes of the play are a mother of proletarian origin with her three sons; the father, who was a Communist, was sentenced to death still before the second World War at the occasion of a purge of Communists. In 1945 the life of the family changes, the three boys make career. One has become a Minister, the other a director of a factory, and the third a district party secretary. The last-mentioned is the favorite son of the mother. This party-secretary son has a good ~~XXXX~~ friend, who is of good middle class intellectual background, but he is progressive in his thinking, he believes that men are equal and that the working class has a part to play in the life of the State. He speaks many languages and he is an interpreter in a state organization of cultural relationships. A delegation of the Swedish trade unions arrives in Hungary, and this man is assigned to show them around; He shows them what is customary to show to foreigners in Hungary: the Lake Balaton, the new apartment houses for workers, etc. One of the Swedish delegates, when seeing the workers' apartment houses, has the following commentary: "These are blocs, in our country the workers live in villas, they have their own car, they live in bourgeois comfort and not in phalanstery-like houses." The interpreter becomes mad on hearing this because, as he says, "We have many problems, and even this is progress." He decides to take the delegation to the Maria Valeria-telep, a famous slum in Budapest, which is

there, ~~was~~ unchanged, since the first World War. A week later, pictures appear in the foreign press, showing photographs taken of the Maria Valeria settlement and the title of the pictures say: "This is how the workers live in the Soviet paradise in Hungary." Whereupon the interpreter is arrested and sentenced to five years prison. His friend, the party secretary, wants to defend him, but all he can accomplish is that he himself gets arrested and interned.

All this is the background of the actual play. When the curtain goes up, we are in a villa on Liberty Hill, the home of the Minister, where the family sits together: the mother, her Minister and factory director son, and the wife of the interned party secretary. The other members of the family have kept a secret from the mother that her favorite son is interned, and what she knows is that her son is in Russia on a research mission. They even have arranged to have letters mailed from Russia, but somehow the mother feels that the letters are not written by her son, this is what the conversation is about. The minister and his sister-in-law go on a carnival party. She is the wife of the interned man, she is a Jewish girl coming from a wealthy great-industrialist family, and the two are having an affair. The mother remains alone and she is reading the letters. The interpreter (Istvan <sup>1</sup>Perle) has just been released from prison and he comes to visit the family. Of course, he does not know anything of

the fate of his friends. However, through the conversation with the mother, everything becomes clear. The mother is profoundly shocked. Her children lied to her a terrible lie. However, she decides not to reveal to them that she knows the truth. She wants to see what will happen. She begins to insist that she wants to talk to her son over the telephone. Her other sons try to dissuade her, saying that it is difficult to get a connection, but she insists. While they are arguing about it, there is a telephone message from the Ministry of Justice: the son has died of a heart attack in the prison. Now they have to tell the truth to the mother. She decides to leave the house of her son, the minister because, as she tells him: "You did not fight to save your own brother because you were afraid for your own position." She also tells him that when he made her move up to his villa on the Liberty Hill, he did this to cut her off the world and prevent her from learning the truth. The minister breaks down.

The other son, the factory director, under the impact of the events becomes drunk. There is the famous "rum-monologue": this is a tremendous piece. "Here we have not a revolution of the proletariat, he says, but the revolution of the rum, all they have is bad rum... But <sup>t</sup> one day it will set on fire the whole country, which was built on lies, hypocrisy, and baseness." The wife, now widow, of the party secretary, decides to leave the minister, whom she despises. The minister remains alone.

All of a sudden an AVO-man appears with a machine gun; the minister thinks he has come to arrest him, he is also afraid. But the AVO-man says: "Sir, I only came to report that tonight nothing particular has happened."

So this is the only man on whom he still can count, thinks the minister. And he offers him rum, while the curtain falls.

(Respondent's further remarks in connection with the play are to be found in answer to Question 1, Section R.)

As annex to this interview can be found three clippings from the New York Times of June 21, 24, and 26, 1957, respectively, announcing the death sentences conferred by the Hungarian Supreme Court on Joseph Gali and Gyula Obersovszky among others; an appeal from Picasso to Kadar; and an announcement of the stay of execution.-- As a result of the reaction of the West, these two death sentences were commuted for 15 years for Gali and life term for Obersovszky.

(1 a) I studied at the Faculty of Law and Economics of the University at Kolozsvár, where I obtained a lawyer's diploma; during my student years I also did reporter's work for newspapers as a volunteer. I left Transylvania at the end of 1948 and took up permanent residence in Budapest.

(2) From September 1948 to the spring of 1949, as I had difficulty to find an employment, I worked as a handicraft weaver, because I could do this without applying for a license; I worked at home, I made scarves and interlining and I turned in my work to private cooperatives. For about a year, till the spring of 1950, I worked as a chief accountant at the fire brigade high command. Around that time I was in danger of being deported from Budapest and I accepted a position as chief accountant at the offices of Tolna-County of the by-products and refuse collecting enterprise (MEH, this in fact is a nationalized version of the rag-and-bone merchant's trade). I worked there till October 1951. In November 1951 I succeeded to get myself transferred to the Touring Theater Company, which was then being formed, as an accountant. During the Revolution I was on the editorial staff of the newspaper

(2 a,b,c,d) Igazság. 9 Information regarding job held with MEH: a/ bookkeeping, b/ chief accountant, c/ April 1950 to October 1951, d/ no.

(2 e,f,g) One of the difficulties of Hungarian industry was permanent shortage of raw materials and this enterprise was created to somewhat ease this shortage through the collection of industrial by-products and household refuse. Campaigns of collection were

arranged, at which occasion at ridiculously low prices they bought up from the population discards of iron, glass, paper, rags, (<sup>= phonograph</sup>) gramophone<sub>A</sub> discs, etc., which were processed to serve as raw materials for industry. This was a state enterprise. It was also in charge of feather collecting, which, through export, meant a source of <sup>foreign currency</sup> ~~devisa~~ for Hungary. At Dunapentele, for instance, the Government created a steel plant at fantastic cost; as Rakosi said: "We have to make out of Hungary the country of steel." It was beside the point that Hungary had neither iron nor industrial coal, and despite ~~the~~ the fact that the mineral prerequisites were just nonexistent, in the course of the creation of heavy industry in Hungary, they have copied in a servile manner the development of the Soviet people's economy. The first plans <sup>were</sup> ~~the~~ more rational: they planned to erect a steel plant at Mohacs, where, in the framework <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ a harmonious economic cooperation, they could have imported raw materials from Yugoslavia and some results could have been obtained. However, in consequence of the deterioration of the political relationship with Yugoslavia, the already finished <sup>plans</sup> ~~plans~~ were thrown out, with heavy loss of expenses already spent on land measurements on the spot, and with no reason to justify it, they selected Dunapentele as the site of the erection of the steel plants. ("Kombinat" which means a vertical manufacturing plant.) This newly-created industrial town received in the "baptismal" ceremony the "proud" name of Stalintown and its raw material supplies were furnished by the MEH in the form of cast-off stove pipes, irons,

exploded radiators, and steamboilers out of use for several decades, which it collected. The economic policy of Imre Nagy was the first to point to the unjustified excesses of heavy industry investments and though the regime blamed Imre Nagy for his economic-political program of 1953, nevertheless the further development of heavy industry investments was stopped by 1955. That's how the Budapest subway constructions came to a halt, after several collapsed apartment houses supported the correctness of Imre Nagy's views. Because of its many thermal springs, the site of Budapest is not adapted to deep drilling; but because in Moscow they had a deep subway, it had to be also in Budapest. While I was working at <sup>this enterprise (MEH)</sup> ~~the construction~~, its operation was successful; <sup>beginning</sup> it has to be noted, however, that my term coincided with the ~~beginning~~ <sup>of its</sup> operation of ~~the undertaking~~ and there comes a day, when even refuse and scraps are exhausted. <sup>It</sup> ~~The undertaking~~ <sup>each</sup> operated in the following way: ~~every~~ <sup>each</sup> month was designated for a campaign of a different type of scrap or refuse, like iron, rag, glass, etc. Young Pioneers (Úttörők) in uniform descended on towns and villages, they rang the bells in every house and declared that they are willing to collect from attick to cellar everything that is refuse : they collected everything they could lay their hands on, brass knobs were dismantled from doors, <sup>mortars</sup> ~~knobs~~ and iron door mats were stolen, etc. , and amidst deprecations of the lady of the house, everything was piled on pushcarts and transported to the collecting station; there the boys were paid for what they collected on a per kilogram fix rate basis. Rates were as follows: ~~one kilogram~~

one kilogram iron 10 fillers, one kg brass or copper 4 to 5 forints, one kg rag 45 fillers, scrap paper 50 fillers per kg, clean paper one forint per kg. The population was authorized to bring in the scraps themselves instead of the young pioneers. It also happened that the boys would turn in what they collected, and during the night they would steal it, because the station was not locked, and the next day they would bring it again and collect the money for it again; sometimes they would sell the same material three-four times. In fact everything was collected, from horsechestnuts to apricot ~~XXX~~ pits. Propaganda for the collection campaigns <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ carried on in the radio, movies, newspapers, and also at schools. There was a two-line rhymed slogan for the collection movement which, translated into English, would run as follows: "Collect iron, collect metal, with <sup>this</sup> ~~XX~~ also you are defending peace." It is characteristic of the popular humor that this slogan was changed during the Revolution as follows: (of course, through the translation most of the effect is lost) "Shoot the houses, shoot the people, with this also you are defending peace." The headquarters of the branch office where I worked was at Bonyhad, in Tolna County. The managers of industrial/<sup>enterprises</sup> ~~enterprises~~ were appointed from the ranks of the so-called "workers kaders" who beside having excellent Party connections had no other qualifications and were ignorant of the industrial structure of the given company which they were supposed to manage; this was an additional tragedy in the economic life of Hungary. Chief accountants



were compelled under law to restrain managers from committing illegalities, which they were apt to do in view of their lack of expert knowledge. In other words, they were expected to explain to the managers what they should not do. This circumstance naturally led to conflicts between the managers and the chief accountants and in the end it was always the chief accountant who landed in a prison. The following joke is characteristic of the situation: A group of prisoners is being escorted through the streets from the jail of Marko Street; a woman, who happens to pass by, recognizes in one of the prisoners her former chief and calls after him: "Chief accountant, comrade!" Whereupon the whole group turns around to answer the call... Understandably there was a great shortage of chief accountants. The only way for me to get out of that job was to find a replacement and it took me two months to find an enterprising and no doubt foolish man who was willing to accept the post; by this time nobody dared to accept a chief accountant's post. Only after my replacement was assured could I obtain permission from the Budapest center to leave my job.

~~EX~~ Information regarding my job at the Touring Theater Company:

/2 a/ I was hired as an accountant by the newly-founded Touring Theater Company. I owe it to my friends that I was able to get this post. These friendships date back to 1944, when in September I fled to  
E

Budapest from the Russians invading Transylvania. I joined a group of people who were trying to help persons persecuted by the Szalasi terror with false identification papers and in other ways. This group of friends was made up mostly from reporters, theater and film people; because of our democratic views, soon we became persecuted ourselves. These were the friends who helped me to get the position with the Touring Theater Company and they made it possible to me to get back to Budapest.

/2 b/ Accountant.

c/ From November 1951 to April 1952.

d/ Yes, I was promoted to treasurer. This was a more interesting assignment because it carried greater responsibilities. The Touring Theater had ~~KKK~~<sup>twelve</sup> theatrical companies and each company had independent financial administration and I was in charge of the coordination thereof. The yearly budget amounted to twelve million forints with a deficit of six millions, which was subventioned by the state. From the end of 1955 I became art secretary; the political situation had eased so much that, despite of my not being a Party member, I was given this post. In this assignment I was concerned with problems of cast, rehearsals, timetable for our productions throughout the country, propaganda (posters, communiques in newspapers), extending invitations, and the artistic supervision of the performances in Budapest. My relationship with the actors was excellent. In carrying out my duties

I was directly responsible to the manager. During the Revolution I was elected Chairman of the Presidency of the Revolutionary Council; I received 189 votes out of 201. After the crushing of the Revolution, in principle everything went back to the old order; however, for quite a while, the strike was going on.

e/f

The Touring <sup>Theater</sup> Company was called into being in 1951, when large-scale farming policy was to be implemented. The task of the theater was to prepare the spiritual atmosphere in the villages which would induce the peasants to enter the collective farms. We had to operate on the basis of guided program policy; all the plays which were shown aimed at bringing nearer the peasants to the Soviet ideal, which was alien to their nature. The theater has achieved important results in this field; it staged more than 3000 performances and the number of spectators reached almost three millions. ~~THROUGH~~ To the selection of the plays they applied the experience of the so-called kolkhoz theaters of the Soviet Union; many Russian plays were performed and also plays bearing on this subject written in the people's democracies. There were even Hungarian playwrights who wrote to promote the objectives of the theater, such as Erno Urban, Otto <sup>Major</sup> ~~Magyar~~, etc. It is a well known fact that the theater is a great <sup>society forming</sup> power. ~~OF~~ ~~forming society~~ we gave first-class performances, exactly on the level of the Budapest theatrical performances, and the combination of these factors impressed the peasants. In Hungary the peasantry did not have the time to get accustomed to the

ownership of the land. The greatest omission of the pre-war so-called "Gentlemen's Hungary" was that she did not carry out the land reform, and the millions of peasants who had suffered of the disadvantages of a feudal landowning system were not able to display an adequate critical spirit. After five years of abnormal conditions, from 1945 to 1950, they were unable to distinguish between the forced collectivization of ~~the~~ Soviet type and the voluntary cooperative system which proved so successful in the agrarian countries of Western Europe, such as the Netherlands and Denmark. There is no doubt that large-scale farming appears to be extremely advantageous, especially if it is not followed by a dictatorial agrarian policy of ruthless exploitation, as was the case in Hungary. The Touring Theater Company worked with a membership of three hundred, out of which two hundred were artists and the remaining hundred working as auxiliary personnel, such as scenery shifters, dressmakers, dressers, hairdressers, sound technicians, bus drivers, etc. Office personnel and management amounted to thirty persons. The twelve troupes visited the country by buses of the latest model and were accompanied by trucks carrying the scenery and other accessories. The troupe would arrive at the chief town of a district and would set up quarters for three weeks there and go from there every evening to a different community to give a performance. The troupe was preceded by the trucks which set up the theater. Beside the propaganda plays we also had a classical

repertoire: Tartuffe by Moliere (it was played 600 times), American Tragedy by Dreiser in a Russian transcript, a dramatization of Eugenie Grandet by Balzac, Uncle Tom's Cabin by Mrs. Stowe, Servant of Two Masters by Goldoni, As You Like It by Shakespeare, etc. The theater was everywhere a great sensation and was greeted enthusiastically, we always had a full house. The tickets were relatively cheap, less than in Budapest, the most expensive cost 14 forints; anyway the peasants had money. This is the theater ~~which~~ in my opinion -- and also in the opinion of the Theatrical Arts Revolutionary Council -- the maintaining of which is indicated and necessary even in a liberated Hungary. In view of the trying working conditions, the artist membership considered an assignment to the Touring Theater to be of a punitive character. There were always fluctuations at the end of <sup>a</sup>the theatrical seasons and it is true that the majority of the actors and actresses who were assigned to us had this happening to them because of their "negative" political attitude. For instance Istvan Nagy. Because of the heterogenous composition of the theater, during the Revolution it was greatly helping the objectives of the Revolution. The Touring Theater also had at its disposal a theater in Budapest, where each month another ~~one~~ of the twelve companies played our program to the public of Budapest, to the press, and the theatrical profession, keeping them up-to-date on the performances given in the country.

g/ official  
The name of the outfit was ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Village Theater (Faluszinhaz) and later it was changed to Theater of Mrs. Dery (she was a great Hungarian actress who was representing the Hungarian spirit in the years following the War of Independence of 1848.)

- (3) (Answers to this question and to subsequent subquestions are in reference to position held with Touring Theater Company.)

I liked it very much.

- (3 a) Because I had the chance to work with people who, inspired by the principle of <sup>the</sup> independence of art, created an altogether freer atmosphere, similar to which would have been impossible in any other profession in Hungary. During the Revolution the Theatrical Arts Revolutionary Council entrusted me with the setting up of an international impresario agency, and to consider in general the problem of sending Hungarian artists toward the West, which until now was possible only to privileged groups like the State Folks Ensemble.

- (3 b) I did not like the guided program policy, performing of plays which were against the feelings of the actors as well as of the spectators. If the Touring Theater would have been created not on the basis of political considerations, but with the purpose of bringing effective easing <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ the cultural needs of the peasantry, then my position could have been one of the most pleasant and most interesting jobs to be had in Hungary.

~~XXXXXX~~

(3 c) Far the most pleasant.

(3 d) Extremely comfortable. This was due partly to the particular nature of our office, ~~and~~ partly to personal initiative. As it was basically a theater, it possessed among others a furniture stock and it was permitted to choose some nice pieces to furnish our offices; there was also a television set in our office. (What was television like in Hungary?) (It was still in its rudimentary stage, there were showings only on certain days of the week for a few hours; a set cost about 5000 forints.) Our television set had an interesting story. At one occasion we were giving performances in the town of Cegled, which had a rather large theater. We sold the ~~XXXXXX~~ performance to the theater at the same price <sup>as</sup> ~~than~~ we would to a small village theater, for the sum of 3000 forints. The receipts of the performance were so much higher, that after the town council paid us the sum previously agreed to, it was able to buy from the remaining money a television set and they graciously presented it to the Touring Theater. Our premises consisted of small private offices, sometimes there were two people seated in an office. As I mentioned before, there was no objection to our using our personal taste in furnishing our offices; my ~~office~~ office was very attractive, I had in it a radio, two telephones, two electric fans, an aquarium, two squirrels in a cage -- I am very fond of animals -- also my dog accompanied me daily to my office; this was a very exceptional situation.

- (3 e) I went by tramway, it took me about ten minutes.
- (3 f) The regular office hours were eight hours, as everywhere. I personally worked about 12 hours on an average and sometimes more; from 9.30 in the morning till 9.30 in the evening, and I regularly attended our evening performances in the theater.
- (3 g) I usually worked through the seven days of the week; also on Sundays I was inspecting our performances often in the country.
- (3 h) Yes, they paid for it, but one had to put up a fight to get paid. Every Tuesday morning there was a ~~HR~~ production conference, I always had much overtime and they began to be unpleasant about it. One Tuesday morning everybody who was in danger of not getting paid for overtime appeared at the conference in mourning -- they helped themselves from the property room; when the manager asked, why was everybody wearing black, we answered, we are mourning for our overtime. This worked and everybody got paid. The management always tried to be difficult about it, but in the end we won. It is in the nature of the theatrical profession that it would be next to impossible to accomplish our task without working overtime. In the entire theater there was only one convinced Communist, the manager; the rest were opportunists or just frightened. Our manager was in Vienna during the summer to prepare a tour of our theater there; he came home a broken man.
- (3iX) Yes, but from the point of view of the theater they had to be disregarded because we played continuously; of course work done



on legal holidays counted as overtime.

