

This may be considered a "B" interview in the area of religion. "B" material may be located at various points in the natural course of this "A" interview. Also the material added to the end of this interview.

- (1) Whenever a totalitarian government such as organized in Hungary lets loose up the reins a little there will be a reaction from the people to take advantage of this loosening. I saw this in Russia at the time after Stalin's death, for example, the whole burial incident. In May 1956 when I was finally released from imprisonment after being taken from Hungary in 1946 to Russia, Siberia, and being returned in May 1955 to Jászberény Prison, the AVH there told us that in all seriousness we should not tell anyone that we came back from Russia because the people will lynch us, they said. This indicates something of a shortsightedness of the AVH for when I got home, got off the train, at least 500 people gathered around me to ask me all kinds of questions to where I had been, what had happened. Most of them, of course, did not know me except that they knew that someone had returned from Siberia and by word-of-mouth the 500 gathered in the matter of minutes. They were very glad to see me and began to ask many questions. 300,000 Hungarian men remain in the Soviet as dead. This touches almost every family in Hungary directly, either

in the family or through relatives. Moreover the people will not forget the liberation in 1944. Before I was taken away in 1946 the heads of the various churches on a basis of nation-wide attempt to gain accurate statistics as to how many women were molested by the Russians the following number arrived: 340,000 women were molested by the Russians when they came into Hungary. Here again the Hungarian women will not forget this liberation. In fact the whole regime is foreign to the Hungarian people, even the Hungarian military uniforms has been Russified. The churches have suffered persecution, schools have been closed, schools are forced to teach certain doctrines. Cloisters have been occupied and taken away from the churches. In many cases these cloisters have been made into vacation resorts and the monks and nuns had been scattered. It needs be remembered that in Hungary the churches schools had a great following and many individuals graduated from these schools. The persecution of the religious orders is deeply felt by the Hungarian people. For example, at Szombathely the Dominican and Franciscan orders were forced to give up their buildings, then the members of these orders were transported to a distant village where they were deposited with the peasants of the village. The Communists hoped thereby to build hatred against the religious orders and religion in general hoping that the peasants would not take care of these monks. On the

contrary, the peasants went all out, provided everything for the monks, and as far as I know the members of these orders to large ~~extent~~ ^{extent} are still there. All of these Communist activities poisoned and ~~subverted~~ subverted the development of democracy which began in 1945 in Hungary. No one was happy about the presence of the Russians and no one was interested in their Communism. Ten years was not enough for a psychological victory over Hungary by the Communists although they built themselves into the factories, into the cooperatives. But here the Hungarian workers and the Hungarian peasants saw the motives of the Communists, that they want to take away these things from the Hungarian people. ~~Perhaps~~ (In Soviet Russia many of the workers haven't recognized this yet.) For example, at the meeting of the workers whenever workers are asked to vote, the vote is called for the following manner: By the ^{chairman} ~~chairman~~. He says: "We are in favor of this, now, who is against it?" No one then dares to vote against it, because this is the only vote that is allowed, or the only kind of vote which a worker can make. It was a tremendous disappointment for the Hungarian people when Rakosi was removed from office and then Gerö was put in his place. Gerö was no better than Rakosi but there is another consideration to be made. Although Hungary is not extremely anti-Semitic but Hungary does have a national chauvinism which would require that the Prime Minister not be a Jew

and here with Rakosi's leaving one Jew was kicked out and another put in. Perhaps that would indicate that in Hungary there exists a significant anti-Semitism but during the Revolution I didn't hear a single word uttered against the Jews or anything that could be anti-Semitic. Also I am convinced that if the United States would place a Hungarian Jew as Prime Minister of the country the people would not ~~see~~ ^{say} anything against it. The feeling is that Hungarian politicians should be Hungarian men.

(2) As I indicated previously this was a growing resentment against the Russians and ~~the Communists~~

~~the Hungarians~~ against that Communism which they brought to Hungary with their coming in 1944/45.

(b) The great number of people who were persecuted and the large number imprisoned as political prisoners certainly moved the nation toward the ultimate Revolution against the regime. Also the fact of the meager wages which were paid to the workers in factories. Stealing had become common ^{place} ~~places~~ and extremely frequent in the state owned factories, enterprises, and stores. For example, my former secretary who worked in a liqueur enterprise said that it was not a sin to steal from the state because they pay us poorly. This young man who previously would never have stolen or taken anything from anyone else now saw no sin at all or no law in this stealing. Not only stealing of liqueur, but of sausage, of ^{baked} ~~big~~ goods,

of shoes, of anything that would be of value or could be turned into value. The people wanted to live a little better. In general it could be said, everyone steals. This is the same thing in the Soviet Union, as I saw it. But there is not so much or little if any stealing of private property. The stealing goes on in the state owned enterprises. Another form of stealing goes on in the factories where the production charts and reports are increased, falsified, so that the individual worker would be paid more and receive a premium. The peasants steal what they can from the ~~TSzCs~~ ^{TSzCs} just as the workers in the Rakosi enterprise steal production percentage or increase their percentage. People live very modestly. The restaurants are full, the streets are full because young married people do not have enough money to buy or even save up for a new house nor do they want to stay at home in their one room flat or two room flat in which their voice may be heard into the flat of the neighbour. They are not ~~using~~ able to buy a house. These young married people live in rented apartments. The only place they have any independence or are able to be alone in a sense is on the street or in a restaurant where they can talk over their personal problems or what they did during the day while both worked. The cities are overpopulated. Life itself is very expensive. Transportation, such as streetcar, is ^{rather} ~~very~~ expensive. The purchase of a suit of clothes costs 2,000 to 2,500 Forints. This equals at

least two and a half months of pay for an ordinary laborer or worker. A Kilo of sugar costs 12 Forints, and meat about 25 Forints. Another thing that is being done by the Communists is their setting up plant kitchens. This, of course, is according to the Soviet pattern by which the workers can get their meals at the plant and, of course, if you don't have a home and a kitchen you get your meat and your meals at the plant. Here once again the family is broken up. Members of the family eat at various plants and family life is eliminated. In Moscow I saw a new apartment building in which there was one kitchen for every six apartments following the Soviet pattern of breaking up the family, of not having the families eat at home. In the last few years under the Communist domination many young people have been admitted to the university. This new generation then has been placed into the positions held by that generation trained by the former school systems. The old men have been kicked out, new boys, young engineers are in their positions. These young engineers get 650 Forints a month after their studies. Then they begin to question was it worth studying for only this much. All the university people felt this, that they were not able to decide upon their own future. They would receive very poor pay. They would be sent by the state to their jobs. Their life would be controlled by the state. A student had no selection for a choice in

his job placement. Today every work group has an engineer in the mine and thus perhaps 20 or 30 engineers are at a mine where previously, before the war, there were only 3 engineers required. Then the events in Poland were extremely important and providing an occasion for the Revolution in Hungary.

(i) The death of Stalin which occurred while I was in a Siberian prison camp ~~nearly~~ made the Soviet people happy just as it did the Hungarians. For me, as I saw it, this would have been a psychological moment for the West to intervene and it would have been possible. The Soviet was so unstable at this moment that with the slightest push from the outside the whole system would have fallen over. The people would have risen to the opportunity of driving from their leadership, the Communists. They were oppressors. There was a tremendous hope in Hungary after the death of the dictator Stalin that the dictatorship would end. ~~xxxxxxx~~ I discovered this from the correspondence which my father had with others at that time. I read this upon my return ~~from~~ to Hungary from Siberia. These Hungarian people and my father were convinced that the dictatorship would fall apart.

(ii) There was a feeling that Imre Nagy wanted to make a national Communism. He wanted to take the people of Hungary out of the Soviet orbit.

(iii) Everyone laughed about it and made a joke of the peace between Moscow and Tito.

(iv) In one way I was happy about it as others were but in large measure everyone had a great uncertainty about the 20th Congress. The general opinion was that all of this was *maszlag*,
eyewash
(~~ixmaxk~~ all humbug.) Everyone knew that there were periods in Soviet history when someone had to be thrown to the dogs. Someone had to be the scapegoat but in reality it never meant any change. The blame had to be thrown on someone.

(v) The radios began to criticize openly then but also they said that Poznan was a Fascist and Western provocation.

(vii) In general the Rajk funeral was laughed at. No one wanted to go except those who were ordered out to go and the soldiers. Some workers were ordered to attend the funeral. It was a big joke.

(viii) The demonstrations began or went out in connection with this: It was a sympathy demonstration for the Poles.

(c) When Gerö gave his talk and then later the radio announcement said that Gerö had stepped out of his office and Bela Kovacs's name was mentioned and used frequently. This was the definite turning point.

(e) They did not have a great role.

(f) The *Hetföldi Hírlap* appeared and people stood in line for it. I stood in line for it also. The articles were anti-

Moscow and anti-kader. Here again I wanted to reserve my opinion about any change. I wasn't convinced there was a change.

- (g) I remember one article among many others by Tamás Aczél in the paper *Báke és Szabadság* in which he asked that people should be allowed to go out travel outside the borders of Hungary. I was surprised to read this. This article was handed from person to person.
- (3) The respondent felt that he answered this question in questions (1) and (2). (See question (1) and (2)).
- (b) The AVH was an independent group, however, at the top level the Russians sat in. The NKVD played a role in Budapest. They had their own prison in Budapest. I was given twenty years sentence by the NKVD in Budapest. The Russian troops stationed in Hungary "spoiled", they were contaminated. They saw that Hungarian life was a higher standard of life and better than the Russians'. So also the MVD was contaminated. In Russia everyone is afraid because because one out of every two men is an informer. Everything is taken down that is said. Then the people are told that they are able to criticize. However, how can this be? The AVH in Jászberény prison when I came back to Hungary in 1955. There I found that not every AVH man was a rogue or nor a despicable human being. Many of them had been forced into their role or merely kept over from some previous

prison job. For example, when I went to report at police station to the police captain upon being released from prison the police captain asked me to tell him something about life in Russia and the Soviet situation. As I began to talk he said not to talk so loud because someone may hear it.

- (c) First to free the country from the Soviet and second to free themselves from Communism and even national Communism. Hungary has been strongly anti-Bolshevik and anti-Communist. This feeling was brought up during the Horthy days and also as result of the 1919 Bolshevik revolution in Hungary.
- (d) At the Radio Station. A good friend of mine was there and told me that the youth wanted to have their demands read into the radio. The AVH ~~started~~ guarded the entrance of the Radio Station. Then from inside the Radio building the AVH shot down into the crowd. At that point a group of youth and young workers went out into the neighbouring factories and returned with arms to take the Radio Station.
- (e) No, the voice was one on October 23rd.
- (f) Those who stood with the Communist regime, the convinced Communists.
- (g) No, there were no neutrals on the street and, for example, in order to give more numbers to the Revolution people many went out unto the street and walked up and down, so that more would be outside.

- (h) Everything which was an anti-Red slogan was a good slogan. Every street was filled with people shouting these. They were mostly against the Communism, ^{there} ~~though~~ ^{ones} were that were devised or came from the lips of the people but the idea was the same.
- (i) Yes, absolutely.
- (j) I mean that Hungary wanted to be free and democratic, wished to be neutral and the only relations with the Soviet to be those which are necessary for a neutral country.
- (k) There were opportunist Communists, then there were Communists who were Communists in name only, who had been forced to be such.
- (l) No, I didn't hear any slogans of this sort.
- (m) Quickly the whole Communist regime would be out, in time there would be an election, and perhaps in the election the Communists would have about 1/2 percent, the social-democrats about 15 percent. The rest of the parties which would gain votes would be Western, democratic, Christian types of parties. This would take place within an interval of a few months. Then Hungary would desire that American capital come in and invest.
- (4) I did not participate in the fighting at all except with little deeds here and there for my position as a clergyman did not allow it. On the 23rd, as everyone else, I went out and joined the demonstrators and

viewed them also. I listened to the radio talk by Gerö who spoke against the demonstration. I went out to the Körút and to the Rakóczy út. I walked around just to be on the street and add the numbers on the streets. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ When I came home that evening I couldn't sleep. At dawn of the 24th I heard tanks on the Béla Bartók út which had come from Veszprém. They went over to Pest on the Szabadság Bridge. I lived next to the Gellert Hotel, on Horthy Miklós út 24. On the morning of the 24th I went over to Calvin Square by way of the Ferenc József Bridge or the Szabadság Bridge. Along the banks of the Danube the road was filled with Russian tanks. I went by way of side streets. I wanted to see what was going on. I walked around during the morning and by the afternoon I went back home to sleep for a while. Later I returned to the streets, went to the Móricz Zsigmond Tér. That evening I did not return home. I stayed at the home of friends. On the morning of the 25th I went out into the street again. There I saw Russian soldiers take off their red stars from their caps and uniforms. I saw red symbols being taken off of buildings, the National Bank Building in particular. I helped a few people paint flags, red, white, and green flags. I continued on the streets asking here and there why they were shooting, at whom they were shooting, and where the shooting was going on. I was also trying to get near such places. I also stood

in line for bread at a bakery, then received a loaf of bread. This bread had been sent by the residents of the city of Körmend by a truck which had a sign "Bread for the Budapest people from the residents of Körmend".

Yes, on the 24th I remember that Hungarian soldiers were coming in to the center of the city on trucks. A mob stopped the trucks and a man began to speak to the soldiers on the trucks, pleading with them to think of the Hungarian patriotism and not to fight for the Russians. The soldiers were convinced and they gave out their guns to the civilians as well as their trucks. They took off their stars also. Some of them got off the trucks while the others remained on the trucks. They took the civilians up to the trucks and went to fight the Russians. At one of the bridges leading to Pest the police had been ordered to form a cordon at the entrance to the bridge, to stop the mobs from going over to Pest. But finally the commander gave the order to let the people go across the bridge to Pest. There were a great "Eljen" in behalf of the police.

