

- (1) The answer will be naturally subjective. According to respondent, the appraisal of the psychological devices, of the tactical means to put Communism into practice, is extremely important. Some of the psychological devices were directed to deceive<sup>ve</sup> the West. The Communist system wanted to create the illusion that it is being supported by the crowd. It was actually a ~~window-shop~~ <sup>showcase</sup> politics which deceived even the Hungarians. They believed that the system was much stronger than it actually was. To this chapter, e.g., belonged the speech made by Münich, a couple of months ago, at the reception given by the Bulgarian legation, in which he emphasized that those people who left the country were not good Hungarians. The real Hungarians stayed at home, because they are the ones who were attached to the soil. They know that they have to live and die in Hungary. (Itt elned és halnod kell).
- The Western newspapers only mention the ~~typical~~ <sup>usual</sup> facts, e.g., that somebody's teeth were knocked out - and forget to mention that the worst in a Communist-ruled country is the spiritual ~~suppression~~ <sup>suppression</sup> which is apparent in the atmosphere. (The writers are being given subjects to write about.) The Western public opinion is not informed about this, because the Westeners live in different dimensions - maybe the Germans have the faculty to understand because, under Hitler, they lived under the same ~~suppression~~ <sup>suppression</sup>. But xxxxxx

the French and the English cannot even imagine it to exist and if they have the faculty to imagine it, they ~~and~~ not realize how painful it is.

Thus, the West should be informed about the moral, spiritual, and psychological ~~suppression~~ <sup>suppression</sup>, about the stream of lies. Respondent will pick out a few examples, ridiculously painful. Swimming, as a sport, was not patronized, because it did not promote the collective spirit. The wearing of neck-ties was discouraged and labelled as a bourgeois remnant. At the university, when an old professor tried to encourage the correct dressing and manners, he had to quote Rákosi: "Let's live as Europeans!" Another example: In 1954, when respondent was holding seminars in Marxism at Chemolimpex ( an enterprise dealing with the import and export of chemicals) ~~materials~~) under 64 of Stalin Street, he was told not to wear a corduroy jacket because, although the Party member who voiced this opposition did not have anything to say against the tailoring of the coat, the material ~~itself~~ reminded him of cosmopolitan habits. Another example: Before May 1st, within Party circles, many discussions took place about the fact whether the Picasso peace dove should be put on draperies, rather about the quantity of doves to be used, the reasoning being that if too many doves would be used, the impression created ~~in the crowd~~ would be that the Communists were pacifists. (Pacifist according to the Party

language meant: "Desiring peace ~~without~~ <sup>the</sup> condition <sup>of</sup> ~~it~~." <sup>the</sup>

In practice, this worked out in the following way:

Although in the case of Korea, e.g., peace was desirable, the country could not <sup>have</sup> been given up for peace's sake, just to conserve peace; in the case of the recent Hungarian Revolution, this meant that the Communist intervention was done in the name of the long-range socialist goals of the Hungarian nation, even if the nation itself was not mature enough to <sup>clearly discern</sup> see its long-range socialist goals. )

Another example of the psychological chess movements were the discussions around the meetings of DISZ:

Should the Party Secretary go personally or not; if not, mistakes might occur and it would appear as if the Party neglected the DISZ; if yes, it would appear that the DISZ had no independence. The solution in this particular case was the following: The Party Secretary did take part, but did not sit in the front rows in the midst of the Executive Committee, but in the back rows.

The wearing of berets was a movement in reverse; members of the middle class wore them to appear as proletarians.

In conclusion, Communism meant an unbearable psychological pressure in Hungary.

At one occasion, respondent met one of his acquaintances on the street, the chief of a great enterprise's planning division. As they were on rather confidential terms, respondent asked him: "How do you stand with the fulfilment of the plan?" - "The enterprise stands badly, we are around 80 %, but, applying some "necessary corrections", I could raise it to 93 %, or", he added laughingly, "if I really wanted it, I could bring out a 101.1 % index."

In the last ten years, this is how things happened in economical, political areas. There was an orgy of official lie, but, knowing the Bolshhevist system, this is <sup>only</sup> natural. It ensues from the <sup>very</sup> essence of the system. Starting from 1948, when everybody became more and more aware of the fact that Communism is directed against the people, everybody became more and more aware of injustices, <sup>and thus</sup> the leaders wanted to camouflage the situation with newer and newer lies. And it was in vain, that the eyes of a Party member or functionary were opened, one could not argue, one had to accept, without criticism, the ~~main~~ decisions and explanations received from above, even more - one had to praise them. And, until a couple of weeks before the Revolution broke out, the settings were glittering and apparently the political machinery ran smoothly, freshly oiled, and <sup>h</sup> rhythmic applause would break out, whenever speeches would be pronounced on the basis of "view points"



received from the higher echelons. If one had been in the position to look at this circus from a box, one could have put the question: "When are these ~~statist~~<sup>clowns</sup> sians going to break out laughing?"

The most wicked feature was, though, that the Bolshevik leaders were not satisfied with the people only listening to public reports, they asked for comments; in these seminars, the "passive" attitude was a sin, an "active" participation was expected, the constant praise<sup>of</sup> of the regime, the ~~automatic~~ automatic repetition of dictated lies.

Everybody was wearing masks, four-five-year old children were wearing ~~masks~~ masks, because, at home, different things were told to them than in the nursery. The newer generations had to learn the series of lies together with the language.

One should once write a study about the juggling of concepts. e.g., the 'seminar' means, in western languages, a scientifically creative collectivity; in the Bolshevik countries, it means a characteristic, hated-by-all, weekly obligatory occupation, where one had to learn in a parrot <sup>like</sup> ~~sort of~~ way "infallible" answers to questions starting from the origin of man to the foreign policy of the United States. When the term was discredited, the seminars were advanced to so-called 'political schools.' In order to, <sup>humour</sup> ~~honour~~ the

"middle kaders" (that is <sup>h</sup>were the Party and government functionaries belonged), they did not have to attend seminars, political schools, but "conferences". Some schools were given the names of "political academies", because the word "academy" had some type of aura. The reigning <sup>class</sup> was perfectly aware of the dissatisfaction of the Hungarian population and, to misguide public opinion and to vent passion, it, <sup>constituted</sup> ~~evoked~~ hatred as the moral "pillar" of the regime. From time to time, a social stratum was thrown in as a victim into the political arena; e.g., everybody remembers vividly yet that in 1952 there was a great shortage of the basic food articles; there was no bread, no fat, no sugar. At this time, the party "threw" into the public opinion that the kulaks, the "fatter peasants", feed their oxen with bread, in order to cause serious shortages. <sup>It</sup> ~~At~~ this time, the joke was born that the reason for not getting underwear in Budapest is the fact that the peasants dress their cows in underwear.

One also had to find a stratum which should be made responsible for the lack of production in factories. The attack was directed, this time, against the politically passive workers. They were called lazy, materialistically inclined thieves and, in order that the whole action should receive a theoretical basis, this "fight" was called the fight against Social-Democratism.

Besides instilling hatred in peoples' souls, the suspicion to ~~find~~ <sup>look for</sup> ~~conspire~~ bad intentions was also instilled - the economic help offered by the West was always turned down with the explanation that it is only a hook with which the Imperialists want <sup>to get hold of</sup> ~~to put their~~ ~~hand~~ ~~on~~ the country.

All these are only a few examples to show how deeply the system drove into the most intimate private life, how it smothered individuality. It needed machine-men without souls, and the one who did not play well this ~~game~~ <sup>game</sup> ~~play~~, who did not manifest hatred against those social strata called, from time to time, 'inimical', who did not praise the system, as demanded, or who suspiciously withdrew within himself, was quickly taken care of by the AVO. Why did <sup>\*? - in fact - by ... - ... - ...</sup> ~~they~~ commit suicide, when apparently they had everything - name, influence, material well-being?! Their suicide is the characteristic case of the thinking Communist functionary.

\* MAYAKOVSKI and FADEEV

In Hungary, starting from 1947 to 1948, every intelligent Party and government functionary had to realize that what he is doing is directed against the ~~interest~~ interest of the Hungarian nation, his part was restricted to execute, in a servile way, the commands received from Moscow. If he did not have the psychological strength to draw the consequences and leave political life, then the break had to happen in his soul.

or he had to flee into cynicism.

The fear wore <sup>out</sup> the nervous system ~~out~~ which, anyhow, was under great stress from the accelerated work and the work tournaments. The number of ~~the~~ nervous breakdowns increased daily, it became a national disease. Especially ~~the~~ women were the victims of this constant psychological torture.

The Party and the mass organisations distributed with two hands the varied functions in order to compromise tenths of thousands of people. If the majority were not assigned more than <sup>only</sup> ~~just~~ to read publicly articles from the press and comment on them, it still was a daily repeated torture, because, there is just no doubt about it, the individuals were deeply ashamed in front of <sup>each other</sup> themselves to say things against their deepest convictions. People lost their self-respect.

And when the War of Independence <sup>was</sup> victorious, at work places people fell into each others' arms with hysterical laughter; the same people who, a couple of weeks before, had held lectures with monotonous voice about the victories of the Red Army during the Second World War. The fortress of the lies was shaken in its basis.

But even if the freedom fight dissolved this general psychological neurasthenia and even if the Revolution had been victorious permanently, the wounds inflicted on the souls of the people would have still hurt for



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a very long time. Undoubtedly the more sensitive parts of the soul of the Hungarians are still ~~serri~~ seriously sick and maybe many generations will have to bear this cross till the end of their lives.

(2a) Starting from 1953, a new tendency made its appearance: Parallel with the thaw, a new aristocracy composed of Party members and government employees was born. The members of this new aristocracy started to live differently, to bring some Western atmosphere and standards; at the same time, of course, the dissociation with the lower crowd became apparent. On a<sup>an</sup> spiritual level, discussions became allowed; on the material level, people started to pay more attention to their clothing, without being ostracized for it. As a matter of fact, in February of 1955 a big ball took place, the so-called Journalists'-ball which was exclusive within the Party and at which men appeared in smokings and women in evening gowns. In the same order of ideas, the highest functionaries started to dispose freer with their time. Higher Party members at this time ~~were to meet~~ met during working hours in espressós ~~színházak~~ and, while sipping coffee, would tell jokes about the Communist Party itself. Of course, if this had been done by an ordinary unskilled worker or kulak, he would have been imprisoned for agitation. It happened to the informant that in 1954 he met a Party member, lecturer of political economics at the university of foreign languages (Idegen Nyelvek Főiskol<sup>d</sup>ja), and another member, ~~is~~ ~~was~~ who was an adviser in the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Without ever clarifying their political views, one of the afore-mentioned acquaintances said:

"Did you hear the bla-bla of to-day?"<sup>v</sup> and referred to a speech made by Rákosi in which he said not to eat the golden egg which holds to-morrow's hen.

Characteristic of the new liberal spirit (at the end of 1954) was the attack against the agricultural policies of Imre Nagy. There were heated discussions about whether the small landowners could do intensive farming, in other words, whether they could invest from the crops. Thus, within the Party above a certain level, discussions of policy were permitted, starting from the end of 1953. Of course, this atmosphere could be labelled as liberal only in comparison with the previous atmosphere and with what was expected from the crowd. In the absolute meaning of the word, this "liberal atmosphere" was insignificant.

Another example of the relative freedom: In 1954, when there was some talk within the Party<sup>of</sup> how to organize the teaching of Marxism and Leninism, respondent jokingly quoted Hitler: "Aber es ist nur eine Frage der Organisation." And although more than ~~the~~ half of the participants were Jews, everybody laughed wholeheartedly. In other words, the fact that one could joke about "sacred matters" was a sign of a definite thaw going on.

(2b) Stalin's death, followed by a relaxation of the terror in the Soviet Union, was followed by a relaxation of the terror in Hungary and probably all other Sa-

ellites to various degrees.

(iii) The reconciliation with Tito was another consequence of Stalin's death. It contributed to the outbreak of the Revolt to the extent that it again proved that the Communist Party is not infallible. Thus, criticism has a basis, a possibility, and is justified.

+ (v)  
(iv) Informant was in prison when these events took place, so he was not well-informed about them.

(vi) It was a consequence which had many consequences.

(2c) He was in prison.

(2e) He was in prison.

(3) See (2b)

(3b) The whole Revolution started legally and from above. Respondent knows the Hungarian oppositional movements, partly from individual experience, because he has *participated* ~~been~~ <sup>in them</sup> himself, and partly from having learned the facts in prison. In Hungary it is absolutely impossible to overthrow the régime from below - this statement was only fortified by the events of the Revolution. Control was exercised along many lines (Political area: The AVO-system with its built-in informers, the organisation of the Party; Economical area: The controlling divisions of the enterprises and the general controlling centre - Allami Ellenőrzési Központ, AEK - Nádor Street - later Allami Ellenőrzés Minisztériuma. ).

Actually the actions of the opposition movements were



99 % not directed ~~against~~ <sup>toward</sup> overthrowing the régime, but

- a) in case of a Western intervention or war, help the foreign armies;
- b) in case of a liberation, initiate the re-building of the country;
- c) prepare spiritually the people, bring them to a common political denominator to have unity of action;
- d) weaken the system wherever possible.

In 1949 e.g., respondent was in contact with the group which was responsible for the derail of the railroads on the Alföld, - he, <sup>[Hungarian great plain]</sup> by the way, was against ~~them~~ <sup>his past - time action</sup>. In other words, the <sup>cases</sup> ~~conspirations~~ were restricted to the above-mentioned areas.

Thus, the Revolution started officially on the legal basis that the system <sup>demands</sup> ~~demands~~ criticism. On October 22-'56, the Szabad Nép approved the demonstrations of the youth. Only this way could one attain that the big crowds should join it; at the beginning, only such authorities practiced the right of criticism who had equal appeal to the crowd and to the Party. This way the Party was derooted and this is how the Revolution could be pushed to a more radical field, not even desired by those who <sup>had</sup> started it. A relatively small group started it with a relatively small number of demands. These were joyously taken over by the greater masses which added their demands, thus became autonomous and took along their leader - Imre Nagy.

The moral of this is that in a totalitarian system one cannot loosen the terror, it is either, or; if the methods of Stalin had ~~changed~~<sup>been modified</sup>, there would not have been a Hungarian Revolution.

(3e) People themselves did not know it and this is no joke. It was such a spontaneous and rapidly developing process that people did not think. - Everybody, of course, had a subjective political conviction, but when they ~~go~~<sup>go</sup> together they did not even suspect what will turn out. With this, respondent does not want to belittle the heroism of the Revolution, but fact is that the "Revolutionists" did not start out to perform heroic deeds. They wanted to lighten their fate, they wanted to partly hit the régime and partly improve on it. All these are vague goals, but respondent does not believe that one should talk about concrete ones.

(3f) There were extremely few, maybe two dozens of those who defended the system out of conviction. Those who fought ~~for~~<sup>against</sup> it were the ones who were afraid of having to account for their past deeds. The AVOs did not fire because they were convinced Communists, they fired because they knew that either they will <sup>have to</sup> die or the freedom fighters. Once in midstream there was no stopping and no point of return. This applies to both sides. The two poles between which the process of the Revolution took place, were the Soviet stooges and the people desirous <sup>of</sup> for free-

dom and wanting to improve their ~~economical~~ <sup>to</sup> condition. But nobody knew how far ~~to~~ venture on the taken road. That is why respondent said before that one should ~~not~~ talk about concrete goals.