- (3 j) Yes, one month. For the clerical personnel in the office it was somewhat less, however it was more liberal than the usual paid vacation in other offices. On the whole it can be said that our office was much more liberal in every respect to the entire personnel, for instance the daily attendance sheet had to be signed only by those people who needed it, <sup>as a</sup> ~~on~~ <sup>a</sup> basis of their possible overtime. Or, as a rule, official lunch time was only half an hour; however, in our office they did not mind if people took an hour. Everybody had lunch independently, because we decided not to keep a canteen in view of the relatively small number of the personnel. Of course, this way it was more pleasant for all of us.
- (3 l) Those who happened to be late would be reprimanded, but the problem didn't very much arise; in general everybody liked the work, there is no other way to make a theater, and working with a theater has its own charm. Our place of employment was characterized by a more liberal spirit from the part of the management and a more enthusiastic spirit from the part of the workers, both features following from the nature of the theater. This reminds me that for instance in my previous job with the WEH my name was continually listed as a latecomer; it is true that it did not bother me very much and they could not send me away because I was irreplaceable.
- (3 o) There were <sup>certain</sup> benefits connected with every job in Hungary, such as

sickness and old age insurance and paid vacations; special benefits were <sup>free</sup> ~~these~~ theater tickets; I could get <sup>free</sup> ~~these~~ tickets to all the other theaters, and I could invite to our theater as many people as I wanted.

- (4 a) With respect to age it was mixed, as to educational level it was above average, but this was a requirement in our job. I must say that it was an excellent group of people, and we exercised always great care in the selection of our staff in order to ensure a pleasant atmosphere, somehow we had the feeling that we were working on our own. For instance our chief accountant, a woman, had a doctor's degree from the diplomatic academy in Vienna, and she spoke a great number of languages; the majority of the people had university diplomas, they were of middle class background and had excellent manners. Their working performance was also very good, we <sup>regarded</sup> ~~considered~~ good working performance a very important consideration in selecting the staff, in order to avoid any possible attack on the personnel. Most of us had, for instance, season tickets to the Opera, not as a pose but as a cultural need.
- (4 b) Very friendly.
- (4 c) Yes, many.
- (4 d) Yes, a great deal. In 1956 even more, naturally.
- (4 e) Yes. For instance they did not let me go to Vienna with the artists' ship, nor was I to participate in the projected theatrical tour in Austria, in other words they did not let me go to the

West, despite the fact that I would have been entitled to it both in view of the position I held with the theater and my knowledge of foreign languages. In general, they were very careful that people whom they could not consider reliable from the ~~the~~ political point of view should participate only to a certain limit in the management of the affairs.

- (4 f) Very well, because I happened to be the Vice President. Our trade union organization offered the only forum where the system could be criticized. (Did the trade union have any independence?) In principle it ~~was~~<sup>did</sup> not, but often the general provisions of the Work Code were not applicable to our particular profession and consequently in questions such as salary, insurance, vacationing, it was possible, also aided by the loose drafting of the law, to ensure for the workers of the theater greater benefits than was the intention of the law. I was also Chairman of the Conciliation Committee of the theater; the purpose of this institution was to give a chance to the employees to find remedy against unlawful and arbitrary excesses of managers. Within this committee <sup>on</sup> many occasions it was possible, by taking a firm stand against the manager, to achieve important results in favor of the employees. In our committee great fights were fought and on many occasions our side came out victorious. From the decisions made in our local committee it was possible to appeal to the Regional Conciliation Committee; with this body the only way of communication was in a written form. I, as a lawyer, had a great

advantage over the laymen who were on the Regional Committee and I usually succeeded to draft my memoranda in such a way that they had to accept that I was right. The local Conciliation Committee consisted of four members: two of them were delegated by the trade union, two by the management. Always one of the members was chairman by rotation. In case of a tie in the  $\bar{E}$  votes, the vote of the chairman was decisive. At the trade union people knew that I was handling the matters with the Conciliation Committee and therefore they handed their complaints to me. We had 20 to 30 cases during a full season. I was also Chairman of the Social Insurance Committee, which took care of questions connected with holiday resort benefits. This committee was operating within the framework of the trade union organization.

- (4 g) In 1945 free trade unions were created. Later on they were centralized under and directed by the National Council of Trade Unions. The regime tried to justify the abolishment of the independence of the trade unions with the following fiction: in the past regime the task of the trade unions was to prevent the Capitalist exploitation of the workers, now that the means of production have passed, as they called it, into social ownership, the task of the trade unions will consist from now on in organizing work competitions, Stakhanovist and Outstanding Workers movements, etc., for the furtherance of surplus production in the interest of the working society. That's how the trade unionist movement had been debased to the point where it became the obedient tool.

of the exploiting Russian imperialism. Naturally, in order to maintain some of the popularity of the trade unions, it was necessary to make certain concessions and these were the cases when it was possible to oppose the representative of the exploiting system, that is the manager.

- (4 h) See answer to subquestion f.
- (4 i) Yes: it consisted of the manager, the Party secretary, and the president of the trade union. I want to point out here that the president of the trade union was appointed, the vice president was elected by the workers; I was vice president. (What is the purpose of the shop triangle?) To reconcile the points of view of the people's economy, of the Party, by which the former is controlled, and of the trade unions, which are representing the workers. This is its purpose on paper. The practice, as usual, was entirely different. However, in our case the part of the shop triangle was quite unimportant because we were anyway bound by the controlled program policy.
- (4 j) Yes. For instance, Istvan Nagy was an excellent actor and he received adequate parts; many of our stage managers were undoubtedly politically unreliable; Miss Erzsi Rev received awards.
- (4 k) Yes.
- (4 l) Because of the special task assigned to the theater, which in itself was political, the problem did not arise. In final analysis, the imposing of the political program was in itself interference with operation, which resulted in deficit and the need of state

subvention. We certainly did not play box office hits.

- (4 m) In the spring of 1956, after the liberation of the program policy, great easing could be felt, the ratio of propaganda plays fell from 80 percent to 20 percent.
- (4 n) The word "Kader" is a military technical term, which underwent a political modification: it designates persons who already by their class origin are reliable from the point of view of the Communist Party and who can be singled out for important appointments in case of need. Good kader means an intensified variety of this type. Personnel offices in every place of employment kept records on every worker, in which, in the course of the years, every information was noted which was considered to be interesting from the point of view of the Party and that usually covered the entire life of the individuals. The various personnel departments formed a gradual system, and if and when in one or another field of the state economic or political life a person with certain qualifications was needed, the proper choice was made from this material. Those who were chosen were good kaders. If a person changed his job, his kader record was transferred to his new personnel department.
- (4 o) Working class origin and political reliability.
- (4 p) Kader matters were handled by the personnel office and this was equivalent to informing, and it was not secret at all. Also in every place of employment there was a so-called liaison man, or woman, for that matter, of the Ministry of Interior, working for

the AVH. We had such a woman in our office, a discharged second lieutenant of the AVH, who later received a scholarship to the Academy of Dramatic Art and came to the Touring Theater as an actress. All this we learnt during the Revolution, because I managed to lay hands on a partial list of the names of AVH liaison people and there we found her name.

- (5) Migration of labor was disapproved of and this was reflected in many of the official measures. The introduction of the so-called work-books also aimed at the prevention of labor fluctuation; at this occasion four categories of changing jobs were established: one, transfer; two, left the service with consent; three, left the service voluntarily; four, dismissed from service. The third category was applied in cases when somebody, disregarding the so-called people's economy interests, resigned his job. The annotation "left the service voluntarily" in the workbooks had various consequences: for instance a person working hitherto in an intellectual field was obliged for the next six months to work for minimum wages as a physical worker in a job imposed on him through the agency of the Office of Manpower and Labor (MTH). If the change of job did not conflict with the so-called people's economy interests or it happened to be even desirable, there was no difficulty whatsoever to it. For instance a subordinate accountant wanting to exchange his job to a similar job because the new job would be located nearer to his domicile;

but for instance a technical person in an important assignment could not leave his position because his withdrawal from the production would have upset the normal course of the enterprise. While the annotation "left the service with consent," if the employee did not succeed<sup>to find another job</sup>/within 30 days, ~~this~~ resulted in the interruption of the continuity of his rights with regard to social insurance, paid vacation, pension, and thus put him to a disadvantage, a change of job with the annotation "transferred" ensured the continuity of all his rights. The annotation of dismissal, beside the serious consequences mentioned in connection with the voluntary leaving, carried with it the character of political branding.

- (5 a) Because I was trying to find for myself a more advantageous position and succeeded in finding it.
- (5 b) What I have been doing, that is working with the Touring Theater Company,; this was the job I ~~EX~~ sought out for myself. It correspondent to my sphere of interest at that time.
- (5 c) If I would have made certain political concessions to the regime, most probably I would have been able to obtain a higher position and would have been able to substantially improve my living conditions. In general, they had few intelligent people at their disposal and they would have been only too willing to take such. The majority of intellectual jobs were filled by Jews, which cast an unfavorable light on the Party before the masses. The Party would have been happy to employ Christian intellectuals, but the ranks of these were heavily reduced: the oppression of the



so-called ruling classes dealt a heavy blow everywhere to Christians, officers, landowners, higher ranking civil servants, and their children; and in Hungary these were the groups which furnished the intellectuals who had held the country in their hands.

- (5 d) It is a natural human aspiration; each person weighs, according to his concept of life, that is the combination of his education, moral beliefs and concepts, what he considers to be the best for himself.
- (5 e) I would be reading more good books, would be going more often to the theater, opera, would be dressing better, would be traveling more, etc.
- (5 f) What I said before were my ideas before I left Hungary, in case I would have made more money. But now I am a political emigrant: what I would like to do now is to study and to get to know the political and social structure of different states, so that if and when Hungary is liberated, on my return there I ~~will~~ would be able to put my knowledge in the service of the people and my country.
- (5 g) No. It would be too much worrying and suffering for my son if he chose a life similar to mine, which was not of my own free choice either. I would have preferred for my son a practical profession, like that of physician or engineer.
- (6) In my childhood my family conditions permitted me a very comfortable and cultured way of living, which I kept trying to maintain without making concessions in principle.

- (6 a) My living quarters were reduced.
- (6 b) I had no difficulties in procuring articles of first necessity; I was not able to travel, *abroad*.
- (6 c) Yes.
- (6 d) I felt that I was not working in a job which would have corresponded to my qualifications, that is I was made to work in an inferior capacity, the explanation of which is no doubt political.
- (#7) The wages of the workers were as follows: unskilled workers earned from 600 to 900 forints per month, skilled workers from 1000 to 1500, Stakhanovists and "champion" workers from 1500 to 2100 forints. (Champion workers were more or less the same as Stakhanovists, the term was introduced at a subsequent stage in order to bring some variety into the movement.) Mine workers earned from 2000 to 2500 and 3000 forints. The purchasing power of <sup>the</sup> above earnings was below what their numerical value would suggest. The monthly wages of the unskilled workers were not enough to cover the bare necessities of life, and the skilled workers were under pressure to make continuous and special efforts to earn the same salary: this was in the form of yearly revised norms, which in turn led to inferior work performance and the products meant for export turned out to be worthless. The exploitation of the workers thus resulted in disasters for the national economy. Though skilled workers with higher income were capable of saving money during a longer period, to be able to buy, say, a set of furniture for a room or to put on decent clothes after work, they

couldn't afford to buy, for instance, a motor bicycle or a washing machine; purchasing of the latter-mentioned items was made even more difficult because the workers of the trading enterprises which put them on the market sold them on the black market; the indignation of the worker over the fact that the articles which he produced were not accessible to him was fed by the knowledge that most of them were meant to raise the living standard of the Russian or Chinese workers, and the few items which remained in the country were acquired by those who could afford to bribe the employees of the trading enterprises. For instance, I wanted to install an electric boiler in my bathroom, after hunting for it through long weeks, I was able to get one for 20 percent higher than the regular price through an employee of a state trading house. There were two kinds of exports for Hungary, one for which we got <sup>foreign (hard) currency</sup> ~~goods~~, and the other toward the satellite states, where, through a special conversion of the forint, Hungary made practically no profit at all; this special rate was calculated on a parity basis of the dollar of 1938. Thus it can be said that people worked a tremendous lot and still they could not acquire things which they would have liked to. Two kinds of consumer goods became established in Hungary: wearing apparel, shoes, etc., produced by the state-owned great industry and those made by the so-called producers' cooperatives. The difference of price between the two groups of goods was so great that it did not correspond to the difference in quality.

Income of the peasantry: During the Second World War, the existing food shortage resulted in an excellent financial situation for the peasantry. The collective farms into which the peasantry was gradually coerced, the introduction of kulak lists, the forced regrouping of farm plots, the high taxes brought about the gradual impoverishment of the peasantry. Regrouping of farm plots occurred when the land of a peasant who did not join the collective farm was situated in the area of the collective farm: such land was taken away from the peasant, who was given for it land of the same surface, but of worse quality, at a distance from the village and remote from communications. In addition, the private farmer had to pay taxes based on the net income of his old, better land. This was the method of ruining the peasants continuing in private farming; <sup>on</sup> ~~to~~ the collective farms such heavy taxes were imposed and, in addition, such heavy administrative machinery was forced upon them, that the impoverishment of the collective farm membership became inevitable. In 1953, Imre Nagy was trying to alleviate these abnormal conditions and though he could not succeed in his endeavor, he made it clear to Rakosi and his clique that certain improvements are necessary. As a result, the situation of the peasantry improved and soon the peasants were representing the greatest purchasing power in Hungary. The department stores were filled with them. ~~THE~~

The situation of the bourgeoisie: (trades people, craftsmen)  
the nationalization act of 1948 affected enterprises working with

100 or more employees. In practice, however, every business and enterprise working below the minimum stipulated by the act was also nationalized. The former owners and employees of the nationalized enterprises were trying to find jobs either in large industrial plants or in the producers' cooperatives. Those few who escaped nationalization were so overtaxed that in the end they saw themselves reduced to ask for the nationalization of their undertakings. Thus was brought about the proletarianization of an entire social stratum. It was turned into an employee stratum with an income of 700 to 1400 forints. This same group was also among the foremost victims of the sufferings caused by the forced resettlement from Budapest to the provinces which occurred in the spring of 1951.

The situation of the intellectuals (physicians, engineers, lawyers, teachers): these people became state employees and were prevented from the free exercise of their professions. They were paid not for their qualifications, but for their working time. Their financial ruin was combined with the laying waste of intellectual forces in the destruction of the country. At the same time the superiority of the Russian man was proclaimed incessantly and without any basis. This theory showed a surprising similarity to the Hitlerian Uebermensch theory, which was particularly despised by the intellectuals. The following joke is characteristic of this situation: There is a delegation composed of intellectuals arriving in Moscow, where they are being taken

on a sightseeing tour. The guide points out to them one statue after another, giving the explanation: "This is Comrade Popov, who invented the radio." "This is Comrade Popov, who invented television." "This is Comrade Popov, who invented the airplanes." "This is Comrade Popov, who invented X-Ray," etc., etc. Finally they arrive to a statue, and to the great surprise of the delegation, the name on the statue is Gonukokov. With profound curiosity they ask the guide who this great man may have been. Whereupon the guide replies: "Comrade Gonukokov is the great Soviet scientist who invented Comrade Popov."

- (7 a) (i) I was working in a lawyer's office as a candidate and my monthly salary was 3000 leis, beside that I had several cases of my own and I made some additional 3000-4000 leis on that.
- (ii) 1120 forints per month plus 7-900 forints overtime.
- (iii) 1770 forints a month.
- (7 b) This question cannot be answered.
- (7 c) There was no difference because there was a wage-scale according to collective bargaining.
- (7 d) My wife, because there was need for additional income.
- (8 a) 1770 forints.
- (8 b) 1535 forints.
- (8 c) Stage inspection duty fees, 25 forints for each performance, and on Saturdays and Sundays 50 forints. This was to replace overtime, because in my salary bracket no overtime was paid any more.

T

<sup>ese</sup>  
This amounted to about 900 forints a month. There were also premiums: these came from funds resulting from the overfulfilment of the theater plan. The theater had a preliminary yearly budget, which included the state subvention; if this was officially accepted, usually after long debates, and the income was higher than foreseen in the budget, the surplus income was divided into three parts: one third went to the state, one third went for workers' welfare investments (vacationing, daytime nurseries, etc.) and one third was distributed among the workers. The last-mentioned third was again divided into two parts: one half was reserved for the management, which consisted of four persons, the other half was distributed among about 300 persons on a more or less arbitrary basis. As another example of the liberal spirit we enjoyed at the theater, we were able to use our welfare fund, instead of the usual investments, for the setting up of an "apartment-separation fund." (What is meant by <sup>apartment-</sup>~~apartment-~~ separation?) (In Hungarian: Lakás leválasztás.) The apartment-separation was one phase of the small apartment movement, which enjoyed the backing of the Government; it meant that instead of the customary sharing of apartments, a part of the apartment was architecturally separated through inner constructions, which meant that two or more independent apartments were created from one large apartment. The tenant usually preferred this solution because, on the one hand, instead of the horrors of sharing, his privacy was safeguarded, on the

part of the  
other hand, usually his own/apartment was repaired and refreshed  
in the course of the inner constructions. Coming back now to  
our apartment/<sup>separation</sup> ~~sharing~~ fund, its function was to give loans to  
people who wanted to construct such separated apartments,,by  
submitting the official construction permit and the estimate of  
costs. The loan was then repaid in small instalments and the  
fund functioned very well. The money was kept in circulation all  
the time.

(8 d) Deductions consisted in 200 forints per month for peace loan and  
2 percent old age insurance. (What about trade union membership  
fees?) Trade union membership fees amounted to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  percent, but  
they were not deducted, they were paid on an individual and  
voluntary basis. My wife was employed as a secretary (shorthand  
and typing) and her monthly salary amounted to about a thousand  
forints.

(8 e) No.

(9 a) 115 forints.

(9 b) One room, vestibule, bathroom, and kitchen. It was in a modern  
building and there was central heating and running hot water.  
In general, housing conditions were very bad, on an average 3-4  
people were in a room. Apartment sharing was very high. This  
circumstance called into being the apartment separation movement  
in the framework of the program of Imre Nagy in 1953. Plumbing  
and other appliances were old, nothing was repaired or replaced.  
Innumerable jokes were in circulation about the administrative



enterprise of real estate (in Hungarian IKV, Ingatlan Kezelo Vallalat).

- (9 c) Approximately 1200 forints, I don't remember exactly. Standing in line could be arranged by keeping up good connections with the butcher, etc. Availability of food was varying, meat was usually scarce. It is difficult for me to give details on this matter, because it was not important to me.
- (9 d) I don't know.
- (9 e) On central heating 500 forints a year, <sup>I</sup> I paid no gas bills because everything worked by electricity in my apartment, I paid about 200 forints a year. On the other hand, I spent very much on telephone, approximately 2000 forints a year.
- (9 f) I spent very little on alcoholic drinks, I couldn't remember the figure. Cigarettes maybe 1800 forints a year.
- (9 g) Education was free in Hungary.
- (9 h) Theater was free for me through my office, I went seldom to movies; I spent about 1500 forints on dogs (I love dogs), and on sports about 1000 forints.
- (9 i) I can't remember.
- (9 j) Much. I had a charge account with one of the bookstores, my monthly bill amounted to 50 to 60 forints, all in all I spent about 1000 to 1200 forints on these items a year.
- (9 k) Nothing, thank God we were all in good health.
- (9 l) My transportation expenses were unimportant, and my travels in the country were in the nature of official duties.
- (9 m) Two percent old age tax.

