

- (1) The most important thing we ought to know about events in Hungary is that anything that happened was the result of accumulated bitterness. The other thing is that as a result of relaxation in the recent years the people saw a ray of hopefulness after a long period of hopelessness.
- (2a) The revolution no doubt started long before it actually broke loose. Among the events which contributed to the outbreak of the revolution during the last two years I should like to mention the following:
- (2b i) First, the death of Stalin, which aroused hopes that something may happen within the Soviet Union.
- (2b ii) Second, shortly thereafter, the appointment of Imre Nagy as Premier. Under his regime people began to breathe more freely.
- (2b iii) Third, I attach great significance to the reconciliation with Tito. Hungarians were allowed to travel to Yugoslavia and learn about conditions there, which were better than those in Hungary. In general, the frontiers opened up. Trips to other peoples' democracies became possible. Also trips to Western countries were allowed. All these experiences strengthened the spirit of freedom and the longing for independence.
- Another thing I would like to mention is the formation of the PETÖFI Circle. The writers there began to criticize openly the regime.

(2bv) No doubt the Poznan events had great influence too. Although the Hungarian press and radio distorted the facts, we were able to learn the truth from the Western radio. The Poznan uprising had encouraging effects on the Hungarians. I think a very important event was the Writers Union Congress in July 1956. I especially remember the speech of Peter VERESS. It was broadcast by the Hungarian Radio. I remember his statement according to which the writer should not write on orders. Also the press published the proceedings of the Writers Union Congress.

(2vii) To answer your question on the effects Rakosi's dismissal had on the Hungarian situation, I would say that all the Hungarians were united in his hatred. His fall therefore aroused hopes that domestic changes will soon follow. Expectations rose especially high when Gerö went to the Crimea to meet Khrushchev and Tito.

(2bviii) After his return the funeral of Rajk took place. The demonstration, which I think was spontaneous, was directed against the regime, though I would add that Rajk enjoyed certain popularity, especially among the students.

(2bviii) But, of course, the most important event leading to the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution was the return of Gomulka to power. This, as is generally known, was the immediate event that precipitated the Hungarian revolutionary events.

- (2c) I think the turning point was Rakosi's dismissal.
- (2e) Yes, I think the writers played an important part, but I think the people played an even more important part.
- (2g) Among the articles I have read I was impressed most by a series I have read in the weekly of the MÖHÖSZ
..... This series was published, if I remember well, in April, June, July, I don't remember the author's name, but the articles dealt with the crisis of Hungarian education, a topic in which I was particularly interested. The articles discussed the papers written by the graduating class of several Hungarian gymnasiums. The students discussed the topic "What are our ideals?" The writer of the article ⁱⁿ ~~in the~~ question came to the conclusion, that the young people's moral education suffers great shortcomings by lack in patriotism, they possess no perspective. As a result, our educational system is a failure.
- (3a) The major factors leading to the revolution, I think, were the Polish uprising, the vacillation of the Ministry of Interior to permit or not to permit the demonstration of the students of October 23, and finally, on the same day the shooting on Parliament Square and at the Radio Station as well as Gerö's speech on the same night.

- (3b) The sudden collapse of the control system could prove only, that very few people actually stood behind the regime.
- (3c) I don't think that the people had anything in particular in their minds, but that they wanted at long last to demonstrate against the hated regime. I personally did not take part in the Budapest demonstration. I am namely from M i s k o l c , but I'm speaking from my experiences there.
- (3f) The only people who opposed the Revolution were the Party functionaries and the AVO people.
- (3g) The neutral people were those between the age 30 and 50. Those people that is, who had families. The People below 30 were who made the revolution, but also people above 50 were enthusiastic supporters.
- (3h) The most popular slogans in Miskolc were the followings: "Let's hang Rakosi!" "Gerö should perish!" "Out with the Russians!" "This is our Fatherland, Russians go home!" and, of course, among the most popular slogans was " We shall be no longer prisoners!" This, as you know, is the refrain of Petöfi's stirring revolutionary poem.
- (3i) In Miskolc at least, it was anti-Communist from the very beginning.
- (3k) It is true that some Communists joined the revolution. But these were the people who were in high positions, but never were really Communists. They declared themselves only Communists in order to get their jobs.

On October 23rd I was in my office ~~at the Miskolc~~. I stayed in my office until 3:30 or so in the afternoon, but we did not work much during that day, we were more anxious to know what was happening in Budapest. We were following the news in the radio. After office, with several of my colleagues I went to an Espresso. We were discussing, of course, with great excitement the Budapest events, but Miskolc itself was quite on that day. Next day, on the 24th, I had to go on a business trip to Budapest, but I could not get a car. The chauffeur, who was to take me to Budapest, was unwilling to go. So I was in my office but we were not working at all, all of us were listening to the radio. I remember, on the 24th in the morning, great many people were carrying their radio to their working place. I saw them walking with their radios on the streets. In the afternoon of the same day, the 24th, with several of my friends from the office, we went again to our espresso. The name of the Espresso was A V A S . This joint was close to the Szinva Bridge and from this vantage point we were able to witness one of the most dramatic events of the revolution in Miskolc. Towards evening of the same day Russian troops from the North moved thru the city. They stopped on the main street, evidently looking for the road leading to the South towards Budapest.