On the 26th or 27th, I don't remember exactly, while on the street with a friend we started to help build a barricade at an important road which led into the city, by which it was believed the Russian tanks would be coming. Later, on November 4th, when the Russian tanks did return this barricade was shot up. After helping build this barricade for a while I went over to Pest to

the Károlyi Garden. There I photographed a few graves of fifteen, sixteen year old children. A very crudely constructed cross, two pieces of wood held together by a little wire that was found somewhere in the street or in the garden, made the cross. The names of these children were fixed on a piece of paper to the cross and their picture was there also. After this I went to visit friends on the following days who told me that their children were missing. I went to comfort the parents and helped these parents in looking for their sons and daughters. During this time we encountered mobs and groups that were looking for AVH men. At a number of places they systematically went through apartments looking for these men. They went to their homes but did not bother the wives or the children of the AVH men. I did not see any lynching although I did hear of it.

- (5) I participated in the demonstrations, I helped at the National Bank Building.
- (6) I had no active part except that I was asked by the son of one of my friends to write in cyrillic letters the phrase "We are not Communists", so that the young boys may copy this unto large posters and display them for the benefit of the Russian soldiers. On November 1st, All Saints Day, a group of our street came to-

gether to form an organization of former political prisoners.

- (7) The youth were the most active. They were the ones who produced the leaflets, they were the ones who at first paraded out of the university and various other schools with red-white-and-green cockade. At the bakeries throughout the city the students worked all night on a voluntary basis baking bread. In autos they took bread to the hospitals and worked at various other tasks.
- (a) I don't know.
- (b) Very good. The Communists however tried to poison this.
- (d) Yes, I spoke to some suspended Greek Orthodox priests, with one member of the Benedictine order, and two Roman Catholic secular clergy.
- (8) I talked to a Russian soldier who went over to the Hungarians. He sold his truck for three bottles of rum. These Russians would have been happy to stay on in Hungary, many came to like their stay there, many of them had been "contaminated". On the whole most of the Russians behaved passively.
- (c) The Korean students stood with the Hungarian fighters. In fact we had made a red-white-and-green flag which hung from the Korean student house.
- (e) Yes, see above.
- (f) The Soviet influence was complete up to the time of

Stalin's death it was absolute. In 1954 it was loosened, Rakosi was tied to the Kremlin, and before the Revolution Russian control seemed to become unstable and thus in Hungary even the Soviet followers did not know what they wanted. Although Gerö did not like Tito he had to go to Yugoslavia because he was ordered and he was put into Rakosi's place by the Kremlin. In the Soviet at all times they want to keep complete control over Hungary.

- (9) Partly by telephone since I lived at a doctor's HOME and his phone was not disconnected. And also by walking in the streets and gathering information that way.
- (a) I read the pro-Revolution mimeographed proclamations. There were many of them and many mimeographed papers. The Communists dropped the newspapers ~~by~~ from airplanes, scattering them all over the streets. But without even reading them or looking at them people swept them up into a pile and burned them in a bonfire immediately.
- (b) I heard first about the events at the Calvin Square, and then about the events at the Kilian barracks, from people who were there.
- (c) Yes, we listened to two radios, mine and the set which the doctor owned. Both were on. One was tuned to Radio Free Europe and the other to Radio Budapest. We went from one radio to another to gather our news.
- (d) Radio Free Europe was more important for me. It seemed to be well-informed about the events going on outside of

Budapest, for example, at Győr and Pécs. We also read leaflets. We were very happy to hear that in Győr the Russian commander had said, the Russians did not want to interfere in the Hungarian uprising.

(10) As far as I know they didn't operate.

(a) The AVH held intact here and there because it took in young people at various times as prisoners. About the other organizations I don't know.

(b) It fell apart.

(g) I don't know.

(h) At Magyaróvár I met the local council.

(i) No one asked the church in general to join the fight, rather the churches served as a caritative organization. Masses were said, worship services were held for the dead, the wounded, and so forth. During the crisis and immediately afterwards the churches began to reorganize themselves and new leaders came to the fore and to the top. As is known Bishop Ordáss had been rehabilitated before the Revolution. He had been given a position officially at the theological faculty. But then steps were taken by the Lutheran Church to return him to jurisdiction. Under the Revolution Bishop Ravasz of the Reformed Church spoke to the people as well as did Cardinal Mindszenty. I was a little shocked by the statement by Cardinal Mindszenty. His talk was not cautious enough. The Cardinal did not seem to realize that we saw the

Imre Nagy government and Imre Nagy merely as a transition period. I also talked to numerous Roman Catholic clergy during this time.

- (j) I don't know any.
- (k) Small Holders Party again and the Nefesz newly organized.
Others I don't know.
- (l) The workers councils wanted to defend the workers against the Communists.
- (m) A Western democratic government.
- (ll) Yes.
- (a) It helped the West a great deal and it shook the Communist Party in the West. As far as Hungary is concerned, it was of no help whatsoever. Today Hungary is praised but that is not what people wanted.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) Yes, some kind of moral support and to ask the UN to send some definite tangible help. Many said they hoped for some armed help and the coming of US troops.
- (e) His public activity both in 1953 and 1956 first showed himself as a Hungarian man and only in the second place was he a Communist.
- (f) Maléter became a popular name in Budapest. I did not hear any other names that now in the West seemed to be taking leading roles.
- (g) || The youth stand first, soldiers, workers, peasants, then the intelligentsia with a very weak role.— It's a shame

but true. However, the educators behaved marvellously.
(h) It could be expected because already on the afternoon of the 23rd the fourteen points were published in the window of a flower store in our apartment building. This poster had been placed there by the university students and the young people. From the first they were most active.

(12) On November 4th.

(a) I was afraid that once again they would arrest me and since the Russians were again coming in.

(b) On November 6th I was able to get over to the French embassy. There I was given papers for a visa to France and left with a French embassy car. I was absolutely right in leaving because many others who had been released from prison just as I, and during the Revolution did not do a thing, were taken back to prison again.

- (1) Up to February 15th, 1947 I was the Apostolic Governor or the Head Abbot, Főapát, of the Hungarian Greek Orthodox Church, with my residence and offices in Budapest. Thus I could be called and referred to as the bishop of the church. My arrest and imprisonment lasted until July 1st, 1956. When I was released from the Jászberény Prison after spending most of my imprisonment in Siberia.

(Interviewer's Comment: Questions (2) through (9) do not apply to this respondent or cannot be asked. First, he was imprisoned during this time for which we are interested in getting answers, and secondly ~~maxim~~ his position before 1947 as bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church would not lend itself to the questions given in the interview.)

- (10) After 1945 there appeared to be a healthy development beginning although the country had been wartorn.
- (c) Until Hitler began to jump around in Europe Hungarian money was stable. After Hitler's Anschluss Hungarian money value decreased and then there was a new increase of economy commerce toward Germany. And in the war Germany took everything, that is all the exports it could from Hungary. During the war the little man as the peasant and factory worker enjoyed good times but this was a false and superimposed economy.
- (d) In 1945 was an absolute worsening and a decrease.

Hungary still was an agricultural economy but Germany had taken many of the horses owned by the peasants as they left the country retreating. Next the Russians took anything they could find. Frequently there was no plough with ~~it~~ which to till the soil. There were no seeds in 1945/46. In fact the peasants were afraid to plough many areas because they were still mined and hand grenades were found. Horses were blown up as they moved across the land and much land remained untilled simply because of the fear of the peasants to go out into his fields. The peasant could not call his crops his own. For example, on one day ^{it} was announced in a village, that is ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{drummed} out, that 10,000 eggs were needed by the state. These eggs had to come in and be given to the state in order to supply the Russian soldiers stationed in Hungary. From day to day the peasant never knew what kind of food he would have to give away. Also there were roving robber bands of Russians which came down upon isolated villages and the Tanya. These robber bands stole cows, pigs, anything they could find in order to keep themselves and alive. Thus many of these villages ~~on~~ ^{and} the Tanya were left by the peasants because the fear of being robbed and of being harmed by these Russian roving bands. As far as commerce is concerned industry had been bombed out. The Germans had taken what they could when they left and then the Russians took equipments out of the

factories as reparations. What little remained was Hungarian industry. This industry that was gutted had to produce for reparations. But there were no forges nor were there any heavy machines to produce the reparations. Hungary thus had to secure loans to buy new forges and to make new locomotives so that the reparations could be met. Everything was being shipped to the Soviet. It was almost impossible or extremely hard to compete or to ship anything to the West. The whole economy was then dependent on a five year plan of Moscow.

- (f) There was none, although there was some on paper and in theory. Perhaps the cabinet maker was allowed to work in a shop but high taxes sometimes put him out of business.
- (g) It was worse. For example, in August 1956 a proclamation appeared by which order the small holders who had 30,000 or 40,000 Forints in back taxes would not be ^{merely} required to pay these taxes. One ~~man~~ needs to imagine how many millions of Forints were wiped out because the peasant was unable to pay them. Thus the budget of the government, too, was in a chaos.
- (11) In the mind of the people the material hardships were primary. Previously, that is before the Communist rule, ~~a~~ ^{they} man worked eight hours and ~~he~~ had a foreman who was around to encourage them and tried to get more work out of them.

But now the 100 percent norm was so fixed the men could not even go to the toilet or leave their machines for even a moment. Previously a man could buy a house and own it in eight or ten years. Now in a family both the man and wife had to work and were rarely able to buy enough food. In reality they would just about eat the pay and nothing would be left.

- (1) In 1923 I finished my elementary education. In 1931 I received my maturity certificate upon completing the realgymnasium at Szombathely. In 1936 I received my diploma in theology and philosophy upon completing my studies in Budapest at the Peter Pázmány University. I took additional courses in law and also medicine and then I was appointed to the Muraközi Bishopric.
- (e) I wanted to be a priest and therefore had to go to theological seminary. I also intended to be a missionary priest and go to India.
- (4) They attempted to rear the children in a Communist pattern and with a system of education patterned after the Soviet education. The Western education pattern was dropped.
- (b) The results of the Revolution indicate that the Communists failed in their educational goal as regards the youth.
- (5) My father was a mechanical engineer.
- (a) No. At the age of 72 he was put out of his job and given a small pension.
- (f) Rather normal or better than normal.
- (g) Five.
- (h) My brother who became a chemist went to Belgium to work for the DuPont Company. From there he was sent to Paris where he married and is a French citizen.

My sister married and my father started a lumber business for my brother-in-law and sister. They are still in Hungary.

- (i) I was living alone, that is, after returning from imprisonment I lived with a friend. My father and mother had died.
- (k) I would say it was a disadvantage.
- (6) No.
- (11) Yes.
- (12) Yes, up to 1947 when I was arrested.
- (14) Family life in the old pattern of existence is not ~~be~~ found anymore in Hungary. The women were forced to go to work. No longer does the wife keep the home. Both husband and wife arrived home at the same time. The wife then starts making the supper, cleaning the house, and doing the other chores. Family life thus has been disrupted. Morally the family life has a very shaky basis. The easy divorce has been introduced. People are worked to the point of exhaustion. They must go to party meetings, seminars at their plants. People become very rude. Houses are overcrowded.
- (a) No. There films appeared in which the woman was characterized as ~~being a~~ a slave of the house if she stayed at home

in the house. Now that the woman has been given equal rights, that is, made to go to work, the woman has lost her former identity. In the Soviet the woman is a working animal and a sexual partner or a sexual animal.

^{in Hungary}
Frequently the husband or the wife do not live with the family or at home. They go home once a week because their work has taken them to another city.

- (b) (not applicable)
- (c) I attended the theater and concerts, also travelled a great deal after I returned from imprisonment in July 1956.
- (g) I had to report my movement in and out of the city to the police and report once a week.

- (15) The ties are weaker and more tenuous.
- (a) Yes, still they can.
- (b) In certain aspects, yes. From the point of view of their being dependent upon one another for material existence they need each other in order to earn enough for housing and food. However, as far as is concerned the spiritual level the dependence is very weak and has decreased. For example, the Party gives ~~these~~ movies at the plant and thus the husband or wife does not come home until about ten o'clock. The next night the other spouse may have to stay at his or her plant. Thus each spouse remaining after work in the plant for various kinds of programs, concerts, movies, will very likely sit next to

a working partner and so the husband will become more familiar with Mary while the wife at her plant will become more familiar with ^{Pisti} ~~XXXX~~. Each in their case sharing in their entertainments and joys not with the husband or the wife but with a person outside the family. This in turn breaking up the family and automatically contributing to divorce. The family as a center of life is being eradicated.

- (d) In the city family life is more loose. In many cases village people have been brought up to the city. Here again village families have been ~~is~~ divided. But even in the cooperatives, kolхозes free love dances were sponsored by the cooperative. In the village of today there is a trashy literature or the szeny irodalom. The clergy are portrayed as either sexual perverts or living with their women servants and so fore. Other groups of society are treated in the same spirit, that is, that there is no ideal, that every man is some kind of a pervert or a dement. ~~that~~ Everyone is psychologically unbalanced in the literature when the literature deals with anti-people or anti-Communist categories of society.

- (e) In school they try to rear the children as Communists. But this kind of education does not take on the children. The children hate and despise the study of ^{the} Russian language. The entire educational system is atheistic, even in mathematics they introduce politics. Religious

education is allowed to take place only after the church service at the mass but the children are not allowed to ask questions of the priest nor are the churches allowed to examine the children, that is, ask them questions as to how much they have learned. As regards to education within the family I did not notice any changes for where I lived the parents stuck very ~~intensely~~ ^{closely} and intensively to a religious education of their children.