- (9 n) No.
- (9 o) I can't remember.
- (9 p) In 1951 there was a so-called "general wages and price adjustment" which in practice meant small raise in wages and big rise in prices. For the details of the decree see the December 2, 1951 issue of the Hungarian Gazette.
- (10) I thought it was tragic. For process of pauperization see answer to question 7.
- (10 c) In my opinion the economic system which prevailed in Hungary before 1941 cannot serve as a basis of comparison with the one which came into being after 1945. Only concepts of identical nature can be compared, and whereas the character of the first-mentioned period was determined by free enterprise, the latter period was born under the sign of planned economy. I was not a resident in Hungary before 1941, but I know that the waves of the economic ~~crisis~~ crisis in the United States of 1929 in Hungary were followed by an economic consolidation and the culmination of prosperity was reached in 1938. This period was characterized by prospering manufacturing industry, with import<sup>ant</sup> and export, by even more prospering agricultural export, and by a great interest shown by foreign tourists. This economic prosperity was harmfully affected by the various imperialistic moves carried out by Hitler-Germany and finally by the outbreak of the Second World War, which reduced the country to the mere serving of the Hitlerian war machinery and ruin<sup>ed</sup>~~ing~~ its national economy. The era which followed 1945

should be divided into two periods. One from 1945 to 1948, and from 1948 to the present day. The latter should again be divided into two periods: 1948 to 1953, and from 1953 to the outbreak of the Revolution. 1945 - 1948: There was undoubtedly a ~~MEKKEK~~ deterioration, but this deterioration was determined by objective factors. The 1st World War, destroyed capital, the nationwide transportation system partly ruined, partly ransacked, our livestock stolen, terms of armistice which seemed impossible to cope with, these were all factors which acted unfavorably on the respectable efforts in the direction of a democratic development, so long desired for in Hungary. Noteworthy are the results of the land reform, and the fact that unemployment has practically ceased in Hungary. The period between 1948 to 1953 was a period of successive mistakes in economic policy. Beside the iron works of Stalintown (Dunapentele) of which I already spoke (See answer to Section W, Question 2 e), the atrophying of the fruit and brandy export in the vicinity of Kecskemet, the atrophying of the wine production and export of Tokaj and Badacsony, the cessation of poultry export, all this as a consequence of the forcing of collective farms, the detailing of dilettante managers: shoemakers because of their political reliability were thought to be fit to be agricultural managers. It is a peculiar gift of the peasant that he feels what has to be done and this is something which people from other professions will never learn.

~~(10e) - I cannot recall exact figures, but it was sustained production of~~

The economic program of 1953 tried to correct these mistakes of the preceding years (1948-53) without success, however, because it ran up against political barriers; all it could achieve was to bring about an easing in the general atmosphere of the country.

(10 e) I cannot recall exact figures, but it was a stereotyped claim of



the leaders of the country at the occasion of each and every economic measure which, as a rule, were disadvantageous to the people, that it was necessitated by the raising of the living standard of the people. This was the justification of making people <sup>b</sup> subscribe to plan and peace loans; of the exploitation of <sup>the</sup> people's working power in the course of the Stakhanovist movements; of the ordering of work competitions and of the rewarding of the champions with little red banners... Such discussions took place in the Party; however, only results could demonstrate their effectiveness, and the planned economy of Hungary certainly cannot boast of great results in this field.

(10 f) By 1953 small-scale industry and retail trade was entirely liquidated. Life itself proved, however, <sup>that,</sup> on the one hand, ~~that~~ the state sector was unable to provide for the all-embracing needs of the population, on the other hand, the regime began to realize that by liquidating private <sup>enterprise,</sup> ~~undertaking~~ it deprived itself from important taxpayers. Consequently, bearing in mind that the private sector can be abolished again any time they so desired, the regime consented to the issuance of ~~the~~ certain number of trade licenses. Thereby such <sup>opportunities</sup> ~~possibilities~~ of living were created in which people with less work were able to make more money -- approximately ten times more -- than a worker. Fields in private sector were, for instance, painting of scarves, ~~preparing~~ of precision instruments, dressmaker's showroom, shoemakers, etc.

- (10 g) 1955 was worse than 1956, better than 1954, worse than 1953, and better than 1952 and the years preceding it as far back as 1948. Life in 1956 was better because the general political easing made its effects also felt in economic conditions. While people in 1955 looked toward tomorrow full of worries, and consequently restricted their money spending, in 1956 they spent their income more freely, spent more on luxury, such as having their clothes and shoes made by private sector.
- (11) It was decisive.
- (11 a) Up till 1956, people only saw how badly things went, but they ~~did~~ <sup>not</sup> dare to discuss it, whereas in 1956 they dared openly criticize those obvious contradictions which were manifest in the Hungarian economic life. In my opinion a conscious dissatisfaction with, and the successive realization of, the mistakes committed by those responsible for the leadership, offer appropriate ground to masses ~~which~~ desiring a social change, to start a fight for that change.
- (11 b) Economic complaints were very important, there can be no doubt about that, but perhaps there was one other thing~~ē~~ which was even more difficult to bear and that was to have to live with lies.
- (11 c) For the intellectuals and workers.

- (1) As I was born in Transylvania, I had schooling partly in Rumania and partly in Hungary: the distinction is purely political and I am referring to the few years when part of Transylvania was reannexed to Hungary, from 1940 on.
- (1 a) From 1931 to 1947.
- (1 b) I attended public school E during the four years of elementary school and the first five years of gymnasium, and during the last three years of gymnasium I attended a Hungarian parochial school. (Which school do you think was better, the Rumanian or the Hungarian?) Rumanian instruction was better, because prior to the First World War there were very few intellectuals in Rumania and they had to work hard to create a sufficiently large group of intellectuals.
- (1 c) I was completing my studies at the University of Kolozsvar, which has again become part of Rumania. The University of Kolozsvar was a Hungarian-language university based on Rumanian educational program; it was one of the "shopwindow" concessions made by the Rumanians to the Hungarian national minority in Transylvania. I attended the Faculty of Law and Economics and obtained my lawyer's diploma in 1947.
- (1 d) No.
- (1 e) To attend a university was in the tradition of the family. I was planning to enter the diplomatic career and it was logical that I chose the study of law, because a diploma obtained from this

faculty formed the basis of entering the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

(2, 3)

Not applicable.

(4)

They endeavored to raise children of worker and peasant parents <sup>become</sup> to intellectuals loyal to their class and to the Party, and having this adequate so-called kader-material at their disposal, to dispossess the old ruling classes from their intellectual monopoly. Naturally, the education plan of every type of school was subordinated to this purpose: to put every student in the service of the only goal, the building of communism. In consequence, and to serve their own practical objectives, they changed from the previous high school (gymnasium) educational system to technical high schools (technikum). In these "technikums", technical or trade education was given, such as heat-technikum, agricultural technikum, economic technikum, etc., altogether extremely differentiated. In the new educational system the general school lasted for 8 years, and at the level of the fifth class of the old gymnasium started the four-year technikum. There were also some gymnasiums, in which they retained more or less the old educational program, but for instance instead of the teaching of latin, the teaching of Russian was introduced, the obligatory teaching of religion was abolished, and in general the entire curriculum was given in a Marxist reassessment. The new generation was more attracted by the technikums, because they seemed to be more practical from the point of view of making a living later.



- (4 a) Heaviest stress was laid on the efficiency of teaching; naturally the above-mentioned social class considerations, that is the class origin of the students, were reflected in the grades which could be achieved by the individual student. If for instance three students with intellectual, peasant, and working class origin respectively, did equally well in their studies, then the best grade would be given to the working class student, the next best to the peasant student, and the worst to the student of intellectual class background. It is quite possible that in the various schools teachers tried to resist such injustice, nevertheless such was the official Government tendency implied in the educational system. Another manifestation of this tendency can be illustrated by the following example: my brother-in-law (who is now also in the U.S.) passed his baccalaureat with summa cum laude in a gymnasium at Debrecen, and still he could not obtain admission to the University because of his father's intellectual class-status and political convictions.
- (4 b) The best answer to this was given by the Revolution, which proved that in essential questions the regime had to find the strongest opposition come from the youth.
- (4 c) In my opinion an educational system which proposes to raise the youth unilaterally on the basis of exclusively materialistic viewpoints, is mistaken. The ideal solution would be to make it possible for the young generation, after having been able to compare the different philosophical systems, to make its own choice

as to the basis of principle on which it wishes to pursue its studies. In Hungary the educational program was prepared on the basis of materialistic principles, but the thing which met with particularly strong opposition from the part of the youth was the enthusiasm which was forced upon them toward everything that came from ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Moscow. It is interesting to observe the high degree of idealism in the attitude of the youth during the Revolution, of that same youth which during twelve years received an exclusively materialistic education, and which seemingly did not show any particular opposition to that materialism.

(4 f)

In my opinion, a decisive period in the process of transformation of the educational system was the secularization of schools. ~~XXXX~~ Before the Second World War, for centuries, the Catholic Church played a leading role in the education of youth. After having made disappear the last vestiges of a democratic system, ~~X~~ in 1949, the Communist Party, under the leadership of Rakosi, opened its fight for the secularization of the schools. It found the strongest opponent to its efforts in the person of Cardinal Mindszenty, whose opposition was based on the widest possible popular support. The Party was faced with the difficult and manifold problem of vanquishing a centuries-old tradition, of intimidating the people and of getting Mindszenty out of the way; therefore it decided upon the most detestable solution of all, that of calumny. They charged the Prince Primate with spying and

illicit foreign currency dealings, along with other Church dignitaries who supported his program. The sentence for life which was eventually given to Mindszenty lead to the intimidation of the public and cleared the path to secularizing the schools.

- (4 g) Unquestionably an important change can be observed. It is characterized by a shift in the direction of practicality and a declining enthusiasm for literature and arts. In my opinion, they made more arid the life of the new ~~EE~~ generation.
- (4 h) See above (g).
- (4 i) In my opinion, it is decisive throughout the study years, from elementary school ~~EE~~ on to university inclusive. If all those ideas are excluded which would offer a basis for comparison, then during every phase of schooling, in view of the unilateral knowledge imparted, the influence of education for communism is significant. Nevertheless,<sup>as</sup>/historically speaking, the idealistic philosophical school was followed by a materialistic school of thought, similarly, in the young generation, brought up exclusively in a materialistic atmosphere, aspiration for ideals was alive. In my opinion, keeping in balance the various philosophical tendencies is important and indispensable, as it was evidenced by the actual happenings.
- (5) What I think was interesting in our family was an element of duality: ~~as~~ on the one hand, the family owned landed estates which in the course of time gradually diminished, ~~EE~~ on the other hand, it was in its tradition to hold positions in civil service.

In practice this meant more or less that what the head of the family earned in his post, he spent on the estate. In 1944, my father was the head of the commercial department of the Hungarian National Railroads (MAV) Transylvania district office at Kolozsvar. Our estate was situated in that part of Transylvania which remained under Rumanian occupation according to the terms of the congress <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ Vienna in 1940 X on the question of the division of Transylvania.

- (5 a) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In 1948, he was forced to retire from his post, and subsequently he was deported to a forced labor camp detailed to the construction of the Black Sea canal of the Danube, where he spent three years. He ended up, with a nervous breakdown, at a neurological clinic where he was treated for two years. Since then he has been living in the old family house, the only property which was left in his possession from his estate. He has taken up gardening.
- (5 c) He has a lawyer's diploma.
- (5 d) Yes.
- (5 e) Yes. Most of the estate was taken away, our house at Kolozsvar (Rumania) was nationalized, etc.
- (5 f) Better off.
- (5 g) Four members of the family: my father, mother, brother, and myself. When I was six years old, my parents divorced; my brother and I were brought up by my mother.
- (5 h) My father married again and later divorced again. My mother did

not marry again; she lives at Kolozsvar (Rumanka). My brother is married and lives in Rumania.

- (5 i) I lived by myself. I separated from my wife and our son was living with her.
- (5 k) It hurt me.
- (6) Yes.
- (6 a) She was the secretary of the Director of Housing in the Ministry of City and Community Management.
- (6 b) February 1, 1945.
- (6 c) One son.
- (6 d) Ten years old.
- (11) I felt closer to my mother.
- (12) Since 1948 we lived apart, she at Kolozsvar (Rumania), I in Budapest.
- (14) We lived separated, but there was a very friendly relationship between my wife and myself.
- (14 a) Friendly relationship with my wife, very close to my son. I was taking care financially of my family.
- (14 b) I do not think that it was typical at all.
- (14 c) I did not have much leisure time; when I had, I engaged in sports, took walks, occupied myself with my dogs, etc.
- (14 d) I spent much time with my son: we went to swim, to row in a boat, to the theater.
- (14 f) I should have liked to travel.
- (14 g) Yes.

- (15) They have loosened. The fact that, owing to difficult living conditions also the mother of the family was obliged to take a job, caused, in the first place, a feeling of inferiority in the head of the family, ~~namely~~ <sup>namely</sup> that contrary to the centuries-old tradition, now he was unable to support his family. Second, the husband spent a great deal of time away from his home and at his place of work and, as a consequence of the differentiated lines of occupation, the everyday professional problems brought him nearer to the women working at the same place of employment, while he drifted apart from his wife and her problems. The same applies, of course in reverse, to the wife. The loosening of the moral foundations and the general misery which made founding of a family very difficult and led to the disintegration of already existing families, often for financial reasons, opened the way for increased extra-marital sexual and sentimental life, all this to the detriment of the institution of marriage.
- (15 a) In the large majority of the cases, yes; however, the previously closed unity of the family was in the process of breaking up. There were instances when husband and wife, or parents and children, were driven by each other into politically disadvantageous positions because of their insistence on formerly prevailing family rights, and they would make use of the political pressure exerted by the personnel departments to maintain the unity of the family, which, in final analysis, only served to a further deterioration of the situation.

(15 b) Yes.

- (15 c) The relationship between parents and children has become looser. Parents were too busy and tired, because of being overworked, to afford the time necessary to the bringing up of children, and beside that, many parents found new and incomprehensible, occasionally even repulsive, the way of thinking and the style which characterized the new generation. Possibly for reasons of convenience, parents did not wish to press the problems ~~to~~<sup>to</sup> a breaking point, and thus the natural consequence was estrangement. It is interesting to compare from this point of view the more typical social strata:

Intellectuals: The elder intellectuals who were brought up on idealistic philosophy watched with aversion that their children were fed on materialism, which inevitably led to the loosening of their relationship. To state the problem from the opposite point of view, the children were embittered because the social background of their parents was hindering them in the shaping of their lives and, despite of their better aptitudes, found themselves at a disadvantage with children of peasant or worker parents. On the other hand, there were families in which the difficult times contributed to the strengthening of the spirit of interdependence; it is very difficult to characterize the fate of an entire social class by a few examples. The specific problems of the Jewish intellectuals could be summed up as follows: the Jews, who were the natural victims of nazism and, in 1945, could start afresh

without handicaps in the new regime, which they have faithfully served in the course of the years, also came into conflict with their children who grew up in the meantime: the young generation adopted with enthusiasm the human rights which have become a necessity to the people and during the Revolution, defying their parents' protests, they participated actively in the fights. I saw this with my own eyes.

Peasantry: A deep-rooted instinctive ambition of the peasants is that their lands should be inherited and continued to be cultivated by their children. The unduly pushed industrialization of the country, the method of large-scale farming introduced into agriculture and the introduction of agricultural machines liberated a great number of farm hands, in the first place, naturally, the young generat<sup>t</sup>ion, driving them toward the industrial centers. These circumstances led eventually to a break between the peasant parents and their children attracted to industry. Another source of conflict was the question whether the peasant should continue with his individual farming, or enter the path of collective farming. Again it was the youth, whom the regime had driven in the direction of collectivization in the various trade and party schools and through the educational system in general, who, in the first place, urged the collective farm movement and the system of state farms.



Workers: The working-class was the privileged class of the regime. Accordingly it was only natural that not only the doors of the universities were opened to the children of workers, but all the Party, State and economic positions were filled with the children of workers. The worker parents watched in despair the rapid departure from the objectives for which they had fought in their youth. The nationalization of heavy industry was not to further the cause of the workers' welfare but to serve the interests of Moscow; the land reform, the purpose of which should have been to provide with land the landless peasants, was but a milestone on the road leading to collective and state farms, and also the new intellectuals were instrumental in oppressing the people by scientific means. These factors led to that complexity of differences which arose between the old-timer worker parents and the so-called worker intellectuals subservient to the regime. There were, however, hardly any differences in those working-class families where the children joined their parents at the workbench; these fought on the side of their parents during the Revolution. In addition, there was one general cause which created differences between parents and children in each of the three social sectors: the sexual transgressions of the youth.

- (15 d) See above (c). As everywhere in the world, this type of problems is more acute in cities than in the country.
- (15 e) See above (c).
- (15 f) The number of divorces has increased, reasons therefor I have

already indicated above (Question 15). The Church has lost her influence on family life; through legislation, both marriage and divorce have been simplified and they have become nothing more than simple administrative acts. There was a period, during Anna Ratko's time as Minister of Health (sometime in 1951 or 1952, I don't remember exactly) when divorce was made more difficult and illegal abortion was punished with heretofore unknown severity. This was, however, only transitional and the official government position in these matters was revised later.

- (16) Considerably. Working together at a relatively young age, state supported mixed camps, free criticism and discussion of former educational methods, open discussion of sexual problems -- all this made feelings and morals more free, destroying at the same time the romanticism attached to love and degrading it to a simple biological function.
- (16 a) People married at a comparatively much younger age than before; it became customary for young girls of sixteen or seventeen to marry boys of nineteen or twenty, and to divorce in rapid succession. The uninhibitedness of young divorced women contributed to a great extent to the breaking up of family life which I have described under Question 15.
- (16 b) Both have lost much of their romantic character, which was due mostly to the fact that <sup>it was made obligatory to legitimate</sup> ~~through~~ the pregnancy of unmarried girls <sup>through marriage</sup> ~~was legitimized~~, especially during the Ratko-era, when gynecologists who performed illegal abortions were imprisoned by the hundreds with sentences of ten to twenty years.

~~(16 c) I disapprove of all this very strongly.~~

(16 c) I disapprove of all this very strongly.

(16 <sup>e</sup>g) Officially it was abolished, but of course they were unable to stop it completely and it continued to be practiced under the most varied forms. For instance, to obtain a position, or to retain it (between the chief and the subordinate), even for a good dinner, etc. There were in Budapest so-called "Representative Catering Enterprises," state restaurants with exorbitant prices which only foreign diplomats, artists or professionals could afford to pay. In these "representative" restaurants there were "ladies" who put themselves at the disposal of men in search of entertainment, and were, at the same time, AVO informers. As a matter of fact, they were very few in number, maybe twenty in the entire city of Budapest; they came of good families, spoke several languages, and were very good looking and elegant. For instance, once I went to one of these "representative" restaurants called "Budagyöngye" to visit a friend of mine who, after having graduated from a catering trade "technikum" (trade high school) had a job there as a trainee. (Of course, as everywhere else, also in these restaurants there was a political appointee manager.) We were sitting in the office when one of these "ladies" entered and asked my friend to let her make a telephone call. She dialled a number and said to somebody: "Come out here!" and gave the name of the place. Whereupon we decided to watch her and saw her going back to a table where she was sitting with

three men. Within half an hour, two cars stopped before the restaurant, and plain-clothes men made the whole group get into the cars and they drove away... A strong drive was launched against the abuses of high prices in the restaurants; ~~WOMEN~~ women mixers who worked in these "representative" restaurants stole and cheated a lot for their own profit. One of these mixers was exposed and arrested by the State Control Center (Allami Ellenőrzési Központ, AEK): she bought privately fruit juice from Americans, sold it outside the price-list in her place of employment and pocketed the money. To our greatest surprise, following the intervention of the AVO, she was released the next day and continued to mix the cocktails...