They had to take the road across the Szinva Bridge. When the people saw the Russian armored columns moving towards the bridge, they threw themselves on the bridge, forming, so to speak, a living carpet, in order to prevent the Russians from crossing the bridge. In the meantime several people attacked the car of the commander. The commander, the Russian commander I mean, left his car and the people thru his vehicle in the river. Also the cars of several Russian lorries were punctured. The Russians, instead of forcing their way thru the bridge, turned back. We, of course, left our Espresso, and joined the demonstrators and also saw the AV6 troops arriving. The AV6s were trying to disperse the demonstrators. They fired several shots in the air, but no one was injured. There were, however, several detentions, approx. 15 people have been arrested. This was the first revolutionary outbreak in Miskolc. I would like to mention, however, another important event on the same day. It was an article written by the Party Secretary of the BORSOD COUNTY Rudolf Foldvari, in the local Party Newspaper, ÉSZAK MAGYARORSZÁG. In this article Foldvari bitterly attacked Gerö's speech of the preceding night and declared that the people of the BORSOD COUNTY do not support either the Government or the Party. This article by the local Party Secretary created a great sensation, and it turned out Foldvari was a National Communist and he soon left the Party.

Following the Szinva Bridge incident, demonstrations continued in the city and throughout the night I was on the streets myself and returned home about half past two. In the morning of the 25th I was in my office early in the morning about 7 o'clock. At about half past eight I received a telephone call from one of my friends in

He informed me that the workers of the
in the
WORKERS COUNCIL Iron factory will stage a mass demonstration. I left my office immediately, took a taxi and drove to in order to meet the demonstrators. When I joined the demonstrators, I was walking in the first line and together with the leaders of the workers we arrived to Miskolc. The population spontaneously joined us.

We marched thru the city, chanting slogans, removing red stars everywhere, under Hungarian banners. The students joined us in closed ranks. Together with them we marched towards the Miskolc University City, where a mass meeting was held. It was at this meeting that the Miskolc Workers Council came into existence with 72 members. The leaders were workers, students, and intellectuals. The 72 Members of the council represented all the plants of greater Miskolc. We drew up 21 points, which summarized our demands. The meeting lasted about 5 hours. Many speeches were held by lawyers among the speakers. Among the demands was that we proclaimed a general strike and stated that we will not work until the Russian occupation Army does not leave Hungary.

We demanded also the dissolution of the AVO. We demanded new administration. A huge crowd enthusiastically acclaimed these demands. While the mass meeting went on, we made an agreement with the Army and the Police, which came in its entirety over to our side. We also made an agreement with the representatives of the AVO; according to this agreement the AVO acknowledged ^{that} the Workers Council took over the power. The party disintegrated completely. An interesting occurrence of the meeting was when the local Party Secretary was trying to address the meeting and he was pushed down from the platform.

I was a member of the Workers Council and my assignment was to be a liaison between the police and the Workers Council. I was also to take over the local printing shops. The city's greatest printing shop, the BORSOD printing house was seized accordingly and we started to print our 21 points there in great quantity and distributed it in forms of leaflets in the streets.

I would like to mention that in the Workers Council the police was represented also, not the Army, altho the Army fully cooperated with us. In order to understand the success of the revolution in Miskolc, I would like to mention that the Soviet Garrison stationed in Miskolc, showed complete passivity, which amounted to surrender. In fact the Soviet troops in Miskolc prevented other Soviet troops to enter the city and it was in a way under the shelter of the Soviet troops that the revolution stabilized itself.

In my capacity as the Workers Council representative, assigned to the police, I spent the night from October 25 to 26 in the AVG building. Early in the morning of the 26 I left for **MEZOKOVESD**. I was sent there by the Miskolc Workers Council in order to stop the fighting between the workers and the AVO. The workers in **MEZOKOVESD** set the AVO and the party buildings on fire. When I arrived to **MEZOKOVESD** the fighting was still on. I went to the city council building and addressed the crowd thru the PA system. The fighting stopped and I was successful in making a truce, according to which the AVO troops withdrew from the town. We set up a local workers council and also the national guard. Later on the same day, the 26, I went to **EGER**. When I arrived the city was quiet. No flags, no demonstrations. We called a meeting at the local **Teachers'** academy and formed a workers council for the county of **HEVES**. There too the police and the army joined the workers council, not however the AVO. Fighting broke out between the AVO and the workers later on the 26th, ending with the AVO's disarmament. While in **EGER** I learned that in Miskolc the AVO broke the agreement reached with the Workers Council during the night, incidentally, while I slept in the AVO building. The AVO was making several arrests, several members of the workers council and students were among the arrested. Demonstrations followed in front of the AVO building. According to the news I received in **EGER** the AVO began shooting into the crowd, whereupon the

workers received arms from the barracks across the square from the army. After a four-hour battle, in which some 36 people were killed, the AVO surrendered. This was actually the ~~first instance~~ ^{sole instance} of bloodshed of the Miskolc revolution. This also marked the beginning of the National Guard. The Workers Council namely ordered the arming of the workers. I have learnt about these developments when I returned from ~~ESER~~ ^{ESER} on the evening of the 26th. On the same night I was appointed Deputy Head of the Miskolc Radio. The next day, on the 27th, the workers council was reorganised and renamed "Revolutionary Workers Council. On the 27th in addition to the earlier assignment as ^{Deputy} / head of the radio, I was named also head of the information and news gathering division from the workers council. There were 12 such divisions created by the workers council. In my division some 1,200 people were working.

I would like to point out that from October 27th til November 4th, the life in Miskolc was normal and order ~~was retained~~ ^{maintained} by the workers council. We accepted the new government of Imre Nagy, altho there were some differences between Nagy and the Miskolc workers council from the beginning. We disapproved that Imre Nagy demands only the evacuation of Russian troops from Budapest. We were first to demand that the Russian troops should leave the entire country. We were also the first to report to the government, that new Soviet troops had entered the country. This was on October 28,29 and 30.