(3g) The always cowardly behaving middle ~~class~~ class. It is a known fact that the Hungarian middle class is void of backbone and has no revolutionary spirit.

(3h) Slogans against the Soviets and against the AVO,

(3i) Yes, it developed into it. In the Szabad Nép, around January, <sup>1957</sup> an article described at a great length how the Revolution was pushed towards the right. Of course, there is, no doubt, a great mix-up in a Hungarian mind what is understood by Right and by Left. But it is a fact that the Revolution took a rightist direction. (- as said before, it did not start out with crystalized slogans-). To the extent to which individual convictions could be expressed more and more, one would talk about the West and less and less about Socialism, more and more about Democracy. (Democracy is the right side compared to Communism)

There was a rightist shift also in the sense that leaflets with an arrow-cross taste appeared. - They mostly criticised Imre Nagy. In other words, there <sup>definitely</sup> was a growing distance from the socialistic principles in the Leninist sense.

(3j) (Hearing this question, respondent expressed a sincere joy. He said that it was put by a "sharpened" mind.)

Anti-Communist, in this case, means anti-Soviet and anti those who put the ~~sup~~pression apparatus into action. It means a Soviet stooge without any principles. Thus, we are not talking, in this case, about Communist<sup>s</sup> who feel that the goods of the society should be distributed according to necessities.

(3k) See (3j)

(3l) While in prison, during the Revolution, they organized a three-day~~s~~ long hunger strike. They were in a mine. But this strike was not led by the so-called reactionaries, but workers' sons and the so-called new intelligentsia. In their midst were sadistic sergeants of the Horthy regime - they were ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> criminals, but they also were traitors to the strike; in other words, the leaders, whether under earth <sup>(mine)</sup> or on earth, were not reactionaries, but the new intelligentsia. The apostle of the strike was an ex-police officer of the Communist regime. He was no ~~Marxist~~ <sup>Horthist</sup> and he was no fascist.

(3m) Bourgeois democracy.

(4) He was one of the leaders of the strike in the prison of Csok<sup>~</sup>ock. He and his ~~colleagues~~ <sup>colleagues</sup> were freed on October 30th. He went to Budapest where he stayed till November 2nd. From November 2 to 4 he went to the border with a group to wait for a cocoa shipment to be taken to Budapest. Meanwhile, they were surprised by ~~the~~ Russians who asked them to give themselves up.



- They did not do so, and crossed the border <sup>on</sup> the 4th.
- (4a) He saw a hunt after the AVOs, they were driven individually out from a house. He did not linger on, but asked for arms, at the union of political prisoners, rather wanted to register, but did not find the house, they had moved since he had been given the address. He did register at his former place of work.
- (4c) No.
- (7) He does not know
- (7a) He does not know anything positive about it.
- (7b) The relationship was excellent. This was manifested also when a group of students freed them at Csolnok. In other ~~warká~~ words, the harmony was perfect.
- (8) He had the impression that the Russians had order<sup>s</sup> not to shoot. This applied to the period of November 2nd to 4th. He, two officers, and a chauffeur were going by car to the border. They were stopped many times by Russian patrols. The officers showed the order given by the Revolutionary Council which the Russians respected. On November 3rd Russian troops approached the border at Hegyeskalom, where his little unit was waiting for the shipment of cocoa, but did not shoot. On November 4th, they did not shoot either. They were talking to each other from a distance of 2 yds. It is respondent's definite opinion that the Russians did/<sup>not</sup>commit spontaneous-

ly cruelties, and <sup>in</sup> case they did, they had orders. Nevertheless, it is a fact that they could have harmed much more the population and the freedom fighters than they did. It is sad, but true that the AVOs were much more cruel and harboured bad intentions much more intensively.

(8e) He has heard from a good friend of his that in the county of Borsod , when the Revolutionary Council announced what the situation was, the Russian commander assured the population that he would not do anything against it. When, on November 4th, the Russian attack occurred, <sup>the above mentioned</sup> ~~the~~ Russian commander committed suicide together with his family. Respondent feels that the case described is not exceptional.

(10) They functioned and in the ministries the Revolutionary Councils were founded and thus the ministries accepted retrospectively, trodging after the events--the ready facts. Thus it happened without any bumps. It ~~is~~ is generally true that opposition was not voiced either from the Party, nor from the economic divisions. Everybody accepted the facts, the essence was the armed strength and when this strength was on the side of the freedom fighters, the whole state apparatus sided with them.

Respondent read that in East Hungary even the AVOs declared that they <sup>did</sup> ~~do~~ not wish to fight against the people.

(10a) The Party centre, the AVH, the official leadership of

the army, respondent does not know about more.

The ministries stayed intact.

At the revolutionary meeting of the Chamber of Commerce the members of the Party took part without voicing any opposition and without being insulted, not even verbally. At the Foreign Ministry, a member of the revolutionary council was a representative of the newly formed Communist Party, together with the other representatives of different Parties (Social-Democrats, Smallholders, and others), and took part in the work of the revolutionary council with equal voting right, of course.

(10c) He does not know any details.

(10g) What mattered in the eyes of most ministers, namely, e.g. Bogнар, the Minister of Foreign Trade, was whether they <sup>could</sup> stay on or not. They were afraid to lose their positions.

(10j) In Hungary the history of the Bolchevist<sup>k</sup> Party was learned by heart, and thus, in case of need, they <sup>Revolutionists</sup> fought with the methods used in 1917, namely councils elected organisations which had complete authority within their area. This is a noteworthy fact: The organisational principles were turned in reverse, so to speak, because <sup>the Revolutionary and Workers' Councils</sup> had been proven as leading to the desired goal.

- (101) They were formed on the basis of secret elections, e.g. in the <sup>Chamber of Commerce</sup> Chamber of Commerce /, experts were elected, in the ministry of trade new ones, who had been previously Party members. In connection with Imre Nagy, it was usually emphasized that he is trusted personally, he and not his party.
- (10m) A coalition~~al~~ government in which Christian parties would have played a great part.
- (11) This is a constant theme among refugees and student circles..
- (11a) Definitely. In Western circles the Polish developments are viewed together with the Hungarian<sup>and</sup> and the general feeling<sup>is</sup> that a slow severance or detachment would have been more favourable to Hungary and mainly to Western politics. But this is an illusion because a slow detachment<sup>is</sup>/absolutely impossible. If one looks at the Polish situation now, one clearly detects the signs of a regression.
- Thus, from a political viewpoint, the Hungarian Revolution had a world historical significance, because it "introduced" the Soviet regime which is synonymous with weakening the Communist influence. The Soviet propaganda was shattered in days and now the world sees clearly the essence and the methods of the Soviet system. Although the West firmly believed in ~~peaceful~~ the possibility of peaceful



coexistence, to-day, one has to be extremely naive to still believe in the sincere good intentions of the Soviet leaders.

- (11b) The Revolution was successful. It is another question how this success could have been made permanent: When the Soviet union announced that it is withdrawing its troops, at the same time Hungary announced its neutrality. If, at this moment, the UN had guaranteed this neutrality, then the Soviets would not have interfered.
- (11c) For years, mainly from America--this was an obsession; in Hungary one drank in the Eisenhower and Dulles speeches, and one falsely drew the conclusion that an intervention is in the making. Then, the majority of the people believed that the German rearmament <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ going at a much higher speed than it actually <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ and help was awaited also from <sup>at</sup> ~~this~~ side.
- (11d) This is very difficult to answer, even retrospectively. It is known that the terror was greater in Hungary than it was in Yugoslavia, China, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and thus, thanks to Rákosi, the despair was the greatest. Beyond this, the Hungarian mentality had its say. The Hungarians always liked to carry everything to extremes (in the Second World War, <sup>Hungary</sup> / did hold out with the Germans.) There was no internal intelligence opposition, as in Poland, for instance. Thus, "the terror was helped to develop in its full dimensions."
- To answer this question precisely, he would have to

know much more about the political mentality of the neighbouring states.

- (11e) In as far as his conviction is concerned, Imre Nagy is a Communist in the theoretical, scientific sense of the word; and maybe, due to this reason, he did not lose his contact with Hungarianism and dared to oppose the politics of the Soviet Union. According to respondent's opinion, Imre Nagy was also driven into the Revolution, and driven further by it than he originally intended to go; it is hard to imagine, e.g., that he would have approved the execution of the AVOs. He was caught between two mills. One, to take over the feelings of the crowds which collectively hate the Communists, the Soviet Union and the Secrete Police, and his inner feeling which drove him to accept the Marxist, Leninist doctrines that a new system cannot be built without sacrifices. In order to really <sup>understand</sup> ~~know~~ Imre Nagy, one <sup>would have to</sup> ~~know~~ know the proportion in which the two opposing tendencies are mixed in his mind and in his soul. Respondent cannot help feeling that Imre Nagy made concessions he really disapproved of. But, just like anybody else, he was carried by the crowd. Speaking of concessions, the freeing of political prisoners was, respondent feels, against the better judgment of Nagy, but he simply gave way to the demands of the people.

(11f) If the very first military siding with the freedom fighters was Maleter's, then this was decisive. If there had been no arms, the demonstrations would have finished with the arrest of about thousand people.

Lukacs and Aczék took part in the spiritual preparation. But if Maleter had not been, then the essence would not have taken place.

(11g) In the preparation, the intelligentsia (the leading personalities of the cultural life). In the armed Revolt the youth ... the soldiers, the workers ... In the destruction of the AVOs, the irresponsible elements played a great part, but ... one has to bow in front of them for this.

Respondent has a bad opinion about peasants. He feels that it is an impotent mass and due to its economic situation, it cannot be organized; due to the fact that peasants live isolated, then, due to the fact, that they are known for their caution, they did not take active part in the Revolution.

(11h) No, but it is respondent's conviction that the young Hungarian intelligentsia presents a rather unitary attitude, ideologically and politically. Communist forces conquered the Hungarian youth till about 1947/48. The number diminished starting from 1950, and around 1954 - 1955, they arrived at the point where, at least internally, big breaks had happened. That is why

the picture of the young intelligentsia was very encouraging. Respondent had many discussions on this subject with Ferenc Darabont, artillery captain, condemned as war criminal. Respondent upheld the opinion that, although the young intelligentsia opposes the old intelligentsia in political and ethical Weltanschauung, it is, maybe, even more opposed to the Communist ideology. <sup>than the old one</sup> This is ~~not~~ <sup>rather</sup> a right, nor a left side: It is a very interesting mixture, <sup>the third thing.</sup>

- (12) On November 4th, the major - he was with [REDACTED], ordered them to cross the border and they all obeyed.
- (12a) He did not want to die. If he had stayed in Hungary, the only open possibility would have been to fight. Otherwise he could have gone back to jail and sit for another 3 1/2 years.
- (12b) Their little group was joined by others at the border-line of Hegyes<sup>2</sup>alom. Some of them wanted to fire at the Russians, but the major talked them out of it. He said, in that case, he refused to take responsibility...



(1) Graduated in 1947; from 1947-48 at the University of Economical Sciences, in 1949 attended for one year the Foreign Service Academy, in 1950 graduated from the university of economical Sciences, having as major field Foreign Trade.

From 1950 (June) to 1951 (December 31th), he was at the enterprise called ~~Electo~~-impex. a foreign trade enterprise, and respondent was assistant ("referens"); from 1952 January to July 1953, assistant professor at the College of Accountancy; "referens" at the enterprise "Chemolimpex." From January 10th 1954 to April 1955 at the Ministry of Foreign Trade, as editor of the technical publication "Utmutató".

(1a) Economist.

(2a) At Ele~~ctro~~impex he made the foreign contracts in the export division. - As an assistant professor, he taught foreign trade techniques.

In the Foreign Ministry, he supervised the publication referring to the economical situation of 80 capitalistic countries. The works he supervised comprised about 2.000-3.000 pages.

From 1952-55, he was lecturer at the Idegen Nyelvek Főiskolája (a college where English, French, and German languages were taught); and, occasionally, he lectured <sup>in</sup> on political economies <sup>ics</sup> also at the Medical School.

- (2f) The Chamber of Commerce was a pseudo institution, so to speak. It was actually a trick. Under liberal circumstances its duty would have been the defence of the interests of its members, the merchants, and their adequate information. This situation did not exist, *ab ovo*, in Hungary. But there was definitely a necessity for a semi-official/<sup>organisation</sup> which would act in cases where the diplomacy would not see the situation mature enough for intervention; e.g. agreements with the monarcho-fascist Greece or with Yugoslavia.
- In international trade it is customary that the Chamber, as an objective organisation, should <sup>verify</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>the</sup> authenticity of commercial documents. The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce would issue false documents by the dozens - value declarations "verifying" that the export below corresponds to the market prices. Many times the porter was the one who signed the name of the chief secretary, Odze.
- (3a) He liked his work at the Chamber of Commerce and he liked his assistant professorship, because ~~these~~ both meant intensive <sup>intellectual</sup> ~~substantive~~ work.
- (3b) As far as his university job was concerned, it was most unpleasant that young people had to take on jobs which surpassed their ability, because the old experts had been pushed aside. This meant a daily 14-15 hours' workload.

- (3d) At the two Foreign Trade enterprises, the conditions were rather bad, - crowding, noise, exaggerated bureaucracy. But at the Chamber of Commerce and at the university, the physical conditions were good.
- (3e) He lived close to his work place.
- (3f) About 8-9 hours of working hours, but not tied to the office. He could take his work home.
- (3g) At the two Foreign Trade enterprises, he worked 6 days - as university assistant 7 days; at the Chamber of Commerce, <sup>it</sup> ~~this was~~ varied.
- (3h) Very much so, but he was not paid for it.
- (3i) They can be found in the calendar and everybody respected them.
- (3j) At the Elektroimpex, he had 12 working days, at the Chemolimpex, he had 16 working days, at the university, 48 working days, and at the Chamber of Commerce, 16-18 working days.
- (4a) The age group is characteristic for the Foreign Trade apparatus: Generally elder people were relatively few. The enterprises and the Ministry were filled with young <sup>people</sup> ~~ones~~. Sometimes 18-20 years old boys would be in charge of foreign trade tasks. Their monthly salary would come to about 900fts.
- The members of the relatively elder generations would <sup>be recruited from among</sup> ~~be~~ made-out of Party kaders brought in from industry.

Thus, people who had taken evening courses and qualified. Some of the elder people had been independent merchants, but the number <sup>of</sup> these was decreasing by the day, because of the forced class struggle. These people were 40 % Jews.

(4b) The reigning factor was fear. And as the younger ones had been placed in their jobs in many cases due to their kader and not due to their technical knowledge, they could not ~~require~~ <sup>command</sup> any respect.

The workload was carried by about 30 % of the employees. The others were either too young or, if elderly, then they were usually Party members and did not understand the ~~matter~~ <sup>subject, dealt with</sup>, neither did they speak any foreign language.