- (16 f) They were less strict; they displayed indignation and took drastic measures only in cases when sexual matters came to the light amidst scandalous circumstances.
- (16 g) I approve of it. After the Ratko-era it was officially supported, partly by organizing courses on the use of the various contraceptives, partly by creating committees composed of physicians and civilian representatives such as the ~~HEALTH~~ delegate of the district council (magistracy) health department, or the representative of the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Women (Magyar Nők Demokratikus Szövetsége, MIDSZ); these committees decided in each individual case, in a rather liberal spirit, whether or not medical intervention for abortion was indicated, and if

the decision was in the affirmative, they directed one of the clinics to perform the operation. Inadequate housing conditions, special circumstances connected with certain professions (for instance, actress), mother of a large family who was herself working, being below and above a certain age (approximately below 18 and above 45) were among the considerations which guided the committee's decisions. However, when women were sent to clinics for such reason, they did not receive the customary sickness allowance and they were charged 70 forints a day for hospitalization and medical expenses.

(16 h) Yes. There was no social discrimination whatsoever. As to their number, I could not make a statement, I should know better the ~~the~~ statistics to be able to do so.

(16 i) It has changed. Women were granted increased opportunity in every <sup>f</sup>field of life, their work has widened their outlook on life, which I consider to be an advantage. Naturally this situation had its disadvantages which I have mentioned already in connection with family life in general (Question 15).

(17 a)

(17 a) Yes.

(17 b) In the statistics of the Hungarian criminal cases, a high percentage was given to crimes committed against the so-called "social property" (there was nothing left to be stolen from private property!). Trials of such cases occurred every day and because of the frequency of the crime the sentences became

increasingly heavy, for instance for the theft of a working dress one year sentence would be handed down. In innumerable cases of embezzlement, profiteering and fraud proceedings extremely heavy sentences were given. This situation was the natural consequence of the wages which were not sufficient to cover the costs of living, and of the aversion which was generally felt toward the regime. Neither did it make any impression on the society at large if anybody was convicted of a crime against "social property." Of course, payroll frauds became also very common: reporting more overtime than actually done; piece-rate fixer and pieceworker were in connivance; in connection with deliveries, if a less thorough checking system permitted it, more working hours or fictitious manpower ~~WERE~~ were billed, etc. I remember an interesting case of fraud committed in one of the night clubs (not of the "representative" category): this night club received its liquor supplies, like all the other establishments of the trade, from the Central Agency of Catering Trade. The employees not only sold the drinks at exorbitant prices, but using less and less the official supplies, served drinks from liquor which they had purchased privately from stores. The business was unusually prosperous, nevertheless it <sup>s</sup> showed a declining tendency in the statistical reports on the trend of the business, which the night club had to submit from time to time to the Central Agency and which served as a basis for the allotment of official supplies. The employees took extreme care to keep

accurate official accounts and even hired, to keep accounts, a chief accountant who, by the way, had been summarily dismissed from his previous job. It was an "enterprise within the enterprise." After some time, the Central Agency began to suspect something; an informer was "built in" under the guise of a waiter assigned to the place, who managed to win the confidence of the other waiters. When he was let in on the "business," he exposed the fraud.

- (18) I ~~met~~ met him in 1954, at my place of employment (Touring Theater Company).
- (18 a) He was a scholarship-holder dramaturgist.
- (18 b) He was somewhat younger than I; we paid no attention to the question of social background, all I know was that his parents had been killed at Auschwitz.
- (18 c) We discussed arts, politics, we went together to theatrical performances.
- (18 e) It grew stronger.
- (18 f) Yes, but in practice, no: he is in prison in Hungary.
- (18 g) Identical tastes, identical attitudes toward essential things, such as politics, arts, ~~and~~ sociology; loyalty; I think, even our shortcomings were in common.
- (18 h) No. The general political terror made people distrustful.
- (18 i) They were intelligent people, politically clear-sighted, full of enthusiasm for the arts, and naive, who demonstrated during the Revolution that they were capable of fighting and suffering

for their ideas.

- (18 k) The prevailing circumstances created unusual situations for people, I would have been disappointed rather by the fact if my friends would have changed their fundamental principles. Sometimes entering the Party was a question affecting a person's existence.
- (19) My mother was a Roman Catholic, my father a Calvinist.
- (19 b) I am a free-thinker.
- (20) Yes.
- (20 a) No. The Roman Catholic Church had the strongest traditions and the most important mass influence in Hungary. Therefore it was natural that, first of all, this faith had to be intimidated and its clergy rendered harmless to the state. Of course I am aware of measures taken against the leaders of the Calvinist and Jewish Churches, but I did not hear of any persecution against church personalities of the Greek Catholic (Uniate), Greek Orthodox, Baptist, Lutheran or Unitarian Churches.
- (20 b) Of course they wanted to stamp out religion, because religious people stood on a different philosophical foundation, they were adherents of the idealistic philosophy and therefore opposed the ideological bases of communism, that is materialism.
- (20 c) In my opinion, they were not sincere toward the regime, they were trying to ensure through compromises at least a limited possibility to worship.
- (20 d) With regard to Catholics, they resorted to quite silly measures; for instance, AVO agents in the several parochial districts were writing down the names of people who went to church, consequently




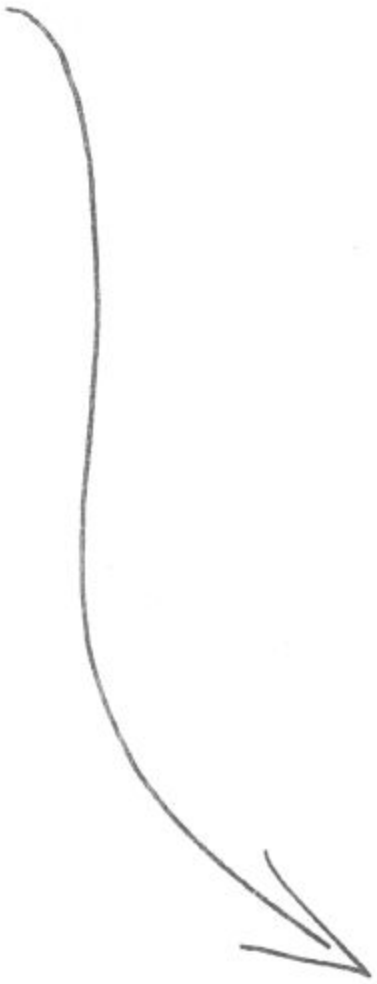
the faithful chose to go to church in another district, where they were unknown. It was a bad point on people's records to have church wedding or have their new-born children baptized. Therefore, such ceremonies were held in the sacristy. I was asked several times by simple people employed at the Touring Theater Company to be godfather to their children.

(20 f) In more recent years, yes, and gradually, attending mass took on the character of political demonstration. Even during the years 1951-52 they did not shut the churches, because they kept proclaiming that they were not against religion but fighting only those priests who opposed the state. Nonetheless, for obvious reasons, people I refrained from being ostentatiously religious during those years.

(20 g) As I did not frequent religious circles, I do not know of anybody who had become less religious as a result of intimidation by the regime; if it happened, such a person was not, in my opinion, truly religious.

*(Cont'd on next page)*

- (20 i) I am not familiar with this problem.
- (20 j) I think it would be more proper to say that the Churches were differently treated by the Party. Through her historical traditions, Hungary stood nearest to the Roman Catholic Church, therefore the latter exerted the oldest and deepest influence, and consequently persecution was directed in the first place against the Roman Catholic Church. The other Churches were treated with less rigor, partly because they were less dangerous opponenets, partly to prove through them that the persecution was not against the free exercise of religion, but against the anti-people clergy. Maybe the only exception to this was the Jewish faith, due to anti-Semitism, which sprang up at the end of the Stalin-era. At that time persecution was stepped up against th leaders in Hungary of the JOINT and the Jewish religious leaders.
- (20 k) Less. Because the philosophical basis of the regime was materialism. Besides, this is not an isolated phenomenon to be found only in Communist countries; it can be observed throughout the world that the influence of the Church on the younger generation has weakened.
- (20 l) It did not play a decisive part.
- 

- (21) If I consider the life of this man in such a way that I should like to save him from the effects to which individuals are exposed under any kind of political dictatorship, I would recommend him to be an engineer.
- (21 b) He should study ~~ENGINE~~ thoroughly and a lot.
- (21 c) Children of workers have the best chance.
- (22) Starting with those who were the best off and in diminishing order ending up with those who were the worst off, I would suggest the following groups of people:
- 

1. Top ranking party and state functionaries, including the AVH, Army and Police;
2. technical managers of state enterprises;
3. outstanding athletes (in Hungarian: "élsportolók");
4. artists;
5. physicians;
6. mineworkers;
7. Stakhanovists;
8. Teachers;
9. (subordinate) employees of state institutions, <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ industrial and commercial establishments;
10. peasantry
11. skilled workers;
12. unskilled workers.

(22 a) In group #9.

(22 b) I deliberately kept to the position I held because any effort on my part to obtain a position suited to my qualifications would have involved political concessions by me. From the point of view of political independence, I would have been glad to be a physician under this regime, but of course my studies had been decided upon prior to these developments in another direction.

(22 c) In my opinion it is outrageous that not only I, but also those who drafted this questionnaire, were aware of the fact that in Hungary the athletes were preceding the artists in the hierarchy. The principal reason for this lies in the circumstance that athletes could claim the interest of a much wider public than artists.

(22d)

The system attached the greatest importance to demonstrating the truth of its case also by artistic means. As this "truth" was hardly always artistic by its nature, it was alien to those ideals for which humanity struggled for centuries and consequently was repulsive also to the artists, therefore it became to pay heavy sums of money for ensuring the cooperation of the artists. Another factor was that if the instinctive hero-worship which is characteristic of the masses were to be limited, for instance, exclusively to the person of Rakosi, it would be hardly satisfactory from an aesthetic point of view, therefore it was necessary to put forward other popular personalities. And for this money was needed. The artistic products of the regime's own cultural lines, the so-called socialistic realism, were not particularly successful among the public, and since these writers, in their own best interests, were silent about the true problems of our time, the repertory of the National Theater, for instance, was made bearable only by such additions of plays by Shakespeare, Moliere, and Goldoni, and "Baptism by Fire" (on the subject of collective farms) which also delighted the actors and actresses. Naturally, the artists worked, during these years, not out of conviction, but only for the above mentioned advantages, and it can be said in their excuse that, because they were profoundly aware of the mass of lies of the era, they were also the first to range themselves united under the banner of the Freedom Fight.

The following is an interesting episode from the artist world: The Turkish ambassador gave a party in his villa on New Year's Eve in 1953, to which he also invited some of the outstanding artists of the Hungarian Opera House. The host graciously presented the artists with insignificant gifts, such as cigarettes, nylon stockings, custom jewelry, etc. The soirée was followed by a huge scandal: the deputy-Minister of Culture presided in person over the meeting of the Opera House Company, at which occasion all those who had accepted the Turkish ambassador's invitation, including the most renowned opera singers, were suspended for several months, and it is characteristic of the artists that none of them begged for the lifting of the silencing. Sculptors and painters did not have it easy either, when they had to translate into acceptable forms the shape and features of Rakosi and his companions. Most of these artists, too, worked just for themselves or turned to restoring old masterpieces; as far as I know, no picture or statue of non-political subject has been presented to the public during this period.

- (23) According to the classic definition of Marxism, social classes are determined by the type of ownership of the means of production. On the basis of this definition, we cannot talk of social classes in Hungary, because nobody could claim as his property any means of production. In my opinion, the way of living of the respective social strata could be used as a basis for study, and comparison.

Thus we can speak of people whose business it was to operate the state and party apparatus, others produced manufactured articles, and again others grew agricultural produce. In addition, there was one more group, which provided for the cultural needs of those mentioned before.

- (23 b) It follows from the above that the answer is yes, because the means of production passed from private ownership into so-called social ownership by the use of predatory methods. It is not true that the factory became the <sup>P</sup>roperty of the workers, at most he could have the hardships which were imposed on him as a consequence of mismanagement and economic exploitation directed from Moscow. Nor was the land given to the peasants: the land reform was but the road leading to the collectivization of agriculture.
- (23 c) It is bad.
- (23 d) Yes. The workers did not trust the bureaucratic apparatus directing the state and the party, nor did they trust the peasants who, at the expense of the city dwellers, and thinking only of their own petty material benefits, were profiteering and sold for instance lard for 70 forints a kilogram (on the black market) when no lard could be had in the state food stores (~~KEZEKENE~~ KÖZÉRT). As to the peasants, they did not trust either the bureaucratic apparatus or the workers, the former because measures coming from above made their lives only worse, the latter because those measures were taken ostensibly in the name of the working-class. The bureaucratic "hydrocephali" who directed the state and party

apparatus knew that they could be thrown out of their positions at any moment, to be replaced by a peasant or a worker. It did not matter that the one who was working at the bureaucratic level was of worker or peasant origin, at any time he could be accused of having broken away from his class, of having become a "bourgeois-minded cadre" and had to be replaced by fresh, unperverted cadre and he could go <sup>b</sup>gask to the work-bench or to the plough-handles. This, in scholarly terms, was called dialectics, and in practice it meant insecurity for every one.

- (23 e) <sup>Here</sup> less<sub>A</sub> equal. There is a top layer which is practically inaccessible, but it consists of no more than four or five dozen individuals. Among the rest of the population, there was no significant inequality.
- (23 f) Apart from the "inaccessibles," it is good. I was glad to see the "caste-system" disappear.
- (23 g) In my opinion, the "society rules" of pre-war Hungary were artificial and having an end in themselves. With the cessation of the prerogatives by birth or office-holding, social intercourse became more informal at the beginning, but later became again dogmatic, for instance the general use of "comrade" between people who were no companions with regard to any principle whatsoever. Manners in general deteriorated, etiquette was disregarded and that truly chivalrous spirit which used to be characteristic of decorum in Hungary has completely vanished.



- (24) In Hungary, national minority groups enjoyed a privileged situation and all of them lived better than the Hungarians. I am thinking specifically of the Rumanians, the Slovaks, and in the first years, the Yugoslavs. Later on, the situation of the Serbians deteriorated because of the break with Tito, and they had to suffer a lot. The reason for it was an over-compensation of the Stalinist nationalities policy. Examples of its manifestation: separate theaters, books, press, schools.
- (25) In the most varied ways.
- (25<sup>5</sup> a) At the beginning they turned with great sympathy to the regime, because it liberated them from the claws of nazism. At a later stage, due to the fact that the majority of them were engaged in such lines of occupation as were based on the principles of free enterprise, (manufacturers, wholesale dealers, lawyers, bankers) a conflict of interests arose, which the Jews solved ~~ingeniously~~ ingeniously by putting their qualities fully at the disposal of the regime.
- (25 b) Their role was decisive. If we check through the key-positions, the conclusion is inevitable that Rakosi, Gero, Mihaly Farkas, Reval, and almost everybody, with the exception of Rajk, is Jewish. But not only the leading "cadres," but also the "middle cadres," those who directly and in person caused much suffering to the Hungarian population, came from the ranks of Jews. For instance, the Touring Theater Company, which was established for the purpose of orienting the objectives of ~~the~~ peasant cultural policy, the artistic director, the managing director, the business director, the Party secretary, the chief stage manager, and a the

large majority of the stage managers, the chief dramaturgist, the majority of the dramaturgists, the head of the organizing department, the majority of the directors of our twelve companies, were Jews. There were only two Christians at executive level: the head of the personnel department who was a former nazi, and the woman president of the local trade union organization who was not permeated by democratic spirit, either.

- (25 c) Yes, many. It was typical of them that during the day they danced attendance on the regime, and at dinner time, by the white table, the lashed out at it. But I also knew others, though very few of them, who persisted resolutely in their attitude of opposition.
- (25 d) I have already spoken about the younger generation: they participated in a great number in the Freedom Fight. The elders abstained from taking a stand, and even today I recall the words of a highly cultured Jewish actor with whom I was standing before our office building in the Madach Square, watching the beginnings of the demonstrations on the afternoon of October 23, 1956. He said to me: "You know, Gabor, I don't like historical times..."
- (25 e) The Hungarian people watched with repulsion, before 1945, the abuses of anti-Semitism, but it was made to ponder over the abuses ~~by the~~ Jews after 1945.
- (25 g) While superficial manifestations of the attitude toward the problem have subsided, in their ~~stead~~ ~~stead~~ there is a deeper preoccupation with the problem.

(25 h) I am aware of the fact that my opinion cannot change thousand-years-old conditioning. I admit the outstanding qualities of the Jews in certain fields, I work with Jews gladly and willingly. I have always learnt much from them. But I wish I could make them understand that for building up in Hungary a truly democratic form of government, their talents ought to be combined with much more unselfishness, modesty, and genuine readiness to help.

- (1) Yes, always. Because politics have a direct effect on people's lives and because, depending on whether good or bad policies are being followed, people have a good or bad life. Politics have become an organic part of everyday life, and as a matter of fact, I am surprised that there are people at all who are not interested in politics.
- (1a) Extremely important.
- (1 b) Yes. I was profoundly interested in the events in Hungary from the 19th of March, 1944, and also after the end of World War II, I followed with keen interest the well-intentioned efforts toward establishing a truly democratic state so long overdue in Hungary. After 1948, for a while, I was still roused by the series of unlawful acts committed systematically and officially, but by the end of 1951 approximately, I reached a state of political apathy. I was very lucky that my job permitted <sup>me</sup> to occupy myself with problems in the field of art, which absorbed <sup>me</sup> by interest and helped me to tide over the period which lasted until a relative easing of the situation in 1953. From 1953 on, I have been following again with renewed interest the shaping of political events both at home and abroad.
- (1 c) I did not engage actively in politics, because that would have been, in view of my social background and status, to put it mildly, an audacity. I chose rather to observe the events and reflect upon them. The outbreak of the Revolution threw me into the field of active politics.

- (2) I feel that my attitude in this respect has been made sufficiently clear in the statements I have made so far.
- (2 a) With the aims of the Social-Democratic Party. At the end of World War II, the international situation in Europe shifted markedly to the left as a consequence of the concerted fights against nazism. Hungary is an organic part of Europe, her problems can be solved only in a way similar to that applied to the problems of other European states. Before the war, Hungary was conspicuous among the Western democracies for her feudalism; problems which had been neglected for centuries were awaiting action, and the program of the Social Democratic Party offered to the workers and the peasants, through evolutionary solutions, the possibility which was to make them the equals of workers and peasants living in the Western democracies.
- (2 b) Yes, he was a member of the Rumanian Liberal Party.
- (2 c) No.
- (2 d) It is a party created by force, the necessity thereof having been dictated by the vicinity of the Soviet and the Russian occupation. I am convinced that, if at international level, at Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam, the occupation of Hungary exclusively by the Soviet Army would not have been agreed upon, the existence of the Communist Party in Hungary would be similar to that of the Communist parties in the other Western European countries.

It is characteristic of the "popularity" of the Communist Party in Hungary that the number of votes it obtained in the first elections was insignificantly small, 17 percent if I remember correctly, while at the same time in France and in Italy it commanded a much higher percentage. This is the more noteworthy, because at the time of the elections Hungary was occupied by the Russian Army.