We demanded that the Hungarian Army should attack the main Soviet crossing point at Zahony.

Communication between the Miskolc workers council and the Free Nagy Government was by telephone, but we had also personal contact. I myself went twice to Budapest, once by plane, and once by car. Within the workers council the deliberations were conducted on a democratic basis, decisions were made by majority vote with at least 2/3 of the members present. After October 27th I made 3 trips outside Hungary. The first one on the 28th, brought me to **KASSA (KOSICE)** in Czechoslovakia. I was going to get medicine from there. We travelled by trucks. The Czech frontier guards arrested us, however, and handcuffed we were brought to **KASSA**.

A crowd gathered on the streets when we were led to the ^{Hungarian} Police headquarters. We had still our/revolutionary arms on. While in the Police headquarters, a great crowd gathered in front of the building demanding our release. We saw Hungarian flags hoisted on many houses in ~~KASSA~~ **KASSA**. Among the demonstrators there were Hungarians as well as Slovaks, judging from the slogans they were shouting.

After a while we were released and we received also the medicine we came for. The Miskolc Workers Council later paid for these medicines and Radio Free Miskolc acknowledged the help.

(Interviewer's note: I have checked this information in the Free Europe publication "The Revolt in Hungary",

on page 63, I found a reference to this radio broadcast thanking for the medical supplies. End of interviewer's note.)

The second trip I undertook was on October 30 and 31st and this time I went to the Soviet Ukraine, in order to gather information on Soviet troop moves. I was fortunate to get on an empty freight train. The engineer on the train was a Hungarian speaking Ukrainian. He gave me a uniform of the Soviet railway system and I travelled with him as his stoker. We travelled from **ZAHONY** through **CSAP, UNGVÁR, LEMBEG, PROSKUROV** to **SMERINKA**

deep into the Ukraine. I have observed the Soviet troop moves and returned with the same engineer on an other freight train, carrying military material to Hungary.

Our route this time lead thru **DELJATIN, BOKOVO** and **HUSZT**

back
/to Hungary.

The third trip I undertook was on November 2nd to Rumania. This time the engineer of the Rumanian train knew Hungarian. We travelled from **BIHARKERESZTES** through **NAGYVÁRAD** to **RACSSZALONTÁ** and back through **GELEALUI** to **NYIRÁBRANY**. There too I observed Soviet troop moves. We reported the Soviet troop moves to the Government. If I remember well, the first report went on the night of October 29th. We were unable to get in touch with Premier Nagy. We spoke to **ZOLTÁN TILDY** and it turned out later that he did not forward our report to Nagy. When the Workers Council had a chance to talk to Nagy a day later,

he did not know anything about the reports we gave to **TILDY**. The failure of the Hungarian Government to take action against the Soviet troops entering Hungary, increased our dissatisfaction with it. We decided to loosen our ties with the Budapest Gov't. On November 2 we transformed the Miskolc Revolutionary Workers Council and the new name of the council was now National Council of Northern and Eastern Hungary and the areas covered by the council's authority were the ~~area~~ counties of BORSOD, NÓGRÁD, HEVES, HAJDU and ~~MA~~ **BAZSÁB**.

I should mention, however, that workers councils from other parts of Hungary also asked often our National Council for advice. When not travelling I spent most of the time during these days either in Miskolc or in **LILLA FÜRED** in the building of the Radio Station. When the Russians invaded Miskolc on Nov 4th, I was in **LILLA FÜRED** and we defended the radio building, but had to give up in view of the overwhelming strength of the Russian troops. For 3 days I was engaged in a partisan activity and I arrived to Budapest on the ninth and from there I continued my journey thru Western Hungary towards the Austrian border.

- (4a) Yes, I saw fighting between Hungarians and Russian troops and AVOs in Miskolc, **MEZŐKÖVESD, ZÁHONY, NYIREGYHÁZA, SZIKSZO and BUDAPEST.**
- (4b) During the revolution/^{the Army}sided with the people everywhere. After the revolution I saw for instance in **ESZTERGOM** that Hungarian officers led the soldiers leave the barracks. This was a clear case of organised desertion.
- (5) Not applicable.
- (6a) I was commander of the Miskolc Radio Unit in **LILLAÚRED**
- (6b) Our unit has been formed from the armed guards assigned to the radio station and from the people, who worked at
- (6c) the radio station. Our unit numbered 84 men.
- (6d) Three members of our group escaped from Hungary.
- (6e) I had 2 sub-machine guns, 1 rocket pistol and 2 ordinary pistols.
- (6g) I was the leader, that is to say, the commander. I was elected by the group.
- (6h) Those who were politically persecuted. Second, students. Third, non-party members.
- (6i) By open vote.
- (6j) In our unit we formed a four-member committee, which consisted of one student, one Army officer, one worker, and of myself.
- (7) The greatest authority was enjoyed by the Budapest Revolutionary Council. ^{second}the revolutionary council of **BORSOD,**

and, third, the Revolutionary Councils of the counties **GYÖR** and **SOPRON**. They gained recognition thru their activity, incidentally these 3 councils represent the 3 largest industrial centers of the country.