(4c) He did meet about one or two. The reason for this scarcity was the mutual lack of confidence.

(4e) ~~wasxxxxxxxx~~ Definitely, - as far as promotions, the security of the job, and the workload were concerned (of course, the latter was not official).

(4f) It functioned very little and not at all as <sup>a</sup> defender of the interests of the workers.

(4h) They did exist, but they functioned very rarely, mostly only formally - all this can be traced back to the essence of the system, e.g.: The collective agreement was absolutely a formality and ~~cannot~~ <sup>could</sup> be conceived as a compromising solution between the

employer and the employee. Until there is Secret Police and Soviet troops, there is no democratisation.

- (4i) It was ceased around the fifties, rather it was transformed into a committee of the trade union. Its coming into existence after 1945 was due to the fact that that is how the Party wanted to exercise its influence, as opposed to that of the ~~economical~~ leadership of a certain enterprise. But when the latter was completely overtaken by the Party and the government, the committee actually hindered the work done by the ~~economical~~ leader for the Party and <sup>the</sup> government. Thus, between 1948 and 1951, this institution was attacked and actually ceased ~~to~~ <sup>exist</sup>.
- (4j) Rarely and mostly along technical lines, /never in economics and temporarily in foreign trade. But even so, the person in question was supposed to pay at least lip service.
- (4k) Of course, a tremendous number in the foreign trade and also in teaching positions.
- (4l) This did not happen at the enterprises; the problem had been taken care of at the council of ministers and at the Party Centre. At the enterprises, the Party Secretary did not have the right to interfere, but actually there was no need for it, because the ~~economical~~ manager was himself a Party member, who had received the necessary instructions from above.
- (4m) The interference of politics in the economic areas did not happen between 1948 and 1956, but rather



between 1945 and 1950; the complete nationalisation decreased, to a large <sup>extent</sup> ~~degree~~, ~~to~~ the intervention of ~~the~~ Party organisation in <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ economical life, or let's say, made it equal to nothing. This nationalisation went parallel with the dismissal of the old experts, or, in case they were badly needed, their complete and forced "re-education". This is generally true in the cases of ministries and trade enterprises, and partly in the cases of small industrial plants.

(4n)  
o)

The main factors are <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ worker or <sup>an</sup> ~~the~~ agricultural ~~par~~ proletarian background; furthermore, that the respective <sup>v</sup> ~~person~~ should have entered, as soon as possible, the Communist Party. As far as the reliability of the person was concerned, it was extremely important that his past be "clean" - they liked the tabula rasa. Respondent will illustrate this point with its contrary: He had entered the Social Democratic Party in 1947. But in the eyes of the Communists, it would have been better if he had not entered the Party through the fusion with the Social Democratic Party, but entered later directly the Communist Party. A proletarian peasant was a better <sup>k</sup> Kader than an individual returned from France with a Communist membership card. When they wanted to place people in responsible positions, they always used those strata which had been void of politics. Lenin had ~~advocated~~ <sup>advocated</sup> this and this is one of the doctrines they religiously followed. Of course, as the years went by,

this requirement was getting ~~and~~ more and more difficult to fulfil. Many people denied that they had graduated from secondary school, in order to be regarded as a "virgin soil", thus easily accessible for the Communist doctrines. The AVO officers and mainly enlisted men were brought directly from the horns of the oxen. They had to be empty containers into which the Communist teachings were poured.

(4 p)

Respondent was present at the meeting of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce when the personnel files were checked over whether there ~~was~~ <sup>AVO</sup> any informers built-in. There ~~was~~ <sup>AVO</sup> none. (Later, these personnel dossiers were distributed to be looked over again by the individual concerned and then <sup>file</sup> destroyed.) This, of course, did not mean that there were not any, e.g. in one bank it became apparent from the kader dossiers that some people were AVO-informers. Thus, it is likely that the names of these informers were not in the personnel documents, because the leaders of the personnel departments, the Party secretaries, change, but the informer remains. The AVO was a separate state within the state. The prisons also were full with informers, there was no doubt about this. The political officer had an informer, the prison commander used several, among these, "the camp responsible"; in addition to the afore-mentioned, the central AVOs had special informers. The informer was not a convinced Communist, because persons of that calibre did not

need a dubious <sup>s</sup> position which would have been <sup>let in-</sup>  
their dignity - they had their regular job. - The way  
the informers were selected: In case people were sus-  
pected of an illegal movement e.g., they would be called  
into the AVO.

The case was generally not serious enough  
for them to be condemned, but they were told that if  
they did not <sup>choose</sup> ~~agree~~ to become informers, they would be  
condemned.

Informant knows two concrete cases:

In June of 1955, a 19 year~~o~~ old boy stole a tango har-  
monica. When caught, he <sup>was</sup> told that the stealing  
would be forgotten if, for 100 or 200 fts. monthly, he<sup>d</sup>

visit different espressos and observe who were the  
ones who were spending most. This boy told the story  
to a friend of his. The police found out and condemned  
him to 4 years on the basis of violating state secrets.  
In addition to it, his old <sup>offense</sup> ~~crime~~ was re-<sup>introduced</sup> ~~activated~~ and  
he was condemned <sup>also</sup> for the latter.

("a régi balmét felplankolták").

Second case: A friend of respondent was nabbed because  
of having taken part in a serious illegal movement,  
and the AVH was questioning him for 6 - 8 months.

When on the verge of a nervous breakdown, he was taken  
to the Gyűjtő (a prison in the South East of Budapest)  
and later on taken back to the AVH where the ~~xxxx~~  
following offer was made: His prison term of five

years would be reduced to two, but ~~(?)~~ during those two years, he would be taken from one AVH cell to the other, where <sup>there were under investigation</sup> prisoners ~~were on trial~~, and he was supposed to <sup>collect</sup> data about them. Plus, he would work in the kitchen (a relatively easy assignment). His friend did not accept the offer because he had a tremendous strength. But, ~~gerall~~ generally, the informers would come out from the middle class who, to start with, had <sup>butter</sup> on their heads - vaj volt a fejükön - - - and in addition to it, committed acts which could have been labelled as illegal. These people were generally weak and more or less broken psychologically. So, the majority did not have the strength to ~~rese~~ resist the tempting "offer". Fact is that the last 10 years destroyed Hungary completely, also morally. From the latter viewpoint, the corruption was tremendous. It was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to stay morally pure while in prison and especially during the questioning period. The AVH had special <sup>ways</sup> ~~mannere~~ of questioning, according to the type of crime committed, e.g. spies would be either treated wonderfully or dreadfully. By 'wonderfully' respondent means that they were taken up to the Svábhegy, kept there under luxurious conditions, and then, suddenly, plunged back into the most miserable conditions. ~~These~~ These cold and hot showers applied consecutively were very effective in producing great ~~ax~~ despondency.



(5) Generally it was extremely difficult - the laws talk for themselves and they were carried out with the utmost severity till 1954. During those times, if somebody left his working place, he was liable to be imprisoned for it.

Changing positions had many disadvantageous consequences, unless the respective person was transferred officially or his leaving the job was agreed upon. But if he left without this move being approved, then he was sure to somehow lose the vacation he would have been entitled to and, in case of illness, not receive the benefits he would have been entitled to if he had not changed jobs. The free changing of jobs applied only to unskilled workers, otherwise it was slavery.

Actually, if one were to answer this question completely one would definitely have to divide the time period till 1954 and afterwards. Then the possibilities of changing jobs were definitely tied to the person's qualifications, e.g. a friend of respondent's, who was promoted to a position which entailed many responsibilities (he was made the chief of the technical division of a hauling company), could get out from this "big honour" only by bringing medical certificates which "proved that he is on a verge of a nervous breakdown". His resignation was accepted and he gladly took a driver's job.

(5a) In his case, everything was taken care from above,



according to his demands. As a Party member, he had pull. And in spite of this, when he was transferred to the Chamber of Commerce, the petition had to be approved by two ministers and 16 other signatures (deputy ministers, chiefs of divisions, and deputy chiefs of divisions) were needed and the action lasted three months.

(5b) He would have chosen exactly the same thing (he<sup>was</sup> extremely interested in his job, especially in teaching economics and then in his job as an editor); as stated before, he edited a series of books <sup>about</sup> the economical life of Western countries. He himself was responsible for 25 countries, meaning that, under his guidance, the economy of 25 countries was studied. He was convinced that this endeavour is worth-while - his subject being foreign trade technique; it was supposed to help the work of Hungarian economists and <sup>of the</sup> employees of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. But it was not easy to get there where he was. He had to fight a good deal until, e.g., he was made, in 1951, assistant professor.

(5e) In his free time, he would busy himself with his profession. It is his hobby, his profession, and, he could almost say, his vocation. It does fill his life completely.

(5g) Certainly not. He ventured too deeply into the political arena.

- (6) Financially they were very badly off, but this was not a characteristic <sup>of his only</sup> family. It was shared by hundred thousand other families. At the moment, here, he has more suits than he had in Hungary, although he did work extremely hard. Until his being 'nabbed', his ~~living~~ living conditions improved parallel with his promotions.
- (6b) He could not even think of buying a decent wardrobe. The financial conditions he was living under, were <sup>the</sup> greatly responsible for <sup>his</sup> not even thinking of marriage.
- (6d) Of course, everybody felt, The type of work he was doing would have been remunerated 4 - 5 times better in the West. He and everybody else was exploited by the state which obeyed the Soviet orders, as far as military, and all other types of investments were concerned.

- (7a) I. He was not a wage earner yet.  
 II. 921 gross.  
 III. 1850 gross.
- (7b) It compared well. In 1955, the average worker's salary was about 800 forints.
- (8a) 1700.
- (8b) 1500
- (8c) Yes, teaching in college 150 forints (10-15 forints per hour).
- (8d) 200-220 forints (compulsory loan 100 forints per month, various taxes, trade union and party dues 30 forints per month.)
- (8e) Never.
- (9a)b) 130 forints in a rented furnished room at his aunt's house.
- 9c) Relatively much..650-700 forints per month although he doesn't know it exactly - his aunt took care of it.
- (9d) 60-70 forints per month.
- (9e) Without telephone 50 forints.
- (9h) The rest for entertainment.
- (9g) Not applicable.
- (9i) 50.
- (9j) 25.
- (9k) Three.
- (9l) 20.
- (9m) 200-250.
- (10) Up until 1948, it progressed in a good direction. The Three Year Plan was <sup>b</sup> based on a realistic foundation although it would

<p><b>NOTE TO ANALYSTS:</b>          Answers to Questions and Sub-questions 8 and 9 do not tally. Try to fit to Budget Questionnaire.</p>
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have been better at the time if Hungary had participated in the Marshall Aid. The possibility existed if the Communist Party, especially Rakosi, had not refused it. He agreed with the progress so far as it enlarged capital and nationalized banks and large enterprises. Of course he disagrees or rather finds it unfavorable for the Hungarian economic life, as it nationalized, to have Soviet enterprises in Hungary, that existed at that time like Masovlet (Air Lines), Navigation ~~on~~ on the Danube (Mahart), mining of <sup>an</sup> Bauxite, and many others.

<sup>of</sup> From the period following, it is his opinion that the over-centralization and <sup>excessive</sup> nationalization not only destroyed those advantages which can be enjoyed by a limited nationalization but quite the opposite - it brought the country into an economic crisis. In 1956, the economic crisis which became gradually more evident had several other reasons. The unproportional and speedy development of heavy industry, <sup>the</sup> collectivization of agriculture and disregarding the principle of economy ~~calness~~ when making adjustments, etc.

(10b) ~~DELETED~~ The influence of political viewpoints on the economic management of the country.

(10c) The standard of living was not adequate compared to the Western countries. There were great economic differences between some social classes. He finds this unjust and feels that the organization of the entire economic life is not modern.

(10d) Taking everything into consideration, they brought the deterioration. See answers to questions (a&b).


- (10e) Yes, within the Party it was the Stalinist clique - Gerö - that contrary to the opposition from within and from ~~the~~ the outside of the Party, always wished to keep in the foreground the limitation of the purchasing power (so people could ~~buy~~ consume less. The refined methods of Schacht were carried out, "read" ~~and~~ in a much more radical way.)
- (10f) The gaining of ground of the private sector from 1953 on had two reasons: 1) an economic reason in the strict sense of the word, that is this was a way they searched for relief from the depressing economic crisis and 2) a political <sup>reason</sup> ~~ground~~ - they wanted to release social tension by securing an existence to a certain social strata<sup>um</sup>.
- (11a) He wasn't bothered by <sup>um</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>them</sup> particularly, partly because his salary was relatively tolerable and, <sup>partly,</sup> ~~secondly~~ because he didn't care too much about material things.
- (11b) For him the political pressure was unbearable which was directed in a small part against his own person and to a large part against the intelligentsia and the workers, thus, against those strata toward which he felt an affinity of fate.
- (11c) The grave economic situation affected principally the so-called old reigning class and the middle class, especially those who lived on pensions, and families with many children.



- (1) College diploma.
- (1b) He attended elementary and high school and attended the Reformed ~~Legion~~ Gymnasium in Debrecen.
- (1e) When he attended college, he wanted to be an independent export merchant.
- (2a) No, because he could not finish the Academy for <sup>E</sup> ~~external~~ <sup>A</sup> ~~affairs~~ <sup>S</sup> because of political reasons (because of kader reasons, his father is a jurist, and he himself was a member of the Social Democratic Party.)
- (2e) No, see (2a)
- (3) Naturally. ~~Marxism~~ and Leninism and Russian language in college.
- (3a)b) He did not like the Russian language course. Partly because of political and partly because of aesthetic reasons.
- (4) To educate loyal and unthinking vessels for the leading clique, loyalty and admiration for the Soviet Union, hate towards the West.
- (4~~cd~~) It could not reach any of the mentioned goals; <sup>what</sup> ~~but~~ the education did achieve was a sense of criticism, the destruction of respect, a critical viewpoint towards the capitalistic system and toward religion.
- (4cde) They became disillusioned about the Communist~~ic~~ principles (of course, there was a large number of them who were never brought close to this principles) during the past years the feelings were ~~not~~ particularly hostile towards the Soviet Union and towards the terror. <sup>As a result</sup> ~~of~~ the Communist~~ic~~ principles, only the old system may have gained some liking.

- (4i) It is most effective in childhood.
- (5) City employee, but he was not promoted in a sufficient degree, he even wound up on a relatively low position.
- (5a) No.
- (5b) Considering his talent and diligence it was unpermissibly low.
- (5c) Legal.
- (5g) Three.
- (5h) They are living.
- (5i) None.
- (5k) It was a disadvantage.
- (6) No.
- (7-11) Not applicable.
- (12) Yes, relatively little.
- (12a) As it was customary in the Hungarian society generally, the evaluation of international political situation and the expectation of the arrival of the new situation. His membership in the Party was no problem. His father disapproved <sup>of</sup> ~~with~~ his activities in the political field because of security reasons; he knew nothing about his illegal activities.
- (12b) Negligible ones.
- (13) Yes.
- ~~(13)~~ (13) The religious education and the certain so-called small bourgeois ethics. With this he answered the essence of the question.
- (14a)b) Compared to the general prevalent circumstances, it was quite close.
- (14c) He had very little free time and he spent this ~~by~~ listening to

light music and in the company of friends.