(f) As various priests have told me since 1944 there has been a lessening of interest for religion. Thus the divorce rate which was checked to some extent by church has increased considerably.

(16) Yes, but not in a very great extent. It is not as bad as I have seen the situation here in the West. Relationships between boys and girls in Hungary are somewhat loose but not critical as I would judge here in the West. Even in the Hungarian middle school there was a rather strict discipline.

(a) Marriage occurred at a younger age. The older tradition of waiting until they are able to buy furniture, and perhaps buy a home, has been discarded because a young married couple could never achieve buying a home nor even buying furniture. They live in shared part of the house.

(b) I don't know.

- (d) Yes, some of the traditions with regard to behavior of young men and women, boys and girls, have been dropped or have been eliminated by the circumstances.
- (e) Yes, perhaps today is more prostitution although prostitution is illegal. Women are afraid to ply their trade on the street but many women secretly profit from it. ~~There are~~ Some older women even maintain houses where young couples can come and be together. This, of course, is not prostitution in ~~the strictest~~ the strictest sense but does break down the moral code of behavior.
- (f) They are less strict. If a person is a worker everything is allowed, if he is a party member more is allowed, and if he is a party leader then things even beyond the law of perversion are allowed or are carried out. This kind of perversion goes on in the Kremlin.
- (g) My opinion is that it is not good. It is not so extensive now as when it was prohibited, however, perhaps maybe more because people are less able to ^{take} on additional financial burdens with the birth of newer children into the family.
- (h) I need to say that even under the government of the kingdom, that is up to 1945, there had been a law that there were no illegitimate children. I don't know whether there are any more illegitimate children now than previously.
- (i) Yes, very definitely and for the worse because the

woman is not held on a pedestal anymore.

- (17) General morality has fallen but again I say not as much or not to the point that I find here in the West.
- (b) Yes, stealing is frequent. The illustration of my former secretary who works in a liqueur factory and takes bottles of liqueur without any particular ^{guams} ~~reason~~ in his conscience and says it is not stealing and it is not a sin because he is paid poorly and so all the others ~~will~~ steal also, rather take from the state, so that they may increase their earnings. I ~~find~~ found this same kind of stealing in the Soviet.
- (18) Yes, a schoolmate. We became acquainted in the gymnasium.
- (a) He is a forestry engineer.
- (b) His father was a főszolgabíró, that is chief constabler in the county, (approximate translation) and he had no pension on which to live.
- (c) As good friends as we grew older we maintained our friendship and when he married I baptized his child. Thus this friendship grew. We spent time together as a family and
- (f) Yes.
- (g) In this particular case I find that while I was away in Siberia he continued to inquire about me and was interested in my family, that is my father and mother. He

continued to write them and to comfort them and cheer them up.

(1) They were chiefly a group formed out of the university days, older friends.

(2) Absolutely it would. A friend of mine did become a member of the Communist Party and I went to see him and saw that he was a convinced Communist and I told him that he was not a man. I broke up the relationship with him because he was a convinced Communist and he had not been forced to enter the Party. I consider a man even more dishonest, dishonorable who doesn't believe the Communist tenets but still howls about them and appears to ~~me~~ ^{believe} before the Communists.

(19) Everywhere in Hungary there is a definite interest in religion. When I went to Csorna there I visited the priest and the Lutheran pastor. People wanted to talk to me, to learn where I had been, what had happened to me. They knew I was a bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church. People had great sympathy and great interest in both clergy who have been persecuted and oppressed. The attempts to ridicule the clergy have backfired. People in general ~~unwisely~~ have consistently helped those monks and nuns who had been kicked out of their cloisters or convents. For example, in Csorna the people have set up a system by which the nuns visit a different house each day to get their meals. This the

people had done on their own. There is a great nearness and closeness between the Catholic and the Protestant people and also the clergy. Religious life is more intensive and people attend church as a demonstration. The Prépost Building was taken away from the ~~Spanish Catholic~~ Roman Catholic Church and the Communists also intended to close the church building. However, the people by petition demanded that the church be left. ~~They said they would be willing to take care of paying for the church and paying for the priest.~~ They said they would be willing to take care of paying for the church and paying for the priest. The Communists did not want a second church in the city they said one church is enough. However, the Communists gave in and allowed the church to remain. The people today are paying for the upkeep of the church as well as the salary of the priest. Town after town which I visited I saw crosses on the outside of the church being ~~illuminated~~ illuminated and candles burning day and night at the shrines. This is a silent demonstration against the regime. There are a ~~great~~ great number of people ~~who~~ each Sunday who in the Roman Catholic Church receive a sacrament and in the Calvinistic Churches go to the Lord's Supper. This is the stupidity of the regime for when a church forced in a sense to go underground or is oppressed the church becomes stronger. This is the same thing I found in Russia where roving priests and bishops go from village to village and town to town baptizing and offering mass in the homes. By the time the police

come to the town to arrest the bishop he has gone on to another place and is not found. My position was that because of my belief I was jailed. I did not allow the Hungarian Greek Orthodox Church to be taken under the control of the Russian Patriarch when it was demanded. I refused to allow the Hungarian church to come under the control of Moscow directly. Therefore I was arrested and the church in spite of my efforts was put under the control of the Moscow Russian Patriarch.

(20)

(a) At first mostly the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Catholic Churches were affected. They were most intensive and aggressive against the Communism. In the beginning Zoltán Tildy and Ferenc Nagy, both members of the Reformed Church, were in the ~~Bolshevik~~ ^{coalition} government. This in a sense protected the Reformed Church to a small extent, however, the turn of the Reformed Church came later to be persecuted when Communism put an end to the ~~Bolshevik~~ ^{coalition} government. The Communists wanted to plant sects in the country and also thereby to separate the Roman Catholic Church from the Pope. These attempts did not succeed and could not take root.

(b) At first in the program of Communism the elimination of religion was to eliminate it as a superstition but today Communism will tolerate the church if they can use the church for their own ends. First they want to

divide the church within, to buy men with money, and to achieve ~~their~~ their ends by the various peace priests. This I have seen on the basis of my own experience.

- (c) I know only that they are rascals. They get big pay, free tickets. But there are not too many peace priests. Since I have returned to Hungary from Siberia I did not talk to any of them.
- (d) After I was taken away the Greek Orthodox Church was put under the ~~management~~ Moscow Patriarchy. Our property was not nationalized in Budapest but most of our lands were taken away. Some of the land was left merely as a kind of eyewash for others to be able to say to them: "Now, look, these people are directly connected to Moscow and see what happens to them. They are given privileges."
- (e) Upon my return to Budapest I talked to one of the members of the Communist Party who is in a high official position. We talked rather frankly about religion and Communism and he said that the way Communism looks at religion now, it would take at least 150 years to eradicate religion completely from the minds of men. This the Communists are ready to do and ~~as~~ they know they have a longer battle on their hands than they counted on previously. In fact while I was in Russia there a Russian told me that Lenin did not realize how deep the roots of religion are. It appears that Communism is adjusting and adapting to the situation but the ultimate

aim is to eradicate religion although this may take a longer time.

- (f) If a person had a good government position, be he an official or perhaps an educator, it was almost impossible for him to attend church. He would not attend. Children are urged not to go to church. In fact, agitators come around to the house and the teachers of the children are sent out regularly to tell the parents that religion is harmful for the children and not to send them to church. The teacher of my sister's children came to my sister's home to tell her how harmful religious education is and not to send her children to church. This teacher was visiting all the houses ^a ~~and~~ in particular assigned area. When this particular teacher got to the home of a Communist she felt that she would have an easy job there in telling him not to send his children to church. On the contrary she found that this Communist Party member told her that if he wanted to send his children to church he would do so and she should not try to tell him what to do. The teachers are told to instruct the parents that from now on all knowledge depends upon the human intellect. In 1946 the Communists initiated campaigns against the clergy by various means. In the city of Budapest a drunk 'priest' and a drunk 'nun' would board a streetcar. The two of them would begin to kiss one another and use all kinds of foul language. These incidents in

Budapest and other places occurred with unending frequency and the newspapers brought photographs of these incidents along with stories. These supposed priests and nuns were merely actors hired by the Communists. However, this particular game of the Communists did not succeed because the people who were reading these stories ~~and~~ in amazement and surprise began to ask why do we find so many drunk priests and nuns now when they did not exist previously. Then the whole campaign of the Communists backfired. They had to give it up. Not everywhere, but one could say in general, yes, people could go to church freely. I observed the church life in 1956 at Szombathely and Csorna. There the people go rather freely with the exception of those who fear for their jobs because of the particular position they hold. In Csorna the Prépost Church has a prépost entrance by way of the garden, that is through the rear. Those who fear being observed attending church enter through the garden and they go into the sacristy to listen to the mass. They go to church freely, unobserved because they merely enter the park and walk through the garden.

(g) Absolutely yes. Some have said that I can help people more if I do not go to church.

(i) The middle class people or the intelligentsia are most afraid to attend church. In their case the fear rises out of the particular jobs they hold, the fear that they

would lose them if they were found attending church. In some cases, as in the case of my friend, people go from Buda to Pest to attend a church where they are not recognized. As a body on Sunday the young people do not seem to attend church, however, every day during the mornings the student masses are full. I observed that even at the resort places on the Balaton the churches are full. The people who are to be found at the Balaton are workers.

(j) Each church adjusted to the extent that it was forced. But by and large it was a passive adaptation. In 1956 during the summer I heard a young Franciscan preach a series of sermons against Godlessness, that is the idea of atheism. Of course, everyone knew this was a cover to preach against Communism as such. His sermons as such had to be theoretic and abstract but everyone understood what he was getting at. The cloisters and the Mariaremete Shrine were taken over by the government and changed into a resort place for educators. The people who were at this resort all attended church. It was a quiet demonstration again. In 1938 when the Paulist Order was brought back to Hungary from Poland they opened the Szikla Temple which was built in the cavern of the Buda mountain on the Buda side of Budapest. The Paulist Order also built cloisters. This

Church became one of the well-attended churches although the Communists took away the cloisters from the

Order and made it into proletariat housing. The church built inside the mountain was closed by the government on an order saying that it was unsafe construction. The big churches of Budapest in the center of the city all have new clergymen. They are peace priests. The older priests or former priests were arrested and taken from these churches and in reality deported or placed in churches out in the country in small villages where they would be harmless. The city churches of these peace priests are empty on Sunday. In fact, the members of these churches go from house to house telling people not to attend church. Again a silent demonstration against Communism ~~and~~ ^{against} the interference of Communism into ~~the~~ church life. The former priest of the Belvárosi Church was allowed to return to his Belvárosi pulpit once again. However, after one sermon there he was rearrested. He said that the peace priest there reported that he had spoken against the government. This Belvárosi Church is a Greek Orthodox Church and the people of this congregation go to the churches of the Franciscans. In other places the members of the Greek Orthodox Church where a peace priest ~~conducts the mass.~~ ^{conducts the mass.} attend a Serbian Orthodox Church. During evening mass at the Franciscan church there are 500 communicants and the people take care of the church. Out of their own money It is painted, repaired, and so forth. The Greek Orthodox Church at the Petöfi tér (Petöfi Square)

has been rebuilt. It had been bombed out. The government assisted the church in rebuilding the bombed out nave although the church is not completely rebuilt. One house was sold in order to help rebuild the church. Although taxes are high they are able to realize some ^{income} ~~xxxxxxxx~~ from these apartments. The Administrator of the Greek Orthodox Church in Hungary is Feriz Berki. In 1952 he was taken to Moscow and ordained there. He was given the rank of Prépost and named Administrator of the Greek Orthodox Church in Hungary. He occupies the pulpit of the Petöfi tér church. This Berki had been a professor formerly at a theological seminary. Then Berki placed his brother Zuard Berki in the other large church in Budapest, that is the Belvárosi church and made him főplébános. A third priest is Constantin Popovics who was ordained in Moscow. In 1944 he was a theological student. I let him go with the other boys in 1944. As far as I know he is a good boy. The fourth priest is Jozsef Atya, that is Father Jozsef who had been a Roman Catholic priest, and Feriz Berki took him over into the Greek Orthodox Church. I understand that this Jozsef compromised himself at the Roman Catholic Church and therefore was kicked out. A fifth man is István Popovics a not-related ~~wikh~~ to the previous Popovics. This István Popovics had been a professor. To show you how much of a family affair this whole thing is: Berki's sister had become pregnant from this Popovics. They

then had to be married but they were married in a civil service and not in church. The church government as such, *egyház megye*, has fallen apart. The Serbs within the Hungarian Greek Orthodox Church are on their own. The *Békési* and *Csonka Bihar Megye* as well as the *Arad* area are not under Hungarian church jurisdiction. They fallen away from the Hungarian Greek Orthodox Church. Those Greek Orthodox Churches which are in the *Arad* area are now governed by the Rumanian bishop. How this is reconciled with the former law I do not know but in 1927 a *cultus* law was instituted which did not allow foreign bishops to rule or govern churches beyond their own political boundaries. Thus the Rumanian bishop today has control over churches in Hungary in the *Arad* area. Most of the churches lost their land ~~and~~ during the land reform. At *Szombathely* the girl school was taken away from the Greek Orthodox Church. The theological school in *Győr* was also taken away and now it is very difficult to train young men. There are no rooms available to teach and prepare young men for the Greek Orthodox Church, ~~except for the one in the city of Győr.~~

To indicate the temperament of the younger priests they are not afraid to walk in their ^{cassocks} ~~robes~~ or clerical gowns whereas the older priests walk in civilian clothes.