- (7a) In my experience none.
- (8a) Yes, there were differences. The Miskolc garrison, for instance, behaved passively, which amounted to surrender. I heard about lootings. I personally saw in after the collapse of our revolution, Russian soldiers looting a jewelry shop. When I escaped from Hungary, on the **RÁBCA** bridge, we bribed the Russian soldiers with brandy to let us thru. Soviet troops shot our car in which I arrived to Budapest, altho our car carried a Red Cross sign and we had no arms. We were shipping blood plasma from **VÁC** to Budapest. One of my friends in the car was killed.
- (8b) In Budapest, in the **RÓKUS** Hospital, I saw Korean students attending Hungarian wounded.
- (8c) In Miskolc some of the civilian Soviet officials left for Czecho slovakia, others behaved friendly. They did not go to their offices during the successful period of the revolution.
- (8d) Yes, the behavior of the Miskolc garrison was equivalent of defection.
- (9) Not very applicable in view of the respondent's position as head of the information and news gathering division

of the Miskolc Radio. He had better access to news than anyone else. He mentioned, ~~however~~ when talking about this question, that they had a special section set up for listening the foreign radios.

- (10) In the sphere of my observation, the fate of the old government and party institutions was complete collapse. The functionaries went into hiding or left the city. Some of them joined the revolution. Of course among the AVO members several were executed.
- (10a) In county **BORSOD** all institutions collapsed. I should like to mention, however, that the prison remained in operation and only political prisoners were released.
- (10b) The party disintegrated entirely.
- (10c) The police joined the revolution.
- (10d) The AVO was liquidated.
- (10e) The courts went over to the revolution.
- (10f) The army, too.
- (10g) In Miskolc the question not applicable.
- (10h) The local councils were dissolved by the new revolutionary councils.
- (10i) The churches became free. In the Miskolc Workers Council both the Catholic and the ~~Reformed~~ **Reformed** church were represented by a priest and minister, respectively.
- (10j) We used those organizations which came over to our side.
- (10k) The Workers Councils and National Guard.
- (10l) I have told already the story how the Miskolc Workers Council came into existence.

- (10m) A coalition government, I think, standing for independence and neutrality. According to our plans in Miskolc, free elections were to be held one month after the Russians had left the country.
- (11) I think of the revolution with bleeding heart.
- (11a) The revolution was useful. It has tremendous international significance and it also lead to an internal purification of the Hungarian nation. We are not a lost nation. The Hungarians will never become Communists. We are a nation of Christian ideology. This is my way to put it. To answer your question, Christian nation opposes any sort of dictatorship.
- (11b) Yes, the revolution could have succeeded, if the Soviets had not intervened.
- (11c) Yes, we expected Western help, on the ground of false beliefs. We had to realize, however, that the West does not know what Communism is and had the West known what Communism is, it would have helped us. In what form, you ask me. Militarily, I answer.
- (11d) The **fermentation** in Hungary was greater than in any other country. Also oppression was greater, greater even than in Poland. Also, Western influence was greater than elsewhere.
- (11e) On the basis of Imre Nagy's behavior during the revolution I do not consider him a Communist. However, I could have accepted him only as a temporary leader of the nation.

- (11f) First, Maleter, second **RÉTA KOVÁCS**, third Dudas.
- (11g) Students, Intellegencia, workers, soldiers, peasants.
Among others the Soviet troops, which deserted or showed passivity.
- (12) A warrant to arrest me was issued on Nov 5th.
- (12c) I did not believe that the revolution will be defeated.
As a matter of fact, while escaping from Hungary I brought a radio equipment with the intention to broadcast to Hungary. End of November I arrived to Germany. I am living now in München, working for the Hungarian Catholic Oberseelsorgeamt. Also I am writing for newspapers. I am leaving for Rome. You know I fought in the revolution and I have to get absolution. Then I will travel to Sao Paolo, Brazil, where I will rejoin the Benedictine Order.

- (1) In June 1947 I was working as youth organizer for the Christian Democratic Party in Miskolc. During the election campaign in the summer of 1947 I was arrested. I was released, however, when the Party leader, Mr. **BARANKOVICS** intervened on my behalf. In the summer of 1947 I entered the Benedictine Order in ~~Miskolc~~ **Győr**. I was anxious to become a member of the teaching order. In 1948 my order was dissolved by the Communists. Following that I was interned in the **TIHANY** ~~monastery~~ **monastery** for 3 months. After my release I worked as a physical laborer for about a year. Then in 1949 I enrolled as a corresponding student in the Accounting Academy in Budapest. I took my exams periodically, by making trips to the school. In the meantime I was living in Miskolc. In 1952 I was graduated as an economist.
- (2a) My jobs were the following: In 1949-50 I was a technical employee at the **DIÓSGYŐR** heavy tool factory. In 1951-52 I was head of the planning division in the **ECRSŐD** coal mining trust. In 1953 I was head of the planning division in another industrial trust in Miskolc. In 1954-55 I was head book-keeper in the office of the Labor Force Reserves, located at the Mining School in **TATARÁNYA**. In 1956 I was financial chief referent of the Mining Research Institute in Miskolc.

I was arrested 4 times by the AVO in Miskolc, in 1947, 51, 53 and 55.

- (2e) In general I would say that the majority of the people ~~were Zikuninod~~ ^{were Zikuninod} in my office ~~and they showed sympathy to-~~ and they showed sympathy towards each other; whereas we felt contempt towards the party members, whom we called sinister figures.
- (3) I liked best my last job in 1956, because I could travel a lot and spend much time in the nature.
- (3d) The research equipment was obsolete. New instruments were of little value, unless they came from abroad.
- (3f) Eight hours officially, ten to twelve hours unofficially, sometimes sixteen.
- (3g) Six days.
- (3h) Yes. No pay.
- (3i) Six days, on Communist holidays.
- (3j) Yes, 24 days.
- (3o) I had all the usual benefits, including vacation in the resort places assigned to our plant. I took advantage of this privilege twice.
- (4a) They were mostly middle-class people. We considered ourselves as equals.
- (4o) The relationship among the people was generally friendly. Of course we distinguished between those who were and who were not party members.
- (4f) The trade union collected dues. They did not do anything else.