(2 e) I have always maintained that the Communists, while distorting the logical assertions made by the great 19th-century economists, Marx, Engels, etc., in the interest of the working people, aim at establishing a political system which is contrary to natural development and to the sentiments of the people. The crystallization of a political attitude is determined by a number of factors: the Communist Party took care of it that, in the course of years, these factors converged in the sense to make me consistently anti-Communist.

(2 f) No (ii); I have been always against Communism, but I have to make a complementary remark: I am for a form of government based on universal, secret, equal and free elections and, having regard to Hungarian viewpoints, I am against the interdiction of any political party.

(2 g) Naturally.

(2 h) The regime in Hungary has been a dictatorial regime which, making use of the experience of the political secret police in Moscow, the ~~EEK~~ GPU and later NKVD, has established a police-state in

Hungary. The strongest power in Hungary was the AVH and to openly oppose this power would have been equal to suicide, and even at that, under the least pleasant circumstances. Let me just mention that there was a popular resistance to the secularization of schools for instance at Mariapocs which had tragic and bloody consequences. In this same part of the country it happened that in the first year of operation of the Touring Theater Company, the community refused to receive the Company, which was sent down there to perform an anticlerical play. The performance was boycotted by a 100 percent abstention of the public and stones were hurled at the departing buses, etc. Not only was it impossible to resist actively, but to think of it or to talk of it led to tragic consequences. The innumerable concentration camps held thousands of prisoners who were compelled to labor, resulting in the complete destruction of the human body, notwithstanding the fact that none of these people was guilty of anything for which lawful punishments could have been inflicted even by the courts subservient to the dictatorship, because had such been the case, they would not have hesitated to choose this form of disposing of them. When the Hungarian people had come to think, with great political naïveté, that it can give expression to its feelings against the regime, it did so without hesitation and with admirable heroism only to suffer, as a reward of its heroism and naïveté, renewed bloodshed, massacres, deportations, and internments.

- (2 i) In Hungary, in order to ~~live~~ subsist, one had to work. Who had no work, faced starvation. The entries in the confidential (loyalty) dossiers affected one's possibilities to work or not. Once this is understood, it is clear that these files had a decisive importance for the regime and the lives of the individuals.
- (3) I had to take orders from people whose intelligence, qualifications and humanity were inferior to mine. For this I received less pay than they did, and, at certain times, even less than what would have been sufficient to cover my bare necessities, and in order to determine whether I am entitled to receive a salary at all, not the quality of my work, but a set of entirely different considerations was used as criterion.
- (3 a) IV, XII, XIII
- (3 b) V, XIV, XV
- (3 c) III, VI, X
- (3 d) II, VI, VII
- (3 e) III, V, XV
- (3 f) Yes. The feeling of acuteness of these grievances always depended on the individual, too. People, in general, like to feel comfortable and they are inclined to get used to things, but there were certain things to which no one could ever get used to, for instance a genuinely religious person to being prevented from the free exercise of his religion; one could not get used to inadequate housing conditions, because they were the sources of endless misery of everyday life. One could not just forget



about the inadequacy of food supplies. The consequence of overwork was that people felt harassed. One could never get used to boredom and drabness, to the violation of national traditions, to humiliation.

- (3 g) Friends who could trust each other talked about it, and criticism of the regime has become, from 1953 on, increasingly outspoken and widespread.
- (3 h) The regime could have done something about them.
- (3 i) There was nothing but annoyance; for instance, a watertap in the house went out of order, private sector (MASZEK) plumbers were not yet allowed, it so happens that I am not an expert in plumbing and the Enterprise for Management of Real Estates (Ingatlankezelő Vállalat, IKV) was not able to "schedule" the repair work sooner than six weeks, ~~more~~. Once an elevator broke down, it did not run for weeks, etc.
- (3 j) Yes, but only from 1953. For instance, after 1953, it was possible to travel in the People's Democracies, and later, for certain people, even to Western countries. The tone of the press changed. But prior to 1953, life was characterized by general and complete apathy, lifeless mechanism and concentration of all efforts exclusively to providing for primary needs.
- (4) In the hands of the leaders of the Communist Party. It is rather difficult to determine how much of this was left to the initiative of the Hungarian Communist Party and how much to direct orders from Moscow.

- (4 a) The events and experiences of these past years.
- (4 b) A subordinate role.
- (4 c) The Politbureau of the Party.
- (4 d) To vote, as a rule unanimously, for the bills which were drafted by the Politbureau and submitted by the Government.
- (4 e) Because they wanted to prove from time to time the thesis which asserted that their system was based on "democratic centralism." Democratic centralism was the name given to the system in which the measures and, in general, everything, originated with the large masses, and the regime was built up gradually, starting with the lowest level.
- (4 f) They built up a bureaucratic apparatus of heretofore unknown proportions.
- (4 g) I would rather say that there was considerable corruption. People dared not to risk bribery, everybody was afraid of everybody, I don't think I heard of cases of express graft. I shall give an example of my own experience: The central offices and theater of the Touring Theater Company were occupying the premises of the former Madach Theater. In 1954, the theater itself was returned to the Madach Theater for the purpose of a repertory theater along with some office rooms to be used by the actors as dressing rooms. The Touring Theater Company was given additional office space in a building nearby, in Eva Street. The Madach Theater began to expand and would have needed the rest of the space which was still occupied by our office. The decision

was in the hands of a high-ranking city official whose wife happened to be, at that particular time, without a job. We gave a job to the wife and we have remained in our offices...

- (4 h) Positions in Government service were filled in the first place by "worker cadres" and a few former experts. In lesser positions, such as typists, filing clerks, etc., the old-timers were kept on.
- (4 i) The sons of workers and peasants were sent to military schools (Petofi and Kossuth Academies) and after the completion of their studies they were to form the officers' corps of the Army. In small number, former military experts were retained. They enjoyed the following material advantages: high salary and excellent clothing, which they obtained from the so-called Army "Konzum." (What are the konzums?) They were distributing centers of various consumers' goods reserved for privileged groups; these were accessible to foreign diplomats, Russian experts, Party high functionaries, ministers and deputy ministers, and their immediate surroundings. In these "konzums" they could get food-stuffs, English woollens, leather goods, good and luxury consumers' goods, everything much cheaper and in fact at ridiculous prices, all of which were inaccessible to the large masses of the population. To give an example how far their luxury and snobism went, on one occasion it was decided to give a dinner party at the Party headquarters. An old stage manager from our Touring Theater, who had great culture and great traveling experience, was entrusted with the preparations for the dinner, in order to make

sure that the rules of protocol and etiquette will be properly observed. The unhappy old man, after tasting some unusual, exotic fruit, contracted so serious stomach trouble, that he almost died of it. It can be seen from this episode that they knew<sup>no</sup> limits to their showing off: instead of hiring a waiter, they ordered an artist to their service and, of course, it was impossible to refuse; their gourmandise was such that a person who for years had nothing but a poor diet could not even digest it.

- (4 j) They were chosen from among the so-called "worker cadres," that is, such politically reliable people in whose assignment the political reliability and not the expert knowledge was the decisive factor. (There was no exception to this? ) Only by chance, when the political reliability coincided with expertness.
- (5) No. It was not a serious political organization. When the one-party system was introduced, they rallied all the young people in this organization, without having regard to their social background, therefore we cannot speak, in connection with the DISZ, of a unified political attitude, with the only exception that it was created for the purpose of officially supporting the Communist Party and it was a mass organization thereof. The goals of a peasant youth are entirely different from those of a worker youth, etc. The advantage of belonging to it, if this can be called an advantage, was that if somebody was noticed for his good work in the DISZ, it was easier for him to become a Party member.

- (5 a) No, that is, there were such disadvantages for a member that he had less free time because of meetings, etc.
- (5 b) As nothing was obligatory, this was not obligatory either, however, through applying certain pressures, the regime obtained the desired result. Statistics showed that, for practical purposes, they succeeded in making it obligatory. (What do you mean exactly?) The regime, with its hypocrisy, emphasized the voluntary principle in connection with all organizations of political character, however, if somebody tried to avail himself of the voluntary principle, the regime always found its way to take revenge. For instance, somebody who was not a trade union member, received a lower sickness allowance than the members, was excluded from the state vacationing plan, nor could he take advantage of the special tariff (50 percent reduction) which was granted on the railroads to vacationers. It is quite probable that when granting admission to universities, consideration was given to the applicant's activity in the DISZ.
- (5 c) Since the problem did not concern me, I did not consider it.
- (5 d) No.
- (5 i) I don't know, I was not interested. In general, people did not take seriously these mass organizations, with the exception of those who wanted or hoped personal advantages through them. None of the mass organizations had local organizations at our Touring Theater, with the exception of the trade union. Above

a certain intellectual level, even the regime ~~XXXX~~ desisted from forcing these organizations, because it knew that nobody would take them seriously. At this level it was mutually ignored.

(5 k)

The Party.

(6)

To enjoy these advantages and to comply with those obligations which were connected with membership.

(5 a)

No one "had to" enter. These things were in close relationship with each individual's interests and character. Not entering the Party meant, in general, only ~~XXXX~~ positional risk.

(6 b)

Part of my answer is implied in my answer to the previous question, and I should add that those wanted to enter the Party who were Communists out of conviction. These, however, were very few and actually they had some connection to the Party already before or during the ~~XXXX~~ war. I cannot take seriously that type of conviction which comes to light after an extremist regime had established itself, and in such people who traditionally have very little in common with this regime. Among Party members a very high percentage was represented by the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry. It has been a constant effort of the Party to <sup>improve</sup> ~~improve~~ its social composition, that is to increase the ratio of the workers. Working-class elements were introduced into the Party through the forced merger with the Social Democratic Party, that was one of the reasons why the Communist Party insisted on the merger.

- (6 c) The Party member could believe, if he so desired, that he is participating in the so-called building of the Party at occasions provided for by the democratic centralism. This was the right of the Party member. His duty was to carry out humbly and servilely every order which was entrusted to him in the name of the Party.
- (6 d) Yes. For instance a revue star, wife of a great industrialist, the latter having been imprisoned by the regime. She divorced him, besides ~~him~~ she was an entirely a-political person. She became a good actress later. Her professional qualities ensured her existence, yet she entered the Party (sometime in '53 or '54). Afterwards she has remained as a-political as she was before; she was allowed to one of the so-called "artists' ships" and she used it for leaving Hungary for good. I am asking: why did ~~she~~ she enter the Party? Another example: during the war he was a hussar officer, later he became a bad actor, he courted the woman Party secretary, she became pregnant, and thanks to Anna Ratko he was obliged to marry her. They made a Party member of him, he remained as bad an actor as he was before. I am asking: why did he enter the Party?
- (6 e) Yes. This question supports my previous theory, that is, that ~~the~~ <sup>the masses</sup> ~~not/working/peasants~~ entered the Party after 1948. A worker would not have been faced with the necessity to change his life and his personality because he became a member of a workers' party.

Elements alien to the working masses, however, when they entered the Party, had to assume, naturally, a false attitude, so as not to offer a too contrasting <sup>a</sup> picture to what is generally <sup>accepted</sup> ~~expected~~ to be that of a workers' party member.

- (6 f) Because, in the course of the years, the objectives of the Party had been modified, changed, and, in the first place, those Communists who were in illegality before the war, became disappointed. They realized that they were helping an exploitation which was more horrible than anything they had known before, that they are the executives of the dictatorship of an extremely small group.
- (6 g) The possibilities were very limited.
- (6 h) No.
- (6 p) Yes.
- (6 q) Yes. I worked in a field which was inferior to and different from my qualifications.
- (6 r) The political committee was the executive power which, between two congresses, directed the Party. The political committee itself was directed by Rakosi, and from 1956 <sup>by</sup> ~~from~~ Gero.
- (6 s) The worst possible. They have handed over the country entirely to the Soviet Union and they have created by fire and sword the most desperate conditions.
- (6 t) The policy of the Party is continuously changing, according to the prevailing needs of the moment. They had a different policy until 1948, they changed their program when they introduced the one-party system, in connection with Yugoslavia, for instance, they have abandoned the proletarian internationalism, and again they



changed their policy after the reconciliation with Yugoslavia had taken place. They were inclined, immediately before the Revolution and during the Revolution, to emphasize the national characteristics only to return later to the glorification of Moscow etc. I do not consider the Communist Party as a party, but only as a tool for the achievement of the goals pursued by Soviet imperialism.

(7) No (only to the trade union).

(7 a-k) Not applicable.

(7 l) In my opinion they functioned very badly, because they could not fulfil the task for which they were created, namely to help the Party in the direction of the country.

(7 m) The workers did not like the trade unions. They could not understand, as it cannot be understood every<sup>n</sup> today, that trade unions are fighting not for the interests of the workers, but for the strengthening of dictatorship and exploitation.

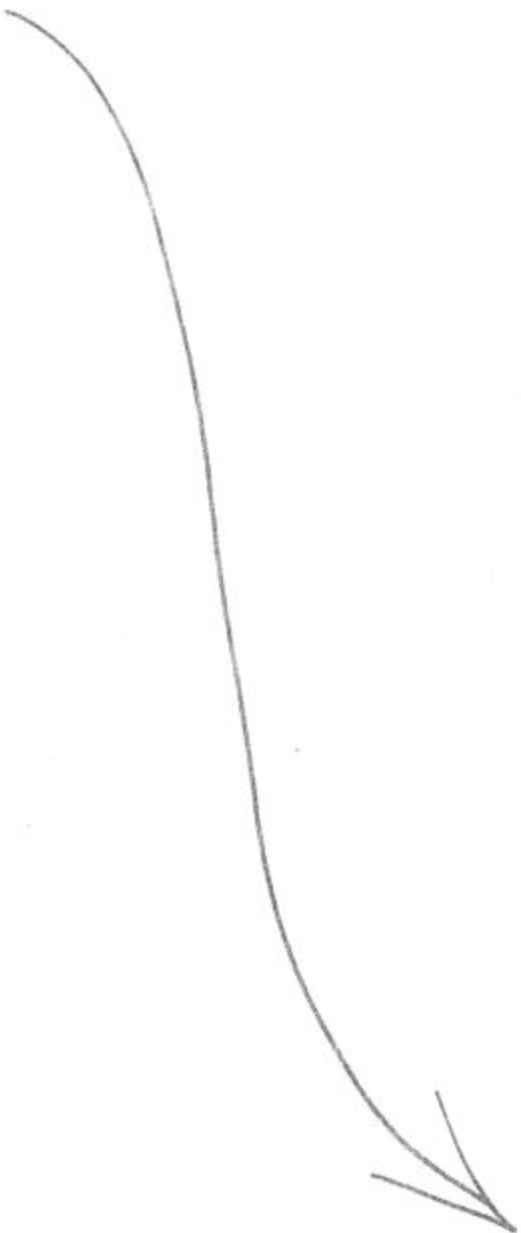
(8) Very few.

(9) They were badly organized, and what they were supposed to support, was also bad.

(10 a) Communist terror affected every manifestation of life, free expression was impossible those opinions manifestation of opinion, even if/~~they~~ had a constructive purpose, they / were not judged by their intention and were not judged by people whose intelligence would have permitted them to perceive the constructive element, and all this was extremely distressing for the people. For instance, the<sup>to</sup> criticize Rakosi before his political

downfall, ~~EE~~ or to call attention to the objectives of the land reform after the movement of collectivization has been launched, or to speak, in connection with the Soviet, of the right to self-determination of the small nations, etc., all these would have had consequences which nobody dared to risk. But even down to the smallest things, the influence of Communist terror could be felt. A friend of mine was interned for two years and 9 months, because <sup>he</sup> went to see a documentary film shown by the British Council and on his leaving the building, he was arrested by the AVH and disappeared for the above-mentioned time. An elderly lady of aristocratic descent, whom I knew, was sentenced to life imprisonment, because in the espresso which she owned the guests discussed allegedly, spying activities in 1949. Also those who were members of the Communist Party, or even filled leading positions therein, lived under the shadow of the same terror. We only have to think of the ~~EEEE~~ trial of Rajk or the internment of Gabor Peter, etc., etc. Everybody felt it, either through his own experience, or through people in his circle of friends and acquaintances, and nobody knew, when the ~~EEEE~~ fist of terror would reach him. My father-in-law was in charge of the construction of a railway line between Mohacs and Pecs and at the occasion of one of his inspections <sup>on</sup> at the spot, he called to the attention of two workers who were having their lunch under a railway cutting, that the place was dangerous and that they should go to sit somewhere else. Then he continued his inspection tour and the workers did not heed his advice; there was a landslide and

they were killed. My father-in-law was then arrested and submitted to lengthy questioning; only the deposition of his driver, who happened to be a Party member, saved him from internment, despite the fact that according to the law he had no responsibility in the matter.



(10 b) The AVH was organized, after the end of World War II, by Laszlo Rajk, obviously not on his own initiative, by making use of the experiences of the NKVD, and for the purpose to defend the state from the so-called enemies of the people, internal and external. At the beginning it operated as part of the police, under the leadership of Gabor Peter; later, as far as I know in 1950, it was freed from the authority of the Ministry of Interior and received new uniforms, and was placed directly at the disposal of the Politbureau. At this time the scope of its task was also widened, armed detachments were organized within its ranks, and young men who came up for military service were enlisted in these detachments, if they were thought to be reliable because of their social origin. Its headquarters were at the beginning at ~~THE~~ 60 Andrassy Street, from where it spread to the adjacent buildings at fantastic costs, and again later, when the presence in the heart of the city of such an oversized butcher's ~~SHOP~~ shop did not seem desirable, they moved into a brand new building on Jaszai Mari Square, which was originally intended for the use of the Ministry of Interior. The frontier guard was also reorganized

and attached to the AVH, the difference being marked by the color of the ribbon on their caps, royal blue for the AVH and green for the frontier guard. The AVH arrested people whenever they thought it necessary; some of those who were arrested and could not be sentenced according to the paragraphs of the criminal code, were interned, and those whom they had the courage to bring to trial, were "prepared" for the trials. The already mentioned lady aristocrat, who was arrested in connection with the Mindszenty-trial, and after a revision of the case was released after some six years, told me the following: After her arrest, at the beginning, she was questioned, but because she was unable to "confess" what they wanted to hear from her, the methods of the questioning became increasingly rough. First they wanted to wear her out, they worked with examiners in relay, they did not give her anything to eat, they did not let her sleep, they made her stand by the wall and if she moved they beat her. She collapsed, they beat her until she came to, then again they beat her until she collapsed again, this was repeated several times, then she was locked up in a cell, where she could not sit down/<sup>even on the floor,</sup> because the surface of the floor was composed of pyramid-shaped protrusions; very strong light was turned on, the walls were black and white in a chessboard pattern and combined with spiral lines (extremely trying for the eyes and nerves), some shrill music was screaming through megaphones; she does not know how long she was there, but even after all this, she could not tell anything which was expected

from her. Then they began to beat her again, again no result. Once she was hit on her head and passed out. When she recovered her senses, she found herself in a comfortable armchair, in an expensively and beautifully decorated study. Somebody, whom she could not see because the person was behind her, offered her a cup of coffee, which she drank, and then she began to write on the many white sheets which were lying before her on the desk. She does not know what she wrote. She does not know whether it was dictated to her, or whether <sup>5</sup> she wrote by herself, she does not know how long she wrote, the only thing she remembers is that she filled with her writing countless white sheets. She does not know before which court she had to account for her alleged crimes, she does not know <sup>who</sup> ~~how~~ were there beside her, the only thing she remembers is that they asked her whether she wrote the pages they showed to her, to which she had to reply in the affirmative. X She does not know in which prison she was confined, despite the fact that more than six years have passed since her arrest. She was released from the Concentration Prison (Gyűjtőfogház) at Kőbánya, her health completely ruined.


Another example: An engineer, after the war, manager of an important electronics factory. The factory <sup>manufactured</sup> ~~manufactured~~ electrical precision instruments <sup>delivery to</sup> ~~for~~ Soviet Russia. He divorced his wife and ~~he~~ lived with his girl friend, who was working <sup>at</sup> ~~in~~ the Institute of Cultural Relations in an important position. The instruments manufactured for the Soviet were accepted at delivery, but

subsequently concealed defects were discovered in them. (Was the defect intentional?) I don't know, but I think yes. The couple attended an official dinner in one of the great hotels in Budapest. Both were found dead in one of the rooms of the hotel; the deaths were not made public, the family was not notified, and at the burial only the Party secretary of the factory was present. The man had a daughter, about 15 years old; she was questioned for days as to what she knew about her father's being engaged in spy activities and in the interest of which of the Western powers. Finally they let her go; later the Party secretary of the factory informed the girl that her father and his friend are dead and that he was present at the burial.

Another example: Young man, 26-27 years old, son of a high-ranking officer in the Horthy-regime, ~~XXXX~~ his mother died when he was very young and he <sup>was</sup> brought up in a boarding school and spent his vacations in the villa of his father. At the approach of the Russian troops, his father committed suicide. He studied until his baccalaureate in an ecclesiastical school, afterwards he began his studies at the Faculty of Medicine, in ~~XX~~ 1948 or 49. He is a freshman when he is arrested, he is beaten up, brutally tortured and stabbed, ~~-----~~, for instance, when he is made to stand by the wall, because according to his torturers he is not standing in the proper way, they stab ~~him~~ with a pocket knife under his knee. Despite all this, he is unable

to answer the question where his father, who allegedly was in secret service, kept his papers. He is being dragged from one place to the other, and after three months, while he is being transported, somewhere in the neighborhood of Vac, he is thrown out of the car. He gets somehow to a hospital, he is nursed by priests, he recovers his health, and he is refused at the University when he wants to continue his studies. He lives of odd jobs, then again he is arrested, tortured again, and again set free. All this is repeated a third time. Finally ~~these~~ these persecutions stop~~ped~~ and he succeed~~s~~s in finding a job as a worker in a chemical factory. He becomes foreman, he gets distinguished for his good work, and is being honored as an outstanding worker (Stakhanovist). They send him to an official photographer to have his picture taken in order to be published in the trade papers. By chance, there he runs into Lazzlo Piroc, in whom he recognizes one of his torturers. He is also being photographed on the occasion of his promotion. Piroc asks him: "Where do I know you from, young man?" ~~He~~ Whereupon he tells him. Piroc replies: "So you see that, in the end, we ~~have~~ succeeded in making a man out of you."



- (10 d) I have already mentioned that there was a built-in so-called liaison to the Ministry of Interior; the whole system was based on this.
- (10 e) See above (b).
- (10 g) Their privileges were in the nature of material benefits. It is not true what Rakosi said once: "The AVH is surrounded by the
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(10 1)

love of our people." And the regime did not offer them greater security than it did to any/other citizen of the country, <sup>as it can be seen</sup> ~~in the case of~~ in the case of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Gabor Peter, Palfy, Rajk, <sup>Q</sup> The question does not correspond to the exact situation; as far as I can see this is how the system worked: part of the personnel of the AVH was admitted openly as such, they wore uniforms, etc. There were others, whose employment with the AVH was not revealed openly, nevertheless they worked for the AVH like the others, such as the departments of investigation, <sup>of</sup> counter-espionage, etc. Beside ~~these~~ <sup>these</sup> there were many functionaries, who were not directly paid by the AVH, like the chiefs of personnel departments, Party secretaries, managers of industrial and other enterprises, etc., who also counted among their duties to watch over the political security of the state; probably there were other persons who made denunciation their business out of personal zeal, however, I can't see what particular advantage this could have meant for them, and, finally, it was declared to be the duty of every citizen to inform the authorities of any anti-governmental activity they may have knowledge about. This was to be considered so serious a duty, that those who were found, ~~or~~ <sup>is</sup> thought, not to have complied with it, faced criminal law procedure. What <sup>is</sup> more, they interned the family members of those convicted for political reasons, on the basis of the theory that certainly they knew about something which possibly even the convicted person did not know.

- (10 j) The fact that the question is asked, points to the answer that it was bad. Had the relations been good, there would have been no need to establish a separate AVH. The part of the police was subordinate, just as practically everything was subordinated to AVH.
- (10 k) I have already mentioned that the AVH was subordinated to the political committee of the Party.
- (11) I was not arrested, nor any of my close friends; but it happened to some of my acquaintances.
- (11 a,b,c) See answer to Question 10, a,b.
- (11 d) There is no way to establish any regularity in this connection.
- (11 e) No.
- (11 f) This also had a great variety of ways and means, but of course not with everybody could one get in touch.
- (11 g) I have no personal knowledge of them.
- (11 h) I know what everybody knows.
- (12) Question 12 and subquestions are not applicable.
- (13) I cannot give advice.
- (13 a) No. To be an athlete or an artist is relatively the safest.
- (13 b) No.
- (13 c) No, there is no such personal connection who would lift his little finger to help somebody who is in trouble for political reasons. The explanation is that nobody knows, if a person is arrested, why he is arrested, and consequently, he cannot be sure whether his influence would be sufficient to clear a person arrested for

political reasons. The lack of help then was not ~~mainly~~ a matter of good intentions, but of impossibility.

(13 d) By all means. Everything can be concealed until it is found out. Of course everybody was trying to minimize their social background.

(13 e) Nothing helps.

(13 f) Silence is golden. It helps a lot but it does not exclude anything, because we live among human beings.

(13 g) That always depends on the momentary political situation; we only have to think, for instance, of the Yugoslavs, or the Russian Jewish doctors' case, etc.

(14) Yes, there were fluctuations. The terror was at its ~~HIGH~~ height in the years 1949-50, by 1951-52 everybody was intimidated, from 1953 on the terror eased gradually. Apart from the temporary reaction which followed the removal of Imre Nagy from his government (his first).

(14 a) In 1948 there were purges in the Communist Party, afterwards in the Social Democratic Party, afterwards the clergy, etc.

(14 b) See answer to Question 14.

(14 c) Compared to preceding years, the situation has eased considerably. The Government itself took care of discrediting the AVH, though not deliberately, but out of necessity. The rehabilitation of those involved in the Rajk process, and of others in other political processes. The arrest of Mihaly Farkas and <sup>of</sup> his son Vladimir; the latter was a colonel of the AVH and the personal torturer of Kadar.

- (15) It was decisive. The vicinity of the Soviet, the Soviet occupation of Hungary and her being surrounded by countries where Soviet ideology ~~was~~<sup>was</sup> imposed, were the factors which brought about the present situation of Hungary.
- (15 a) There is no doubt that in every important matter the decision was made in Moscow, in matters of lesser importance, in Hungary. Moscow gave the leading principles, Hungary had the right of putting them into practice.
- (15 b) In matters of decisive importance, the events were always preceded by some sort of an agreement made on an international level. For instance the armistice treaty, the Soviet-Hungarian friendship and mutual assistance pact, economic agreements, Warsaw Pact, etc.
- (15 c) The leaders of Hungary were Soviet citizens: Rakosi, Gero, Hagedus, etc. The character of direct pressure became indistinguishable, which circumstance caused that in Hungary a situation arose, which could not have even occurred to leading politicians of a country enjoying a more advantageous geographical position, but not even to Hungarians under different circumstances.
- (15 d) No.
- (15 e) The Soviet influence was probably most pronounced in the AVH, in the Army, in the Police, in the ministries of economic character and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in connection with more important economic enterprises. It was less pronounced in educational, cultural, and sport matters, etc.
- (15 f) The Soviet personnel were so-called experts attached to the immediate

surroundings of the minister in the various ministries or to the management of the more important industrial enterprises, like the aluminum industry. The exploitation of the uranium ore was entirely under Russian direction, in the form of a Russian enterprise. The situation was similar in the oil industry. Our newspaper, the Magyar, uncovered the fact that the chief delegate of Hungary to the United Nations, Peter Kos, is a Russian oil engineer. His name was Kondvictorov, he came to Hungary in 1945 and that's when he learned Hungarian. Proof to our having touched upon the truth of the matter was the recall of Peter Kos from the U.N. and his removal from the arena of foreign affairs.

(15) No.

(15 a) Because they were afraid of retaliation.

(15 b) The simplest example is that, for instance, one hated Rákosi and one could not even say so; as far as Stalin was concerned, one had to speak of him as if he were a god. There was a scenery shift employed at the Touring Theater Company, who was a former Protestant minister. He met ~~NOBEN~~ probably was not a "peace priest", because despite the fact that he had four children, he was called in to military service. He was doing his service in the Army, when came the 23rd of December, the birthday of Stalin, when the soldiers, for celebration, received also wine to their meals. His master-sergeant told him to drink<sup>k</sup> to the health of Stalin. He refused. He was interned for three years. Etc.

- (16 c) Only with somebody whom I know well and trust, with nobody else can one be frank.
- (16 d) Questions which could not be construed to have political reference. Of anything else one had to be silent or one had to "approve."
- (16 e) Yes. Until 1948 the terror was not entirely consolidated yet; up till 1951 the terror was increasingly strengthened, and ~~until~~ <sup>until</sup> 1953 it was stabilized on its ~~high~~ <sup>high</sup> height. The death of Stalin and ~~the~~ <sup>government's</sup> ~~policy~~ of Imre Nagy started a process of gradual easing, which lasted until the Revolution.
- (17) Yes, everybody tried to.
- (17 a) For instance in connection with my apartment, I was not divorced from my wife and yet we were able to <sup>keep two</sup> ~~use~~ separate apartments.
- (17 b) I am not familiar enough with these problems.
- (17 c) In this connection there were certain conditions to be observed: a person could not be transferred out of town if at the same time a suitable job was not assured in the same locality for the wife or husband who was also working. Nobody could be transferred to a job of inferior working conditions to that previously held, except as a punishment in a disciplinary case. But even in such a case, if the person in question was married, the first-mentioned considerations were valid. In such a situation one tried to make use of personal connections, who, through their <sup>official</sup> ~~importance~~ or political importance, could give sufficient weight to their opinion that the person in question should not be transferred

out of "considerations for<sup>the interest of</sup> the people's economy." Unfortunately, one could not always find such a connection. In practice, those cases could be considered exceptional, in which the protection of the family, <sup>g</sup>guaranteed by law, or personal intervention would have been respected.

- (17 d) He could quit. He had to ask for the consent of the enterprises he was working for, which he usually obtained. The practice was so widespread that in the end, in certain branches of industry, loyalty premiums were paid to those who worked for a certain length of time at the same place of employment, for instance in the mining industry or the building industry.
- (17 e) In such a case there was not much chance to have the case reversed. Already when granting admission to universities, careful consideration was given to the ratio by social background, in order to have a new intelligentsia above reproach from the point of view of social composition.
- (18) The regime was weak from every point of ~~view~~ view, only the terror it exerted seemed to be ~~perfect~~ perfect.
- (19) We can only speak of passive resistance, apart from a few exceptional cases. (Which were the exceptional cases?) For instance, when the peasant attacked with a pitchfork the collector of the compulsory quota; as a matter of fact this was not even so exceptional. Passive resistance took many forms; for instance, at Szeged they were installing a large textile concern (kombinat), which was equipped with machines imported from Russia. The installation of the machines was supervised by a textile engineer



friend of mine, who had studied either in Germany or France. He told me the following conversation, which he overheard between two workers: A: "Look, Comrade, what a big <sup>"eight"</sup> ~~size~~ there is in this wheel (workers' slang to say that the axis was improper), though it is the product of the Soviet industry, which is leading in the world." B: "Never mind, what does such a small <sup>"eight"</sup> ~~size~~ matter in such a big country"-- and they went on installing the faulty wheel. Another example: An actor had to play a part where, for instance, he was the manager of a Soviet factory, who was to deliver a speech in favor of the raising of the norms. By strange coincidence, he suddenly discovered that he was suffering from a deviation of the nasal septum, which did not bother him for thirty years, but now he had to have an operation...

- (19 a) See above.
- (19 b) The intellectuals and the peasantry. The former, because they were convinced that the regime is leading the country into catastrophe, and they were proved right. The peasants, because in the everyday life conflicts arose continuously.
- (19 c) The employees of the state and party apparatus and the workers. The former, because they were a type of people which has no independent opinion and always serves the regime in power. The workers, because beside all the ~~lies~~ lies which were going on, and according to which "everything happened in the interest of the workers," it was necessary for the regime to give some tangible proofs of their contention that the workers had a leading role in the life of the country. For instance they had the opportunity

to make a career in other occupational branches, for instance become the chief of a personnel department, manager, party secretary; efforts were made to solve their housing problems, for instance the building of ~~new~~ apartment houses for workers; vacationing plan; facilities to buy on instalments furniture, radio, etc; opportunity of study for their children, scholarships at universities; ~~argument~~

- (19 d) <sup>greatly increased</sup> opportunity for further specialization in various skills and technical fields. Naturally it decreased, because there was an easing of the situation.
- (19 e) It gradually decreased. From 1953 on there was a growing tendency of democratization of life in Hungary, which did not induce resistance in people, but on the contrary, a feeling of relief. It was the awakening of the critical spirit which gathered in momentum during 1955-56, as compared to the preceding years.
- (19 f) There were no organized resistance groups, everybody arrived individually, on the basis of their own bitter experiences, to the necessity of opposition. The cessation of conspiracy and treason trials would also point to this theory. In 1955, a Communist Party member journalist commented to me, how a-political and reminding of Stalinist times was the speech of Rakosi just held in the stadium at ~~M~~ Csepel. He maintained that he could discover symptoms of a deranged mind in Rakosi when listening to his speech, and when he heard it again over the radio, he found that improvements had been made to it by sound technique.

- (19 g) Yes. The break with Tito has divided the Hungarian Workers' Party, which seemed to be unified until that moment. The differences which came to the surface were settled in a drastic fashion by the stronger fraction. See the fate of Rajk and his companions. Later differences arose in the carrying out <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ the forced resettlement and internment from Budapest, see the Kadar case. Differences arose in connection with economic and political questions: see Imre Nagy and his group. Later on differences arose in the question of consistent application of Stalinism: the fall of Rakosi. These and differences of lesser importance, all contributed to the gradual <sup>a</sup> upsetting of that perfect unity which is indispensable to the maintaining of a dictatorship; also they helped the formation of revisionist factions, the divergent actions whereof finally led to the disintegration of the Party and the ~~Stalinist~~ regime.
- (19 h) IN Hungary, in every field of life, the leading role of the Party made itself felt. Therefore the effect of the slightest fluctuation in the Party could be felt in any other sphere and thus, naturally, within the Army also. That is why the state power could not rely on the Army during the Revolution.
- (19 i) Very much so; see reasons above.
- (19 j) Very much so; see above.
- (19 k) During the greatest terror there was sabotage and also sabotage trials. Most probably there were also slow-downs. I only know about the cases which were publicized through the press, because

I was not working in the industrial field.

(19 l) The Petofi Circle emerged much earlier than the MEFESZ, with a constructive purpose. They based themselves on one of the fundamental principles of the Party, the principle of criticism and self-ciriticism. It is a peculiar feature of the regime that ~~KE~~ if its characteristics are being analysed by intelligent people, then the institution where this is happening becomes a basis of resistance. The MEFESZ was created so to speak hours before the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ breaking out of the Revolution and had an exclusively revolutionary character.

(19 m) I was more or less familiar with the events. They were endeavoring to bring about an improvement within the framework of the given possibilities and the existing system, which would have made life not only more bearable, but also more decent. (What did they actually do to achieve these aims?) The movement was started by the writers, in the first place by Tibor Dery, Gyula Hay, Zoltan Zelk, etc. The novel entitled Niki by Tibor Dery was one of the signs of the change of mood in Hungary. Another center of activity was amidst the people connected with the theater: the directors, stage managers, and actors; there were certain possibilities which would be exploited in connection with the composition of the repertoire and the interpretation of the parts. Then there were the university professors, Imre Nagy, who was teaching at the Agricultural Faculty of the University of Technology had a

great many followers; there were a great many young pedagogues who, in their own field, were trying to prove the necessity for changes.

- (1) From domestic newspapers, from both domestic and foreign radio, and from acquaintances and friends who were better informed ~~XXXX~~ than I was.
- (1 a) It would be impossible for me to establish an order of importance.
- (2) Yes.
- (2 a) I subscribed to the following papers and magazines: Magyar Nemzet, Irodalmi Ujság, Művelt Nép (a review put out by the publishing office of the Communist Party), Judas Matyi, a political comic paper, and later the Hétfői Hírlap; I also read Béke es Szabadság, a popular magazine, and trade papers like Színház es ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Filmművészet (Theater and Film Art) and Színház es Mozi (Theater and Movie), the former a high-class professional periodical, the latter on a more popular level. Occasionally I also read the Szabad Nép, which was available to me in my office.
- (2 b) See above.
- (2 c) Because these papers contained in what I was interested or wanted to be informed about.
- (2 d) None.
- (2 e) Yes. It contained reviews on the various performances clipped out from different papers, and other information connected with the theatrical life; notices concerning vacationing, the activity of the Conciliation Committee, etc. Compared to the average wall newspapers, ours was of a much higher level and it did not have the aggressive party-political touch. For instance, one of my dramaturgist friends wrote a brief tale, in the style

of La Fontaine, about the self-admiration of our director; it is true that he almost lost his job because of it, but soon afterwards one of his plays was produced and had a tremendous success, so he could stay.


- (2 f) The wall paper recorded or commented the events connected with a particular place of employment, whereas the newspapers dealt with questions of a more general interest.
- (2 g) Yes.
- (2 h) I received several French and Swiss French magazines, which were brought to me by my friends ~~EM~~ when they returned from their travels abroad. This was in 1956, before that I saw foreign publications only seldom.
- (2 i) I was interested in them because they gave me the taste of a way of editing a newspaper which I have been missing for long. Another thing which was interesting about them was that they also contained material other than exclusively political.
- (

- (2 j) Before the Revolution, no. After the Revolution, yes. After the Revolution illegal leaflets appeared in huge quantities, calling for various forms of resistance, strikes, and demonstrations. The publication of our paper, Igazság, has become impossible after the occupation by the Russians of the printing office. Then it seemed important, beside the papers published by the Communist Party: Népszabadság, the paper of the Council of Trade Unions: Népakarat, and the paper of the Army: Honvéd, all of which, but in particular the Népszabadság, were trying to justify, to explain,



and even to make popular the Russian aggression and the role of Kadar and his ~~ELITE~~ clique, to publish a paper which would give expression to the true opinions of the population, to its expectations with regard to the future, free from the biases of the Communist Party. The Great Budapest Workers' Council took repeated steps to obtain from the Government the authorization of the publication of our paper. Even the papers Népakarat and Honvéd supported this step. But the Government remained firm in its refusal, therefore, in view of the urgent need for publicity of certain problems, we decided to publish a mimeographed news bulletin. Altogether six issues saw the light, with a circulation of 5-6,000 copies. This mimeographed news bulletin, despite the fact that it appeared under a different name, in its objectives remained loyal to its legal predecessor and it wanted to serve the cause of upholding the national feeling and consciousness. The paper contained information regarding domestic policy, obtained through personal connections, commentaries on official statements, and news taken from domestic and foreign radio broadcasts. It played an important role in the direction of the different manifestations which took place after the crushing of the Revolution. Thus the organization of the silent demonstration of the 23rd of November, of the boycotting of the Government press, which was distorting the true facts, also the burning of these papers, and of the women's demonstration on December 4. With the arrest of the editorial staff, this most important illegal press organ of

the after-revolution period was also forced into silence. (How was the circulation ensured?) With the help of our numerous friends it was distributed in plants, factories, in more important institutions, in the street among the people standing in line for food, and was posted on the walls of the buildings.



- (3 a) I liked the Italian neo-realistic films, the French films, and I was extremely interested in the artistic efforts which characterize the Hungarian film productions during the period of which I am thinking (I thought of a month in the spring of 1956). Some of these films were quite remarkable, for instance "Hit and Run" ("Gázolás"), "Carroussel" ("Kőrhinta"), "A Small Glass of Light Beer" ("Piccolo, világos").
- (3 b) The Hungarian films tried to educate under the form of entertainment; they chose a subject on current problems of the existing society. Despite their bias, they arrived at truly artistic achievements. It was noteworthy in itself that they treated subjects which previously people did not even dare to discuss. For instance in the film entitled "Hit and Run," a Communist judge is faced with the problem of choosing between his love and his loyalty to his class. The subject of the film "Carroussel" was about farm collectivization, but there was no "happy ending" consisting in joining a collective farm.

- (3 c) Yes.
- (3 d) I have already mentioned my preferences; I want to mention especially the "Ballon rouge" which I saw at a private showing and I was delighted with it.
- (4) Yes.
- (4 a) I read quite a few books, but I couldn't give a figure.
- (4 b) Here are a few titles I can remember now: Domestic literature, by Tibor Déry: Unfinished Sentence; foreign people's democracy literature: by Ilya Ehrenburg, Melting (this was on index by the regime, but I obtained a copy of the Writers' Union); Western literature: by Upton Sinclair, Lenny Budd (7 volumes) . I also remember Ararat by Zilahy, there were very few copies available in Hungary because the book was put on index by the regime. Etc.
- (4 d) In the circles in which I moved I had no difficulties to find the books I wanted to read, but in general it was not possible to obtain these books from public libraries or bookshops.
- (4 e) Árpád Tóth, Ady, Anatole France, and many others. See above.
- (4 g) See above.
- (5) Yes.
- (5 b) Yes, I had two of them, one in my office and one at home; they were good sets, but I don't remember the make.
- (5 d) Classical music, sometimes plays, and regularly the news. Because I like music and theater, and as far as the news were concerned, I wished to be informed of what was going on.

- (5 e) I always listened at least to the midnight news and in the morning.
- (5 f) Either at home or at my office, or at my friends' house, or at my wife's.
- (6) Yes.
- (6 a) Free Europe, Voice of America, EBC. Because I was interested in the news.
- (6 b) Mostly at night.
- (6 c) The EBC seemed to be the most objective in judging the Hungarian situation. The Voice of America was also popular in Hungary, this is proved by the fact that in order to counteract its influence, a play was written under the title of "Voice of America," and it was produced in one of the first-class theaters in Budapest. (Did you see it?) No, unfortunately I did not get around to seeing it. My impression of the Voice of America was that they did not know well enough the situation in Hungary, and this applies not so much to the events themselves, but to the significance thereof; an extremely grave situation obtained in Hungary, ~~which~~ and the Voice of America treated it, on the one hand, with too light humor, on the other hand, it broadcast bombastic foreign policy commonplaces which were not translated into practice, including the Revolution. In my opinion, responsible radio stations ought to follow such a program policy which truly reflects the actual positions ~~in~~ adopted in face of the different problems. Insofar as Radio Free Europe is concerned, beside the just mentioned <sup>faults</sup> ~~fact~~, of program policy, it also fell behind the

events and the desired evolution at home, both in artistic form and in content, and therefore it lost much of its interest; in consequence, I and also other people limited themselves to listening only to the news, so that we could arrive at a just assessment of the news by comparing the various extremes. (Could you give me some examples of what caused discontent?) For instance when Radio Free Europe commented the land reform or the nationalization of plants as something against the wishes of the Hungarian people. One has to remember that the land reform was one of the natural desires of the people, it began to become unnatural only when the peasants were forced into collective farms, which were not so much collective farms as one form of the Russian exploitation, which was called <sup>by</sup> ~~under~~ this name. Or, for instance, when during the Revolution, military experts encouraged further resistance, in other words further bloodshed, at a time when the abandonment of Hungary was already decided on international level. In my opinion it was also a mistake that they tried to discredit Imre Nagy after he took over the Government, which contributed to the <sup>splitting</sup> ~~breaking up~~ of the unity of the Revolution and helped to clear the road for the Russian tanks. I found the text announced by Balazs Balogh, for instance, to say the least, in very bad taste. (In what way were attempts made to discredit Imre Nagy?) "He is just another Communist, etc." -- along these lines. The Hungarian people expects something quite different from these radio stations.

They don't expect suggestions as to what they ought to do at home, but rather to be informed in what way the world intends to help them, or, if the world does not want to, or cannot, help, they want to be told of this, so that they can see things clearly and act accordingly. The mission of these radio stations is, in the first place, to give ample and factual world news without commentary; also to inform the Hungarian people, objectively and without underestimating its cultural standards, of aspects of the life of the free world which can be of interest to them: a political, economic, social, and cultural cross-section of the free world; to give excerpts of musical and literary works of art which cannot be obtained in Hungary; and, finally, with regard to the special situation which ~~it~~ obtains today, to help, and so to speak ~~to~~ save, those many very talented refugee writers and artists who are familiar with the cultural needs of the country and who represent an important part of the spiritual treasury of Hungary, and who are doomed to be lost, handicapped as many of them are ~~with~~ <sup>by</sup> the lack of knowledge of languages, if they cannot find an appropriate base for cultural activities.

- (6 e) I know of cases of internment.
- (7) Yes.
- (7 a) Information of great variety, it would be difficult to make an enumeration.
- (7 b) There was a peculiar situation in Hungary, namely that somehow everything leaked out. Everywhere, even in the highest circles, there were people who were less reliable or less tight-lipped, who

in their own circle of friends would talk about the things which were imminent -- and so matters came to the knowledge of non-Party people or people who by their official standing would not have been entitled to hear them. The news then circulated from one group of friends to another. For instance, I had known already about the need for a change in the policy with regard to the Yugoslavs in the fall of 1955, whereas only in the fall of 1956 did it become publicly known in Hungary.

- (7 c) They were more reliable. I was in a rather special situation because I had personal connections through which I obtained reliable news; I don't know to what extent this was general. Also my place of work, the Touring Theater Company, was rather advantageous in this respect.
- (7 e) In the most varied places.
- (7 f) There was no rule for this.
- (7 g) Of course there were: higher ranking Government functionaries, who happened to be placed in those positions for reasons other than their loyalty to the Party, and who did not renounce friendships which they had made prior to their assuming responsibilities. Beside these, there were Party members and worker cadres from whom one could get the best information, if one was able to find the proper tone, without being obliged, at the same time, to make any political concessions <sup>to</sup> ~~for~~ them. For instance, our chief of personnel talked over every problem with me, such as the material



- of the local Party meetings, the question of admitting persons into the Party, Government measures which he personally disliked, etc.
- (7 1) No, there are no coffee houses any more; there are espressos now, which by their nature are not adapted to political discussions: they are much smaller and more crowded. The former coffee houses were converted for other uses, for instance for cultural halls for "cultural brigades" of the various enterprises for their dramatics or choirs, for restaurants (people's buffets), or for warehouses.
- (8) It depended on the nature of the news. If a communiqué appeared on the meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, I did not believe every word of it; but I could easily believe if the news spoke of the carrying out of a death sentence. News concerning the "enthusiastic" creation of a collective farm left also doubts in me, and news reporting "voluntary work offerings" on the 4th of April or first of May, did not ring convincing either. For practical purposes, voluntary work offerings meant just another raise of the norms.
- (8 a) Those news which in one way or another were disadvantageous to the people, for instance underwriting of peace loans, voting statistics, etc; these were usually correct.
- (8 b) Those informations which reflected events according to the intention of the regime were less reliable. (See answer to Question 8.)
- (8 c) During the first part of the period it gradually decreased, from 1953 on, apart from a few occasional relapses, the reliability

of the press was increasing.

- (8 d) One compared the news obtained from the domestic press, from the foreign radio broadcasts, and from information received through personal contact. To all this one added one's own combinative ability.
- (8 e) No, because there was controlled radio and press in Hungary; even the Statistical Review was giving a false picture of the country's life.
- (8 f) I was a subscriber to it. During the last two years, one could measure through this periodical the degree of ideological disintegration which prepared & spiritually the Revolution. It gradually departed from its purely artistic mission, it became a political organ, and from the articles published one could "deduce" the most up-to-date and most reliable information.
- (8 g) Yes, in my office, fairly often. I believe in free press, and consequently it was always with unpleasant feelings that I took the Szabad Nep into my hands. The only difference between the Szabad Nep and the official Gazette was that the former also published movie programs and sports results.
- (8 h) Yes, regularly. It made a very good impression on me, it established a new tone in the Hungarian press, though it was still far from a free press.
- (9) Their efforts in this direction were increasing after the period of lethargy which was reigning from 1950 to 1953.

- (10 a) I knew about it; I consider it a barbarious weapon, but I don't like Japanese militarism either.
- (10 b) I don't know, I remember that around that time I was extremely preoccupied by my own personal affairs. It is my opinion that in final analysis, the Korean War ended with the victory of the Communist camp, it encouraged them to continue their efforts even more shamelessly for world domination.
- (10 c) I only read it in the domestic press that bacteria and items for civil uses equipped with explosives, such as fountain pens and pencils, were thrown among the civil population. I only read about these things, I had no way of verifying them.
- (10 d) I knew about it. The domestic press tried to give it a character of ~~being~~ revenge, attributing a decisive part to the politically reliable formations, like SS, SA, of the former Nazi army, and the leaders thereof. The world situation being what it is, I accept the idea of armed counterbalance, though in my heart I am a pacifist.
- (10 e) I was informed about them also through the press; the commentaries had it that they tried inciting to war with their propaganda material, technically they were constructed in such a way that where they hit the ground, houses collapsed and children were wounded. In my opinion, both the balloons and the commentaries were lacking in seriousness.
- (10 f) I was informed of it through the press. It was commented as a Fascist manifestation, which, in my thought, I completed with factors of economic character and of national consciousness.

- (10 g) It received surprisingly sympathetic and optimistic commentaries in the press. I ~~KK~~ was hoping that, on the one hand, Geneva is the symbol of that easing of the situation which followed Stalin's death, and of the general efforts in the direction of new solutions; I also hoped that it would bring results.
- (10 h) I knew about that; I had no illusions in connection with their activities. History has always been made within the boundaries of the homeland and not in the emigration. The events have proved me right.

- (1) First of all the essence of the regime: the dictatorship. While maintaining the form of republic, the executive power should be placed into the hands of a government elected by universal, equal, and free elections. The independence of the judiciary should be strengthened; while maintaining the land reform, the nationalization of large factories, mines, and banks, opportunity should be again given to the development of free enterprise, in order to further the economic development of the country. The system which has proved successful everywhere, according to which the citizens are the taxpayers, should be reintroduced; because in Hungary under this regime the state was paying taxes to itself. The fundamental civil rights should be guaranteed: freedom of religion, of the press, of opinion, of gathering, of association, ~~the~~ equality before the law. The autonomy of universities and the right to strike should be restored and, finally, Hungary should become a neutral state.
- (1 a) The land reform, the nationalization of the mining industry, of great industry, and of banks.
- (1 b) See above (subquestion a); in addition, the abolition of social differences, it goes without saying that the current differences, introduced by the regime, should also be abolished.
- (2) By all means. Yes.
- (2 a) Yes.
- (2 b) Yes.
- (3) They should be free. The Hungarian people is sufficiently mature politically.

- (3 c) No.
- (3 d) Yes.
- (4) Yes.
- (4 a) Yes.
- (4 b) When the government is acting against the interests of the people and of the state. Such was the reason, for instance, for the Revolution of October 1956.
- (5) The reorganization of industry, to be based on high demand for labor instead of raw materials. Hungary was, in the first place, an agricultural state. The industrial development was not in step with the population increase, therefore, before the war, in Hungary unemployment was not an unknown phenomenon. The development of the industry after the war was totally unsound. Priority was given to heavy industry, without having ensured the ~~MIN~~ necessary raw materials. In my opinion, manufacturing industry (feldolgozo, ipar) should be developed in Hungary, precision instruments, etc., similar to the watch industry in Switzerland and Sweden; high quality standard should be reintroduced. Agricultural export should be brought back to its former high volume and quality: Tokaj, Kecskemet, Mecsek, Szeged, etc. Poultry raising, goose liver, salami. Reopening to, and development of, foreign tourism. Sending of Hungarian experts, scientists and artists all over the world and also to underdeveloped countries, should be organized; in order to ensure some profit <sup>from their earnings abroad</sup> ~~of the state~~ ~~to the state~~ to the state, they should ~~be~~ pay taxes.

(6) Yes.

(6 b) This is a very difficult problem, it was already/during the Revolution, in the short-lived days of consolidation. The regime, though proclaiming the nationalization of big industry only, in practice has nationalized the entire industry, that is enterprises working with less than 100 workers. In the course of the years, in these plants investments were made, which were paid for by the regime from pennies extorted from the people: peace loans, plan loans, and other wages withheld under various <sup>considered</sup> ~~pretexts~~ <sup>pretexts</sup>. Restoring such expanded plants to their former owners would mean giving unjustified benefits to the former owners. In my opinion, the former owners should be indemnified in the value which their plants represented before the nationalization. From this indemnification, if he so desires, he is ~~free~~ free to open a new plant. This type of solution is the more desirable, because the restoration of the factories could give occasion to abuses, in the form of political resentment and retortions, on the other hand, because of the continuous fluctuation of labor, it would not be possible to indemnify those who, out of their own pockets, contributed to the development of the plants; as a matter of fact, it would be entirely impossible to project these contributions by individual factories and plants. Plants employing a relatively small number of workers could be, for instance, converted into cooperatives <sup>after</sup> ~~along~~ the Scandinavian pattern.

(6 c) I favor the principle of progressive taxation.

- (6 d) See answer to Question 1-a in this section.
- (6 e) Yes: hard liquor, certain luxury consumers' goods like tobacco, playing cards; lotteries.
- (6 f) ~~What is the effect of~~ <sup>Those which</sup> affect consumers' goods of prime necessity.
- (6 g) They are not good; they lead to the stifling of free competition.
- (7) I disapprove of the method by which the regime nationalized the light industry; in Hungary, as the situation now is, return to the original status of these branches of industry would be difficult (see answer to Question 6 b in this section); I would approve of a competition which, through the reintroduction of free enterprise, would develop between the nationalized and privately-owned clothing industry.
- (8) Until conditions in Hungary will return to normal, some type of control in the public interest of the economic production is necessary. The characteristic feature of the presently prevailing government planning in Hungary is that it is against the interests of the people and it is a means of exploitation.
- (8 a) It cannot be approved of, or disapproved <sup>of,</sup> from an absolute point of view; it is the prevailing necessity which <sup>is</sup> decisive.
- (8 b) It has not worked out at all.
- (8 c) I could give satisfactory answers only in connection with concrete cases. For instance, it would be very important to organize the construction of apartments in Hungary according to a plan. At an early stage, the free enterprise would not pay much



attention to construction of apartments, because the importance of the investment is not in proportion with the profit that can be expected. The return of the capital will need several years' rent and only after that can profit be expected. Therefore, this is not an attractive field for free enterprise. On the other hand, the most urgent needs should be provided for in this field, that is why for instance in this field government planning is necessary.

- (8 d) Experience throughout the world shows that it is not possible to apply an ideal liberalism to every sphere of supply and demand. In my opinion, only the study of each concrete case will make it plain whether regulations are indicated or the free market is preferable. The main thing is that in cases when some type of regulations are necessary, public interest should be the sole determinative factor.
- (9) Yes: family life, religious life, art, etc.
- (10) Yes: first of all he has to watch the direction into which the state is developing; various dictatorships succeed in establishing themselves because the citizens, for reasons of convenience, indifference, or other, pay no attention to the appearance and development of certain political tendencies, which, in the end, bring about the ruin of the country. If a government, freely elected by the citizens, is using the power in the interest of the country and of the people, progress can be achieved only through the balanced cooperation between the people and the executive power: paying taxes, military service, respect for laws

and decrees. Another duty of the citizen is, for instance, to vote.

- (10 a) I am in favor of progressive taxation.
- (10 b) ~~IK~~ I wish there would be such conditions prevailing throughout the world that there would be no need for military service.
- (10 e) The government has only duties.
- (11) Its scope has widened, but the standard has become lower.
- (11 a) The peasants and those who~~X~~ were previously engaged in free trades <sup>or</sup> ~~of~~ professions. In pre-war Hungary, health insurance was organized along occupational categories: government employees (OTBA), private industry employees (MABI), workers (OTI), railway employees (VBI), postmen and other post office employees, mine workers, etc. Consequently, the peasants and those in free occupations were without health insurance. The problem of the latter was solved simply by the abolition of free occupations as such; for the rest, the several occupational health insurance companies were fused into one top organization, which, though to the detriment of standards, achieved the unification of the system. The only exception to this unified health insurance system was the hospital on Kútvölgyi Street, which was reserved for high-ranking Party and Government functionaries, which was for instance the only place where polio vaccine, bought for foreign exchange, was given to the children of these privileged persons. The patients were cared for at <sup>least</sup> ~~most~~ in semi-private, but mostly in private rooms, in contrast to other hospitals, where the patients were crowded; there were wards where 60 persons would be together. The rooms

communicated to large terraces. The nurses functioned more or less as private nurses, most probably they were observing the patients not only from the point of view of their state of health... The patients received medicines which were not ~~available~~ <sup>available</sup> for the rest of the population and they could select their meals from menu cards which listed just about everything, including tropical fruits. Admitted to this <sup>special</sup> hospital were those who were actually sick, others who wanted to ride over a difficult political juncture, and finally those sent there by the Party, so that in political crises outstanding Soviet doctors helped ~~them~~ <sup>it</sup> in solving the problem of getting out of the way embarrassing persons... Many mysterious stories were circulated in Budapest on this subject. The main consideration in discharging the patients was not their state of health, but the permission of the superintendent of the hospital. Visiting the patients was extremely difficult, permissions were given out by the AVOs on duty there. I paid a visit to my director, who was hospitalized there; he was as healthy as anyone, he was suffering of intrigues directed against his person.

- (11 c) It had not so much to do with the physicians as with the system itself that the state health service was more superficial than the care given by private physicians.
- (12) Yes. The principle of "panem et circenses" was valid, and since there was less "panis," more "circenses" had to be offered. While the prices of consumer goods were increasingly higher, the price of theater, movie, and concert tickets remained more or less

the same, as ~~XX~~ well as the fees for utilities (telephone, electricity, gas). In statistics, these figures were used as arguments when they wanted to prove the stability of the economic situation. On the other hand, also the people who in every sphere of their everyday life were saturated with politics contrary to their feelings, turned eagerly to the arts and also their possibilities of choice were relatively greater.