- (14g) In 1952, in the darkest year of terror, he had to spend most of his leisure time in doing so-called social work (seminars, meetings, etc.), later the situation changed favorably, at his last place of work he spent his free time entirely according to his wishes.
- (15) They have loosened.
- (15a) He knows of a few instances when the members of the family could not trust each other. He has seen some typical cases where the situation was exactly the opposite, <sup>to</sup> than of what the planner of the questionnaire thought. For instance, he had three ~~girls~~ <sup>girl</sup> friends, all three of whom were <sup>s</sup>descendants of laborers, young, thus they were raised by this regime, who did not dare air their views against the system in front of their parents who even in the later period lived an active Party life, and participated in the labor movement. It should be noted however that many of the young people who participated in the illegal work (organizations against the state) based on the experiences they gained in jail did not draw in their parents not so much because of lack of confidence but rather because of security reasons.
- (15e) There ~~has~~ <sup>have not</sup> been any marked changes in the rearing of children within the family, the parents attempted to keep control over them and to give them a good education. From an ideological viewpoint, they were more realistic and better founded and more wholesome than before 1945. 

It has changed toward the direction of skepticism and atheism.

(16) It became more relaxed and in certain respects more free. ~~It~~ <sup>the moral standards are higher</sup> ~~is also more moral~~ As compared to Western German circumstances, <sup>A</sup>

(16ab) From the experiences of his circle of friends, he would believe that marriage at a younger age contains more feeling of comradeship/

(16ac) Negligible.

(16f) They were stricter. The reasons are 1) that the excessive interest toward, or the excessive practice of, sexual matters (erotic moving pictures) do not distract the citizen's attention from the economic and social work. This applies particularly to functionaries of the Party and state. 2) After the Communistic system becomes stabilized in a country, it realizes that the unity of society begins with the strengthening of the family ties and therefore the institution of family has to be protected.

The various acts and ordinances were aimed to promote the <sup>considerations</sup> above ~~reasons~~, for example, the punishment of abortion, the persecution of ~~public~~ prostitution, and its almost complete liquidation, etc. (He doesn't mention under this heading the tax for absence of issue, because he feels this meant rather a new source of revenue to the state.) He knows of numerous instances where <sup>u</sup> individuals were not accepted into the Party, or were censured by the Party, because they had not lived a good family life. Moreover, they also encouraged the youth, <sup>to</sup> ~~for the~~ <sup>(us)</sup> ~~founda~~ <sup>on of</sup> a family, so they could better control them through their children, and that they secured the increase of population, an ambition typi-



cal, <sup>of</sup> ~~be~~ any totalitarian state. For instance in 1952, or beginning of 1953, when the severe act concerning abortion was passed, Peter Bod, the Party Secretary of the School of Accounting, commented at a special Party meeting (the subject then was material for such meetings) and declared that the act was a good one because with more people we can build socialism faster. They have placed particular emphasis upon marriage ~~x~~ in the case of workers in international trade and wanted them to get married as soon as possible, particularly ~~at~~ people they wanted to send abroad on business and dared not send them because they had lived alone and, being without relatives, they were more prone to stay abroad.

A friend of Peter Veress who was a deputy department head at the Ministry of Exterior, had talked into marriage many college students just because of this reason. He himself was harrassed by this problem.

As a consequence of all this, as it is also proved by radio and press news, a peculiar "small bourgeois ethic" has been formed in Hungary (of course, in the form of propaganda originating from the loyal circles) which was so much ~~disapproved~~ disapproved by Marxist theoreticians in those days as a sign of the capitalistic society.

- (16h) If they came to the world, they had completely equal rights.
- (16i) It has deteriorated more than that of the men. Masses of women <sup>were</sup> ~~became~~ forced to work (around 1952, his mother was forced to accept a job). Besides the economic pressures, also social pres-



sure~~x~~ has been exer<sup>ted</sup>~~ted~~ in order to have everyone work. The women suffered more because of the work tempo, and because of the political pressures exer<sup>ted</sup>~~ted~~ at the place of work, because of their more sensitive mental structure, so that mental breakdowns became a general phenomena in the circle of women~~x~~.

(17) He does not answer.

(18) They  
~~x~~ became ~~x~~ acquainted in 1947, in the Ady College of the Social Democratic Party.

(18a) He was then a liberal arts major (Hungarian history).

(18b) He was five years older, his father was a village smith.

(18cd) They discussed politics.

(18e) During the last five years he was in jail, he was sentenced to ten years, and served five. He was leader of an anti-state movement.

(18f) Yes, they do no<sup>w</sup> correspond; he did much for Respondent when he was released and when Respondent was caught. The rehabilitated Social Democratic acquaintances have tried every means to help ~~x~~ Respondent.

(18g) Reliability and belonging to the same political and social circles.

(18i) Generally they are intellectuals of simple descent, of fairly liberal thoughts (by this he means the critical view of authority).

(18k) Part of his friends were members of the Party and part of them were not. His <sup>above-</sup>mentioned best friend, until his arrest, was a member of the Party in two places (in Budapest, and in Heves - two memberships meant two apartments). For Respondent this

question is indifferent.

- (19ab) Reformed. He did not have the same views as his parents, as they were practicing their religion while he adopted a skeptical point of view since 1945.
- (20) Yes, <sup>to</sup> ~~for~~ this problem he cannot add anything new.
- (20b) They wanted to stamp it out. He had learned <sup>it</sup> in many places in Marxism: "Religion is opium" - where the <sup>full</sup> ~~complete~~ liquidation of religion has not been completed, this had happened only for technical reasons.
- (20c) He does not know about them.
- (20f) No, they were watching who was going to church. <sup>To</sup> ~~For~~ Party functionaries it was strictly forbidden - this has also been published in the newspapers. The members and functionaries of the Party were warned against going to church and ~~from~~ practicing their religion on the ground that once they have joined the Party, which develops the philosophy of dialectic materialism, they should draw the obvious conclusion also in the field of religion. In such a presentation, therefore, it <sup>was made to</sup> ~~appeared~~ that freedom was not actually being limited.
- (20k) It is <sup>less</sup> ~~that~~ important - no reason needs be given.
- (20l) He knows nothing about that.
- (21) The a-political, thus technical occupation.
- (21b) Further technical development.
- (22) 1) AVH (state security authority); 2) Some selected artists, sportsmen and intellectuals; 3) Leading functionaries in the Party, state and economy; 4) Medium Party functionaries;

5) Workers; 6) Administrative personnel (he does not ~~enumerate~~ enumerate the peasants as he is not familiar with their situation.)

(22a) At his last job he approached the third category.

(22b) He did not regard the social situation in Hungary as stable and permanent, therefore, he formed no opinion in this connection.

(23) He thinks it's more correct to substitute <sup>to</sup> the conception and expression of social classes ~~by~~ the conception of strata mentioned under the previous heading and by the categories he had enumerated.

(23b) Yes, but not in the pre-war sense of the word or even in the Marxist sense of the word. For example, AVH personnel lived in complete isolation, partly because of their own voluntary isolation, partly because of the scorn of society. Those who belonged to the relatively privileged stratum, isolated themselves from the rest because of mistrust and vice versa. The working class had not presented a unified picture, it was full of so-called "declassé" elements. It is interesting that during the last years the opinion concerning the grouping of the workers or the grouping of the manual laborers had been split <sup>in</sup> ~~and~~ the Party. Those who made their living as laborers <sup>and</sup> were also descendants of laborer parents, thus they would have had an open door for social elevation, but they did not want to, or they just couldn't, elevate themselves. He would like to quote here the <sup>witty</sup> ~~comic~~ remarks of a friend, made in 1949, when the Director of the "Népi Kollegium" (Peoples' College) Andorka, who was also strongly communistically minded, was <sup>excluded</sup> ~~banished~~ from the Party, and <sup>fired</sup> from the college, so

that he had to take a job in a factory as a laborer. Risking that he would be held responsible for it, <sup>his</sup> ~~he~~ friend and colleague made the following remark: "It seems that Andorka became declassified into the elite corps."

- (23e) If we would draft the deviations in a chart, the ~~max~~ curve would <sup>show</sup> ~~which~~ a larger deviation upwards and downwards, but behind these extremes there are less individuals than ever before. Thus, not regarding these extremes, there is a rather strong levelling off. At the same time it can also be established that the social differences in Western Germany are uncomparably smaller than in Hungary today.
- (23g) For the purposes of discussing this question, the development of the Peoples' Democracy can be divided into two sections (exclusive of the 1945, transition). In the period of 1946 to 1950, the most coarse "proleterian" behavior was comme il faut, later, during the second period, the leading stratum have kept the rules of etiquette, in the Western sense, among each other and particularly required the observation of these rules from their subordinates. This was in connection with the formation of the "new aristocracy" already mentioned before.
- (24a) He cannot answer this question in proportion to its significance. The policy affecting minorities is one of the few better things that the system brought in contrast with the Horthy system, particularly in its tolerance. He approves of this highly. Among <sup>On the other hand</sup> ~~other things~~, it is known how much the Yugoslav minorities have suffered from 1949 to 1954.



(25ab) The post-Second World War attitude of <sup>the</sup> Jews is attributable to the sins of the former regime. The Jews en masse have not acted in the spirit of forgiveness but were led by revenge against the Christians. There was and has been to this day an enormous proportion of Jews among the AVH officers who dealt with inhuman cruelty with Arrow Cross Party members and later, as the system had developed, with the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet elements, friends of the West, spies, democrats.

Besides this, after 1945, Jews have joined the Communist Party in great masses, as they have seen in the Party the unreconcilable enemy of the former regime which meant so much suffering to them, and many have further joined the Party because of careerism, although, because of their economic circumstances (independent merchants,) their principles could not have matched Communistic principles. Among the <sup>underground</sup> illegal fighters of the former regime there have also been comparatively many Jews, the reasons for this phenomenon is to be searched for in the social structure of the Horthy regime, to which question he will not deviate at the moment. The result of all these factors was that among the leaders of the Bolshevistic system the Jews were represented in a shockingly large number, and the same applies to the best positions also. In spite of <sup>this,</sup> all the Jewish masses went through the same spiritual process <sup>as</sup> that all the Hungarians have, that is, during the development of the Peoples' Democracy, more and more of them have turned their backs <sup>on</sup> to the



regime; some of them have even participated in some of the anti-state organizations, the majority of them stayed in the Party as they could not have done otherwise.

- (25c) Yes. His aunts lived with them during the last two years of their free life. Besides these, he also had one or two Jewish friends who were also against the regime.
- (25d) He does not know.
- (25e) They have not enjoyed ~~the~~ great sympathy for the reasons given in the previous answer.
- (25fg) It is very difficult to answer these questions, as the expression of anti-Semitic views was encouraged before the war and now were totally suppressed. Generally, perhaps, the dislike has increased.
- (25h) The official revenge will affect the Jews, ~~in a greater degree~~ <sup>more strongly</sup> as having been the exponents of Communist doctrines and for having been more compromised, relatively, in the Bolshevistic system.

- (1)ab) He had<sup>s</sup> always been interested. This has subjective reasons that are very difficult to determine<sup>fine to any</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>but</sup> one about himself. He has been less interested in the past few months because, <sup>certain</sup> to a ~~marked~~ extent, he and many of his comrades, became ~~it~~ disillusioned about politics because of the destructive behavior of the Hungarian emigrant groups abroad.
- (1c) From 1947-1948, he was active within the ~~the~~ Social Democratic Party. Later he became active in the Communist Party in which the Social Democratic Party had been incorporated, and later ~~again~~, <sup>[underground]</sup> he carried on illegal, political activities. He feels that activities which have been forced on him and his associated<sup>s</sup> cannot be called political activities in the strict sense of the word.
- (2a) Yes, he sympathized with the Social Democratic Party, although, having been so young, naturally he could not have been too familiar with the principles. But since it was against the old Horthy regime and held itself out as being a party of the intellectuals and workers, that is in one word, of the employees, and that it would represent the interests of employees, after high school graduation he joined the Social Democratic Party.
- (2b) No.
- (2c) Generally they have remained the same.
- (2d) He felt hostile ~~when~~ at the end of 1947, when there was a two-day fight between the students who were Social Democrats, on one side, and Communists-Peasant Party followers, on the other. During the fight at the ~~the~~ Szent Laszlo barracks in Budapest,

he fought in the front lines.

- (2e) Family traditions, too; yet in 1945, the atmosphere of the Communist Party was repulsive to him. (= experience in 1945)
- (2f) VI, after 1948, or after the fusion of the Social Democratic and the Communist Party; he <sup>was</sup> forced to recognize the advantages of the regime in words, but already at the end of the same year he joined a group which was against the regime.
- (2g) Yes, many have acted the same way. Unfortunately, the Bolshevik regime, in ~~its~~ <sup>its</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>their</sup> ways of expression, has forced people to compromise.
- (2h) Because of the general atmosphere of suspicion, ~~the~~ people could not band together publicly, and individual resistance was broken by the totalitarian state.
- (2i) Loyalty dossiers were kept at every enterprise, every office. Every simple everyday information about behavior had been recorded in these. In case one ~~man~~ changed his place of work, this material ~~had been~~ <sup>was</sup> transmitted to the new place. The most perfect dossier system, however, which was collected <sup>at the cost of</sup> by a tremendous amount of money and <sup>of</sup> effort, was being kept by the AVH. Even the managers of the enterprises <sup>who [hired personnel]</sup> that gave work, were not being informed of the contents of these; they came to the surface only when the person became arrested for some reason, or if he wanted to travel abroad. (In the latter case the result was that if these entries were to the disadvantage of the person applying for the passport, the application would not be granted, but the reasons for the denial were not even given to the Minister.) The

AVH dossier also came to the surface if the individual in question applied for his membership in the Party, in which case the district Party committee asked the AVH for information and if the entries were derogatory, the person was not accepted into Party membership. In most instances the reasons for the denial were not made <sup>known</sup> public to the basic Party organization unless, if they wanted to blame the basic Party organization for the omission of the so often mentioned vigilance, as a deterrent example, or if the individual in question was before a promotion into a high position.

- (3) 1) his exclusion<sup>n</sup> from the Academy of Foreign Affairs, 2) Comments on what girl he is going with, 3) Constant mention of his intellectual background and Social Democratic background, 4) Constant lying.
- (3a) X, XIII, IV.
- (3<sup>b</sup>) II, VIII, V.
- ~~(3c) XI, XIII, I, IV.~~
- (3c) XI, XIII, I, IV.
- (3d) XIV, IX, II.
- (3e) XV, IX, III. It should not be conspicuous that he had not mentioned XII, as this was not a direct grievance but was the cause of all the other mentioned grievances, and not a special grievance <sup>by</sup> of itself.
- (3f) These were being felt so to speak everyday, if in no other way, by just one glance of one's superior, to whom one was completely exposed. He refers to one <sup>k</sup> sit program which was played in one



of the Budapest theaters about two years ago, where a group-supervisor goes to the director of the enterprise and begins to talk about X, first giving his best opinion of him but then, when he discovers the frown<sup>on</sup> the director's face, he gradually changes his point of view and at the end he says the worst things about the person of whom he is talking. At the end of the ~~six~~ skit, one finds out that the director was only about to sneeze and this distorted the features of his face.