(NOTE: Respondent evidently ill-informed.)

- (4i) The shop triangle was abolished in 1948./
- (4j) Depended~~at~~ what kind of specialist you were, and whether there was a shortage in your field. As a rule, specialists did get ahead, even if they were politically unreliable.
- (4k) Incompetent people were very often advanced because of political connections.
- (4l) The party secretary was regularly supervising the operations of our office.
- (4m) Later the supervisory functions were carried out by the trade union chairman rather than by the party secretary. This did not mean however that the significance of the trade union has been increased.
- (4n-o) The criteria of good kader were social origin, workers, peasants, so-called new-intellegencia, then political attitude, wether you were party member or not. Then, an important criteria was also the villingness to spy, to tell on others.
- (4p) Yes, there were secret sections in every plant.
- (5a) One could change jobs best thru personal connections and friends.
- (5b) I am a priest by evocation, (Consequently points e and g are not applicable.)

- (6) I cannot say that I was not satisfied. Actually I made more than I needed, being not married. I had to support, however my parents. My father's pension was very small. After he died in 1954, the pension my mother received was even smaller. I had to support therefore my parents, but even so I lived rather comfortably.
- (7a1 & 11) 960 forints a month.
- (7a111) 1700 forints a month.
- (7b) Much higher than average.
- (7c) Worse than that of others, because of my political unreliability. For instance, another man with the same job I was doing received 2,600 forints, altho really I was in charge of the job we were doing.
- (8a) Monthly 2,600 to 2,700.
- (8b) 2,100 to 2,200.
- (8c) 1,000 to 1,100.
- (8d) From 500 to 600.
- (8e) Yes, from salary.
- (9) See sheet filled out by respondent.
- (10) I think that since 1955 the Hungarian economy was marching towards complete failure. Among the causes I would mention the exorbitant price the Hungarian government had to pay to the Russians for acquiring ownership of the so-called joint companies.

The unrealistic shipping expenses on the iron ore from Russia to Stalinvares , the new steel works opened in 1954. Then the diminishing value of the forint on the international market. Then the decrease of Hungarian exports on account of the bad quality of the products and also the introduction in 1955 of more severe production norms, which required the workers to work about 20 to 25% longer for no adequate increase in their wages. I would say, however, during the premiership of Imre Nagy in 1953 and 1954, there was some improvement of the economic situation. I think the best period was from 1948-49. In 1951 the economic situation deteriorated.

- (10c) I would prefer to set the date at 1938. Before that I would say that the population of Hungary lived on higher and more secure living-standard. Of course, due to the social conditions there was much misery too.
- (10d) I think after 1945 the living standards were lower, with the exception of the period in 1948 and 49. I would like to add that after 1945 the social welfare of the population in general has improved.
- (10f) The maszok flourished under Imre Nagy's regime only. After that it lingered on. It again gained strength from 1955 on.
- (10g) The general conditions were worse.

- (11) The deterioration of living conditions was an important factor. After Rakosi's dismissal in the summer of 1956 most people expected improvement, especially they expected an increase of wages and salaires.

- (1) As I have referred to it earlier, I am a priest by vocation.
- (2) No, I could not receive as much schooling as I wanted because of political persecution. I have applied 4 times for admission into the University. For the last time in the summer 1956 and I was always rejected.
- (3) Marxian and military instruction were compulsory for political reasons.
- (4) The main objectives were: education in the spirit of communist ideology, but also good professional training.
- (4b) Did not succeed. The best proof is the revolution. The regime itself realized this fact. In January 1956 there was a conference in the Ministry of Education dealing with eventual changes and reforms in the educational system. I heard this information from my boss who took part in this conference.
- (n) The young people became blasé. Many of them grew up without parental care. As a rule both parents were working. I would like to point out a great increase in the number of illegitimate children and conclude ^{communistic} by saying that/education had very bad effects on the morality of the young generation.

- (5) My father was an employee of the Miskolc streetcar system. He was pensioned in 1949 because of illness.
- (5f) As a child we lived relatively better than most people.
- (5g) My parents had 5 children. My eldest brother disappeared in the second World War. My second oldest brother was married and was a barber and my other brother became university professor and I have a married sister.
- (5i) I lived with my mother.
- (5k) Detrimental, because we were considered ~~poor~~ ^{kulaks}. Both my mother's and father's family owned land, 50 hectares.
- Questions 6 to 10 not applicable to the respondent.
- (11) The members of our family were on best possible terms with each other.
- (12) Politics was a permanent topic of conversation.
- (13) Not applicable.
- (14) Our family life was always very intimate.
- (14b) No, I don't think that our family life was typical, it could be called rather an exception to the rule.
- (14c) I did not have much leisure time, but whenever I had some time left for myself, I was reading scientific books.

- (14g) To begin with, overtime cut short my leisure time. Then, since I was a parolee, I was under political observation and I had to present myself weekly at the AVO. I could not leave my domicile without prior permit from the police.
- (15) Family life had loosened completely. It was the policy of the regime to disintegrate family life.
- (15e) It was the policy of the regime to make the state, not the family, the decisive influence in rearing the children. One way to achieve this end was to make both parents work and then to transfer them to 2 different places, thus breaking the unity of the family and increasing the chances of the state to take over the education of the children.
- (16) Relations between boys and girls had been demoralized. the regime propagated free love, legalized abortion. **Also,** ~~the~~ the system of coeducation had detrimental effects. The youth took advantage of the new opportunities. While political indoctrination failed, it seems to me that the ethical, moral corruption of the youth has been successful.
- (16a) People marry at an earlier age and as a result they divorce more frequently.
- (16b) Boys and girls could go out without chaperones. Great many people have forgotten that marriage is one of the sacraments.