(k) As a big generality I would say less, but for those who are church-minded the roots of religion go deeper because now they are not required or formed to attend

church. There is a voluntary decision on their part. The contrast between church teachings and the school teachings are tremendous. In school the old biological primitive scheme of evolution is taught to the children. Thus the children are put into confusion and into opposition to anything the church offers. The children ask questions of the priests but the priests cannot deny or refute the teachings of the school. The way in which my sister tries to teach the difference between what the school teaches and what she would like to have her children know about creation, for example, she tells her children that the teacher has to teach them as the book instructs the children, but that she, their mother, wants them to learn what she learned when she was young also. It's a very difficult problem, of course.

- (1) I don't know. I saw things only from the outside from July 1956 on until the Revolution. As a church body the church was passive. But perhaps individually certain priests were able to represent the church as resisting the regime. For example, at the Balaton I saw the Köröshegyi chaplain who was wearing torn and tattered clothing. The people could see the poverty and the pooriness of the clergy. They respected him. There are priests, monks, and friars in the factories working next to the ordinary people. These monks had been forced to go to work and thus the people in general are put in close contact with the men of the church.

There is a group of monks who are allowed to say mass on Sunday but they are not allowed to preach. The Benedictine priest, for example, says mass at his house. He has so many requests to say mass for the dead that he gives the money that he receives to other priests to assist him in the work. The spirit of the ancient church lives under these persecuted conditions and the spirit of the ancient church is respected by the people, where the clergy are one with the people and walk about in civilian clothing.

(At this point, refer to "B" interview, pp. 43a - 43d.)

- (21) I really don't know what to answer. The one experience I recently had ^{was} with a family that I knew very well. There the boy is very much interested in piano, his life is piano. I recommended that they send the boy to a conservatory. Perhaps for some individual without such talent I would recommend that the boy be a truck driver or chauffeur. I would not recommend that he be a clerk or factory official because he is put out to these Communist sacrifices of scapegoat. The educational field is dangerous, however, if one would feel the call ^{heartily} for the priest then I would ~~heartily~~ recommend it because the priest has a great deal of respect in Hungary. Of course, he must not be a peace priest.

- (b) The straight road, not left nor right. If he steps into a youth organization this presents dangers because he can be discovered if he is not with the Party or does

The Greek Orthodox Church in Hungary has about 100,000 members. In Budapest there are about 12,000 to 14,000 members and three churches in Budapest. In all throughout Hungary there are 40 active Greek Orthodox Churches. A great many of the Greek Orthodox Church members have been catholicized in the last few years. Greek Orthodox churches are located at Szentendre, Ráczkeve, then the Tisza region at Szentés, Horgos, Csánád, Békés, Gyula. In the Miskolc area also the Tokáj foothill area. Other churches are located at various border regions such as the Arad Capital area, also near the Serbian border and in the North Eastern region of Hungary. There are no schools, theological schools, for the Hungarian Greek Orthodox Church where training of young priests may follow. The few priests that are trained go to Rumania, to Cluj in Hungarian Kolozsvár, to attend the Kolozsvár theological seminary. The Greek Orthodox Church receives aid from the state just as the other churches do. The aid is given according to the number of priests the church has. The money is sent to the church by postal money order from the Office of Religious Affairs. This covers the pay of the priests. I do not know about the upkeep of the church as to whether the state gives any aid for that. The salary of the Administrator of the Greek Orthodox Church is 5,500 Forints per month. I was offered this position that is to be returned to my

post as Pöapát or bishop of the church when I was released from prison. I didn't take it. How could I do this after having been in prison for ten years for exactly that which I felt the regime was doing wrong. Other Greek Orthodox priests told me to take the position back so that we may take up the old line. But I refused. The Office of Religious Affairs even offered me a four room house as an inducement. When I was arrested in 1947 my house was taken away. Friends took the furniture from my house. Much of it was sold and the money which they received from the sale they put into the bank so that on my return I would have some money. When I got out of prison in July 1956 I found 36,000 Forints. It was with this money that I was able to travel about Hungary from July through November and to buy the necessary food I needed. Many of the rugs and paintings that I owned are still at friends in Budapest. The Hungarian state does give separate aid for certain churches out of separate state funds if the church is considered an art memorial or a monument. In most places the members of the church have made it their responsibility to maintain the church building. As I said before the church members have taken serious interest in their religion and therefore those churches which have peace priests are empty Sunday after Sunday. In Budapest the Hungarian Greek Orthodox Churches are empty for the people go to the

Serbs which church is under the control of the Belgrade bishop. The Hungarian people do not want to be under the Moscow control as the Hungarian Greek Orthodox Church is. The ordination and placing of new priests is the responsibility in the final analysis of the Religious Affairs Office of the state. Although the bishop places the new priests if the state office does not approve it the priest is not placed. The Hungarian Greek Orthodox Church does have its regular meetings and conferences, however, only church matters may be discussed. The bishop may ordain priests only if the Religious Affairs Office of the state accepts the priest. If the office does not accept him he is not ordained. With regard to religious education the church is allowed time after each mass during which time the children are instructed in religion. However, the priest cannot go into the individual homes to do any teaching. Baptisms and funerals are not limited by the state but the activity of a priest in the hospital is very definitely limited. The priest may visit the sick only if the sick individual specifically asks for the priest. Relatives may not request the priest to come if the sick individual has not signed a paper which then goes to the director of the hospital. However, as for example, when my father died I am told that the priest visited the hospital in civilian clothes and thus was not recognized. People are becoming very

much accustomed to have clergymen on the street in civilian clothes. Young couples may be married in the church. There is nothing that really limits them except perhaps if they hold a certain government position where such a marriage service would render them difficulties. There are no Bible circles or other groups in the church. These groups are forbidden, it simply is forbidden, except in the regular Sunday worship service. Church activity is limited to worship services and masses which are conducted every day. There are no special church programs or plays performed by children. On the outside wall of the church no signs can be affixed, not even the time of the service may be indicated from the outside of the church gate. Inside the church gate a placard may be placed indicating the time of the church services or placards about church services may be erected inside the church.

not think the way they do. I would recommend that he stay out of such organizations. If he finishes school then the university will give him a job or rather place him in a job.

- (22) Those who received very high pay, of course, were the Party leaders who held state offices as well as the AVH officers. Very high paying jobs are according to capacity the research scientists, then follow the artists and writers. But in these cases both groups had to do what was directed by the Party line. The music and so forth. However, these artists and writers had automobiles and a great deal of money. The same goes for the athletes. Other leading groups were the state and factory managers. Next followed the veterinary doctors and the medical doctors. Veterinary ~~was~~ medicine was the best job and best paid. This area got extra pay ^{from peasants} ~~pay~~ for the services rendered. However, the individuals in the cases of medical doctors would pay the medical man a little when he came to visit the sick in the home or even in the clinic just in order to get better service. The veterinary and medical man had free movement. Next follows the textile designers and then the kolshos leaders and then chauffeur and truck drivers. The rest are all 1,000 to 1,200 Forints per month wages below.

(a+b) Do not apply.

- (23) According to the Communist theory there are two classes, the workers and then the parasites. However, in Hungary I would divide the classes the following way: The Party aristocracy at the top which includes the Party administration and leadership, the factory administration which really does not work merely reads the newspapers and attends party seminars. In the second place the enterprise directors or managers. In the third place the working mass. In the fourth place the large deprived mass those who formerly were officers in the army, former government administrators, and so forth.
- (d) Yes, definitely. The police, the AVH, and Party officials are extremely rude and crude. This is found everywhere. The way they speak to a person is as if they would regard that individual as an animal or even less.
- (e) There is a great closeness among the Hungarian ~~people~~ people with the exception of the top leaders of the country who are distant from the rest of the people.
- (f) I feel this is better because the people got closer together, got to know one another. Hungary was very feudalistic in this sense. Now very likely Hungary can more easily go into a democratic form of existence. Great walls and barriers had fallen down.
- (g) In general it is rather rude and nervous. Everyone has to stand in line for many things. The younger people are more rude than the older ones. One would expect the reverse but the older ones tolerate a little more.

People are not courteous in general. This is especially so in the state stores where the clerks are very impolite. So also the waiters in the restaurants. For example, I ordered a small glass of beer in a restaurant and then ordered a second glass of beer later. The waiter than told me why didn't you order a large glass of beer in the first place.

- (h) To answer why the Hungarian people are discourteous one finds a cause for this in the fact of the cities being over-populated. Streetcars and busses are filled, people push to get on. If they are late to work then they are penalized. This all creates a nervous population that becomes rude. People don't want to be impolite. Then again there has been this propaganda that everyone is the same, is equal, and individuals begin to think that I am as important or more important than the next fellow, i.e. with the introduction of the elvtárs or comrade address. The greeting Kezét Csokolom is used; however, the address of úr is not used though Főtisztelendő úr and Tiszteltes úr, and Magytisztelendő úr are allowed for clergymen. In addressing an envelope and letter one writes Kovacs István Részére that is, for István Kovacs. People in addressing a doctor still automatically call the doctor, doktor úr. In 1956 there were letters written to the editor of newspapers that the students should once again call their professors úr because just as in case of the clergy and doctors the úr form could not be

eliminated. It would now be necessary the letters and articles said to lift the respect of the teachers rather than calling them elvtárs or comrade. This was especially necessary, the argument went on to say, to bring about better discipline among the students. To restate, however, that the students did have respect for their teachers I recall the incident that occurred about October 1st when the son of a doctor friend of mine came home to tell me that the students are not going to study Russian anymore. I had been helping this young boy in his Russian. He said that the students had burned their Russian textbooks and they would not study Russian anymore. Next day when they returned to school they told their teacher of their adventure and of their intention not to study Russian anymore, the teacher began to cry and she said now, how will I be able to account for this to my superiors. The behavior of the teacher not only her crying but her previous behavior already, aroused the sympathetic understanding among the students. They told her that somehow they would get the money from their parents to buy new textbooks to replace the ones they had burned and they would be willing to go on studying Russian and thus save her from any embarrassment or from any trouble with the school officials.

(24) The Germans in Hungary suffered a great deal. This as a result of the war. They were blamed by the Russians

and the Communists for the ~~war~~ ^{war troubles of} ~~war~~ Hungary.
In some cases one would ~~say~~ ^{see} the Slavs being moved ahead
in certain cases by the Communists.

(25) At first the Jews strongly sympathized with the Communists. They saw in the Communist a person that would not allow Fascism to reign again in Hungary. This was a natural reaction of a part of the Jews against the Hungarians in 1945. The five-pointed star was frequently evident everywhere. They believed if they cooperated also that they could save their property. But later the Communists hit the Jews as far as private property is concerned just as heavily as they hit anyone else. The Jews lost their private property. In 1950 large deportations of Jews took place in the case of those Jews who had continued to live out of their hidden wealth, of treasure, that is diamonds and other precious stones. After that the Jews had no better position in Hungary than any other group.

(b) In 1945/46 the Communists tried to pamper and attract the Jews. Many Jews got big positions. They helped the Jews. The reason for this was that Rakosi and the others wanted to place into high positions those people who had been persecuted formerly and this was the Jew. He could be trusted at least for the moment and not to be pro-Hungarian or ~~xxx~~ for the former regime. Today the Jews as such have no real role. The Communists have the role. As a race or as a group they are not considered and have

no viewpoint. I had quite a number of Jewish friends. Their behavior varied in certain cases. For example, a doctor friend of mine, a Doctor [REDACTED], was offered a university chair of professorship and he did not accept it. In 1952 the press started a campaign against him when he was the head of a ^{X-ray} ~~text~~ laboratory and he was very quickly demoted. Another Jewish friend, [REDACTED], became the right hand man of the minister in the Ministry of New Buildings. He has a very good paying job.

- (d) As a group they did not do anything. All I can say is that they Jew families I knew were very happy during the Revolution, that things were changing.
- (e) In general the Jew is not liked. The anti-Semitic tone is greater today. But in the Revolution there was no anti-Semitic voice whatsoever. They were very careful about this. Frequently older people warned the younger people and others to be careful.
- (f) Yes, it is greater than in 1944 when it was allowed to hit the Jew freely. Now they would like to hit him. This is a projection, of course, to people who see the Communist leadership at the top and in important positions in factories and other places being held by Jews.
- (g) Yes, there has increased but people hold themselves back.
- (h) I see no change for the Jews. They would be taken into account as Communists and not Jews. The Jewish intelligentsia stood strongly next to the Communists in the last ten years.

(1) Yes.

(a) My office as bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in official capacity required me to be interested in politics. Some of my churches and the activity of my churches were located in areas where the Slav influence was great or in Rumanian areas which came back to Hungary. I was a member of the minority committee appointed by the Prime Minister of Hungary. At this committee I continuously warned against strong chauvinism which wanted to make non-Hungarian people into Hungarians, that is Magyarized them. I pointed out that we cannot Magyarize these people by force. These non-Hungarian people are just as dear to those Rumanians and Slovaks outside the Hungarian border as previously our Hungarian people were who were outside of our borders. These non-Hungarian people are being watched, I would say, and we cannot win friends in this way for the Hungarian nation by forcing people. I had numerous friends in the various ministries, in the Parliament, and now I am today interested in a readjustment of the Trianon peace treaty. I am also interested in what happens in Russia. Before the war I was interested in Király Party, or the Royal Party. Then my interest changed to the Republican Party, and after the war I became a member of the Small Holders Party because the Republican Party became a member of the small holders group. I was not a convinced member of the Small Holders Party. But as I saw things I thought that the ~~Small~~

small holders group could save what could be saved under the circumstances. Today I am still interested in the Small Holders Party.

- (2) After the war I saw and hoped that ~~the~~ Hungary could hold its independence. I did not know about Yalta and Potsdam agreements which sold Hungary into the Soviet camp. It was thus that Hungary was shut off from Western contact by the Soviet. When the Moscow churchmen appeared in Budapest they offered me the post of Arch Bishop and they asked me in return to place the Greek Orthodox Church under the rule of the Moscow Patriarch. This was another step to tie Hungary at least by religion closer to the Soviet. I refused to do this and therefore was imprisoned and ultimately taken to Siberia.
- (a) With the Small Holders Party, the Republican group in the party.
- (b) No.
- (c) Essentially no.
- (d) I saw them as a danger.
- (e) The Béla Kun government and revolution made a deeper impression upon me than it did upon every Hungarian. In the second place the Hungarian government was always anti-Communist. When I was in the 7th or 8th year of my gymnasium I was already interested in Communism and read about it. However, later I learned about the terrors and the behavior of the Communists in

the Spanish War. I continued to read books about Communism and I saw Communism as it is pictured by Imre Madách in his classical play where Communism is a giant machine controlling every individual in completeness.

- (f) Number (ii).
 - (h) The great terror, the police control, and observation, the internments and deportations forced people to stay in line.
- (3) The fact that free speech was not allowed, that criticism of the government was not allowed, starvation wages, and high norms, individual freedoms denied, the constant attempt to interfere into family life, the alienation of children from the family, the fact that the standard of life was worse than in the war or before the war.
- (a) (vi), (vii), (xiii).
 - (b) (xiv), (viii), (ii).
 - (c) (xiv), (ii), (xii), (ix).
 - (d) (xv), (v), (x), (xiii), (iv).
 - (f) All of these hardships were felt. For me the second one in number order. In the matter of the education of children the parents were forced to deny the ~~children~~ children religious education. Priests, and nuns, and the church became an object of ridicule. Anyone who attended Church regularly would expect to have his name read before a school assembly. Thus a boy who assisted in mass would be put out to ridicule. Moreover it was difficult for a

priest to visit the sick in the hospital. The sick had to ask for the priest and this was a written request. Frequently the sick would be taken out into the hall. This again would be an insult and ridicule so that the other people in the ward would not be able to see the priest administering the sacraments. As a persecution of the priests clergy were not allowed to write. In the case of religious processions these religious processions were allowed only if the Office of Religious Affairs permitted them and the processions were limited to walking around the church.

(g) Yes, in general. When I was freed people wanted to hear of all my experiences. On the trains and streetcars I heard a great deal of criticism, contrary opinions expressed. There were all kinds of jokes about Rakosi especially when people heard that he was being removed. There were jokes about Stalin.

(j) People were happy when Rakosi went but they were greatly disappointed when Gerö was appointed in his place. People hoped for some change as a result of the Gerö - Tito talks. They also hoped something would occur out of the rehabilitations.

(4) The Kremlin and its Hungarian men, also the MBR and the NKVD.

(a) From my own personal experience and my own imprisonment.

(b) They all were party members and the council of ministers

merely carried out what already had been decided by the Party, on orders from Moscow.

- (d) It was nothing but eye-wash ~~inxaxbig~~ and a big circus. They voted for everything unanimously.
- (e) It was a big comedy.
- (f) Bureaucracy was tremendous. Much bigger than previously.
- (g) Yes, because the clerks and government officials were badly paid. It was just like stealing in the factories and other places.
- (h) I don't know. Very likely from the worker classes. Beside every skilled or trained official there was a party member.
- (i) Among the workers and the peasants. These men in many cases were more reactionary than ~~I~~ even I was, especially the military officers.
- (j) Mostly from the workers and then some of them from former Jewish business men.
- (5) I don't know.
- (6) It frequently meant that an individual would be advanced in his job and would have to work less.
- (a) I don't know.
- (c) In Hungary I don't know but in Russia party membership offered a possibility to go to the state resorts and then the member would have to attend party seminars meetings, and show a good example for others.

- (f) They finally saw the reality of things and the duplicity of the Communists. They saw that the promises were never coming and there was no improvement. For example, the whole city was amazed when the Hungarian frontiers were open to the French and to others. Thus beautiful automobiles and different autobusses came into Hungary which the Hungarians had not seen in the last ten years.
- (g) I don't know. I would not have done so because I couldn't reconcile it with my own beliefs.
- (q) Yes, definitely.
- (r) The Soviet ambassador in Budapest.
- (7) None. During this time I was imprisoned in work camp in Siberia.
- (8) Very, very few.
- (9) They all were dissatisfied with things as they stood. They saw the lying and the falsification. These people were Hungarian boys and girls who saw the elimination of Hungarian traditions. The introduction of Russian language and Russian folk songs being taught in school, The general Russification of Hungary.
- (10)
- (a) Every family or every circle of friends had someone who had been terrorized in the worst way. Thus it was

intimately related to just about everyone in the country.

- (b) The AVH was organized on the MGB pattern of the Soviet. The rear in the Soviet was in the head of that Soviet organization. In Hungary the AVH had as its task to keep the population under surveillance and under fear, to investigate every anti-state organization or movement but also to control individual activity which is contrary to the Party.
- (c) I don't know.
- (d) The system of informers organized by the AVH was effective because the AVH knew something about each informer, that is they pressured them into being informers very frequently. Sometimes it was some physical weakness such as homosexuality or something else. ^{If} The AVH did not ~~know~~ ^{know} anything about the individual they wanted to use as an informer they would track something about him. A letter would be sent to him, a letter of provocation, from some Mr. Kovacs. The letter would deal with the activities of this Mr. Kovacs and the individual whom the AVH wanted to use. As the letter was delivered an AVH man would be present almost immediately and would ask to see the letter even before it could be opened. Upon opening it the AVH man would say: "You are a spy. You are working against the state. Here is the proof." Of course the poor man to whom the letter was sent never heard of any Mr. Kovacs and never corresponded with any such. He would try to deny it but the proof was there,

the AVH man would say. The next step would be to make a deal with this individual they wanted to use. They would say: "All right. We will not press charges but we want you to do something for us. We want you to get some information for us." Thus the man would be terrorized into working as an informer for the AVH.

(e) I do not know.

(f) I have heard that many criminal elements were gathered and people picked up in the villages. Frequently they picked up the lowest kind of men. But first the officers of the AVH were party members. Eventually these would attend evening school for extra training.

(g) Tremendous pay. They were given certain numbers of civilian suits as well as uniforms per year. The AVH had its own department and clothery store where AVH members could buy at ^{low}~~xxx~~ cost.

(h) Yes.

(i) In general the informers would not be paid for their work. They were not professional people, that is doing it for pay. Others, however, secured information as official professional informers. In the former category the informers secured information merely because they feared arrest or something that was held over their head.

(j) The police were afraid of the AVH, even the AVH members were afraid of other AVH members. For example, at the Jászberény prison a sergeant took orders from a corporal because the corporal was a party member and the sergeant

in this case was an old-timer who had been in the jail from the Horthy days and was merely kept over. The same thing was so in the Russian work camps where a major took orders from a captain.

(k) There was a direct relation between the AVH and the Party. The AVH was under the Party. It occurred that the AVH was ordered to arrest Party members on orders from higher Russian places. The Party had greater power than the AVH. The AVH was the agent of the Party which executed the orders of the Party.

(l) I was acquainted only with those police whom I was forced to meet by the fact that I had to report at the police station once a week. I don't know what happened to them.

(11) (Respondent was arrested. See question (12))

(d) Generally the intelligentsia.

(g) See question (12) for respondent's answers.

(12) Upon February 15th, 1947 at 11.15 p.m. the telephone rang in my office. I answered the telephone and a crying woman's voice asked me to come to give the sacrament to her dying mother. She said that her brother in an automobile would come for me. By the time I had dressed and got down to the gate where I was to wait for the automobile, two men got out of a black automobile. They greeted me very politely and asked me to sit in the car. When we got to the Andrassy út they told me that if I

tried to do anything, cry out or escape they had orders to shoot me. From the Andrassy út they turned on to the Gsengeri street and entered a rear gate to the AVH quarters, took me out of the automobile to the second floor where they got the personal data about me. Then I was taken to the third floor where they began to question me as to who my friends were, what I had been doing. In order to induce me to talk they hit me with a rubber stick on the face and head. My teeth in the lower left side of my mouth were knocked out as the side of my mouth was lacerated deeply. I was not able to tell them anything. Then they took me to the NKVD, where a Russian major told me through an interpreter that I am under arrest by order of the Russian commander of the city. I protested against this. I said that the Russians could not arrest me. He said that he knows what he can do and what the Russians can do. He knows better than I. There I was taken to a cell which was two meters by height. I was there for two nights. They took everything from me, personal belongings and my golden bishop's cross. On the third day I was taken to the major again and he said that I was an American spy and that I should not try to deny it. They knew everything about me. I said I did not know anything about this, that I was not a spy. The major then went on to say that if I confess all everything would move along very nicely and then we could be good friends. Since

I could not confess anything and did not confess anything they began to hit me and the process of torture began. I was put into a cell the bottom of which was filled with 20 cm of cold water. There I had to stay ~~until~~ in the water. Later I found out that the Soviet water cell was even worse for it had a curved bottom for a floor so that a man could not stand up in it but would always slide and fall down into the water. After three weeks the minutes of the investigation were ready and I was taken with 13 others before the major again and we were told to confess all we had to do was to sign the papers. I knew a few of the other 13 people. One man was Ferenc Szabolcs, the head of the Hungarian telegraph office, another Dr. Erno Szegedy, an official of the county of Pest. When I refused to confess I was taken to submit to further torture. Now my toenails were pulled off from my toes, unconscious I was taken out of the torture room. The NKVD did not only commit physical torture against those held under arrest but they told me the next day that if I do not sign the confession they will arrest my father and mother. They went out to say: "Now, you know your father is old and not well, why do you want ~~him~~ to put him to such inconveniences. The next day they said that my father and mother were there and they were being held as long as I refused to sign the confessions. Then I decided to sign the confessions. I saw there was no other way out. They

would eventually get me to sign them anyway. The confessions stated that I was a spy and then that I had attended a school for spies in Germany for six months. This school had been conducted by the Americans and I was an American spy. The next day I was taken before a board of three men. The 13 of us were there. We were not allowed to speak. This was not a trial but it was merely the announcement of the sentence. The trial or discussion went on between the board of three men. We merely listened. Finally I could not hold back myself anymore, I spoke up and I said that these confessions and my confessions was extracted from me under torture and under beating. I said: "Here are the proofs ~~far~~ of ~~it~~ it, look at my face and my body". The major said: "Listen, you are an intelligent man. You want me to believe that an intelligent man will sign a confession that he has not read and is not true. As far as the bruises are concerned we know all about them as to how prisoners beat themselves, so that it would look as if we, the NKVD, had beaten them. How do you dare to accuse the Russian NKVD of such a thing." He had an answer for everything. I was sentenced to twenty years of forced labor as a spy. The basis of which the sentence was pronounced were law's articles 58 point 6 against individual spies, 58 point 4 against those advancing international bourgeois society, 58 point 10 against anti-Soviet propaganda, and 58 point 11 which is connected with each of

the previous articles, that is organizing. Then all 13 of us were taken away hand-cuffed and put into the bottom of a truck where we were covered with carpets and canvass as we lay on the bottom of the truck. We were taken to Sopron to the Köhler prison. From there we were put into box-cars to be shipped. We were warned that if anyone talked or made any sound as the box-car train moved along in any of the railroad stations ~~where~~ we would be shot immediately. At one of the Hungarian railroad stations where the train stopped the railroad man who examined the axles of the train walked along the box-car singing. But his song was one that the Russians could not understand. In the song he asked that if there were any Hungarians in the box-car they should cough. Then the train spent three days in a railroad yard on a siding outside of Budapest. Then we went on to Debrecen. From there we were taken to Lwow or Lemberg. There we saw that the train was made up of 30 box-cars. 15 of the cars contained soldiers that accompanied the train. They took us then to a Jewish Ghetto. ~~where~~
~~where~~ 70 men were put into a single room ~~which~~ in which no one could sit down. We had to stand and we were so crowded in it was terrible. We were there for two weeks. (At this point the respondent stopped, his eyes filled with tears and one could feel that he was imagining again the awfulness of that two weeks. With lips quivering and his eyes filled with tears he went

on to say something which hurt him a great deal.) We were glad when someone of us died and fell to the floor because then finally we could sit down and there was more room for those who were left. Here lived all those who were in the ghetto. We were taken to be examined by a doctor. We were all in the nude. They wanted to see how much meat was on each ^{man} and particularly examined our buttocks. On this kind of an examination we were put into four categories, 1, 2, 3, 4 which was written on the nude back of each man. Thus we were separated. The fourth category was sent to the Ural mountains, the third category to West Siberia, the first and second category to Central Siberia not far from the Mongolian border. This I discovered and found out only later as to what the four categories meant. Then we were put on a train. I was marked for the fourth category. As the train proceeded whenever there was a corpse to be disposed of, someone who had died in the box-car, we were instructed to throw it out onto the railroad embankment in the nude, no clothing whatsoever on the corpse. Later I found out that this no clothing requirement was a health protection because many of the peasants or others who had found the bodies previously that were clothed took their clothing and would become infected or diseased. For six weeks we travelled in these box-cars in the train. We arrived at Stalinsk. From there the next 108 kilometers we had to do on foot.

It was a six day travel through primeval forest. The soldiers who guarded us were on horseback. My legs became as big as barrels. The soldiers had relief stations where they would stop and others would relieve them and continue with the prisoners. For three days the men stood this hard grind then they began to fall by the wayside. If they did not get up then the wolf dogs which followed the prisoners would begin to tear up^{on} the flesh of those who fell by the wayside. Many a time I would gladly have dropped out and fallen down on the ground if it had not been for these flesh-tearing wolf dogs. If they would have shot me immediately when I dropped out then I would have gladly dropped out but only after the dogs had torn at the flesh of the men did the soldiers shoot the men. We couldn't even stop in the middle of a river or a brook to drink water. We had to go on and move. At these relief points soldiers were waiting for us. There we would get some soup and about 60 deka of bread that was not raised and ~~some~~ a piece of ~~it~~ salty fish. The next day this salty fish would make a person extremely thirsty. From then on I did not eat the fish at all. We arrived at our destination which was in the middle of a forest. There was no camp there and nothing at all. For six to seven months we lived under the open sky and slept on the ground in the Altaic mountains. We had been brought there to build the camp. First we built the fence. We had to fell the

trees out of which the fence was built. We had nothing but axes and saws with which we had to work. I was there for three years in this camp which we built out of the trees in this primeval forest. Out of the first 1200 men who arrived at the site only 60 men were left at the end of three years. However, every week more men, prisoners, were brought in to replace those that died. I worked as a doctor in the camp. 30 kilo men died like flies. Newer prisoners from Estonia and Latvia, and other Baltic states, Russians, Uzbeks, Tartars, Armenians, and many other prisoners were brought in. Some of them peasants who had stolen a little from the cooperative were sentenced to this forced labor camp. There were no horses to help in the work. The men had to pull the lumber and the trees to the river. 10 to 25 men pulled on a rope that was tied to a tree. Only three of us who were brought from Hungary came back alive from Russia. In 1950 in February I was taken to Tajseti camp. This camp was populated primarily by political prisoners, Soviet generals, professors, doctors, engineers, and newspaper editors. There were three editors there because they had gone to church. There were bishops, priests, Baptists, Roman Catholics, men of every kind, all the way from Japan to Belgium, and even Frenchmen. There were two Americans there, one from Chicago who had gone to visit his family in one of the satellite countries. I have reported this to the

American authorities since leaving Hungary. There were even Lapps there and Shaman Mongolians. This camp had 300,000 men in an area of 360 kilometers. ^{Every} ~~any~~ 5 or 6 kilometers there was a center of barracks. Everyone got a number on his pants. There were no newspapers, no radios there at all. During the Korean war we were told that if an American plane appeared over the camp for which, they said, they knew we were hoping, then each one of us would be killed. It was not a very happy thought to look forward to. At the time of Stalin's death a certain amount of the severeness came to an end. The numbers were taken off of us and certain privileges were allowed us. These privileges were granted to us on May 1st, 1954 in order to emphasize the May Day. Henceforth we were able to buy a few things. We got some pay for our labor. The Russians were allowed two letters a year. But our pay was so devised that they would deduct certain amounts for clothing, for our meals, and also for the payment of guards. Thus we were being guarded and the imprisoned had to pay those who guarded us. Then in the autumn of 1955 I was taken to a concentration point where we got mattresses and we were even given toilet soap, toothbrushes and such meals as the officers in the camps did not even have. We were shown four films a day, we had concerts, radio, meat every day. We even got wine and whisky. They told us that they liked us and that

they did not know how badly we had been treated. This had all been discovered just recently, these awful conditions that exist or existed at the labor camps. All of this had been Beria's fault and now he was eliminated and these things would be changed. Russian points I had been in besides Moscow were Krasnojarsk and Swerdlowsk. This kind of treatment of giving us toilet soap and a toothbrush again was a part of the entire propaganda to defeat anything that we might say when we returned home. How would it look if we returned home with a toothbrush and we told our friends that in the camps they had never given us a toothbrush. From this concentration point on we were taken without apparent guard to the Hungarian border at Osapra. There we were handed over to an assistant or a deputy from the Hungarian Ministry of Interior and taken to Nyiregyháza. There 800 men were sent home and 664 men then were sent to the Jászberény prison and put under strict control. We were placed in cells or rooms containing 12 men. The bunks were four high. Then the committees began to hear the cases of each of the 664 after a one month interval. I was released on July 1st, 1955.

- (a) On paper the medical care in the work camps looks beautiful. Each work camp is supposed to have a doctor and a hospital. But up to 1950 in the first work camp there was no medicine at all. During 1950-52 the supply in medicine was below the minimum, in 1953-54 it was

tolerable, in 1955 it seemed to be regular. We had something of everything. But I saw men being operated upon without any anaesthesia at all and without any sedatives. Always in medical care the first question that was asked was: "Can he be cured? Is it a chronic and organic malady as in the case of TB?" Then he would be sent to another camp where he would get a kind of eyewash care and attention. The second question was that if he were cured would he be able to work. If the individual had no future prospective, that is no possibility being cured within two weeks then there was no reason to keep him in the hospital and to take care of him. Man as an individual had no value or worth. He was valuable only for his animal strength and the work he could do. In 1951 an order came to separate TB cases from the others but they were to receive no medical care and naturally all of them died. In 1954 the order appeared to give TB cases a certain amount of care and to administer artificial pneumothorax. Then on July 14th, 1955 the Party in all of its great ^{announced} "humanity" ~~announced~~ and ordered that all prisoners who have an incurable sickness are to be given amnesty. Then the interpretation followed. But what was this humanism of the Party? Experts say that there were about 25,000,000 to 35,000,000 prisoners in Russia. All of these, of course, if sick or not sick had to be

housed. Those men who had been imprisoned between 1943 and 1948 had built roads and railroads through Siberia and now in 1955 were invalids and therefore let them go home. Why feed them and why house them? Let their own families take care of them. This was the case in one of the camps where perhaps half or more of the prisoners were invalids or sick. This was no feeling for humanity but merely a measure of economy.

(r) Yes, upon leaving Jászberény I was told to report daily, however, when I got to Budapest the captain at the police station said a weekly report would be sufficient, but I would have to report to him before I left the city for any destination.

(t) I was told that I was a completely rehabilitated citizen with full rights. In fact I voted after July 1st. They said that I had paid for my crime. However, later I discovered that I was a marked man by my identification papers. Although apparently the identification papers did not carry any special written mark there was a perforation in it which indicated that I was an un-trusted element.

(13) If one is completely passive, accepts everything that the regime does, and works quietly, appears in public very little, then he may avoid arrest. The ones who are arrested are those who are harmful or obstacles to

the development of Communism in the country. For example, a priest may be very passive, say nothing against the regime but he is popular with the people, he is arrested.

- (a) Some kind of manual work if the worker doesn't criticize the state. It is rather difficult ~~and~~ for the intelligentsia.
- (b) Absolutely.
- (c) Definitely, yes. Patronage and good connections are helpful. If one had friends in the kader division. One who has contacts does move ahead with the help of Party members.
- (d) Very much so. Definitely. It's impossible to deny it. They will investigate and discover it. For example, every questionnaire that I had to fill out before being released from prison started out with this question: "What was your father's occupation in 1938, 1944, and now?"
- (e) Yes, perhaps he can bribe officials. I was amazed when I got out of prison in 1956 as to the extent to which officialdom in Hungary is corrupted by bribery. Under the Horthy regime, that is before the war bribery was not existent or existed only in a very small percentage. Under that system the government officials had good pay and sufficient pensions. But not so under the Communists.
- (f) Yes, but this depends upon the man.

(14) Yes, there were waves. In the first years the tremendous terror conducted by the head of the AVH, Peter Gabor, from Andrássy út 60. Then when the Yugoslav jumped out of the Soviet orbit the terror reached its peak. When Imre Nagy became Prime Minister the terror seemed to decrease and then again increased under Rákosi but it did not reach the previous peak and continued to decrease up to the point of the Revolution in 1956. Now again the terror is high and I think at least 5,000 had been killed by this new terror.

(15) In general either the ~~KOMINTERN~~ Comintern or the Central Committee of Russia directs Hungarian affairs. The seminars and schools conducted for the elite of the Party or agitators uses exactly the same pamphlets that are used in Russia except they are translated from Russian into Hungarian. There are a tremendous number of Hungarians in Moscow who were not allowed back into Hungary when the Communists took over. These men undoubtedly were the ones who handled Hungarian affairs or are ~~channels~~ ^{general} channels for the Communist Party. When we were returning to Hungary in Moscow many Hungarian generals in civilian clothing came out to the train. They spoke to us in good Hungarian. They could also speak Russian. They told us that they knew what had happened in the camps. They told us to forget it, that now things would

be different. Undoubtedly these men arrange Hungarian affairs in the Kremlin.

- (a) I heard of one particular incident about the Ministry of Health where the minister is of Slav origin. He makes a monthly trip to Moscow. Undoubtedly he gets instructions and, of course, reports on Hungarian health affairs. This is undoubtedly the same in the ministries of industry and others. Hungary is ~~the~~ a part and parcel of Soviet five year plan.
- (d) At the work camp the Soviet MGV officers always behaved very well, at least in appearance. They always wanted to be friendly. They were not harsh or the sergeant type. But ultimately it was the top officer who gives orders and did on many occasions to have someone killed accidentally. This happened frequently. In Budapest all I know is that the Soviet has a large embassy and some of the embassy divisions are in other buildings. It also has ~~an~~ apartment buildings for the families of Russians. They have many automobiles.
- (e) Most strongly in school education and adult education in the industries.
- (f) At every large enterprise the Russians had deputies who act as receivers of Hungarian goods which are produced by these factories.
- (16) It is mostly through humor, sly laugh, and even applause

at various gatherings. The Hungarian humor is very telling just as the Russian humor is. For example, there is the joke that in the Hungarian National Theater a large crowd had gathered to hear a Communist speak and every time the name of Stalin or some other Communist is mentioned the crowd is to clap. Two friends are sitting next to one another. The one falls asleep and when Stalin's name is mentioned everyone claps. The friend ^{friend} nudges the other and says to him: "Start clapping because they will think you are a reactionary".

- (a) Yes, because they cannot express them and continue to live with their families without being arrested or continue to work without being arrested.
- (b) It's difficult to answer. People are so much afraid that husband and wife are frequently afraid of one another. The wife who in some case may be forced to be an informer cannot tell her husband anything that she knows.
- (c) Sometimes not even with the closest friend but usually only with the closest friend.
- (d) A person did not speak of politics nor of religion but of course it was easier to talk about such things as poor service in food especially when women would have to stand in line they would criticize ~~that~~ this is a terrible thing but they would never blame an individual they would blame the situation in general for having to wait in

line for meat or say they were the last ten in line and would not get meat. In general the economic life was more criticized.

- (17) Official orders cannot be avoided. The control and security is too great. All security is in the form of a chain connection. For example, in a school which has 30 teachers there would always be a committee of three or four teachers that would visit the class of another teacher and within the committee each one would be afraid of the other member of the committee. Everyone of them would take notes and make the fullest report. Thus there is a double check by which the people themselves check themselves. So is the case in hospitals where committees of doctors from another hospital visit a second hospital. The hospital which gets the highest ^{there} rating benefits ~~there~~ the doctors are given certain premiums. Therefore the doctors are extremely critical of the other hospitals. Thus it's a dog-eat-dog sort of situation. People police one another and watch each other.
- (a) No.
- (b) Not very easily. The peasant could fall behind in paying his taxes but not in turning in goods or crops.
- (c) Perhaps he can go to the kader office or to the Party office and if he can bribe someone there who is bribable,

then yes.

- (d) It's very difficult because if the enterprise says he is needed for production purposes then that man cannot leave. Frequently husband and wife are separated and if the wife wants to follow the husband to the next town then she is not ~~allowed~~ allowed to go, that is the enterprise does not give her leave. The family is divided for years frequently. However, there is on paper a rule and order by the Communists not to separate families but they do it anyway.
- (e) Can't answer exactly. I have heard that it is very difficult to get back into the university. Perhaps only if a student becomes a ^{good} DISZ member.
- (18) From the viewpoint of the people there was no ^{uniting} ~~division~~ in force there was only the coercion of the terror.
- (b) The very slowly developing economic hardships, the general poverty, and the inability of individuals to succeed and get ahead.
- (19) There existed a cloaked resistance at the individual level which was unorganized. The great majority of the population boycotted Soviet films, for example. Every organization had been dissolved. Church organizations were not allowed to come together except for worship services. There were times when the AVH tape-recorded

the entire sermon of a priest or minister in view of everyone in the church.

- (b) The students. Either the middle school students and the elementary school students of 12 year old age were against the regime. I witnessed their behavior against the tanks during the Revolution. Then the peasants and workers in great number were against the regime. The intelligentsia was rather passive. They were rather glad that they did not have to work with a shovel and do manual work. The ~~most~~ doctors were particularly overburdened with work and expressed their feelings at times. The educators also were resisters even if not openly.
- (c) The leading party officials and government officials who got jobs. Some of them out of very poor backgrounds. A small fraction of the workers, those who had very poor abilities and a small fraction of the peasants who got land which they did not have before and when ~~the~~ ~~the~~ went into the ~~TSzOs~~ TSzOs.
- (d) It grew.
- (e) It grew.
- (f) It was an individual matter. Only at the last moment did it become organized.
- (g) Yes.
- (h) Chiefly the privates and even many officers especially those officers of peasant origin. By and large the

the officers of worker origin stayed with the regime.

- (i) Yes.
- (j) Yes. Nothing in details. The opportunists like Tamás Aczél got out of the Party when they saw the ideology was lost for Hungary, trying to prepare a new road for themselves.
- (k) I don't know.
- (l) The Petöfi Kör was a group that the Party administered for free criticism. Certain writers found a great response or echo from the population. Then others joined in so that they may help themselves in the future. This criticism was not necessary out of conviction or the change of attitude was not one of conviction. Many of the writers saw that Communism was a big bluff, and then their Hungarian blood rose to the top. They broke off with their Communist past. The Hefesz broke away from the DISZ. They wanted to separate from the DISZ.

- (1) Upon being released from prison and the work camps in 1956 in July I listened to the Western radio broadcasts, chiefly Voice of America and then Radio Free Europe, the German-French broadcast, also Zurich and Moscow, the Communist broadcasts merely to compare those with the West.
- (a) Voice of America seemed to be most important. I felt it was most objective when looking at the truth.
- (2) Yes.
- (a) Szabad Nép, Magyar Nemzet, Béke és Szabadság, then a monthly called Csillag. I travelled a great deal also.
- (b) Regularly.
- (c) These were the only ones available.
- (d) I was mostly interested in foreign events. I didn't like the newspapers, however.
- (g) Yes, I saw a Life magazine at the home of a friend. It was an old copy.
- (i) I was very much interested in the reports I found since I had been imprisoned for ten years.
- (j) Yes, I got a leaflet or one page newspaper from Somogy megye (county) which dropped from a Radio Free Europe balloon.
- (3) Yes, however not for entertainment. I was interested in seeing what the Hungarian films were like since I

had been away from Hungary for ten years and I wanted to see what they were making.

- (b) I wasn't particularly interested in any of them.
- (c) Yes, I saw one, an Italian, La Traviata. I was interested in the music.
- (e) No, I didn't go to the theater but I did go to Margaret Island every day during the summer to hear the ~~myer~~ operettas performed there. A friend of mine was the manager of the group.
- (4) While I was in the Jászberény prison upon my return from Siberia during six months stay there before being released in July in 1956 I read about a hundred to a hundred and twenty books and novels that were written by Communist Hungarian authors such as Dörey, Aczél. They were primarily that ~~kolhoz~~ novels, books that were anti-religion. I wanted to get acquainted a little with the kind of Hungarian people's democracy literature that was being written. It did not differ at all from the Soviet literature. The heroes were the young boy or girl who was a factory worker or a member of the ~~cooperatives~~ ^{collective farm}. The old world as well as capitalism was caricatured.
- (e) Yes, after getting out of Jászberény I read ~~gannxxixh~~ "Gone with the Wind" and a few other books written by foreign authors.

(g) These books were in the private libraries of friends where I lived.

(5) Yes.

(b) Yes, the radio which I had before I was taken to prison. It was a ~~SEWELL~~ console model Telefunk.

(d) Only music and news and some general lectures.

(e) In the morning and evening the news and then I observed the radio listings and selected my program accordingly.

(f) At home.

(6) Yes.

(a) Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and others as listed in question (4).

(b) Every day at various times.

(d) I did not like BBC. I was angry at them.

(d) By large I trusted them but it is a pity that the foreign broadcasts beamed toward Hungary are not objective enough and not enough objectivity is used in broadcasting. With regard to Radio Free Europe which I listened to most the Radio Free Europe men who broadcast and program the material do not know the Hungarian man of today. In their mind somehow they have stopped the development of Hungary. They think Hungary is what it was years ago. ~~is~~ ^{This} does not help their radio broadcasting in order to gain listeners and

to win the listeners.

- (7) Yes.
- (a) I doubted very much as to how much truth there was in the all kinds of rumors.
- (d) I was told the story of the high Party conference held at the time Rákosi was deposed. The Soviet ambassador was in attendance at that conference and Rákosi resisted very much the attempts of the meeting to depose him whereupon he called ~~Khrushchev~~ ^{Khrushchev} directly by telephone. However, Khrushchev first talked to the Soviet ambassador and only secondly to Rákosi whereupon the scene of Rákosi's confessions of his mistakes followed before the attended Party meeting.
- (f) Private homes.
- (g) Yes, those who were in the Party or get information from Party members.
- (h) At home.
- (i) No, not at all. There are not many coffee houses and men do not dare to go out into the public because they can be asked the question: "Where did you get your money to treat yourself".
- (8) Not trustworthy at all.
- (d) Everything was taken conditionally and I suspected everything as most others did, too. Even if the regime

criticized itself one asked why do they criticize themselves? What is the motive behind it?

- (e) No.
- (f) It was completely the Party line but recently before the Revolution its criticism was Party motivated, that is ~~is~~ an attempt to quiet the general opinion so that the public may feel that now it is allowed to criticize things.
- (g) Yes, every day.
- (h) Yes, every time it appeared. At first I didn't see what they wanted or what was behind it, why they were doing it. When I observed that the circulation was still small I began to believe a little more of what they wrote. Even then I wondered perhaps the Party is behind it.
- (9) Yes, everyone tried to get information, every group, the workers just as much as the intelligentsia wanted to hear foreign broadcasts.
- (10)
- (a) I heard about the atom bomb from the Japanese in Asia while I was in Siberia. The Soviet Union itself said that the atom bomb does not exist, that is that the Japanese put down their arms because the Russians went into Manchuria. Then when the Korean war broke out

the story began to change. They began to emphasize the great danger of the atomic bomb and how many Japanese were mutilated and killed at Hiroshima. Personally I wonder why didn't the Americans use it on the Russians when only the Americans had it. Thus they could have dealt with the Russians easily.

- (b) We knew from the Korean prisoners in our work camp that North Korea was occupied. Many hundreds of thousands of Koreans were resettled in the middle of Asia, even in the Ukraine. Whole villages of Koreans were taken to the Ukraine. We followed the battle between the North Koreans and the UN troops on a map that was made by the Koreans in the camp.
- (c) No one really believed it seriously. We were told that the Americans dropped contaminated flies and so forth.
- (d) That the SS is on the street and that every man from 18 to 70 was a soldier. I was surprised when I came here to Germany. The Russians wanted us and also the Hungarians in Hungary to believe that the German army is strong so that they may have reason for preparing against a future war and attack.
- (e) I know only that they were sent over to Hungary. I read one of the newspapers.
- (f) An entire load of Germans were brought to Siberia. We heard the story from them.

- (g) We got very little news about it in the camp and idea or story was born that Eisenhower said to Bulganin that there has been enough imprisonment on your part, he should let the foreign prisoners go home. Many prisoners connected the Geneva conference with being released. Every one of the Western leaders and even Russian leaders had a cover-up name in the camp. The prisoners called Khrushchev hammer, Eisenhower was hitter-of-steel and Churchill was church-one or one-who-goes-to-church.
- (h) Nothing.

- (1) The elimination of political oppression and allowing free elections, allowing people to set up and form parties. Through an election of the people there would come a decision as to what kind of government they want on a constitutional basis. Secondly the sovereignty of the Hungarian Nation would have to be declared just as well as the neutrality of the country would have to be guaranteed next to Russia. It would be best if Hungary could be completely neutral. Naturally those who have suffered most and have lost everything want to have something given back to them, to be repaid at least for the land they lost. It is not fair if ~~anytime~~ ~~when~~ when a landholder loses everything, house, property, everything and has nothing, then the individual who had nothing at least has a little bit of land and maybe a house. In the case of the workers the elimination of the norm system and permitting the worker to select his job, making commerce free and in the hands of private individuals, the setting up of private factories.
- (a) If the cooperatives voluntarily wish to continue in a cooperative then, of course, they should be allowed to continue. Perhaps it would be good to leave in the hands of the state those areas of the economy or of industry which serves the common interest such as perhaps mines, electricity, the railroad, and some exceptionally large

industry. In the latter case I am not completely decided.

- (2) Yes, they are needed for a healthy national and state life.
- (a) Yes.
- (b) Yes, the Communist Party should be forbidden and every party which attempts to gain totalitarian rule because they try to get rule and power by terror and cleverness and every foreign Communist party is connected with the Soviet Union.

- (3) No limit. Even the Communist doesn't have to be limited because ~~if~~ if Hungary is free the Communist will deny that he is a such.
- (c) No.
- (d) No, except if it aims for totalitarian rule. Otherwise statements are merely against the government and against the state.

- (4) Yes.
- (a) Yes, of course.
- (b) If the government is not the will of the people or if it did not gain its rule by constitutional means through a free election.

- (5) Hungary should be allowed to select its markets for free trade without interference of the Soviet Union. It should be able to market its uranium and aluminum wherever it can get the most for ^{it} ~~it~~. Free internal commerce and trade should be allowed just as well as foreign trade and commerce. Individual initiative should be allowed. Heavy industry should be at a minimum exporting only those goods which it can profitably produce. Hungary would need to be developed as a modern agricultural country. Its fruit is good just as are the vegetables and wines.
- (6) To certain extent there needs to be made decisions according to the individual situation and the changes that had been brought about. All of this has to be examined extremely carefully.
- (b) Absolutely yes. Factories work better under individual direction. Large bureaucratic offices which are far from the factory locations do not see how the factory operates.
- (c) Yes.
- (d) Perhaps a state bank.
- (e) In certain things, yes, for example the railroad because only the state has enough capital for organizing beginning and then operating such. State monopoly for cigarettes and alcohol articles, yes.

- (f) Food, clothing, building material.
- (7) No.
- (8) At the present time the planned economy is closely connected with the Soviet needs. Personally I see no need for such planned economy. Factories and the economy itself in a free economy will produce according to the needs and according to the market demands.
- (9) A person's spiritual and intellectual life.
- (10) Yes, to support a government even if his own party has lost the election. Thus supporting it morally but also to support it financially by paying taxes.
- (e) Absolutely yes. Ensure the individual his rights and security, his freedom and his livelihood, employment and also the education of children according to talent if the parents are too poor to educate the child.
- (11) I think the quantity has increased but the quality is poorer. That is that more people receive medical care but the quality of medical care is poor.
- (a) Yes, the workers. But even this only appears to be an improvement because the worker cannot get a day off from work if even though more clinics are available.

- (c) According to me both are needed. I would further develop the medical insurance program and I would not tax the doctors to the extent that they are taxed so that they should be able to open a private practice. Today what happens is if an individual cuts his finger he rushes to the doctor when previously he would have managed it himself. Or if a person has a headache he goes to the clinic to get some pills. Previously he took an aspirin. The trouble is that the doctors are overburdened with patients and they cannot examine the patients conscientiously if the patient needs serious care.
- (12) Yes, it's very cheap in fact compared to the prices previously and compared to prices in the West.
- (a) Yes, since I got back and was freed from prison.
- (b) Yes, I believe so. Even the smaller villages have a movie although this movie house is used primarily as a channel for Communist propaganda. When Hungary is free these movie houses will be appropriate for the spread of culture and information.
- (c) Everyone goes so that he may escape from his daily troubles and be entertained for two hours.
- (d) Men are tired but they still go.
- (e) Yes, for example the Margitsziget operettas were sold out a week in advance.

(13) No, worse.

(a) About the same. At that time there was an inflation. For example today in Hungary 1 kilo of salami costs 75 forints. Thus ten kilos of salami would be an entire month wages, 750 forints, whereas before the war 1 kilo of salami cost 2 pengő and 10 kilo of salami would cost 20 pengő, whereas at that time the monthly wage was about 250 pengő. This indicates the tremendous difference between the wage received and the goods which can be bought by the wage. People cannot pay for the things and there isn't enough consumers' goods or even food.

(b) I don't know. I was away in prison.

(c) Yes.

(14) The middle class worse, the workers better.

(a) Better than in 1946 for the country was sacked. There was nothing in the country.

(c) Yes. But in general the workers ^{even} in pre-war times were rather well dressed. For these things such as the possibility for a worker to attend a movie and a theater are apparent changes and apparent improvements. The people go to the theater and to the movies and to concerts only because they don't save for furniture or for a house. They spend their money rather on these outward things. The simple reason that they do not

save for furniture or for a house is that they cannot hope to build a little house as it was possible previously. Before the war the government would give people a interest free loan and with their money that they had saved they could hope to buy a house or build it. Today there is no reason to save money because they can never hope to buy a house or even to build one. Three families live in one house or they sub-rent houses or even rooms to individuals. Thus money today earned by the worker goes for his clothing, for theater and movies, and ~~not~~ for things that it used to go for.

- (15) Yes. Again this is an apparent increase because after the war Hungary was without any factories and also Hungary has no profit from the industry she participates in. The great increase in output has not raised the standard of living at all.
- (a) The Soviet requirements have depleted Hungarian industry and take all of its products. If any products are exported to other countries they are exported at a price below cost. Thus Hungarian industry does not profit whatsoever, however, loses.
- (b) Heavy industry.
- (c) A disadvantage. Especially because the Soviet sells iron to Hungary at a higher cost than it would be to buy Swedish iron, ~~or~~ ore.

- (16) None. They don't understand the administration of a factory.
- (a) Only to ensure and protect the rights of the worker and to negotiate in the worker's behalf with the employer completely independent.
- (c) Voluntary membership.
- (d) The owner of the factory and such employees of officials who can profitably administrate a factory. It is not expedient to have a good crane operator run a factory and make it bankrupt.
- (17) The Soviet kind of cooperative ^{or collective farm} is the worst. Of course I am prejudiced. But if on a voluntary basis under good leadership a cooperative could prosper, and in certain places and certain areas it could, then the cooperative is the best way of doing business. But in Hungary today the cooperatives does not observe the interest of the peasant but rather ~~the~~ it works for the interest of the state.
- (c) By themselves they would dissolve as they did or as they have right now. It should be only on a voluntary basis that cooperatives are maintained.
- (d) Only on a cooperative basis. The members of the cooperative would have rights to decide.
- (e) The owners of ~~the~~ land will get land back. They are not big owners, they are peasants.

- (f) Yes, however, there needs to be made a difference between ploughed or cultivated land and land that is forest. In cultivated land I would say 500 hold.
- (g) No, not the big estates. The previously divided big estates should go back to the small holders who got the land originally.
- (h) Yes.
- (i) No. (See probe (g)).
- (j) These should be divided proportionately ~~am~~ among the farmers. If a particular farmer went into a cooperative with five cows and now there are through breeding twenty-five of them he should get them back, that is the twenty-five. There weren't many new buildings built but if there are any in the cooperative perhaps it would be good to keep them together in common usage. For example, a wine cellar provided for 250 hold that is owned by 50 owners each owner having 5 hold could pay a small fee for renting a portion of the wine cellar. The wine cellar could be held by the village or the community and thus avoid any quarrels over the ownership of the wine cellar. Everywhere a different kind of arrangement would be necessary.
- (k) This of course depends on voluntary decision of the group.
- (l) Yes, in the form of breeding of animals, development of seeds and fruits, providing cheap insecticide, and so

forth. The state will have to keep some land for itself and these parcels could be developed as ideal agricultural stations on which schools and institutes of agriculture could be organized for the children of the rural areas. Thus these children could attend the large state farm schools and receive instruction in good farm management and agriculture.