- (3g) Mention of political questions was made only in family circles, or before one or two friends.
- (3h) Unfortunately, there was nothing one could do about them.
- (3i) Reading the paper every day.
- (3j) Not within the system. Happiness and satisfaction could only be had within the closed family circle and the circle of friends.
- (4) Actual power in the real sense of the word had not rested in anyone's hands in Hungary, the highest Party and state management was being directed by instructions from Moscow. A prevalent dominating clique only played the role of an agent.
- (4a) Because of his office, he knew the economic and Party life of the clique pretty well.
- (4b) He sees no sharp distinction, in most instances the members of the Council of Ministers and leaders of the Party were the same persons. The distinction really meant a difference in the kind of job to be performed, one cannot apply Western concepts in this area.
- (4c) The question, just because of the above, cannot be correctly put



this way. Since 1948, the Party and the government played identical roles, in functions almost completely identical and very similar in the personal construction, too. Its role was purely nominal.

- (4e) Partly for formality and, partly, for the demonstration of their power for external and "export" uses.
- (4f) It was naturally a great deal bigger than before 1944.
- (4g) No, because of the general mistrust.
- (4h) Workers' kaders and the so-called new intelligentsia. The number of the old intelligentsia was in a constant decrease; they were thrown out of their jobs.
- (4i) He does not know for sure.
- (4j) Workers' kaders.
- (5abc) No particular advantages, since membership in it, <sup>self</sup> was, so to speak, compulsory. It would have been a great disadvantage for one, though, if he expressed his wish not to join.
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) He became a member automatically as a member of the university's MEFESZ.
- (5f) At one time (1952) he was agitator, <sup>[activist]</sup> - propaganda secretary.
- (5g) The management of indoctrination work and propaganda on an enterprise level. (The control of seminars and the instruction of the so-called IFJU GARDA (Youth Guard)). An average of an hour and a half per day.
- (6a) Those who performed, <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ certain official work (for example, at that time, also his father) were ~~xxx~~ several times asked to

- join the Party. He had always refused, but many couldn't resist.
- (6b) Those who wished to enjoy economic and social advantages this way. He can remember very few of those of whom he may suppose to have entered because of their convictions. This contention relates particularly to the post-1947-50~~x~~ period; in the first year of the Peoples' Democracy, several workers, peasants, Jews, and young intellectuals have entered out of conviction.
- (6c) Members have no real rights and no formal rights. Membership in the Party did not provide rights but offered a certain degree of security-the possibility of advancing within the social structure. It did involve, however, a lot of duties - Party work. Furthermore, it was the Party member's duty to show a so-called exemplary Communistic behavior.
- (6d) Yes, many.
- (6e) Just the fact of being a member did not <sup>bring</sup> ~~bring~~ The persons in question may have had to change their exterior demeanor and show "loyalty". The heroes of the Communistic novels can therefore only be regarded as "ideal" Communistic figures. In real life he never met ~~me~~ anyone who was changed by being a member of the Party, <sup>of</sup> and/those who were really convinced Communists and have kept their conviction over the years, he knew only maybe four or five.
- (6f) Because of the sharp conflict of practice and theory, and because of the mistrust which affected them, too.
- (6g) They could principally advance only in technical fields. It

should be noted that membership in the Party was not enough alone for advancement. That is where the distinction between the so many times ridiculed "good comrade" and the reliable Communistic non-member, "extra-Party Communist" originates.

(6h) Yes.

(6i) As a result of the fusion in June of 1948.

(6k) As he had no~~s~~ expectations, he was not disillusioned.

(6l) No.

(6m) It took compar<sup>a</sup>tively much of his time, during the several years, an average of half an hour daily. He performed several kinds of Party work, he was the Party agent at college, personnel director at the Chemolimpex and controller. Everyone had to perform some kind of Party work.

(6o) As, especially during the last years, no one wanted to make comments, the preparation of the comments beforehand became typical. That is why they have adopted the system of having the several basic groups meet before the big Party meeting, in the form of a preparat<sup>ory</sup>~~ion~~ meeting. No one liked to attend the Party membership meetings as attendance there was strictly required.

(6r) It worked according to instructions from Moscow. Leadership of the members had absolutely no influence. Thus, when we talk about the Party, we have to distinguish between two different concepts. 1) The Party front itself which had the right to manage within the frame work of the instructions received from Moscow and has often also dealt with operative tasks, 2) the Party members themselves who represented the aggregate of many basic Party

groups, who performed so to speak no "work" and, it sounds peculiar, "they were in constant search of the actual tasks to be performed according to local peculiarities."

(6s) He doesn't know them.

(6t) This is a question of fact and history.

(7) The <sup>trade</sup> labor union, DISZ, Szabadságharcos Szövetség (Freedom Fighters Association), and the Hungarian-Soviet Society. (He had resigned twice from the Freedom Fighters Association in such a way that when he transferred to a different enterprise, he did not register at the <sup>[local]</sup> base group, unfortunately they discovered it both times that he was a member of the group, so he had to rejoin them.) In 1953, he succeeded in becoming left out of the Hungarian-Soviet Association. He did not join the DISZ in 1955, when he transferred again, and referred to his age as a reason. He was informed that his age was no bar and so he had to ~~not~~ rejoin it.

Respondent would like to answer the following questions together: ~~is~~ (a) to answer the question in the negative, there wasn't one man in Hungary, at least in the city, who did not <sup>[belong to]</sup> participate in, at least one or two mass organizations and was a member thereof. (c) the goal of the MSzHSz was partly to prepare the youth for military service and partly to familiarize them with the possibly greatest <sup>menace</sup> mass of society, with the fundamental rules of warfare, to prepare them for a possible war. Besides, its aim was also to draw people into the warlike atmosphere. (b) The aims of the Hungarian-Soviet Society were to



create respect and loyalty towards the Soviet Union and to deepen the propaganda concerning Soviet cultural and technical results. (d) He became a member of every mass organization by request. (e) He had no duties or functions in the trade union; none in the Hungarian Soviet Society; he was active in the MSzHSz for a while (1952) in the instruction of radio amateurs and was the agent of the group. (g) People felt the membership in these mass organizations as depressing, disliked the duties, and the percentage of those ~~of~~ who joined not so much because of their convictions but rather because of their desire to play a role was very small. (j) Until 1955, he had not experienced anything like it. (l) they followed the instructions of the local Party organizations and of their own ~~central~~ organizations with much hesitation and many omissions. (m) They felt no <sup>community of interests</sup> ~~identity~~ with the trade unions and saw in them only another form of political and economic pressure.

(8) One to two percent.

(9) He does not know. He couldn't follow the events.

(10a) Interference <sup>ence</sup> in one's everyday life, in the case of the slightest <sup>si</sup> ~~opposition~~, revenge in the line of work, <sup>expulsion</sup> ~~banishment~~ from the Party, ~~public~~ <sup>membership</sup> accusation before the <sup>meeting</sup> ~~of members~~, serious warnings, arrests. <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ the application of the methods of terror, they were very cautious to keep the principle of progressivity, not to <sup>antagonize</sup> ~~place~~ large masses ~~in opposition with them~~, they have skillfully applied covert warnings, threats, the promise of advantages, alternatively persuasion and psychological pressure



and brutal terror. Of course, everyone felt the weight of this.

(10b) The AVH, besides its being an armed force, ~~was~~ was charged mostly with carrying out investigations and with the surveillance of individuals.

(10c) Inductees of the regular army were transferred to the AVH or military duty. Some college graduates were transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, that is to say to the AVH.

According to Respondent, there were cases in which young Party members, what's more members of the Party leadership, tried to resist being transferred to the AVH, in spite of the fact that for years they used to demonstrate their adherence to Communism. Besides, at the time when the Party organization of MDP was dissolved, its members were transferred en bloc to the AVH.

(10f) The leadership of the AVH was composed of old members of the Communist resistance movements, of workers kaders, of Jews who were tortured by the Hungarian Nazis. The enlisted men were peasants and young workers, misled or inducted against their wishes.

(10g) Members of the AVH were given a chance to do their shopping at bargain rates, obtain suitable housing, and receive unlimited funds, durin<sup>g</sup> investigations.

(10h) Members of the AVH were not 100 percent immune from persecution. Respondent had an occasion to meet a former officer of the AVH, while they were in the same jail. This man told Respondent that

he was put in jail on account of political reasons. He recalled that he used to frequent expressos, nightclubs alone or with his own circle of friends. He ~~z~~ used to be called on the carpet for spending his time in such a way and his superiors pointed out that such behavior would indicate a bourgeois mentality. It was pointed out to him that it was alright for an officer of the AVH to be seen at places of amusements when he was there in an official capacity for the purpose of observing people.

- (10i) Members of the AVH, adherents of the system, were the ones in whom certain powers were vested to a certain degree.

The secret informers were considered unreliable, as far as the regime was concerned - they were recruited from amongst those threatened and morally destroyed individuals who had served the previous regime.

- (10j) Respondent is unable to give a detailed answer.

The regular police was considered the step-brother of the AVH - the police was considered an entirely different organization in an entirely different category.

- (10k) The improper formulation of this question rests on the mistaken concepts of the Westerners. The high command of the Party used to work hand in hand with the high command of the AVH. Based on orders from Moscow the same clique exercised ~~xxxxxx~~ authority over the AVH and the Party - over the country's economic, political, cultural, military, and internal defense system. This explanation will probably shed more light on the previous question

as well.

It should be noted that members of the ~~Communist~~ Party's basic organizational structure, and that goes for headquarters and regional organizations as well, had no influence over the AVH at all.

(11) Yes.

(11a) Respondent himself was involved in the case in which his best friend and a good number of his acquaintances were arrested in 1950. Understandably, he lived in continuous fear and this affected his heart.

The charge against his best friend was: anti-state activities. He was sentenced to ten years, his acquaintances to four-six years.

For Respondent's illegal activities see note at end of section G.

(11c) Yes, Respondent knows of a number of such cases. He states with regret that ~~from~~<sup>among</sup> the members of the AVH, the women led the way in performing acts of cruelty. He refuses to give detailed information, due to the fact that I am a lady.

(11d) Elements which were considered déclassé: kulaks, former army officers, former landowners, former capitalists, members of the clergy, those who had a record of at least one arrest, those who had any kind of contact with the Western world.

(11e) He doesn't know of such cases.

(11f) It was impossible to get in touch with individuals detained for purposes of <sup>[investigation]</sup> interrogation. After sentencing, if the case was

MEK considered not too serious, permission was given to exchange correspondence at rare intervals and to receive visitors.

It should be noted, however, that this relaxation was put in<sup>t</sup>o effect only after 1953.

Prior to this, relatives of arrested individuals were unable to obtain news about the whereabouts of the disappeared person for years. However, even after 1953, in case the convict violated prison rules, the exchange of correspondence and the right to receive visitors was denied to him for a longer or shorter period of time.

At places of work (mines), after 1953, it was relatively easy to exchange mail and to receive visitors (of course, that meant ~~an interval of~~ a maximum ~~one~~ of one or two during two months). It should be noted that at places of work the granting of such privileges used to depend on the volume of work <sup>performed</sup> rendered. The jail guard used to co-operate with the convicts - either for money or for considering eventual~~ly~~ changes in the future political trend. Civilians, working together with the convicts, used to facilitate, illegally of course, the exchange of correspondence.

Respondent recalls the case of a young worker who made a special trip to Budapest without any gratuity whatsoever in order to deliver an urgent letter.

News of importan<sup>c</sup>e announced by the Radio Free Europe, the BBC or by Radio Madrid used to be known within eight hours after broadcast.



It happened that convicts had a chance to read, illegally of course, editions of the Szabad Nep the very day of its publication.

Thanks should be given for this to the Swabian and Hungarian miners who displayed humane feelings and who, due to their political convictions, adverse to the ruling system, were willing to jeopardize their jobs and sometimes risk being arrested for co-operating, in such a way, with the convicts.

(11h) Respondent does not have detailed information.

(12)a) April 1, 1955.

(12b) Spying and playing a leading role in anti-state activities.

(12c) Thirty-six days.

(12d) At regional AVH Headquarters of the county of Pest, in Fótca, Budapest.

(12e) Food came in small quantities, of poor quality. However, when Respondent made reference to his stomach condition, he received dietetic food prepared very well, but it was monotonous and the quantity was about half of what he should have gotten.

(12f) No. After 1953, physical abuse was seldom heard of.

(12g) To a small degree. Staff members of the investigating organs displayed a low degree of knowledge and <sup>low</sup> intelligence of ~~peer-quality~~; their ~~strength~~ strength was in their large number and in the network of informers.

For instance, Respondent was under surveillance since 1949, and two informers were trailing him. This became evident during the course of the interrogation.



(12h) Yes.

(12i) Yes.

(12j) It was possible to make a choice from amongst thirty-forty lawyers, however, none of these lawyers were known to him. Respondent asked to have a lawyer appointed in order to save the expenses to his parents of hiring a decent counsel and he also wanted to create the impression that he did not consider his case of major importance. Respondent had the opportunity to talk to the officially appointed defense counsel for about three minutes prior to trial. This "conference" ~~was~~ had to take place in the presence of a jail guard. The defense lawyer was completely unfamiliar with the case. The so-called speech for the defense lasted from one to two minutes, it was full of formalities and lacked substance. Respondent does not recall the name of his defense lawyer who himself was an extremely frightened Jewish man.

(12l) Ten years.

The basis for the sentence: disloyalty, and ~~continuous~~ continuous anti-state activities.

The name of the judge was Jónás (also a Jewish man), Respondent is unable to remember the name of the prosecutor. All he remembers was his speech, full of grammatical errors - he ~~was~~ gave the impression of being an entirely uneducated individual.

(12m) One year and nine months.

He was detained by the AVH for 100 days, he was for 30 days in the Országos (Central) Jail of Budapest while during the rest

of the time, he was in the labor camp of Csolnok (county of Komárom).

While detained by the AVH, opportunities were given to him to read Western books in original - in English and he also had a chance to read Gorkij translated into German. He was hermetically sealed from the outside world. For thirty days he was in solitary confinement - this was ~~alleviated~~ <sup>alleviated</sup> by a daily twenty minute walk. He did not suffer any particular humiliations and he was not interrogated during the nights. The investigator tried to <sup>unbalance him</sup> ~~upset his balance~~ by threatening him with execution - ~~while~~, there were times when he would use verbal attacks against him, there were <sup>also</sup> ~~times~~ times when he would ~~be~~ be treated in a humane manner. Respondent was also threatened with the eventual arrest of his friends, parents, bad prison conditions and so forth.

There was relatively more freedom in the Gyűjtő (Detention House), where one could visit other cells, illegally, of course. Around this time, the ~~x~~ Summit Conference took place at Geneva and they did receive news of it, distorted, though. Through the pretext of medical visits, one could exchange information and also during the daily walks. Respondent succeeded in ~~his~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ establishing contact with the convicted Social Democrats who, at that time, were separated from the rest of the inmates. However, the limitation of the freedom of movement had a bad effect on the nervous system of the prisoners. Quite a few of them lost their minds. They felt very happy when they were taken out of

their cells for half an hour or an hour in order to scrub floors. The fleas used to cause great suffering. Compared to conditions in existence prior to this, ~~with~~ <sup>the</sup> jail guards behaved much better. The smell of an inevitable change was in the air.