- (16e) Officially there was no prostitution. In reality, however, it increased considerably. Health authorities had no control over prostitution and thus its dangers have increased considerably.
- (16f) Absolutely lax.
- (16g) Birth control was wide spread.
- (16h) The regime abolished the legal distinction between legitimate and illegitimate birth. Moreover, birth out of wedlock was glorified.
- (16i) The equality between men and women resulted in more work for the women. They took jobs outside their families, but meanwhile they had to look after their family chores too.
- (17b) Stealing in state plants is general. What belongs to the state can be stolen. This is the maxim.
- (17d) (I forgot to ask. - **Interviewer's note.**)
- (18) We grew up together with my best friend.
- (18a) He was a pianist and organist.
- (18b) I am 3 years older. Our social background is the same.
- (18c) We talked about religious matters, education and music.
- (18d) We discussed theoretical rather than practical political questions.
- (18g) Mutual understanding spiritual harmony.

- (18h) During the years 1945 to 47 it was easier to make friends than afterwards, due to increased suspicion, lack of confidence among people.
- (18i) The circle of friends grew thru family and private ties. One made seldom friends at the place of his work.
- (18k) I broke off ties with two on this account. I was disgusted.
- (19) My father was catholic, my mother belonged to the reformed church.
- (19b) I consider myself as a priest by dedication.
- (20) Yes, Profoundly.
- (20a) The catholic church and the protestant church were oppressed. The Jewish religion was not oppressed, however.
- (20b) The Communists tried to use religion for their own ends. There were signs, however, of their intention to stamp out religion altogether. Such a sign was the suppression of religions education in schools.
- (20c) They weredetestable cowards.
- (20f) Yes, but the AVO kept record of the church goers, they suffered ^{sorts of} all / disadvantages. For instance, students lost stipends, workers were exposed to hostile admonition and exposed to pressure to give up their practice to goto shurch.
- (20i) Party members and people with larger families attended church less frequently.

- (20j) Differently. The reformed church gave in most.
- (20k) Yes, it is human nature that one should do something that is forbidden. Also, the church was the place for the young people ~~where~~ ^{where} they could find inner freedom.
- (20l) The intensification of religious life strengthened opposition.
- (21) I would advise him to become a doctor, because this is the profession which requires the least involvement in politics.
- (21b) He should work hard.
- (22) The group that was best off were the party functionaries. Second, the members of the AVG. Third, the sportsmen. The people worst off were the pensioners, educators, not-technical intelligencia engaged in administrative work, railway-men and post-men.
- (22a) Administrative officials.
- (23) There are actually two classes in Hungary/ ~~today,~~ ^{today,} the pro-regime and the anti-regime people.
- (23b) Yes, it is a significant change, due to general oppression and feeling of solidarity among the people.
- (23d) The barrier that divides the people is above all their different income.
- (23e) Class barriers in the former sense of the word are almost non-existent, except what I said about the great division between the people who are pro and anti-regime.

- (1) I have been interested in politics, because as a priest I consider it my duty to be interested in the plight of the people and this is what politics meant.
- (1c) In 1947/48 I have been youth organiser of the Christian Democratic Party.
- (2) Until 1947 I believed in the possibility of a Christian order, that the regime will not be dominated entirely by the Communists. After the formation of the **Dimnes-** government in 1947 I lost this confidence and when Rakosi became Premier in 1948 I was utterly disappointed. Imre Nagy brought a new ray of hope in 1953, but after his fall total darkness had set in. In the spring of 1956 I have felt a new ray of hope. My hope was increasing. I began to believe again in the possibility of a coalition government.
- (2a) I was a member of the Christian Democratic party.
- (2e) Communist terror ~~xxxxxxxx~~ **convinced** me that there is no cooperation possible with the Communists.
- (2f) I chose 3 because I was always opposed to any cooperation with the Communists since the failure of the coalition government.
- (2h) The ~~bringing~~ bringing down of the Iron Curtain was an important factor, furthermore there was no possibility to do anything against the regime. In general the Communist terror served as a deterrent.

- (3) My main grievance was that I was arrested for no other reason than having different political convictions and the discrimination I have suffered as a result of this.
- (3a) Point one, four, six.
- (3b) Ten, eleven, fifteen.
- (3c) Fifteen, ten, three.
- (3d) Six, two, twelve.
- (3e) Five, eight, fifteen.
- (3j) The increase in the field of social welfare.
- (4) The Soviets.
- (4f) There was a huge bureaucracy, paperwork, duplication. For instance, our office used ^{from to} 150 ~~xx~~ 200 kilograms of paper monthly. The number of people employed in our office was 60.
- (4h) People with workers kader. Besides them, but actually in lower jobs, you could find many experts.
- (5) I did not have any connections with them. I was no member.
- (6) Party membership assured more favorable living conditions. The majority of the people showed, however, contempt for the party members. We called them "CSELÉDKÖNYVESEK" (servants)
- (6f) One should distinguish between the idealists and the opportunists. The former became dissatisfied because of inconsistency in the party's policy, also they felt that their principles were betrayed.

The latter turned sour because they felt that the contempt of the people caused them more disadvantages than party membership earned advantages for them.

(6h) I was no party member.

(6r) Moscow.

(7) I belonged to the Miners Trade Union, ^{and} to the TTT
(**TERMÉSZET TUDOMÁNY ISMERETTERJESZTŐ TÁRSULAT**).

(7c) The purpose of the Trade Union was to collect dues and, on paper at least, the protection of the interests of the working class. The TTT was an organisation whose purpose it was to propagate scientific knowledge.

(7b) Membership in trade unions was required. I joined the TTT out of interest.

(7e) I paid dues.

(7g) People belonged to the mass organizations out of compulsion and felt contempt for them.

(7l) Chief function: seminars to promote ideological indoctrination and to activate people for greater production.

(7m) Trade Unions were regarded as necessary evil.

- (8) 10 to 15%.
- (9) The explanation is that people in general were forced to become members. The idea, that they were pillars of the regime was an illusion.
- (10) Everybody felt it.
- (10b) To control the society, to observe every living person and above all to prevent the rise of any opposition.
- (10d) They used as informers people who were arrested or suffered prison, among them great many simple criminals. After my arrest I was approached also to spy on ecclesiastic persons. This offer was made to me while I was interrogated by the AVO in 1947. The person who ~~showed~~ ^{watched} me for the AVO was an acquaintance of mine, who suffered arrest. Since we were on good terms, this was a good arrangement, from my point of view. We got an idea about the great number of people employed by the AVO ~~and~~ ^{when} during the revolution we got hold of the archives in the AVO building. Some 4,000 names were on the list of informers.
- (10e) From the members of the regular army. Many joined under compulsion, but there were also those who joined voluntarily.
- (10j) The police was subordinated to the AVO.
- (10k) I cannot answer.

- (11) Myself and 2 of my close friends.
- (11d) Anybody, but especially those with bad kader.
- (11g) My personal experiences are the following: I was arrested by the Miskolc AVO 4 times. For the 1st time, 3 days. For the 2nd time, for 3 weeks. For the 3rd time, for 4 weeks and for the 4th time for 4 days. Also, I was interned in **Tihany** in the Interne camp for priests for 3 months. It was in the **Tihany** ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ **monastery**, which was surrounded by barbed wire.
- (12) ^{NO.} My worst experiences were in the Miskolc AVO. I was beaten up several times, 4 teeth knocked out, 2 broken ribs were the result. In the torture chamber they broke my finger and administered to me hormone injections. I received 12 such injections to stimulate sexual reactions. This was a favorite torture they used against priests. They recorded torture scenes, hallucinations and played them back in my cell.
- (13) Complete indifference to everything, live without friends.
- (13c) Personal connections are helpful, they can be best attained among the people belonging to the middle party kader.
- (13d) Yes, sometimes, especially if parents died.
- (13e) It helps no doubt, but there is no guarantee against trouble.

- (14) There was a relaxation after 1955 and then ~~over 1955~~
~~in~~ in 1956.
- (15) Decisive influence.
- (15d) None.
- (15e) Strongest in the political and economic field, weakest,
hard to say.
- (16) Among trusted friends, not necessarily in the family.
- (16c) As above.
- (16d) More candid about everyday life, least about politics.
- (17) Very difficult. There is no widespread corruption, although
bribing of middle party kaders is sometimes possible, in
such cases, for instance, as getting an apartment. ^{Or} ~~xx~~
peasants sometimes could bribe the party functionary in
order to reduce their forced deliveries.
- (18) Strength of the regime is terror. Its weakness, failure
in executing orders.
- (19) The most general form of resistance is sabotaging orders
which are too severe or impossible to execute.
- (19b) Practically all strata of the society, approx. in this
order: church, intelligencia, peasantry, workers.
- (19c) Convinced party members and people in leading jobs.

(191) The emergence of **Petőfi Circle** was the result of general liberization; after the 20th party congress the formation of **Mefesz** stemmed from the failure of DISZ to represent the academic youth.

- (1) By listening to foreign broadcasts.
- (1a) Free Europe, BBC, Voice of America, Turkish Radio, French Radio, Spanish Radio.
- (2) I read only the headlines in the newspapers, and sports. I was reading, however, many magazines and weeklies, such as IRODALMI UJSÁG, CSALÁD ÉS ISKOLA, IRODALOM ÉS ÉLET, TERMESZETTUDOMÁNYOK TANÍTÁSA AS ISKOLÁBAN, IRODALMI SZEMLE, ÉLET ÉS TUDOMÁNY, NYUGATI IRODALMI SZEMLE, MŰVELT NÉP, HÉTFŐI KIRALY, NŐK LAPJA.
- (2g) I saw them on the newsstands of railway stations in Budapest, but since I do not speak foreign languages, I did not buy them.
- (3) Weekly.
- (3b) Mostly entertainment; also, educational films. I liked in particular Italian and French educational films.
- (3c) I saw many synchronised English, French, Italian and Indian pictures.
- (3e) I went to the theater in Miskolc and also in Budapest, when I went there on business trips, almost every week.
- (4) I read many books.
- (4b) My favorite was Giovanni Pappini's "Life of Jesus".
- (4d) Sure, I had difficulty in getting Western writers.
- (4e) Among the Hungarian writers my favorites were Jókai, Vörösmarty, Arany, László Mész, Istvan e. Eötvös.

- (5) Not much.
- (6) Yes, I did. I considered most reliable Free Europe Radio, the Spanish and the French Radio.
- (7) It was an important source of information for both domestic and foreign news.
- (8) The Hungarian newspapers I did not consider reliable.
- (8b) In general I was sceptical of everything what I have read in the Hungarian newspapers.
- (8c) I considered more trustworthy the **HÉTFŐI HIRLAP,**
IRODALMI UJSÁG, NŐK LAPJA.
Many people felt the same way as I did. The people stood in queues to get them. These papers were considered more trustworthy, because they were critical of the regime.
- (9) Yes, I did, by listening to foreign broadcasts in spite of the risks involved.
- (9a) The intelligencia.
- (9b) The peasants.
- (10a) It was necessary.
- (10b) North Korea.
- (10c) It was a lie.
- (10d) The trouble was, ~~was~~ that there was no West German re-
armament. Had there been one, it could have filled ^{me} with great hope.

- (10e) I approved of them.
- (10f) I knew about it, but I don't remember my reaction.
- (10g) I did not see the purpose of it. I believed that it **made**
WAS no sense to negotiate with the Russians.
- (10h) I knew little about them. The little I knew was, however,
that the emigres were not united.

- (1) Dictatorship in general. The system of controls and the forcing of ^{an} ideology upon the people.
- (1a) The republican form of gov't, the new administrative system of county autonomy, ~~among~~ ^{Among} the educational reforms compulsory education up to 15 years of age. I would leave industrial education in the hands of the state.
- (2) Yes, there should be political parties, including the communist party.
- (3c + d) No.
- (4) The right of free assembly should not be curtailed.
- (4b) The right of rebellion against dictatorial regimes of any kind is justified.
- (5) Revision of nationalization, but partial retention of it. I would set also a minimum and maximum limit for incomes.
- (6) Yes, I am in favor of it.
- (6b) ~~for~~ ^{if} the interest of national economy require it, Yes. ~~Some~~ ^{Some} factories should be restored to their former owners, but the income of the owners should be regulated in a way, that the accumulation of excessive wealth should be prevented.

- (6c) Private profit is good, provided the law sets a maximum limit for individual income.
- (6e) Yes, if it serves public interest.
- (7) Such questions should be decided from the point of view of public interest.
- (8) Only in areas where it would serve public interest.
- (9) Religion and private life at large.
- (10) Yes.
- (10e) Yes.
- (11) It improved.
- (12) Yes.
- (13) No.
- (13a + b) The years between 1947 and 48 were the best years, but no better than the period before the war.
- (14) Generally better.
- (15) Until 1953, yes.
- (16) Co-determination as in Germany.
- (16d) Specialists.

- (17c) Collective farms should exist only on a voluntary basis.
- (17f) 100 hectars.
- (17h) Up to 100 hectars, yes.
- (17l) Yes, it should.
- (17m) The machine-tractor stations should be maintained with the assistance of the state, but on the basis^{of}/free association of those who use the machines.
- (18) State and church should be separated.
- (18f) Had I children, I would prefer church schools.
- (18g) If justifiable, land up to 100 hectars should be returned to the church, especially in such cases ~~where~~^{where} the church maintains institutions of public welfare, such as schools, hospitals.
- (19) They should be treated individually, I do not believe in vengeance. But those who committed crimes, should be punished.
- (19e + g) Same answer.
- (19h) Complete rehabilitation.
- (20) Hungary resisted against the onslaughts of Eastern barbarism, she defended the West not in the political sense of the word, but she served as the Easternmost bastion of Christianity.
- (21) Yes, I think there is a certain Hungarian National character.
- (21e) They ceased to exist.

- (21f) Such differences existed before 1945.
- (22) None.
- (22f) The social and economic inequality in Hungary before 1945 was significant.
- (22g) Not the best. I did not wish it back with its social misery and outdated system.
- (22h) No, I would have preferred neutrality, altho it would have been very difficult, almost impossible to achieve it.
- (23) Yes, frontiers are important. They should be determined by pleb'scite.
- (23d) No.
- (24) In the form of a central and East European confederation. The members of this confederation would be the Danubian countries, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and also Germany and Poland. I would like to see such a confederation come into existence, preferably within a broader European federation.
- (24d) Russia could become a member too, provided she ceases to be communistic.
- (24e) Nobody should be forced to leave his homeland.
- (25) I believe that the Russian man as such is not a Communist.

- (26) Marxism is insanity.
- (26h) No, if a Marxist is a Stalinist. To be a democrat means to believe in freedom.
- (26i) I think there was a democracy in Hungary between 1946-47.
- (27) I see no difference between Communism and National Communism.
- (27e) I don't think I can answer this question.
- (28) Nagy would have stayed in power only until the next elections. What would have followed would have been a democratic go't without national communism.
- (29a,b,c,d,e) Bad.
- (29f) I cannot answer by good or bad.
- (29h) Such a thing does not exist.
- (29i) Dubious element.
- (29j) Bad.
- (29k) Good politician
- (29l) Bad.
- (29m) Bad.
- (29n) A man of great character.
- (30) The Christian Democratic Party.
- (30a) Mindszenty.
- (31a) Below.
- (31b) Above.

(31c) Below.

(31d) Below

(31e) Below.

(31f) Below.

(31g) Above.

(31h) Below.

(31i) Below.

(32) All better off.

(33a,b,e,f) Interests coincided.

(33g,h,i,j) Interests conflicting.

(34) What concerned me was that America left us in the lurch.

(35) Except the AVO everybody would fight against the present regime.

(36) No change of opinion.

- (1) You have asked me good questions and in a logical order.
- (2a) Yes, after liberation.
- (3) Your work should be broadened and the conclusions of your research should be published.

RATING: Respondent sounded sincere and persuasive. Nevertheless, I have doubts about his frankness. I am unable to overcome my doubt: inspite of the fact that respondent called himself a priest by dedication. He may be a bitter man, a hard tried man who believes in what he says. But his statements may not be necessarily true. His roman catholic background should be taken into account in evaluating this interview. (See notes on rating form and interview record)