(m) Either the community or village should take them over as previously many communities held tractor stations or the tractor should be sold to independent people who can maintain these tractors.

(n) No, they shouldn't be.

(o) Yes, absolutely.

(18) They should be free from one another to eliminate friction.

(a) This would be good. To have them independent perhaps would be more healthy because the Roman Catholic influence in Hungary was too great. The appointment to government positions was made on a percentage basis just as selection for ministers of government on a basis of religion. The considerations of a nation cannot depend upon the interests of a church or churches.

(b) No difference.

(c) Yes, because the churches lost so much property and they have to be repaid to some extent. Then there are

places where the Reformed Church is poorer than the Roman Catholic or vice versa and some churches where more gifts are given to the clergy from both the poor and the wealthy people and thus for such a church or congregation state aid would not be so vital.

- (d) Yes, at least to sit in on committee meetings and to protect the right and privilege of free religious instruction in the schools. Also to be present in committees where the plan of education and courses of education for the various school years are developed. These representatives of a committee should represent the various church bodies.
- (e) Yes.
- (f) (Question doesn't apply. Respondent doesn't have any children and the answer would come from him as bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church: Yes.)
- (g) The schools would need to be given back because they were private property and because the schools operated within the state system of education. The land should not be given back except in certain cases where there is a definite need with regard to the local congregation of the church in order to provide the needs for the local clergymen such as meat, food, and vegetables. Again a local congregation should not get back more than 500 hold and the church should be reimbursed somehow for the lost land.

- (19) It is a difficult question. The simple party member who was forced to join cannot be held responsible for this action but the ideological leaders, party leaders, everywhere must be held responsible individually and must be judged individually in a court.
- (a) No, each individual must be judged on the basis of his own individual acts and behavior.
- (b) As stated above a general decision or order cannot apply to all. Some of the Communist leaders were thoroughly convinced that although things are bad now they were believers that things will get better later. Thus they were not rascals nor terrorists but sincere believers and honest in what they believed.
- (c) The same as above, examined individually. Many of them were honest men.
- (d) The same as above.
- (e) The same as above.
- (f) The same as above. Each one examined individually they should be interned at first somewhere because many honest men were among them but there were many who saw how the Soviet was pillaging Hungary and many of them ordered blood baths and death sentences.
- (g) The same as above. But these police were far from the AVH in behavior.
- (h) They should be examined as to their behavior individually.

(20) 896 when the Hungarians broke into Europe and into the Carpathian basin. Second the founding of the Hungarian kingdom, the defense of Hungary and ultimately the West against the Tartars, the Golden Bull, the victory over the Turks in 1456 at Mankőfehervár, the defeat of the Hungarians at Mohács in 1526 by the Turks and the following occupation of Hungary by the Turks. 1848 fight for freedom by Hungary from the Austrians, 1867 the Ausgleich agreement. In 1919 defeat of the Bolshevics in Hungary. Then ~~was~~ October 23rd, 1956 the first nation to dare to rise against the Soviet totalitarian system. Cultural achievements brought to the West by the Hungarians: Indirectly, first when the Hungarians were robbing in the West of Germany the Germans were forced to build castles, a direct development of democracy by Kossuth, the 160 years during which the Hungarians held back the Turks from Europe, the area of music, Liszt and Bartok, in medicine such man as Semmelweis who succeeded among Hungarians, the declaration of the freedom and practice of religion by the diet of Torda and in this connection the activities of Prince Istvan Bocskay, the end of feudalism in a large measure in the 19th century, the contribution of such writers as Petöfi, Jókai, and the great contributions Hungarians have made in the areas of art, film, music, drama, and the scientific discoveries.

- (21) Absolutely yes.
- (a) Very much so.
- (b) Varies quite a bit although I found similarities between the Russian and Hungarian spirit-differentiating the Soviet man from the Russian. Hungarians and Russians are equally hospitable.
- (c) Yes, for example, the Hungarian is very deeply sentimental while the American is sentimental only as long as he is in love.
- (d) Under the pressure of force the external appearances have changed but not so the spirit.
- (e) For the peasants the great love of the land, of his animals, the love of private property and heritage, the maintenance of such festive days and occasions as harvest time, the gathering of the grapes, the great attachment to the church, the importance of the family and the fact that they maintain they have 700 relatives. The worker sticks to his Sunday. He dresses up even if he doesn't go to church. The middle class has no deep heritage. They are rather cosmopolitan.
- (f) Yes, of course.
- (22) Perhaps the government of István Bethlen which seems to have brought the most number of social reforms. The government of Pál Teleki is also to be considered.
- (a) At the time of the monarchy the standard of life was

rather high.

- (b) Before the first world war those who emigrated saw a good opportunity to earn some money and then returned to buy some land in Hungary. The wife usually stayed at home. The peasant wanted to be an independent landowner and independent farmer. After the first world war the primary cause for emigration was the great unemployment and the economic prices.
- (c) Yes, up to 1945.
- (d) No.
- (e) It was a weak group which made many mistakes and to a certain extent it prepared the way for the 1919 Bolshevik revolution.
- (f) In general people came to hate the Communist Party and it had very few followers, even Social-Democrats had few followers.
- (g) Yes, significant.
- (h) After 1919 the Horthy regime could not do otherwise than it did until it got into the net of the Germans. It's a pity it was lost. The Western powers didn't do anything to bring about the revision of the Hungarian borders.
- (i) No, it did not follow a good policy. It should have stayed neutral but that was impossible.
- (j) It was a period filled with hope that the West would bring about changes and assist in the development of

democracy in Hungary, that the American government in the West would not let the Russians take over.

- (23) Yes, political boundaries are important but not so the boundaries for custom and economic relations.
- (b) Yes, to areas populated by Hungarian people. These ~~xxx~~ should be given back, such as the Czech territories, Rumanian, Transylvanian ~~(xxx)~~, and Yugoslavian areas.
- (c) None except the Soviet.
- (d) No, except those differences incited and fermented by the little entente.
- (e) Here there are some difficulties because of the Soviet. There is such ~~an~~ anti-Slav tone in the Hungarians today. Even beginning with the question of language there are strong differences from the Slavs but these could be alleviated in the cases of the Slovaks which had close ~~relationships~~ ~~with~~ relationship with the Hungarians.
- (f) In Transylvania the Hungarians get along very well with the Rumanians of Transylvania. It was the Rumanian intelligentsia that incited the anti-Hungarian feeling among those Rumanians. Moreover the Rumanians outside of Transylvania are a different type and different mentality.
- (g) ~~Very well~~ Rather well. In Hungary the Germans are not liked and in general the Habsburg times are remembered.

- (h) Now badly but when the great agreement was reached then it was better.
- (24) Absolutely. For example, I feel that a group such as the Bavarians, Austrians, Hungarians, and the Yugoslvians could cooperate in certain economic and political things. However, in general to have an economic and political friendship whereby the neighbouring states would cooperate. However, a condition to this would be that the Hungarian population beyond the present Hungarian borders be given back to Hungary. This would include the land where these people are located. This is especially important since the Hungarians dare to speak up against the Soviet totalitarianism. The West has to recognize the Carpathian borders for Hungary including Transylvania. As indicated above the Transylvanian Rumanian is much different than the Rumanian outside of Transylvania.
- (a) Some kind of an alliance that would be more a friendly alliance. The East Central European alliance would separate the two great powers Russia and Germany. The smaller ~~power~~ powers by themselves are not worth anything. I would include Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and perhaps Bulgaria. This kind of a friendly alliance would be supplemented by an economic federation.
- (e) This is a disadvantage for Hungary. So many millions

Hungarians are outside the Hungarian border and so few other non-Hungarian nationalities are within the Hungarian border. For example, there are 3 million Hungarians in Rumania and only about 700 to 800 thousand Rumanians within Hungary.

- (25) As people and individuals they are good and warm-hearted but they are credible and easily influenced, undisciplined, teachable. The young people at some time will still break through and break up the system.
- (a) Yes, differences are ~~xxxxxxbetween~~ ^{witnessed in} this group: The Big Russian Siberian people and White Russians over against the ~~Ukrainian~~ Ukrainians who are an extremely chauvinistic group, but a group of 40 million people whom I call rubbish for the simple fact that in 300 years they could not gain their own independence.
- (c) Not at all. Absolutely not.
- (d) Yes, closely in the work camp in Siberia.
- (e) They were regarded as an enemy and feared greatly.
- (f) The Hungarian people had the worst experiences with them and worst than in 1944.
- (g) It didn't change.
- (h) It didn't change.
- (26) Communism as we know today is an atheistic faith which drives its demands through a totalitarian system.

- (a) It had proper social demands demanding the break-down of the big social walls. But Communism itself erected new walls, there is a new Roman pleb.
- (b) The Hungarian Communists are not Marxists at all. The true Communists are Stalinists and then maybe in the second place Communists.
- (d) No.
- (e) No.
- (f) They are namely the Marxists but they have a chaotic conception of Marxism.
- (g) No.
- (h) Humorously; to chatter as much as they do in the UN and as much as they do in Paris and at ~~the~~ Bonn and to have as many changes in government as you have in Paris. But seriously; to have freedom of speech, to allow political parties to prevail one against another and through constitutional channels to seek their ends or programs for a free society.
- (i) Really not yet.
- (j) Tito is a Communist.
- (27) National Communism completely believes and professes the Communist ideas but a totalitarian state leader does not want to tolerate Moscow leadership and therefore separates himself or the state from Moscow.
- (a) Undoubtedly yes, but a very small number.

(b) They wanted to separate from Moscow and be independent. Their attitude was that if Russia doesn't siphon off our economy then maybe Communism in Hungary would be triumphant.

(c) Gomulka wanted to break away from Moscow. He himself had suffered and hit an anti-Soviet tone. Now he is in the yoke of Moscow again and getting help from Moscow.

(d) Yes.

(e) No.

(28) The Imre Nagy government would only have been an interim government to the time of a free election. With the election the Nagy government would have had to go completely. A new government that would have been in would not have been Communist whatsoever.

(a) Personally I think Imre Nagy would have left the camp of national Communism, too, and allowed a free spirit to develop with a Western democracy in Hungary.

(b) Only until the time of election. With the election he would have been swept out of office.

(29)

(a) Good.

(b) Bad.

(c) Bad.

- (d) Bad.
- (e) Bad.
- (f) Somewhere between bad and good.
- (g) Good.
- (h) Bad.
- (i) It's really nothing or bad.
- (j) Bad.
- (k) Bad.
- (l) Bad.
- (m) Bad.
- (n) As a politician bad today.
- (30) Some kind of Christian-Social democracy or the Small Holders Party, anything which is not Marxist.
- (a) Perhaps Bela Kovacs who has a great deal of prestige especially because he had been imprisoned.
- (31)
- (a) More.
- (b) More.
- (c) Less.
- (d) Still less.
- (f) Less.
- (e) A part less, a part more, depends upon where they were in the Party.
- (g) More.

- (h) Less.
- (i) Less.
- (32) Everyone had a better life with the exception of those who are now political party people.
- (33)
- (a) Conflict.
- (b) Approximately coincide.
- (c) Conflict.
- (d) Conflict.
- (e) Conflict.
- (f) It's a question as to what group of the laity but in general coincide.
- (g) Conflict.
- (h) Conflict.
- (i) Conflict.
- (j) Conflict.
- (34) None whatsoever as regards the United States.
- (35) The AVH and those convinced Party members, functionaries from every cast^e of society, and then the military ~~inst~~ functionaries with the Party.
- (a) 90 percent of the population against the regime, 8 percent passive.
- (36) No.

- (1) Is there any way in which very soon the present situation in Hungary can be changed without war?
- (a) The idea of the entire interview is very interesting to me. The organization of it I find is being very well constructed. It will be important, as you plan of course, to get the results of this interview to scholars through whom undoubtedly it will get to American political figures and statesmen and from there it will bring an effect upon the people of the United States and perhaps then bring about some change.
- (c) I feel that Americans are too naive and too credible. For example, if someone speaks to American nicely the American will think that this individual is his friend because the American projects his own desire for friendship into the apparent behavior of the other individual and feels that the other individual, too, is friendly. Also beware of those who talk too much. They are to be watched. It cannot all be true what they say.
- (d) Yes, in general I feel they will be. The interview gets at deep feelings of the respondent.
- (2) I don't know of anything else.
- (a) Yes, as soon as I can return to a free Hungary.
- (3) I have nothing serious to offer.
- (b) Yes, I am planning to write a book about my experiences

in the Soviet Union and at the work camps, particularly to concentrate upon the thinking of the Soviet intelligentsia and Russian people, also to deal with the dialectical philosophy of the Soviet.

Personal comment about the respondent: A very straight forward man who stands upon his principles and his beliefs. For these very things he was jailed by the Russian NKVD in Hungary in 1947 and sent to Siberia. A man who is open-minded, ready to listen to someone else's side of a question. But he stands for truth in the intellectual and spiritual life and is deeply concerned at the ~~xi~~ present time with the youth of Hungary and that particular group that escaped from Hungary. During ten years while in Siberia in Russia he learned a great deal about Soviet mind and mentality, physically endured torture and punishment.