At Csolnok. Here as well as in other places of work, the improvement in conditions became quite evident. Here one could receive packages and visitors, ~~and~~ write letters, smoke, purchase sweets, read newspapers illegally, participate in various sport activities and study languages. As far as it was possible, the inmates led an intensive intellectual life. Western books discussing philosophy and economics were smuggled in.

Lieutenant Verebes, the "educational officer" treated the inmates in a liberal way. He permitted Hungarian books treating <sup>with</sup> economic problems to be brought in, languages courses were ~~established~~ <sup>organized</sup> (Western languages!). The Lieutenant himself lectured on economics and one month prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, an open discussion was held about the current problems of the economic life in existence. The lecture, lasting three hours, was followed by a discussion which was led by Dr. Ervin Iglódi Szabó, a former high official of the Hungarian National Bank, Dr. István Vajtha, economist Robert Beck, Péter Posta, a former economic ideologist <sup>of</sup> the Hungarian National Socialist Party; another participant was Iván Szabó, professor of geography.

The economic conditions then ~~in-existence~~ <sup>prevailing</sup> were dealt with in

a critical manner. For instance, Peter Posta put forward the following question: to what degree is it considered practical to let the state interfere with the nation's economic life? Mr. Posta described the official view taken by the National Socialist Party without, of course, mentioning the Party's name itself.

It should be noted that the inmates also used to hold stage performances.

Improved conditions within prison life were of course dependent on the easing up of the external and internal political policy; however, the good will of the educational officer as well as the courageous attitude of the inmates contributed in a large degree to the improved conditions.

(120) The health service in prison was poor, many people became sick, and at Csolnok the situation was worsened substantially by the presence of a sadistic petty officer - he was a member of the medical corps. Men with fever were sent down to the mines to perform their daily chores. The number of people to be put on the daily sick list was predetermined. In case additional cases turned up which were considered rather serious, then ~~the~~ the ones with lighter illnesses were driven to work immediately. Medicine was scarcely available, and in the mines the working conditions were unbearable - the occurrence of gas poisoning was quite frequent. The ones with weaker constitutions, were unable to take mining work. These people were returned to the jails where they were deprived of the so-called privileges.



(12p) Those who were caught trying to escape received a severe beatings even in 1955, and even at Csolnok.

It did happen that an escapee was completely surrounded so that the logical thing to do would have been to capture him and take him back to prison - however, in such cases, frequently they just shot him on the spot (this happened at the end of 1954.)

Further disciplinary measures were the following: transfer to another jail with much harsher living conditions (Maria Nostra), the taking away of the privileges of receiving visitors, packages, the writing of letters; violators were also transferred to jobs where the performance of the work was extremely hard; a solitary confinement was in store for them, in complete darkness and they received only a quarter of the allotted food quantity.

(12qrstu) Not applicable.

(13a) In order to stay clear of trouble with the secret police, one should choose a career which has positively nothing to do with politics, such as worker or a technician.

Adherence without fail to orders, laws, and measures <sup>of the</sup> brought ~~by~~ authorities is mandatory.

One's personal opinions should be kept secret. It is necessary to disrupt all contacts with the Western world or, if possible, not to even establish such contacts.

One should apply mistrust toward the closest relatives as well as toward friends.

In other words, one should barely exist and <sup>at</sup> that, inconspicuously

leading, a  
this is called "loyal life".

- (13b) Yes. Respondent knows this from personal experience, because if this had not been the case, he would have been arrested much sooner.
- (13c) Personal contacts are helpful only if they are established on a high level, such as the AVH, Party headquarters; of course, the best thing is to have a contact with a member of the Soviet diplomatic mission. In the latter case, the AVH faces a more complicated task in a projected arrest, because the suspect might be a planted man working for the Soviet Secret Service (there were such cases). However, the value of connections was reduced to nothing in cases where the arrested party wanted to take advantage of them for the simple fact that the influential friends behaved as if they didn't even know the suspect. From this point of view, it should be emphasized that Party members holding positions below the high level were unable to exercise any type of influence over the work of the AVH. For instance, the intervention or opinion of a Party committee in Budapest was useless unless he had a personal friend working at the corresponding department of the AVH.
- (13d) A good class background is definitely an advantage. The Party displays extreme patience toward such people. It's possible to conceal an unfavorable background at one's place of work, at the Party organization, within a Party committee, where one can leave in oblivion all the facts which would be disadvantageous from for the respective person's background - and it is possible to, so

for a longer time, too, with good results. However, such attempts are doomed to failure when it comes to the AVH - the overwhelming investigating possibilities are too powerful against such attempts.

- (13e) Sometimes, For an investigator, to accept money would be taking a big <sup>risk</sup> ~~chance~~ because of the prevalence of the atmosphere of mistrust and also because somebody might ~~be~~ entice him to do so just to be detected as an unreliable element.

To offer money is safe only if the suspect has strong personal contacts so ~~therefore~~ <sup>that for</sup> the investigating party the chance of being <sup>discovered</sup> ~~provoked~~ does not exist.

- (13f) See question 13a.

- (13g) Members of Jehovah's Witnesses are more likely to be persecuted than other religious groups because so far as it's known this sect has headquarters in the United States. It is also known that this sect forbids its members the use of arms. However, to be a member of this sect in itself would be no reason for arrest but <sup>when</sup> a member of this above mentioned sect reaches military age and if he refuses to accept his soldier's book-as it is known that Jehovah's Witnesses have refused this in many cases, then the respective individual is immediately arrested and sentenced to many years of prison.

In Hungary, this sect is fairly strong and its members are recruited primarily from amongst the peasantry and the uneducated. At one time, Respondent was together with fifty-sixty members of Jehovah's Witnesses at Csolnok.

(14abc) Yes. Until 1952, the terror became gradually stronger but in 1953, a gradual decrease in it could be witnessed. However, approximately nine months later, a gradual and slow strengthening of the terror was quite evident; Respondent is unable to answer what happened later on in this respect.

(15a) So far as the shaping of economic conditions in Hungary is concerned, the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance under Soviet direction, played a decisive role in the development of industry, in the volume of industrial production, in foreign trade, etc.

A large number of Soviet advisors were stationed with Hungarian army units.

(15b) Respondent found out about Soviet military advisors from his friends who were serving with such Hungarian army units.

(15c) The aforementioned organizations exercised an immediate influence over Hungarian life. However, the Soviet influence could be felt in all phases <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ the life of the country through the Party headquarters and also through the visits of the Hungarian cabinet members to Moscow.

Under the heading of indirect interference into Hungary's internal life, one could bring up the visits and ~~the~~ exchanges of the various delegations, such as scientific, artistic and workers, as well as peasants and also the propaganda done by the Communist Party.

The intensity of Soviet influence could be best described by the following: A study by Stalin was published which dealt with



linguistic problems; this book had to be used in Hungary <sup>in</sup> ~~by~~ all schools that had language departments and they could do nothing but explain and make popular the highly unscientific thesis comprised in this work. Countless additional examples of such nature could be brought up. Respondent has a very low opinion about the ability and attitude of those who dealt in foreign trade matters.

(15e) Respondent is unable to answer the question.

(15f) So far as Respondent knows, there were no Russian advisors in the field of foreign trade. As far as the foreign trade enterprises were concerned, there definitely were none. There was ~~not~~ need for it actually because the centrally directed economic activities were under Soviet guidance anyway.

(16ab) The more <sup>sensitive</sup> ~~delicate~~ spot one worked at, the more ~~k~~ one had to conceal one's true feelings. It is well known that the Communists Soviet ideology built up its judgments and took up positions in connection with the interpretation of problems of everyday life at a high speed. Outside the press controlled by the Party, the well-know<sup>n</sup> seminars played a decisive role in hammering such views into the individuals.

Here ~~■~~ are one or two small examples. It would have been looked upon dimly if somebody in a Communist company had made the following statement: "My family means everything to me."

Such a statement would have flatly denied the advertised superiority of the Communist movement. In 1950, in one of the colleges a student made the following remark: "I think there is little

sense to the rhythmic clapping of hands." A Party member who was ~~was~~ present immediately "explained" to the student that if he had a genuine respect for the leaders he would spontaneously clap his hands, as the leaders deserved this sign of respect. At the same time, it should be mentioned what the Soviet concept of "constructive criticism" meant. In the last four-five years one could exercise criticism but it could refer solely to detail questions, to eliminate all the faults which might have been found in details, in order to advance the greater glory of the Soviet Union and of the Hungarian Communist clique.

A characteristic feature of the so-called Peoples' Democracy was that Party officials were permitted to discuss more freely their opinions amongst each other; however, they had to avoid doing so in the presence of their superiors and particularly, <sup>and when</sup> as <sub>amongst</sub> they expressed themselves "~~amongst~~ the masses". When "amongst the masses", they always had to set a good example, they had to behave like "good politicians", which meant that they had to emphasize modesty and adherence to Communist principles.

- (16c) It could be said without ~~any~~ exaggeration that one's true feelings could not be manifested in front of anybody. Respondent knows of cases when a child gave up his parents, and he also remembers two friends of his who turned out to be secret informers of the AVH.
- (16d) Respondent never had the courage to exercise judgment over the Soviet Union in front of strangers. However, he dared talk about faults committed in the economic field.

- (16e) The year of 1953, opened up the possibility for great changes also in this field.
- (17) The application of the laws took place in a rather flexible way. That is to say, it depended on who <sup>a</sup> applied them against whom. Here is an extreme example: a young worker could make ten to twenty times as many anti-state statements as a so-called kulak, and he was excused for it.

The application of the laws depended on connections - with one telephone call, one could settle many things ~~and~~ on the basis of one hand washes the other - that way it was possible to ~~make~~ secure good jobs, avoid disciplinary actions. Respondent states that one of his friends, a former police officer, recalled that at one time damages amounting to staggering figures were discovered in <sup>who had</sup> an enterprise. It was also discovered that the director ~~had~~ a worker's background was at fault. The superiors dismissed the case with one sentence: "Comrades, such are the expenses of the Revolution."

- (17a) Yes, in many cases. In his last job, he acted on his own in the following matters: the hiring of co-workers, <sup>establishing</sup> ~~fixing~~ their salaries, and ~~setting~~ their working hours, the handling of classified material, economic affairs. In addition he used to act contrary to regulations, frequently with <sup>the</sup> full knowledge of his superiors. Generally spoken, this used to result in substantial legal insecurity.
- (17b) He does not know.
- (17c) Yes. He may make reference to the public interest and also take

advantage of ~~me~~ his personal contacts. It served to his advantage to have a well-informed friend around who would notify him before<sup>hand</sup> about the projected transfer. (Information of this <sup>sort</sup> used to be given in the following ways: "This is what I heard - don't repeat it, I would deny it to your face anyhow.")

(17d) Doesn't know.

(17e) 1) Through his personal acquaintances at the Committee in charge of Admissions.

2) Keep trying year after year.

3) If in his shop he is considered to be a good worker, ~~if~~ is politically active and this way is able to induce the Party organization ~~for~~ or the DISZ recommend that he continue his studies.

(18ab) The strong points of the system: the successful build-up of a network of informers, the creation of an atmosphere of mistrust and the flexible application of threats, convincing talks, terror and propaganda.

However, a number of weaknesses should be point<sup>ed</sup> out as well: the system couldn't stop people from forming their views; interference with people's everyday life was greatly frowned upon; the obvious contrast between theory and practice; a flood of staggering lies. So far as the economic life was concerned, the inexperience of the leaders was evident. So far as the political ~~life~~ life and the stability of the state was concerned, one could note the sudden and large scale increase of terror and after that, the sudden decline of the same.



This question is very hard to answer because there<sup>were</sup>/structural errors, the nature of which precluded the possibility of correction, and there were superficial ~~w~~ errors present as well, which could have been corrected, perhaps, within the framework of the system. These two types of errors ran ~~parallel~~ parallel.

In Respondent's opinion, although he had no chance to become familiar thoroughly with the facts, there were in Yugoslavia fewer superficial errors to be found. Tito was smarted<sup>r</sup> in conducting the affairs of Communism.

Respondent wants to point out that he didn't even start to analyze the so-called structural errors.

Here is a dialectic<sup>al</sup> definition of what Peoples' Democracies means: "a state system in which the workers voluntarily and enthusiastically keep correcting the errors which would not exist if the system were different."

And now a rustic version of what Peoples' Democracy is: "It's like eating cherries - each swallowing is followed by a spitting."

(19) Respondent followed the situation until 1955, he remarked that resistance definitely existed. Unfortunately, the type of resistance which could be found in France during the German occupation could not develop in Hungary because terror was prevalent, as mentioned before, and because, in the beginning, various elements which used to be against the Horthy regime and/or oppressed by it, expressed their sympathy with the new system. These were the new land<sup>c</sup>owners, Jews, some people with democratic feelings and the youth which had either peasant or worker background.

The aforementioned elements represented a very substantial number of people. Since the time when the People's Democracy came into existence to this very day, conspiracies and group resistance would always be found; however, due to mutual mistrust, these movements could not become widespread.

(19b) Generally spoken, the survival<sup>off</sup> of the so-called déclassé groups. ~~One~~ One could say, ~~the~~ <sup>these</sup> ~~one~~ of bourgeois background.

However, it's characteristic ~~for~~ <sup>that</sup> the resistance of these people was of the passive type, that is to say, the inward turning kind, because they were afraid to bring it out in the open.

So far as Respondent knows, the members of the former Middle Class who eagerly awaited the nightly Western broadcasts, did not participate in the fights of the Revolution. The Hungarian Middle Class was noted for its lack of backbone. Its members started to organize themselves in the first days of November for the purpose of securing positions for themselves. They formed political parties only after the youth, which had been educated by the Communist regime, together with the workers and the army, turned against this system and pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for them.

(19c) The least hostile to the regime were those groups which had workers kaders, the leadership of various enterprises, Party apparatus, the officers' corps. These groups not only were not against the regime, but they actually supported it. After all, this regime helped them obtain positions justly called 'plush'

(19d) It had the opportunity to manifest itself.

- (19f) This question was discussed before.
- (19g) The high ranking Party official ought to be questioned on this score. Yes, of course he had heard about it.
- (19h) He doesn't know about.
- (19i) He knows nothing about it until 1955, it was not organized on a large scale.
- (19j) Of course he knows about it, but he is unfamiliar with details. He is familiar with the so-called Dery affair which took place about four years ago.
- (19k) The slow-downs were of isolated nature in the sense that, due to the risks involved, the public was unable to formulate an idea about its extent.
- (19l) Respondent is unable to answer this question.
- (19m) Respondent knows nothing about it.

Illegal activities.