- (12 d e) Time element was the lesser problem, people did not have enough money.
- (~~XX~~13) Yes.
- (13 a) No.
- (13 b) Yes.
- (13 c) Not for the large majority of the population. Exceptions were the privileged persons of the regime, I have spoken already of the "konzums," special stores where consumer goods, including foodstuffs, in greater variety, of higher quality, and at lower price were available to the privileged persons.
- (14) Yes.
- (14 a) Yes.
- (14 b) Yes.
- (14 c) Yes. There were people who provided for their needs from state-owned department stores, others had their clothes made at the smaller trade cooperatives or in the private sector (MASZEK). The only criterion was money. A good, ready-made man's suit cost 500 forints; at the cooperatives only the tailoring cost 350 frts.

one had to bring, of course, the material, and there was a waiting period of 2-3 months; woollen, similar to that of the ready-made suit, cost 125 forints per meter, but there were others up to 600-700 forints per meter. A good tailor in MASZEK asked 700-1000 forints only for tailoring. There the waiting period was much shorter.

- (15) Yes, but the industrial products did not remain in the country.
- (15 a) As the result of the development of industry.
- (15 b) In heavy industry in the first place, but in general in every branch.
- (15 c) The fact that there was a development is good, the fact that the products were taken out of the country was bad.
- (15 d) See answer to Question 5 in this section.
- (16) Taking as a basis the situation which I have outlined in my answer to Question 6 b, in those factories and workshops which remain nationalized, workers' councils, which came into being during the revolution, <sup>and</sup> were suppressed later, should be reestablished (for details of workers' councils see also answer to ~~QUESTION~~ Section R, 10 1). The task ~~of~~ <sup>the</sup> of the workers' councils would be the direction of ~~the~~ principle of <sup>the</sup> operation of the factories and workshops, decisions concerning the use of profit, announcements of a competitions for leading positions, and selection of the suitable persons to fill the vacancies, and controlling the operative management of the manager. The nationalization of industrial enterprises was a failure in Hungary, because the production was controlled by a bureaucratic apparatus from ministries, and these

bureaucrats, sitting at their desks, were not familiar with practical problems of production and had nothing in common with the workers. In connection with the cooperatives, this problem is automatically solved by the fact that the members themselves are working. In connection with privately-owned enterprises, I consider the existence of strong trade unions useful.

- (16 a) Protection of the workers' interests vis-à-vis the employers, that is, the classical task.
- (16 b) Entirely.
- (16 c) It should be voluntary.
- (16 d) See answer above to Question 16. ¶ The director (operative manager)
- (16 e) should be responsible to the workers' council, the workers' council ~~XXXX~~ (management of principle) should be responsible, for instance, to the Chamber of Industry. In the case of privately-owned enterprises, management and responsibility <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ the business of the owner; the right of the worker is to decide whether he wants to work there or not.
- (17) I condemn collectivization by force.
- (17 a) They were not all bad. It was characteristic of all of them that more was taken away in produce and taxes than it was morally admissible; however, to certain collective farms expert management assured remarkable material results. Because in many places, beside the excessive taxes and compulsory delivery quotas, another factor to increase distrust in the idea of collectivization was the fact that the superintendents of the collective farms were

usually sent from the city, persons who were thought to be reliable politically, but were otherwise totally ignorant in agricultural matters, locksmiths or shoemakers, etc., who terrorized the membership with their dictatorial behavior, committing at the same time an amount of technical mistakes. For instance, a rice producing collective farm! Beside the collective farms, there were also producers' cooperatives in Hungary. The same mistakes obtained in their management: high taxes, lack of competence. Similarly, pressure was exerted to force membership, under different forms. The main purpose in creating the producers' cooperatives was to increase tax revenues. In the case of agriculture, beside material considerations, the aim of the regime was to have a political hold on it.

- (17 c) In each individual case, the membership should decide whether they want to have it dissolved or maintained.
- (17 d,e) The membership should decide in every question.
- (17 f) The upper limit should be 100 acres (katasztralis hold).
- (17 g) See above. Since state farms are located in the outskirts of one or another village, the peasants of the respective villages should decide what should happen to the land. (State farms were created on lands reserved for the state /reservations/ after the land reform was carried out. As much as possible, these lands were chosen where agricultural machines, installed by the former landowners, could be found.)

- (17 h) See above.
- (17 i) It should be decided by the peasants.
- (17 l) Yes, by all means. Distribution of improved seeds, establishment of state ~~E stud farms~~ farms; in this respect, the organization/ <sup>before the war</sup> of the Hungarian agriculture was excellent through the Ministry of Agriculture. These prewar ~~state~~ practices should be combined with the experiences in the Western countries, and the most remarkable results could be obtained.
- (17 m) They should be retained in state management for the purpose of state work.
- (17 q) It is.
- (18) They should be separated.
- (18 a) Yes.
- (18 b) No, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
- (18 c) No, the Churches should be supported by the faithful.
- (18 d) No.
- (18 e) No, it should be optional.
- (18 f) I would send him to a good school.
- (19) They should be judged individually. I hope that the Hungary of the future will not be built up in the spirit of retaliation, because the history of the past twelve years has proven that a state system built on revenge can only lead to tragedies.
- (19 b,c) They should be brought to trial and tried <sup>according to</sup> ~~in accordance with~~ the criminal/ <sup>code</sup> ~~court~~. If they are acquitted, there should be no discrimination against them.



- (19 e) Let us forgive them.
- (19 f) See ~~the~~ answer to Question 19 b,c.
- (19 g) See above. All this should be decided not by type of duty or branch of service, but exclusively by the penal code.
- (19 h) A few members of the AVH were lynched, otherwise nothing happened to them.
- (20) Of decisive importance was the adherence of the Hungarians to Christianity. In its service, the Hungarians bled at Mohi Pusztá (XIIIth Century), at Mohács (1526), and for 150 years under the Turkish occupation. In the War of Independence of 1848, Hungary was the first in the Danube basin to fight for the great humanistic aims. The position taken by Hungary during the First World War. Her position during the Second World War. The Revolution of 1956., (Freedom Fight). Hungary gave to the world outstanding artists and scientists, for instance Mihály Munkácsy, Imre Madach, Béla Bartók, Tivadar Puskás, the Bolyai brothers, Loránt Eötvös, Albert Szent-Györgyi, Kalman Kando, etc.
- (21) Yes.
- (21 a) Yes.
- (21 b) Yes.
- (21 c) Yes.
- (21 d) No.
- (21 e) Yes.
- (21 f) Yes.

- (22) The government of Istvan Bethlen. It was under his government that Hungary was brought to a relative economic stability after the lost World War and the hardships which befell her as a consequence of the peace treaty of Trianon. Also, Hungary began to emerge from that romantic climate which up till that time was a handicap for the country. Though this government was far from what is understood under classical democracy, nevertheless, many of its endeavors were of a Western European standard.
- (22 a) The secondary position of Hungary in the Monarchy contributed to a great extent to the difficulties which Hungary experienced in organizing her national independence, industrial and commercial life, which difficulties would not have been encountered without the centuries-old subordination to Vienna.
- (22 b) In the first place, because of the large-estate system. An additional factor was then the wave of anti-Semitism, which culminated in the case of Tiszaeszlár.
- (22 c) Yes. In its essence, until the end of the First World War; subsequently, only the formalities of feudalism managed to survive, without the necessary financial prerequisites. Big landowners who emigrated to Hungary from the parts which were detached according to the terms of the peace treaty of Trianon, and their children who were growing up, fought tooth and nail for the formalities of their former life, but their situation was pitiful.
- (22 d) Feudal society is not good, because it is opposed to progress.

- (22 e) It was detrimental, because one extremist system was followed by another one, it prejudiced the position of the working class, and was thus indirectly instrumental in our part during the Second World War and subsequent developments.
- (22 f) They were significant.
- (22 g) It was a solution adopted under the pressure of circumstances, after the cessation of the monarchic status, with the purpose of maintaining the same. It hindered the democratic development, the adoption of the republican form of state, and drove the country inevitably toward the position it was to adopt later during the Second World War.
- (22 h) She should have remained neutral, but the historical prerequisites were missing.
- (22 i) It could be called equivalent to the Bethlen era, though its political structure was more progressive. It was better than the last years of the Second World War, and incomparably better than the years which followed.
- (23) No.
- (23 b) To very little. In my opinion, along the borderlines, it should be decided by plebiscite what should belong to which country; insofar as Transylvania is concerned, in view of the fact that I am familiar ~~with~~ with the ethnographic, economic, and political attitude of the region, I hold that in the course of a possible general settlement, Transylvania should be given autonomy and

neutrality.

( 23 e) No.

(23 d) No.

(23 e) I don't think that any particular differences should arise between them, if ~~neither~~ <sup>strives</sup> either of them ~~strives~~ to be the master of the other. During the summer of 1956, I was traveling in that part of Czechoslovakia which formerly belonged to Hungary, and I experienced there complete harmony between the Hungarians and the Slovaks; both nationalities are equally suffering from the present regime; all this seems to support my opening statement.

(23 f) In this respect the situation is more complicated. Transylvania became the most cultured and richest province of a Rumania, artificially expanded after the First World War. Neither historical considerations, nor respect for equity, justified the annexation of Transylvania to Rumania, but only the fear of revenge of Clémenceau (Le Tigre), who dictated the terms of the peace treaties in Paris. The population of the so-called Old-Kingdom of Rumania regarded Transylvania as a colony, and her systematic exploitation and suppression began. The relationship between these Rumanians and Hungarians in Transylvania, and Hungarians in general, is bad. Rumanians of Transylvanian origin entertain no hostile feelings toward the Transylvanian Hungarians, often they condemned the attitude of the Rumanians of the Old-Kingdom and they would be equally pleased to see an autonomous Transylvania.

- (23 g) There are very few Hungarians living in Austria and the relationship between Austrians and Hungarians is friendly and satisfactory.
- (23 h) They get along well. Hungarians living in Yugoslavia enjoy better conditions than Hungarians in Hungary. Economic conditions in Yugoslavia are somewhat better than they were in Hungary before the Revolution, and a relative political freedom and an honest nationality policy make their situation incomparably better. I am informed of the situation through the experiences of my friends who visited Yugoslavia in the summer of 1956; and I would be satisfied, if similar conditions would prevail in Hungary.
- (24) Neutrality, which is being respected, seems to me the only possible solution.
- (24 a) I am for neutrality; Hungary should be given at last the chance to look after her own business, instead of being absorbed in other countries' troubles. Until Hungary was master of her own fate, she had always succeeded to emerge with glory from the most critical situations of her history, and during the XIVth and XVth centuries, under the reign of Louis the Great and King Mathias, Hungary attained a great power position in Europe. Ever since she had linked her fate to the Hapsburgs, her history was but a series of tragedies.
- (24 b-d) Not applicable.
- (24 e) From a specifically Hungarian point of view, I do not expect much of it. The social class which would be most affected in this respect would be the peasantry, and a fundamental <sup>feature</sup> ~~aspect~~ of

the nature of the Hungarian peasant is that he is attached to the land that he has inherited. When I was working in the County of Tolna, I had the opportunity to observe the so-called Csángós, who were resettled on lands which had previously belonged to German (Sváb) peasants, who, in turn, were resettled in Germany. (Csángós are peasants of Székely origin, living in the so-called Old-Kingdom of Rumania.) These Csángós were totally incapable to assimilate to their new surroundings, despite the common mother tongue, and consequently, they were the first to fall victim to the collective farm movement.

(25) The more simple Russians did not make too bad an impression; it could be observed, of course, that their regime has marked their character, they are primitive, in their manifestations they seem rude, the percentage of alcoholics among them is very high, in their needs they are primitive, but an instinctive humanity and the desire for something better can be occasionally discovered in them. It is my conviction that the Soviet regime is against the liking of many of the<sup>m</sup> and<sup>that</sup> they would prefer to live under more free and humane conditions.

(25 a) As far as I know, there is only one kind of Russian, and the rest are not Russians, but only Soviet citizens. For instance Mongols, Tartars, Tadjiks, Uzbeks, who are even more primitive, if there is still room for gradation in this respect. Nor was it by accident that, in the final phase of the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution, these tribes were thrown into the fight.

- (24 b) Yes.
- (24 c) No, only a small fraction as them, as far as I know, there are two million Party members.
- (24 d) No.
- (24 e) Hatred.
- (24 f) Bitter; I was in the war prisoners' camp at Szolnok.
- (24 g) By that time, public opinion was not directed against the Russians, it turned with its ~~E~~ whole strength against the Moscow regime.
- (24 h) The changes following Stalin's death were favorably received.
- (26) It is an important theory from the point of view of sociology and economic policy. The Soviet regime, under the pretext of developing ~~MARKSISM~~ Marxism, has distorted the doctrines of Marx, of Engels, and of the other outstanding contemporary philosophers and economists, exploiting high-sounding and unilaterally the characteristics of Marxism, covering up the aims of Russian imperialism with the slogans of <sup>the</sup> international solidarity of workers, and thereby rendered these doctrines repugnant.
- (26 a) I approve of many things in it; the theory of economic Unterbau and social Uberbau; the theory of surplus value, of profit and extra-profit, are all factors which cannot be overlooked by any modern economist or national economist, and, in fact, they are not overlooked. False and contrary to human nature are those concepts according to which the truth of Marx's doctrine ~~has~~ <sup>has</sup> to be realized by means of the ~~PROLETARIAT~~ dictatorship of the proletariat, by revolution. Under the influence of Marxism, the fate of men

living on wages has improved throughout the world, materially and culturally, politically and socially alike. This improvement is the least noticeable perhaps in the countries governed by Communists, but of course the Communists were those who, ever since Lenin, engaged with great predilection -- and because of the popularity of the Marxist-Engelsian doctrines -- in the systematic distortion thereof, placing them in the service of their own efforts toward world imperialism.

- (26 b) See above.
- (26 c) The Hungarian Communists carried out the orders received from the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union; they had no influence on the modification of Party line policy in Moscow.
- (26 d) No. Lenin was the cleverest counterfeiter of Marx.
- (26 e) No. Under his "reign," the most hideous crimes were committed in the name of this theory.
- (26 f) Yes.
- (26 g) Yes.
- (26 h) Who believes in government by the people.
- (26 i) As far as I know, never.
- (26 j) Tito is a Communist dictator.
- (27) The application of communism in a state which has broken away from dependence on Moscow.
- (27 a) Yes.
- (27 b) Who want to realize socialism in a way which I consider to be impracticable, but realize it entirely independently from Moscow,



- (27 c) and by safeguarding the national independence. ¶ It is a solution in the nature of compromises in order to alleviate the life of the Polish people, and to render tolerable the vicinity of the Soviet Union and her military superiority.
- (27 d) Yes.
- (27 e) Yes, but such people can play no active part in the policies of present-day Hungary. This question contains concepts which need clarification; for instance, the notion of patriotism. To me, patriotism means the effort by which I try to ensure the necessary economic, cultural, and social development~~s~~ of the nation to which I belong, but not to the detriment of other nations. In this sense, a Communist can be, at the same time, a good patriot.
- (28) Had Imre Nagy stayed in power, <sup>and</sup> <sup>the</sup> without Soviet intervention, I think that economic, moral, and cultural conditions would have improved, and the horrible terror which was directed from the Moscow Politburo, and which characterized the Rakosi-era, would have decreased. People would have felt more free, they would have lived better, the situation in general would have been brought nearer to what is understood by democracy. The objectives of Imre Nagy seemed honest and sincere.
- (28 a) Imre Nagy was a Communist. He would have been pleased with a solution which guarantees to the people the human rights on this basis of principle, but I am convinced that he would not have used force to remain prime minister against the wishes of the people. His part seemed significant for this very reason, because the

geographical position of Hungary, the immediate vicinity of the Soviet Union, and the regimes in the surrounding states are all factors which explain why the task of a man of good will would have been ~~made~~ made easier, if he was, in addition, a Communist.

- (28 b) The Russian intervention was not the only factor which determined the situation of Hungary, but those previous international agreements which made possible the strong Soviet influence, the de facto, if not explicitly stated Russian occupation, the Warsaw Treaty, etc. The Communists hold the government in their hands not by the will of the people, but by their strategic superiority, and if we keep this in mind, even under the most favorable conditions, ~~to the~~ ~~Communists~~ at best, Imre Nagy could have been the premier. I am convinced that without the unfortunate circumstances which have prevailed in Hungary, the Communist Party would have never become a party to form the government. If the Hungarian people would have the opportunity to give expression to its free will, it would elect its government in a democratic way and it would not be a Communist government, because the people was not pro-Communist, but in the extremely grave situation in which it found itself, at most pro-Imre Nagy.
- (29) I am unable to characterize these rather complex problems with <sup>the</sup> just ~~a~~ word "good" or "bad," therefore I prefer not to answer the question.
- (30) The Social Democratic Party.
- (30 a) Anna Kethly.

- (31) a, less; b, less; c, less; d, less; e, less; f, less; g, more: namely those who lived by the Party membership, for instance Party functionaries, incompetent but Party member factory managers, etc. There were workers, who were simple Party members, and who received nothing more than the other workers. To these, the question in this form could not be applied. In my opinion, mere membership in a political party does not constitute at the same time a <sup>social</sup> ~~political~~ stratum; h, less; i, less.
- (32) Everybody was better off, with the exception of those Party members who were Party functionaries or, because of their loyalty to the Party, obtained high positions in the government, or industrial and commercial enterprises.
- (32 a) I disapprove of them.
- (33) a, coincide; b, coincide; c, conflict; d, conflict; e, they don't affect each other; f, there can be no conflict of the interests of clergy and laity; the conflict exists between the clergy and the party line; g, coincide; h, conflict; i, conflict; j, conflict.
- (34) None.
- (35) Hardly more than who fought against the Revolution.
- (36) No.

(1) No.

(1 a) It impressed me as ~~is~~ a work drawn up with exceptional circumspection; by its structure, it is suitable to explore Hungary, the Hungarian people, and the difficult situation forced upon her during the last twelve years, in all its details. I find the grouping and sequence of the questions good. There are a few questions which sound peculiar to the European ear: I think in particular of Questions No. 29, 33, and to a certain extent 31, all in Section I; answering these questions is difficult, because the concepts or persons enumerated in them cannot be defined by one word, such as "good" or "bad," or "more" or "less," "conflict-coincide." The concepts proposed for answers are poor, they don't express the essence, there is discrepancy between the complexity of the question-concepts and the simplicity of the answer-words. Personally, I would be very much interested in the usefulness of <sup>an</sup> the evaluation arrived at by such method.

(1 b) I trust that <sup>in</sup> such interesting material will be available.

(1 c) I cannot think of anything.

(1 d) I think the answers would be honest; I see no point in the lack of honesty.

(1 e) I don't have the impression that anything was left out from the questions.

(2 a) Yes. I never thought of becoming a citizen of another state. I left my country under the pressure of circumstances, and if my life and personal liberty will not be in danger, I shall immediately

return.

- (3) I have the impression that everything and everybody is being covered, <sup>I understand</sup> and that interviews are also being made in Europe; I could not suggest a better practical method.
- (3 a) I have photographs which I have taken during the Revolution; I shall be glad to put them at the disposal of the Project.
- (3 b) I have already written down my experiences, just to have the events recorded.
- (3 c) No.