At the end of 1948, and at the beginning of 1949, through a friend of his by the name of [REDACTED], Respondent became associated with a group which pursued illegal anti-state activities. Mr. [REDACTED] was the leader of this group. It maintained contacts with the Social Democratic leaders who had emigrated to the West. This contact was maintained through the assistance of an official courier. The organization also maintained contact with several members of the Polish Diplomatic Mission then stationed in Hungary. They were also in contact with groups of fighters who were ~~fugitives~~ fugitives from the Com-

Illegal Activities. (Cont'd)

unist system and who lived in hiding in the counties of Heves, Borsod and in <sup>the [mountains in Transdanubia]</sup> Mecsek. Contact was also established with the railroad saboteurs of 1949.

One member of the group by the name of [redacted] was captured in 1949, when he attempted to cross the border. Through him, the AVH for the first time received information about the anti-state goals of the group. [redacted] was captured in March of 1950, and with him a friend by the name of [redacted], as well as others. As the AVH was unable to round up the whole anti-state group, [that's why] [redacted] was sentenced to ten years of jail. In 1955, when the case of the Social Democrats was re-examined, [redacted] was released.

In 1951, Respondent wanted to take over the leadership of the remaining members of the anti-state group and he prepared a plan in writing, the purpose of which was the organization of a wide spread underground movement of resistance. At the same time, he found out that [redacted] was convicted, the extent of the sentence, and his whereabouts. This too, he put in writing.

Respondent took ~~two~~ <sup>these</sup> two letters in person to the library of the American legation which was located in the Vár and slipped it in through a crack under the gate.

Prior to this, Respondent once, together with [redacted], visited the American legation, the office of the military attaché, in order to establish contacts but, as he states, he



Illegal Activities (Cont'd)

did not succeed. Respondent was informed that those persons who visited the American legation will be kept under surveillance, therefore, he did not attempt to<sup>do</sup> it again.

One of Respondent's acquaintances, by the name of [REDACTED], also received copies of the above mentioned two letters - [REDACTED] was introduced to Respondent by [REDACTED] as a member of the illegal anti-state group. Later it was found out that [REDACTED] was an informer of the AVH and he handed the copies of the above mentioned letters over to the AVH.

In the 1950's, Respondent started to form a group of eight to twelve people, comprised of young intellectuals. He intended to prepare and distribute leaflets but he was talked out of it by his companions.

On April 4, 1955, this group planned to smuggle bombs into the Budapest Opera House where festivities to celebrate the ten years' old liberation were to be held. Later, it was found out with certainty that a member of this group by the name of [REDACTED] was an informer of the AVH. Respondent was arrested four days prior to the celebration. He was shown ~~xxx~~ copies of the letters he had smuggled into the library building of the American legation.

The charges were spying and anti-state activities, playing the role of a leader. The AVH presumed that Respondent's group was in contact with Western powers.<sup>D</sup> During the interrogation, the charges were reduced. That's why Respondent was sentenced

Illegal Activities (Cont'd)

to "only" ten years.

The most prominent members of the group had not been captured. [REDACTED], whose married name was [REDACTED], had typed the letters in question but Respondent doesn't know about her whereabouts since.

Respondent would be pleased to do scientific research for Columbia<sup>m</sup> University in the field of economics, foreign trade and sociology. At the beginning of this year, the American consulate of München added Respondent to the list of experts willing to emigrate to the United States, as far as he knows, this list was approved in Bonn but he doesn't know of further developments.

- (1a) The reading of the Hungarian press with critical eyes and the discussion of the same when among friends.
- (1b) Due to his position, he was able to read Western newspapers, such as Neue Züricher Zeitung, The New York Herald Tribune, New Stateman and The Nation, Economist.

(2) See question (1).

(2g) See question (1b).

(3) Respondent did not attend movies, theater and opera performances due to the fact that it was difficult to obtain tickets and also because he gave preference to his comfort and different outlook. Furthermore, he had little time for such activities.

In twelve years' time, he saw three Soviet films and he did so only because he was obligated to attend - his whole shop went collectively.

However, he was pleased to see a couple of Western moving pictures.

(4e) He read only a few books, mainly by Western authors, he liked Balzac, Maupassant, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Oscar Wilde, Maugham - he did not like the best-sellers.

(5) So far as domestic radio programs were ~~concerned~~ concerned, Respondent listened to music and to political news.

In December of 1954, when the German question was under discussion by the French Parliament, he listened to the radio until midnight intently, hoping that the bill would be passed.

(6) He listened to few foreign radio stations because he had the

opportunity to read Western press.

(6d) He listened to the radio news with critical ears. His doubts were justified later on - in the Hungarian affair, Western intervention never took place.

(7) Yes. A friend of his, a member of his resistance group, notified him by telephone at his place of work that Malenkov was removed and Bulganin came into the <sup>lime</sup> ~~light~~ light. He found out about this before the domestic radio announced the change officially.

While in jail, he was informed by civilian workers about the most important Western radio broadcasts.

(8abd) It may sound amusing, but Respondent states that he devised various mathematical indexes with which he multiplied and divided the news he read in the Szabad Nep, and that is how he evaluated them. He claims that this system proved fairly accurate. For instance, when he read about favorable economic news coming from the Soviet Union, the divisor he applied to evaluate this news was fairly high.

The news about the decadence of Western art was accepted by him 60-80 percent. This opinion of his was born out by the recent exhibit of a ~~friend~~ French painter in Munchen.

(8e) Neue Zurichher Zeitung, Radio London.

(8f) Yes, ~~but~~ however, until 1955, the significance of this was not as great as in the last year and a half.



(8g) Yes, he read it daily, for about three-quarters of an hour - this was necessary as far as his position and his Party work were concerned.

(8h) He didn't read it - he didn't have the opportunity to do so.

(9a) Yes. People usually left no stone unturned - this goes particularly for the members of the former Middle Class who were most anxiously awaiting a change. These people never made dates for the evening hours just so they could stay home and listen quietly to the news of the Western Radio stations.

In rather high positions and in Party circles, people usually exchanged news while they were "hot" and they defied the possible dangers involved. In these circles, as a safety measure, news was exchanged without any comment. The openly given reason for the interest in Western news was: "One has to be precisely informed about what is going on in the Western world."

(10a) He knew about it. He read a book on that subject; he considered it necessary and thought that it was right to disregard ethical scruples.  
 4 worries.

(10b) Respondent refuses to answer this question.

(10c) He did believe that the Americans <sup>a</sup>applied bacteriological warfare and ~~it~~ he and his circle of friends approved of it, and they only wished it had been applied on a larger scale.

(10d) He was happy about it, and deeply disappointed when he was confronted with the reality.

(10efg) Respondent does not care to answer.

- (10h) About Western emigré activities Respondent was informed through the Szabad Nép and he believed it. His opinion gained additional support on this score.

- {1}  
(a)
- 1) Friendship with the peoples in the Danube Basin.
  - 2) State-directed economic life although only to a certain extent. Keep the key industries and the banks under state control, this would entail restriction of private ownership to a certain degree, however, one can find examples to this effect in several Western countries.
- So far as Respondent is concerned, he deems that the national socialist economic system is correct, disregarding, of course, its foreign policy and ideology.
- (1b) It is Respondent's personal experience that the young intelligentsia and young workers have subconsciously adopted the above mentioned principles.
- (2) It is necessary to have political parties.
- (2 ab) Respondent would make no exception in this respect. And this also refers to the Communist Party. He believes that in case of free elections, the Communist Party would suffer a shameful defeat. He believes furthermore that without the armed support of a foreign power, as the case was after '45, the Party would be unable to gain power against the wishes of the people.
- (3) Yes, people should be free to express anything they want.
- (3c) No, it should not be forbidden.
- (3d) No, it should not be forbidden.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes.
- (4b) If no other opportunity presents itself for influencing one's

government's political views, in case those happen to be contrary to the interests of the people.

- (5) See question (1a); additional remark: the dissolution of the forcefully brought about collective ~~farm~~ farms and the restoration of the land to the peasants.
- (6) Yes.
- (6b) Only small enterprises. Independently of this, he would let private capital operate on a much wider scale.
- (6c) Private profit is good however, limitations should be put into effect in order to protect public interests.
- (6d) Respondent prefers state banks because, according to him, in this field there is not so much need for individual initiative as there is in commerce or industry.
- (6e) Yes, in fields where this would serve the benefit of the public. Respondent frequently resorts to the expression: "Benefit of the public." By this he thinks of economic, political and ~~psychological~~ psychological factors.

In order to make the explanation clearer, Respondent desires to shed light on the term "economic factor" from its negative side: it is possible for an independent private owner of an enterprise to increase his earnings three or four times as much as it is for an engineer or technician he employs, although the owner's mental and physical capabilities might not be greater than those of the aforementioned employees. This may sound unjust from the point of view of the employee. Respondent believes



that this is justified, though. Respondent believes that this condition is justified, because the majority of a society is composed of members who do not possess any capital - thus the permission of the functioning of privately owned small and medium size enterprises serves the public through the "exploitations" of private initiative.

Respondent assumes, though, that the operation of such enterprise ultimately would be efficient and so more benefit would come to the public this way than if the owner were employed as a bureaucrat. In the case of the latter solution, the so-called justice could be labelled as such only apparently, or on the face of it, because from the point of view of wages - incomes - this very same ruling would deprive the public of more substantial economic advantages.

In this respect, it would be imperative to deal separately with the various branches of economy, and the dividing line should be drawn very carefully on the basis of economic, statistical computations. For lack of data, he refuses to bring up any example and he does not want to say whether the dividing line should be drawn <sup>at</sup> ~~in~~ the case of 5-50-500 employees for that matter. He notes that, of course, it is not sufficient to consider the number of employees, because <sup>this</sup> ~~their~~ figure is inadequate for the purpose of determining a starting point.

The case of a large bank, however, serves as a good example to show that such an institution can operate just as well if dividends go to the state representing the interests of the

public as a whole, and not to improductive capitalists, shareholders.

So far as Respondent is concerned, and strictly from an economic point of view, he considers individual profit a necessary burden which will have to be paid by the workers who don't own any capital to the individual capitalist employer embodying the advantages of free enterprise and individual initiative.

On the basis of these considerations, it is quite evident that Respondent refuses to accept the socialistic principles of distribution "everybody according to his abilities - everybody after his labor."

In order to avoid misunderstandings, Respondent states that nationalizing for the purpose of securing state directing of certain economic affairs <sup>is</sup> ~~if~~ not always x beneficial, suitable - this approach he considers too radical. There are various forms of state interference with a nation's economic life, and the German national socialistic economic system supplied a large number of ~~xx~~ examples for the purpose of critical examination.

Political considerations come into the foreground if one starts examining state interference with the life of a nation from an economic point of view. It would be unfair to judge such interference with the economic life only on the basis of cold numbers showing the economic operations of enterprises. It is considered a threatening ~~danger~~ danger, if the state organs | utilize the economic power vested in them for the purpose of in-

terfering with the life of the citizens in other ~~first~~ fields as well. This way, the political democracy would be jeopardized. A factor of this type calls for carefulness, and reduces the value of the extent to which the state interferes with the economic life of the nation and the degree to which this interference would be found otherwise correct. In this field, the opinions of sociologists and politicians should dominate and not those of economists.

Psychological considerations. Because in this field the opinions of the psychologists is decisive, Respondent wishes to make the following remarks: for a Western individual who grew up under the economic and social conditions prevalent under liberalism or limited liberalism, for that matter, it might sound miraculous that a substantial part of the Hungarian industrial workers and of the intelligentsia, primarily the young people, were able to fit themselves surprisingly well and accept the fact as self-explanatory that they were active without capitalists in nationalized shops and enterprises. Respondent wishes to make reference to the decisions and slogans of the Revolution during October and November. The slogan was not: 'let's give the factories back to their former owners, capitalists,' but that 'the factories should in effect belong to the workers.' Of course, the second part of the slogan is obscure and naive, but it tells enough to the psychologist for him to clearly come to the conclusion that the Hungarian workers and the Hungarian

youth would have gladly given up the idea of having their capitalists return. Shifting to the field of politics, Respondent sees it as a strong possibility that the weight and power of the newly emerging bourgeois political parties would have crushed this desire, expressed by the workers and by the youth belonging to the intelligentsia. These bourgeois political parties would have climbed to power once again upon the back of the masses of peasantry which respect private property and ownership.

Returning to the original subject, or maybe merely considering the latter factor (peasantry), respondent has to say that all considered, the psychological factor indicates that state interference with the economic life should be limited to a lower degree. Economic advantages in themselves are worthless in case a breach occurs in the psychological makeup of the nation.

Respondent did not have to think in giving the above answer, because he had formulated it in the past four or five years in the course of lengthy, continuous and sincere discussions.

Respondent states that the answer does not represent his isolated individual opinion but is a clear reflection of the mentality of the majority of <sup>the</sup> young intelligentsia; he also wants to point out that, in the case of many, the aforementioned opinion is only sub-conscious - as in the case of workers, when reference was made to their feelings about ownership of the factories.

(6f) He does not answer. Certain articles were put on the market by the state through Kőzért because of the mistaken concept that



these ~~items~~ items fitted in ideally with the specialized function of the Kőzért. Later on this measure proved to be harmful from an economic point of view.

- (7) See question (6e).
- (8a) To a certain extent, in certain fields, it is necessary.
- (8b) The Soviet version of planned economy gave a poor account of itself in practice.
- (8c) Chiefly the directing of investments, controlling of foreign trade; to a large degree, control of the circulation of currency, and to a certain degree, control over the education of the available labor pool; the state should also be in charge of geological surveys and, to a certain degree, there should be state interference prevalent in the field of the running of nationalized enterprises.
- (8d) This should be determined partly by the free market, the law of supply and demand, partly in certain fields by scientific analysis and factors other than economic (the guaranteed availability of cultural needs at low rates).
- (9) Respondent could name few such fields. At one time, it was debated in England whether or not the prostitutes should undergo compulsory medical examination - he absolutely condemns the still remembered position taken by certain social circles ~~that~~ that an act of such nature was incompatible with the spirit of freedom of the individual.
- (10a) He deems that progressive taxation is justified and that this is

<sup>in</sup>  
the interest of the employee as well as that of the employer, for the purpose of maintaining a sense of security within the society.

(10b) This is a necessary evil. However, it should be compulsory.

(10c) In case someone identifies himself with the prevalent social system, as well as with the state, then it is mandatory to observe even those laws and orders which might prove to be "inconvenient".

(10d) His reply covers all laws. However, if more people were affected by the "inconvenient" laws, in that case he would get together with others with the purpose of trying to change them.

(10e) Implicitly yes, ~~because~~ because he denies that the state is destined to exist for its own end; on the contrary.

(11) It became more comprehensive, but poorer in quality, at the same time.

(11b)

(11a) The workers. <sup>A</sup> No, it created serious disadvantages for those who had their own business.

(11c) Unfortunately, the quality of the treatment rendered by the state-supported medical services is inferior to the type of treatment private physicians can offer.

(12) The opportunities were greater, because the price of the tickets was relatively cheaper and widespread propaganda induced people to attend theaters and concerts. The quality of the performances is an entirely different story. Those who had a sense of criticism were able more and more to select the performances which

suiting their tastes. This was true particularly after 1953.

- (12a) No.
- (12b) Yes.
- (12c) The urban population had a far <sup>better</sup> superior opportunity in these fields. But this is true particularly when it comes to the population of the capital. The chances to satisfy such needs were far better in the offices, in big factories, not to mention the Party apparatus.
- (12d) In the past few years, people had more time at their disposal for such purposes than before.
- (12e) The type of entertainment discussed was relatively inexpensive. For instance, one could go to the movies six to seven times for the price of four ounces of chocolate. Of course, large families could not afford even this much.
- (13) No, on the contrary.
- (13a) Much better.
- (13b) He does not know.
- (13c) The employees of the AVH were in a privileged position.
- (14) Today, they are worse off, that is they have less than they used to. There might have been some improvement in the lowest classes of society - he doesn't know any more about this subject.
- (14a) Yes.
- (14b) Yes.
- (14c) Members of the armed forces enjoyed various privileges.
- (15) Yes. On account of the ~~PERIOD~~ <sup>[World War I]</sup> Great War, times around 1945,

[realistic]

cannot be considered a likely<sup>A</sup> basis to start from; but, so far as he knows, industrial production has increased even compared to the pre-war level.

(15b) Chiefly in the heavy industry.

(15c) The Hungarian industry is structurally distorted - this is greatly damaging.

(15d) In this field, ~~max~~ practically everything should have been done in a different way. Agriculture and light industries ~~max~~ were neglected - this created an unfavorable and unhealthy situation. Similarly, it proved to be wrong to over-develop~~ed~~ parts of ~~ix~~ the heavy industry which served strategic purposes.

(16) Not much. The running of a factory should not be decided by a ~~plebiscite~~ plebiscite.

(16a) Give information in the fields of sanitation and culture. And it might be a good idea to secure the possibility of participation in mass sport activities.

(16b) Completely.

(16c) It should not be compulsory ~~max~~ at all.

(16d) In case the factories were returned to private ownership: only and exclusively the owner. This should be varied only in the case if a new private sector were created.

Respondent thinks it practick<sup>al</sup> that the state operated plants be managed by state appointed leaders. On the other hand, community leaders should have the right to appoint managers to plants operated by the community.



- (16e) In the case of <sup>a</sup>state operated plants, the management should be responsible to the state; if the <sup>plant</sup>~~state~~ were operated by the community, <sup>t</sup>when the management of such <sup>ts</sup>plants should be responsible to the leadership of such communities.
- (17a) Not all of them are successful, however, it is possible for a collective farms to function quite well provided its members join it voluntarily.
- (17b) The institution of a state farm is a good idea. Respondent <sup>former [pre-war]</sup> points out that under the ~~former~~ regime there were model farms which used to enjoy country-wide reputation, a such as the horse breeding farm at Bábolna. However, the Soviet type state farms proved to be failures.
- (17c) This problem should be dealt with by the members of the collective farms, because they are the ones who would be affected.
- (17d) See sub-question (c).
- (17f) Yes. This question should come under the jurisdiction of the Parliament, after hearing the opinion of agricultural experts. As far as Respondent is concerned, he would vote for the bill which would permit private ownership of land not larger than from sixty to sixty-five acres. In connection with this, he would consider medium quality soil as the guiding point.
- (17g) See sub-question (f). He is unable to give additional information.
- (17h) To the extent specified under sub-question (f).
- (17i) See ~~per~~ previous answer.
- (17l) During the course of a period of transition, this would be

advantageous from the point of view of the whole national economy.

- (17m) It would be most expedient to sell the machines on the free market.
- (17nop) See sub-question (m)
- (17q) Definitely. This is not the invention of the Soviet agronomists.
- (18a) Yes.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) Yes; this ~~way~~<sup>way</sup>, the churches would have a better chance to fulfill their moral educational functions amongst the people.
- (18d) To a small extent. Respondent has not studied this problem and he considers it too serious for him to give a quick answer.
- (18f) Yes, if he had a chance to send them to a relatively broadminded ~~parochial~~<sup>parochial</sup> national school, like for instance the one he attended in Debrecen: the Reformed ~~Secondary~~<sup>Denominational</sup> School. [gymnasium].
- (19) Each Party member should be individually examined.
- (19a) No. See previous answer.
- (19b) The case of each leader should be studied individually and, if necessary, court action should be instituted.
- (19c) See subquestion (b).
- (19e) He thinks that in this case, individual examinations would be unnecessary.
- (19f) He wants to point out that most of the rank and file people were enlisted and transferred to the AVH against their wishes.
- (19g) Individual examinations.

- (19h) They made amends for many of their crimes.
- (20) They held up the Tartars, they fought the Turks for centuries, even the Horthy regime has some things to its credit: it got even with the Communists. However, it is hard to credit this regime with anything else.
- (21) Yes.
- (21abc) It differs from all three.
- (21d) It underwent some change.
- (21e) Yes, particularly between the peasantry and the middle class.
- (21f) Yes.
- (22) Respondent does not know.
- (22f) Economic and social <sup>in</sup> equality was prevalent to a large extent.
- (22g) Respondent condemns it.
- (22h) Hungary should have tried to preserve <sup>her</sup> ~~its~~ neutrality.
- (22i) When it comes to drawing a comparison with the pre-war era, that is with the one prior to 1945, the question of whether it was better or worse cannot be answered by a simple "yes" or "no". The post-war years brought about a certain social liberation, but, due to the presence of the Russian troops, it could be felt already in the first few days that the attitude of the Communist Party became more and more terroristic and a positive evaluation of the system in which, on the basis of simple suspicion or, due to vengeance, people were tortured to death, such as the war criminals or the so-called war criminals of the second world war, behind the mask of legality, cannot be done.

Although the years between 194<sup>5</sup>~~4~~ and 1948 constituted a period of transition, it is undoubtedly true that those times were definitely better than the ones following 1948.

- (23) Respondent does not attribute great importance to political boundaries. Nevertheless, Respondent believes that Hungary has a rightful claim to part of Transylvania and ~~Slovakia~~ Subcarpathia, the populations of which are predominantly Hungarian. To a smaller degree, this also applies to part of today's Czechoslovakia and to some territory located in Yugoslavia.
- (23c) The Soviet Union's long-range political plans. Respondent finds it probable that, due to propaganda reasons to be used in foreign policy, the Soviet Union did not incorporate the so-called People's Democracies in the same way it did the Baltic States.
- (23d) Respondent does not believe in anything of this sort. He thinks that <sup>in</sup> some individuals this may stem from an unjustified racial myth.
- (23efgh) Respondent states that the Hungarians and the other peoples around them get along fine. The case may be, though, that certain politicians are the ones who are unable to get along with each other (this is also applicable to Hungarian politicians, of course).
- (24a) Confederation ~~is~~ is a good idea. He elaborated on this within the framework of the political program of the illegal organization he headed. About this, one of the spies informed the AVH, and this was one of the reasons Respondent was convicted for.



- (24b) The confederation should be started on a small scale and then enlarged more and more.
- (24c) It would be unwise for Hungary to try to play a leading role.
- (24d) No.
- (24e) Yes, if it takes place on a voluntary basis. State interference with population exchanges is considered by Respondent a violation of the most fundamental human rights of freedom.
- (25a) Respondent does not know them well enough.
- (25b) Yes, they also are human.
- (25c) No.
- (25e) With the exception of Communists and Jews, they were greeted with fear, antipathy, and hatred.
- (25f) Yes, a little. Primarily in the field of foreign trade, and those proved to be pitiful. The information given about ~~about~~ the year '45, underwent changes up till the days of the Revolution, and this meant: the Russians had to be praised on an increasing scale. As a result of this, even those turned against them who, in 1945, had greeted them with joy. (Personal experiences: respondent has several Jewish relatives.)
- (26ab) Marxism in those times brought something new in the fields of sociology and economics. His <sup>[Marx's]</sup> remarks criticizing the type of capitalism then <sup>E</sup> in existence were correct to the larger extent. His economic analysis of liberal capitalism more or less approaches the true situation. According to Respondent, Marxism, as well as classic Marxism, has two structural errors: it considers

the result of its analysis of economic life between 1840-60, as of cardinal importance; this analysis is used as a basis on which to rest its comprehensive theory which is supposed to be everlasting and which gives a definition of life heretofore and hereafter; moreover, stepping out of the field of economics, it also intends to cover the social and spiritual life in all of its phases. This claim in itself is positively incorrect. During the course of time, practical experience supports Respondent's statement.

Starting from the fact that in <sup>the</sup> society of those times, the class struggle was a new, unusual and violently eruptin<sup>g</sup> social symptom, Marx and Engels believed that this would give the key to the understanding of social and spiritual life <sup>of</sup> all times. They fell into the trap of onesidedness. This thought is the basis for the well-known, ridiculous <sup>thesis</sup> saying that the history of mankind is the history of class struggle.

To clarify this even more, Respondent brings up an example from the field of geometry: there are two given points in space, but ~~the~~ man is familiar only with the formula of the straight line. Thereupon he believes that those two points constitut<sup>e</sup> a part of a straight~~er~~ line. However, later on, a third point will be added to the picture and so he finds that this enlargement results in a circle. Then, a fourth point comes on to the scene and he has to change his view once again. If ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> knowledge stands on a high enough level, he will find that the surf<sup>ace</sup> of

this geometrical solid is neither straight not circular, but spherical.

And so, Marxism today contains much less truth than a hundred years ago and, at the same time, is on the road to becoming nothing more than an occurrence in the course of history. This means that Marxism will take its proper place among other, in the meantime washed out, ideas which were supposed to bring salvation to the world.

- (26c) Lenin changed many of Marxism's dogmas to render them more practical. Otherwise, it is strikingly evident that he is biased.
- (26d) He is reluctant <sup>to say Stalin</sup> / was a Marxist. Stalin ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> changed the theories of Marxism and Leninism quite a bit and even more so their practical application. The Stalinist political system: theory and practice would be best described by Respondent for the sake of simplicity with one word: "Bolshevism". This is about as far apart from the practical application of Marxist theory as the latter is from the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.
- (26e) To a certain extent, Titoism stands closer to the Marxist principles than Bolshevism.
- (26f) Respondent is of the opinion that ~~for~~ both the Rakosi and the Kadar regimes are nothing more but obedient and sometimes overzealous followers of Stalin.
- (26g) The Hungarian Social Democrats stood closer to the Marxist theory than the Bolsheviks did; after Respondent became familiar

with their principles, he found them to be generally incorrect. Even while in jail, he had lively arguments on this score.

- (26h) In a Marxist sense, it is possible to be a Marxist and a democrat; however, according to Western mentality, one cannot be a Marxist and a democrat at the same time.
- (26i) Perhaps in 1848, ~~since~~ during the Revolution and the War of Independence.
- (26j) To acknowledge the economic and political equality of all grown up members of the society with the exception of criminals and retarded ones.
- (27) The term National Communism means the acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist principles with slight revisions: simultaneously it means opposition to Soviet imperialism.
- (27a) Yes.
- (27b) Respondent doesn't know of any details.
- (27c) He is not familiar with it, however, he does not believe in its containing great possibilities.
- (27d) Yes. <sup>P</sup>In the case of Russian great power aspirations, one should
- (27e) say that it is compatible; also in the case of the sincere representatives of national Communism.
- (28a) If the Revolution had not been suppressed by Russian arms, and in ~~the~~ case Imre Nagy had stayed at the head of the government, the fact that he was a Communist would not have stood in the way of the expression of the will of the Hungarian people provided that a chance would have been given to them to hold free elections -



to this, as far as Respondent knows, Imre Nagy himself gave his consent.

- (28b) Imre Nagy probably would have <sup>headed</sup> had the government until the new elections had taken place.
- (29a) Good.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Good.
- (29d) ~~Nothing.~~ (No answer)
- (29e) Bad.
- (29f) Bad.
- (29g) Bad.
- (29i) ~~Nothing.~~ (no answer)
- (29h) ~~Nothing.~~ (no answer)
- (29j) Bad.
- (29k) Why don't you erase it?
- (29l) Why don't you erase it?
- (29m) Why don't you erase it?
- (29n) Good.

Respondent wishes to point out that by socialism he does not mean Marxist socialism, but the form of it which is in existence in Sweden or, as far as he knows, in New Zealand - as far as he knows, that type of social order is very far from capitalism.

- (30) One of the Christian parties or a coalition.
- (30a) He doesn't know.
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) - Relatively more.
- (31c) - Less.
- (31d) - Much less

- (31e) - More.
- (31f) - Less.
- (31g) - More.
- (31h) Just about as much as they deserve.
- (31i) - Less.
- (32)a) Better - he objects to it.
- (32b) - Worse - he approves of it.
- (32c) - Better - he disapproves of it.
- (32d) - Better - he objects to the extent of it.
- (32e) - Better - he does not give an opinion on this score.
- (32f) - Same - he does not give an opinion on this score.
- (32g) - Worse - disapproves of it.
- (32h) - Better - disapproves the extent of it.
- (32i) - Better - disapproves of it.
- (33)a) Conflict.
- (33b) Coincide.
- (33c) Conflict.
- (33d) Conflict.
- (33e) Conflict.
- (33f) Coincide.
- (33g) Conflict.
- (33h) Conflict.
- (33i) Conflict.
- (33j) Conflict.
- (34) Respondent <sup>had</sup> ~~has~~ no worries in connection with the United States -

while in Hungary, he frequently tried to establish contact with the American authorities.

(35) Former and surviving members of the AVH.

(35a) The same social groups which participated in the Revolution.

(36) Yes, there are certain questions about which he changed his opinion. While in Hungary, he thought that within the framework of the Western social system the social and economic differences between the classes were much greater - he found out that this was not the case. He formulated his new opinion on the basis of the new radical socialistic measures taken by the governments of Austria and Germany. Due to the fact that never in his life did he experience pure democracy, he did not believe that it existed at all - therefore, while in jail, he was apt to turn toward the political ideology of Fascism. However, in this respect, he calls his Western experiences a pleasant disappointment.

- (1) He has no questions to ask.
- (1a) He believes it to be constructive and his answers were given to the best of his knowledge.
- (1b) A great deal of it.
- (1c) Western nations should remember that they live in an entirely different world of concepts, in different categories and so to speak in a different dimension; therefore, they frequently fail to grasp the real picture of ~~the~~ Bolshevism. Respondent is afraid that Westerners still believe in the possibility of reforming Bolshevism, in the sincerity of the peace slogans and ~~it~~ fail to notice the loaded art behind the Picasso peace dove. Respondent asks that at the time his answers will be studied, the above stated views should be born in mind.
- (1d) Respondent believes that many interviewees will shirk providing honest answers - he has found the system of cross questions to be very good because this way it is possible to determine the degree of usefulness of the interview.
- (1e) When people express themselves contrarily to their convictions, they don't do it because they have ill will at heart, but this is the result of deep rooted mistrust, fear.
- (2a) Respondent would return to Hungary only if he could find there a safe and democratic system.
- (3c) [REDACTED] % Blom  
Roslagsgatan 31  
Stockholm,  
Sweden



Farago<sup>1</sup> used to be for a long time associated, as a high official, with the Central Planning Department of the Ministry of Foreign Trade; lately, he headed a special desk of the same Ministry at the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers.