

- (1) The most essential thing you ought to know about Hungary is, that the so called people's gov't did not represent the people at all. The country was not independent and none else but the Russians and their stooges in Hungary were to decide what should happen. About the stooges I would like to point out that they were mostly people I would term as dubious characters; people without conviction. I would like to point out also that seemingly the communist regime favored the intelligentsia. ~~Буржуазная интеллигенция~~. Actually only those among the new intelligentsia who subjected themselves fully to the will of the rulers had any say and for all practical purposes they could be active only insofar as they were willing to carry out blindly the orders of the regime. Anybody else, even belonging to the new intelligentsia, was sidetracked.
- (2) Speaking about the origins of the revolution, my feeling was that already in September 1956 the revolt in Hungary was inevitable. Four or five months before the revolution, a general change took place in the domestic situation. The activities of the Petöfi circle were of particular significance, because it voiced opinions which were, until then, suppressed. This new freedom of expression made itself felt not only in the meetings of the Petöfi circle, but also in some segments of the press. And from Budapest this new trend spread all over the country.

Here I would like to recall a meeting of the Hungarian jurists that took place in Balaton-fured in August or early September 1956. I remember that one of the delegates from Budapest, I don't remember his name, or his position, but I remember well what he said. He expressed the opinion that the opinion of the party is just one of the many opinions. Everyone should freely express his opinions. An end should be made with the practice of submitting oneself to whatever the party says. This opinion, voiced by one of the delegates coming from the capital, made a deep impression on the jurists present at the meeting, especially on those that came from the countryside. I was one of them. We felt encouraged, we felt that a new wind is blowing from Budapest.

(2b)

To take up the points one by one, that you have mentioned, I would say this: Stalin's death, no doubt, started a new era. There was some relaxation, but there were relapses. I would not say, therefore, that Stalin's death definitely set a new and lasting trend. Some essential changes took place under Imre Nagy's regime. I would say the reaction to Imre Nagy's regime was a mixture of hope and suspicion. The misgivings were ~~shown~~<sup>born</sup> out ~~with~~<sup>by</sup> his dismissal. Altho with Rakosi's return to power not everything returned to the conditions that existed before Nagy's ministry. As for the reconciliation of Moscow with Tito, I would not attach any significance to this, in connection with the events preceding the Hungarian revolution.

I would rather point out that <sup>the</sup> break between Tito and the Soviets filled us with hopes. We felt that trouble within the communist world is good for us. The 20th Party Congress was an important event. It gave a new push to relaxation! I would connect the congress with the activities of the Petöfi circle, because it was the Moscow congress that enabled the activities of the Petöfi circle by encouraging free expression and criticism. The Posnan uprising, not unlike the Berlin uprising, was a source of hope. It expressed dissatisfaction under the communist regime. We hoped for as many as possible of such demonstrations of protest against the communist dictatorship; especially we hoped that such an uprising may encourage the West to put political pressure on the Soviets. WE did not exclude even military intervention, if such uprisings would repeat themselves. I am thinking of an inter<sup>vention</sup> ~~ference~~ under the aegis of the United Nations. As for the replacement of Rakosi in the summer of 1956, I interpreted this as a maneuver to lessen the internal tension caused by the activity of the Petöfi circle. I think this was the real significance of this event. Rajk's funeral in October undermined the prestige of the existing regime, whatever its prestige was, because the people thought, what kind of gov't is this, under which things like that can occur? It definitely strengthened the feeling of insecurity, of confusion. It encouraged people to criticize, to express their opinions.

Finally, the events in Poland made people realize, perhaps for the 1st time, that hopes can come true. The desire to act had been strengthened. The sentiments of freedom had been intensified. The conviction grew stronger that one can act against the will of the Soviets and succeed.

(2c) I would say that the real turning point was when the Petöfi circle began its activities in the spring and summer 1956. I mean, its activities ~~criticizing openly the~~ ~~criticizing openly the~~ ~~XXXXX~~ regime.

(2e) The role of the writers was this: They made such statements which incited the public against the regime. The freedom enjoyed by the writers, to express their opinion, strengthened the spirit of freedom of the people at large.

(2g) I do not remember any particular article, but I do remember that very often we gave each other articles to read which impressed us by their criticism of the regime. These were mostly articles which appeared in the Irodalmi Ujsag. I was reading regularly the Magyar Nemzet and in this paper too there were many articles which we circulated among ourselves, but I could not remember any single article which impressed me most.

(3) The only, all important factor leading to the revolution was that the people were fed up with the new order introduced by the communists after the second World War. In this order no one could feel secure. But I would like to point out again that it was not until the activities of the Petöfi circle that people got the courage to express

to express their dissatisfaction more openly. Of course, the events I have discussed earlier all added something to this growing spirit of freedom, in particular the 20th Party Congress, the degrading of Stalin as the idol of communism, had this effect.

(3b)

The control system was not perfect. The rulers thought that it was perfect. Had they known that it is not, perhaps they could have prevented its collapse. What I mean is that they could have foreseen what will be the consequences of relaxation and especially of the criticism they have allowed to such groups as the Petöfi circle. Had the regime curtailed the expression of opinion, it is my belief that the revolution could have been prevented. Now speaking about the control system, you should keep in mind that the reliable elements which maintained the system were few. Actually only the high functionaries in the gov't. But others whom the regime trusted proved to be not reliable supporters and those who proved unreliable before the revolution, weakened the efficiency of the control system and during the revolution they have paralyzed its functioning.

(3c)

The people who staged the demonstration of Oct 23rd, I think, wanted to put pressure on the regime. They wanted to express their dissatisfaction with the regime, their intention was to make the regime accept their demands. But this stage of the revolution was actually very short. Already the events of Oct 23rd turned the demonstrations against the regime.

It wasn't anymore a pressure, it was an attack.

(3f)

Actually many people opposed the revolution, atleast in its initial phase, because they did not believe that the revolution can succeed. I have heard many people express fear, who believed that the regime will kick back at the demonstrators. I would sum up by saying that many people opposed the revolution, because they did not want to take the risks of opposing the regime. They were afraid of the consequences. I am talking, of course, about those who would have liked the revolution to succeed but did not trust its success, and not about those ~~neutral~~ stooges of Moscow who opposed the revolution because they did not want it to succeed.

(3g)

It is hard to know the distinction between those people who opposed the revolution because of fear and those who were neutral. Perhaps I would say that the neutrals were mostly those who were not interested in politics, who were indifferent. I would ~~know~~<sup>call</sup> the distinction, perhaps, between the active and the passive members of the society. The passive members of the society were mostly the neutrals, while among the active members the majority was for the revolution and the minority, a very small minority, was against it.

(3h)

I don't remember too well the slogans of the revolution, but I think the most popular one was the one that demanded that the Russians should leave the country.

(3i)

The revolution was anti-communist. What else could it be?

(3k)

You should bear in mind that not all the party members were really communists. There were great many people who were only formally members of the party and there were also great many who were disappointed. I think that those communists who took part in the revolution, actually ceased to be communists the moment they joined the revolution.

(3l)

You should know that the communists called everyone a reactionary who did not support the regime. In such a sense there were, of course, great many reactionaries among the rebels. But I don't think that there are too many reactionaries in the proper sense of the word in Hungary. I would say 10 to 15% of the people would like to restore the former social order of the country and those people were, of course, for the revolution. Were they among the rebels? Well, it is very well possible.

(4)

On Oct 23rd I was not at home. I was on an official business in Szeged; in my capacity as public prosecutor I was supervising the office of the public attorney there. I learned about the events in Budapest during my stay in Szeged; almost all the members of the district prosecutor's office expressed enthusiasm. We were making lively and sympathetic comments, only the deputy of the public prosecutor there, expressed fear and said, if we keep on talking like that he will leave the room. Actually, he was no supporter of the regime at all, he was just scared.

Here I would like to explain that I was public prosecutor in charge of civilian affairs in Veszprém, but I lived in Balatonfüred and I commuted from there to Veszprém. After my return home I became a member of the revolutionary council in Veszprém. I was in V. on Oct 24 and 25, but since the trains were not going on the 26th and the 27th, I stayed home in Balatonfüred. In B. itself, during these days, there weren't any events worth mentioning. On the 28th, however, and this was on Sunday, a friend of mine visited me from Veszprém, who was a member of the revolutionary council there. His name is Antal Rozmanit. He said that he is on a very important mission and that he wants me to join him. He said he is on his way to Vienna and he wants to get in touch with the Americans there. The purpose of his trip was ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ to inform the Americans that the broadcasts of Free Europe radio are harmful to the revolution. Radio Free Europe was attacking Imre Nagy and this was a grave mistake, Rozmanit told me, because if we don't support Nagy there will be no other person who could lead the revolution. We agreed and I expressed my willingness to join him on this mission. We left Sunday afternoon and arrived in Vienna that night. We spent the night with my half-brother, who is an Austrian, and next day we carried out our mission. I would not like to disclose any details of this mission. I think Mr. Rozmanit is the person authorized to talk about it. If you are interested to get in touch with him, he is now in Vienna, his address is: Rosauerlande 23.



Our mission was not the only one of its kind, I believe, nevertheless I think our mission was successful because Radio Free Europe changed subsequently its broadcasts and stopped attacking Imre Nagy. In my opinion RFE made a mistake by attacking Nagy, because what we needed was the stabilization of the revolution and this could have been achieved, if at all, only if Nagy stayed in office and succeeded to rally the country around him. I say this, altho in my opinion, Nagy is as much a scoundrel as the other communists, but we just didn't have anyone else who could have stabilized the revolution. I don't mean to say, however, that the attacks against Nagy By RFE were responsible for what happened. Even had RFE not attacked Nagy, the Russians would have intervened in Hungary, except in case had the UN intervened to save Hungary. This is the crucial point. Without UN intervention there was no hope for success. As for UN intervention, I think it could have been successful. The Russians were confused, had the UN sent troops the way it sent to Suez I don't think the Russians would have succeeded to reoccupy Hungary. Of course I do know that this is a very complicated situation. All this I am talking about probably would have been possible only if France and England had not intervened in Suez. Now, to continue the story: On Oct 21st I returned home and stayed there until the Russian attack on Nov 4th; because I was a member of the revolutionary council in Veszprém and because of my Vienna mission I had good reason to be afraid and after reaching the conclusion that we must leave the country,

we left on the 19th and arrived to Austria on the 20th.

- (5) I have participated in the revolution as I have described it, but I do not consider myself a fighting participant. I did not fight with arms.
- (6) N/A
- (7) I think the revolutionary council in Budapest, because this was the council in the capital.
- (7a) I don't know of any conflicts or disagreements among the rebels.
- (8) I have no personal experiences. I have seen Soviet troops during the revolution, but I have nothing in particular to say about their behavior.
- (8a) I saw no defections.
- (9) I have read the paper, I received news by word of mouth and I have listened also to the radio.
- (9a) I saw most the revolutionary paper which was published in Veszprém.
- (9b) The news I learned by word of mouth were mostly from the members of the Vesztrém revolutionary council.
- (9c) I have listened to Budapest radio and to Free Europe Radio.

- (10) From what I have seen I could say only that the old party and gov't institutions ceased to function. Same applies to points a and b.
- (10g) I haven't been in Budapest during the revolution, I don't know.
- (10j) I have no personal experience.
- (10k) The new organizations were the revolutionary councils and the national guard.
- (10l) I have no knowledge about the background of the workers councils.
- (10m) It is hard to answer your question what gov't structure would have emerged from the revolution. There was great confusion because there was no leader. Nevertheless I think, or I hope, that out of this confusion a gov't on the pattern of Western democracy would have emerged. It is also very, very probable that political conflicts would have arisen, whether these conflicts would have taken the form of party struggles within a democratic system, I don't know. I could express the hope only, that these conflicts could have been kept within the democratic system.
- (11) Yes, I think a lot of the revolution.
- (11a) I think it was a useful thing. The population regained its self-confidence. It learned that the regime is not as strong as it seemed to be. Of course, the failure of the revolution proved also that an attack against the regime cannot succeed without help from abroad.

Nevertheless we succeeded atleast to arouse the free world's conscience. We succeeded, I hope, in making the free world aware of the Russian danger. Also, we demonstrated to the world that the Soviet system and Soviet policy does not serve the interests of the people. I think these are important achievements, because as far as I can see, the West was asleep before the revolution. I must add, however, that I am afraid that now that the revolution is over the West is showing signs of falling asleep again.

(11b) As I have said before, I think the revolution could have succeeded with the help of UN intervention.

(11c) Yes, we all expected help from the West. The basis for this expectation was the Free Europe Radio. I know, of course, that they never promised concrete help, but the implication of everything that they have said was, "if you do something against this regime, you will not be left alone!" Incidentally, I believe that a showdown between the communist world and the free world is inevitable.

(11e) I don't believe that Imre Nagy could have stayed in office after the revolution; everyone who during the past 10 years had a leading position under the communist regime, must step down, whatever he may do, and those who did not compromise themselves, must take over.

(11f) The most important individual was, perhaps, Maleter. But the man of greatest authority is Mindszenty, because he represents the persecuted Hungarian nation.

Noone else has such a great moral authority like he.

(11g) First the youth, second the workers, third the intellectuals, fourth the soldiers, fifth the peasants, sixth the irresponsible elements.

(12) I made my decision to leave Hungary after the Russian attack, because I was aware of it that after the failure of the revolution everyone who participated in it in whatever form, will be persecuted.

(1)

I was ~~public~~ prosecutor in charge of civilian affairs. To explain this job, I must explain that under the communist system the office of the ~~public~~ prosecutor in charge of civilian affairs was quite a new one. He was actually in charge of supervising the administration, with the exception of police and the courts. The power of the ~~public~~ prosecutor in charge of civilian affairs was fairly broad. This office, according to the law, was watching over the legality. It intervened ex officio in every instance when there was a violation of legality. But actually it could intervene in any civilian case and because of the vanishing borderlines between civilian and criminal cases, the power of the office went far beyond what could be properly called civilian affairs. After all, almost any case could have had criminal implications.

(2)

I have finished my university studies at the law faculty of the Szeged university in 1936. I was employed in an attorney's office in Szeged from 1936 to 38. In the meantime I have completed my military service and was a pilot lieutenant in the reserves. In 1939 I was appointed to the District Court in Veszprém and I started my career as a judge. I passed the judge exams in 1943; but while I was advancing and received higher appointments in normal intervals, I have actually been more away from the court than not.

Namely, on active duty at the bomber training squadron in Veszprém. It was in V. that I fell in Russian captivity in March 1945. I was a prisoner of war until October 1947. Most of the time northeast from Moscow in Oranky. I was released in 1947. I returned to Veszprém and re-joined the court there. My future, of course was not bright at all. In 1949 I was told that I could never be appointed as a judge because of my social background and because of my known political opinions and because of my past, especially in view of my role in the airforce. I stayed on the job just the same and since my qualifications were the best, in 1951 I had been told that I may be appointed as a judge. I was told, however, that if I would not work in conformity with the spirit of the regime, I may get into trouble. In view of this and other considerations, I requested not to be appointed as a judge, but as a prosecutor. In February 1951 I received my appointment as public attorney in Balatonfüred. I can explain this appointment by the fact that the regime needed experts and they were hopeful of reeducating even people of my kind. I have held this <sup>district attorney's</sup> office until July 1953. In the summer of that year I was told that I may be promoted to become deputy public attorney in <sup>Veszprém</sup> ~~Veszprém~~. I was told also that in due time I may become the president of the public prosecutor's office in Veszprém. I disliked these prospects because I knew that in my new capacity I would be forced to do things which I did not want to.

My refusal to accept this advancement resulted in a disciplinary action against me. The investigation, however, could not find anything discriminatory against me, except my social background, my military past. But even the investigation had to conclude that my legal qualifications are the best. The result of the disciplinary case was that I was transferred from Balaton <sup>Meszprém</sup> ~~Veszprém~~ as ~~public~~ prosecutor for civilian affairs.

(2e)

I was working mostly with experts, that is to say with legally qualified people who received their training before the war, and I should add that we did our best to make justice prevail. There were, of course, new people among us, people with good kader, people of working class origin, but in my experience even those new people, after one or two years, became under our influence. They have realized that what the regime expects from them is to persecute their fellow countrymen. Only the highest positions have been filled with people who were party members. I would estimate that about 90% of the members of the court and the offices of the public prosecutor in the county of Veszprém were no party members. And these 90% helped the victims of the regime as much as they could. We sabotaged wherever it was possible. In simple cases it was possible to make the files disappear. This could not be done on a large scale, but useful legal council could be given to the prosecuted and this we did on a large scale.



I can hardly remember a day when someone did not come to my house asking for help and altho it was illegal, no-one left my house without receiving council. This was nothing unique. My colleagues did the same.

- (3) I did not like my job. I would have preferred to be a judge. A public prosecutor, after all, is working for the maintenance of the existing social order. I did the very opposite of this, whenever I could. Just the same, the job was not a pleasant one.
- (3d) From above we were exposed to permanent pressure, even terror. This made itself felt at the conferences presided over by the president of the office of the ~~prosecutor~~ <sup>district attorney</sup>. The offices were crowded. I did not have a room for myself. But otherwise, the physical equipment of the office was satisfactory.
- (3f) Officially 8 hours, but in practice I was working 12 to 13 hours a day.
- (3g) Six days.
- (3h) We were working overtime, but we did not receive any overtime payments.
- (3o) We had the usual social benefits, medical care and such. Other benefits as vacation in resort places, I took advantage of this once, when I went for my vacation to Matrahana.

- (4a) I have described already the people with whom I worked. They were mostly experts and some new people from the working class kader. But most of the new people, as I have said, came under our influence. We, the old people, <sup>among ourselves</sup> were outspoken/about our opinions concerning the new regime. With our colleagues ~~of working class kader~~ we had mostly correct relationship. Our relationship with them was limited, however, strictly to the office. We did not meet them socially.
- (4b) As I have said, relationship was correct, polite, but there was a distinction made between old experts and new people of working class kader. Even on official, social gatherings the 2 groups hardly mingled with each other, but this was generally accepted and caused no friction.
- (4c) We were automatically members of our trade union. Its operation was not different from others.
- (4d) We had a shop triangle, but it had no particular significance.
- (4e) There was interference. It came as a rule thru the president of the office of the public prosecutor. As I have already described, we have sabotaged as much as we could.
- (4f) There were rumors that we had an AVO informer. Whether it was so, I don't know.
- (5) There was no chance to leave my profession, because there was a great need for experts in my field.
- (5b) If I had been free to choose my work, I would have liked to be an attorney.

- (5e) I love books, I love travel and I am interested in the natural sciences.
- (5g) I have daughters and I don't think that my work is suitable for women, but even if I had sons I would not have wanted them to do the same kind of work as I did, because I did not like it.
- (6) We had a difficult life. We had only the bare necessities of life.
- (7) My salary in 1947 was 630 forints, in 1952 1,300 ft., in 1955 1,600 ft.
- (8) In 1956 my salary was 2,000 ft.
- (8b) My actual pay was 1,700 ft.
- (9a) 200 ft.
- (9b) They were crowded, we had a shared lease.
- (9c) 1,400 ft. One had to stand in line for meat. The availability of merchandise was fluctuating.
- (9d) 100 ft.
- (9e) 100 ft.
- (9f) Tobacco cost 50 ft per year.
- (9g) N/A
- (9h) 30 ft.
- (9i) 20 ft.
- (9j) 100 ft.
- (9k) N/A
- (9l) 70 ft.
- (9m) N/A
- (9n) N/A
- (9o) Food and clothing was bought in state stores.
- (9p) No.

- (10) Without being an economist, I would say that the economic development was bad.
- (10c) The situation in Hungary before 1941 favored the enterprising spirit and this was good.
- (10d) I think the economic situation deteriorated. It deteriorated all the time.
- (10f) Under Imre Nagy the private sector re-emerged. It decreased after his dismissal, but, as in everything else, conditions even after Nagy's dismissal did not return to what they were before.
- (10g) Conditions were bad, but there was some improvement in the last year before the revolution.
- (11) Material conditions were of some importance, but far more important was political oppression.

- (1) See Section "W", question (1).
- (1e) I would have preferred to study the natural sciences, but in 1930, when I started my university studies, the economic situation was such, that I chose to study laws. It promised better prospects.
- (2) N/A
- (3) N/A
- (4) The objective was to eradicate religion and to suppress individuality <sup>by</sup> ~~in~~ communist indoctrination.
- (4b) I think communist education was not effective. I have seen how young people in my office awakened to the communist reality. When the revolution broke out, with the exception of one or two, they all enthusiastically joined it.
- (4c) The revolution is the best proof of it, how they felt about communism.
- (4f) I don't see any change.
- (4h) I would refer again to the revolution as a proof of the children's attitude.
- (4i) As I have said, I don't think it was effective at all.
- (5) My father was a judge.

- (5f) We lived comfortably. As members of the middle class.
- (5g) I have 2 brothers.
- (5h) One of my brothers is an attorney in Szeged, my other brother is a judge in Budapest.
- (5i) My wife and our 2 daughters.
- (5k) My social origin was to my disadvantage.
- (6) I am married.
- (6a) My wife was teacher in an elementary school.
- (7,8,9,10) Not applicable, because respondent's children were not over 17 years old in 1956.
- (11) My relationship with my parents was good.
- (12) Yes, we talked about political matters.
- (13) N/A
- (14) Our family life was intimate.
- (14b) Taking into consideration families of the same social background, I would say that our family life was typical.
- (14c) I was reading in my leisure time.
- (14g) There was no interference in my leisure time.
- (15) Family life has loosened since 1945. Laws made divorce easier. I have had enough divorce cases to know how much family ties have loosened.

- (15e) The objective of the regime was to take the children away from their parents, but as I have said, communist education was not effective. It may be true that family life suffered under communism, but I really don't have experience enough to say more about this subject.
- (16) Relations became more free, but also more superficial.
- (16b) I would answer this question by saying that you could not see lovers walking arm in arm as in the past.
- (16e) I don't know anything about this question.
- (16f) On the surface they were more strict, but in practice the very opposite was true.
- (16h) The attitude towards illegitimate children has undergone a favorable change.
- (16i) The equality of women destroyed the idealism towards them.
- (17) The state of morals has sunken very low.
- (18) I had a very close friend. I have met him in 1949 and we lived in the same house.
- (18e) We discussed political, social, philosophical problems.
- (18g) I value most in a friend frankness, character, and of course, the intellect.
- (18i) My circle of friends was made up of people of the same social and political background.
- (18k) If it would have happened it would have ended my friendship.

- (19) We are Lutherans.
- (19b) I was an active church member.
- (20) The communist rule was hostile towards religious life.
- (20b) I think the communists wanted to eradicate religion.
- (20c) The peace priests were people of low morality, whom the regime could easily bend.
- (20f) No, one could not freely attend church services. The communists kept record of the church goers and they reminded them not to go to church or to bear the consequences of it. Also children were exposed to pressure or even terror not to attend religious classes. To speak from our own experience, I could not go to church, nor my wife could, because she was a teacher. Note inquiry of Interviewer: "You said a while ago that you were an active church member." End of note. Answer: "What I meant was that I was a presbyter of the Lutheran church in Veszprém. But we lived in Balaton fured and we could not go to church there."
- (20i) The older people attended church more frequently.
- (20k) To young people religion is less important than it was to their parents.
- (20l) I think the church played a decisive role in fostering political opposition.
- (21) I would advise him to become a doctor.
- (21b) I would tell him to know as much as he can in his field.



- (22) The group that was best off was the party functionaries, next I would say the Army. The group worst off was that of the people of the old regime who lost their jobs. Next, the intelligentsia, next the workers and the peasants.
- (22a) I belonged to the intelligentsia.
- (23) I would distinguish between the party functionaries or in general, the privileged, on the one hand, and the not privileged on the other. On paper, of course, no classes existed, but I do think that there were still three classes in Hungary, the peasants, the workers and the intelligentsia.
- (23d) The barriers between the classes are not essential.
- (23e) There is something you may call social equality among the members of the privileged group, but there is great social inequality among the members of the privileged and the not privileged.
- (23g) Manners under the communist regime were very rude.
- (24) The Germans were worst treated.
- (24a) I have no experience in the live of the minority groups to be able to answer this question.
- (25) The regime does not favor the Jews, but the Jews certainly adjusted themselves better than the non-Jews.
- (25c) No, I did not have any Jewish acquaintances.
- (25g) Anti-Semitism increased.
- (25h) The future of the Jews in Hungary is not favorable. The public opinion is very unfavorable.

- (1) I have been interested in politics, but not particularly.
- (2) As I have said, until 1947 I was prisoner of war, therefore I have no direct experiences about the post-war regime. From 1947 to 53 I think conditions were terrible. And in 1953 there was a little relaxation under the regime of Imre Nagy. After his dismissal conditions ~~were~~ deteriorated again, altho they did not become as bad as they were before. Right before the revolution conditions improved again, especially the ~~condition~~<sup>position</sup> of the ~~intelligentsia~~  
~~intelligentsia~~ The intelligentsia was bettered.
- (2a) I have not sympathized with any political party prior to 1948.
- (2a) I am basically opposed to communism. It may be family tradition, it may be based on personal experiences. I wouldn't know, But I am <sup>an</sup> uncompromising foe of communism.
- (2f) I would choose II, that is, I was always against the regime.
- (2h) The simple explanation is that the communists terrorized the population.
- (3a) 12, 9, 4.
- (3b) 14, 15, 5.
- (3c) 6, 7, 12.
- (3d) 4, 6, 9.
- (3e) 9, 15, 12.

- (3j) The broad masses might have considered the disappearance of the great social differences as an advantage, but actually everybody was oppressed and lived miserably.
- (4) The real power in Hungary were the Russians.
- (4f) In the control system there was a very great bureaucracy, which manifested itself in the different and endless conferences and courses.
- (4h) The people who went into gov't service were the party members and the good kadans. But in the rest of the administration the people of the old regime stayed on, except the top officials.
- (5) I have no personal experience about this BISS.
- (6) It had few advantages and very great consequences. The advantages were that they got the good jobs, they were advanced and they received good salaries. The great and grave consequences were that they were subject to party discipline, they had to obey blindly the instructions of the party and also they were exposed to the contempt of the population. They were ostracized.
- (6f) The communists who became dissatisfied probably thought <sup>theoretically the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>from what</sup> ~~that the~~ ~~communist~~ system is different ~~than~~ it turned out to be.
- (6h) I never was a member.
- (6r) The Russians are running the party thru their trusted stooges in the party leadership.

- (7) I have been no member of any other organization.
- (7c,d,e) N/A
- (7g) The people's opinion of the mass organizations was uniformly bad.
- (7l) These organizations functioned by force applied from above.
- (7m) The workers saw no purpose in the trade unions, because they did not get anything and they had to pay heavy dues.
- (8) Very few, I would say, was the number of those communists who really believed in Communism.
- (9) The answer is very simple, because participation was not voluntary.
- (10) Communist terror manifested itself in all aspects of life, because terror was the communists' means to secure their regime.
- (10b) I have no direct knowledge of the work of the AVH. Of course, I have heard about the brutalities.
- (10c) I don't know.
- (10j) The police was suspicious of the AVH, because the AVH tried to dominate the police.
- (10k) I don't know.
- (11) I was never arrested. Some of my friends were. But apart from the usual horrors I have no special case to single out.

- (11d) The people who got most frequently arrested were the kulaks and in general the people whom the regime considered as what it called enemies of the people, which could be any one.
- (11g) What I know about prisons, concentration and forced labor camps is that they were crowded, that there were limitations on sending packages or letters or visiting the inmates and of course I heard a lot about the cruelties.
- (12) N/A
- (13) My advise would be "go West!"
- (13c) Connections with party members may be useful.
- (13d) Of course, a good kader is always helpful.
- (13f) It would not help always to keep one's mouth shut.
- (14) The terror was worst before 1953. It eased under the Nagy regime. After his dismissal, the terror became again stronger. Before the revolution there was an essential relaxation.
- (15) The Soviet Union was the sole power in Hungary.
- (15d) I had no contact with Soviet personnel.
- (15e) It is hard to answer this question. Of course Soviet influence was the strongest <sup>in</sup> the political life. The area least affected by Soviet influence was perhaps the medical profession.

- (16) Until the relaxation in 1956 the people could not manifest their feelings and political opinions publicly. They could talk, of course, in the family circle or among reliable, trusted friends.
- (16c) You could be frank only with those whom you knew well and knew where they stand politically. Anyone who supported the regime could not be trusted.
- (16d) Professional, scholarly matters you could discuss more candidly, whereas political, economic matters you could not.
- (17) For answer, see respondent's reply in section "W", question (2), point g, where he talked about sabotage.
- (18) The strong point was Soviet support. The weak point was that the people did not support the regime, not even the party members could be trusted, because so many among them were not sincere supporters of the regime.
- (19) I would distinguish between the following forms of opposition: One, passive resistance. Two, the general habit of doing only the absolutely necessary things. Three, expression of opinion, I mean opinion against the regime, whenever this was possible, among members of your family or among trusted friends. And four, what I describe as Sabotage. Interviewer's Note: See again Section "W", point 2e.

- (19b) One could not speak about groups, only about individuals. But after all, except a very few, all the people were hostile to the regime or all the people, atleast, who were hurt by the regime, and most people were hurt in one way or other. Of course, the most hostile people were evidently those who were hurt most.
- (19c) I think my previous answer is comprehensive enough to cover this question too. I have said already earlier which were the people who were worst and best off under the regime. Probably their behavior was determined by their position. Interviewer's Note: See Section "S", question 22, where respondent set up his list of people <sup>where</sup> ~~who were~~ worst or best off under the communist regime.
- (191) I have no information about the emergence of the Petöfi circle or of HEPESZ.

- (1) I got most of my informations from foreign broadcasts. I was reading also the domestic press, but there wasn't much information I could get from it.
- (1a) I would set up the following order. First, the Voice of America, BBC and Free Europe. Next, the West German Radio and Vienna.
- (2a) Among the newspapers I have read I would first mention the Magyar Nemzet, which I was reading regularly. I saw also the Szabad Nep. I was reading it in order to know what the official party line is. Among the magazines I have read the Tuzomány és élet, then the Tarsasági szemle. In 1956 I have read also the Irodalmi Ujsag. I have heard about Hetfői Hirlap, but I read it only infrequently.
- (2g) I haven't seen foreign publications.
- (3) I did not go to the movies.
- (3b) N/A
- (4) I was reading a lot
- (4e) My favorite poet was Imre <sup>Medoch</sup> ~~Madach~~ and Arany. I liked also Goethe and I read many philosophical works. I liked also Erich Maria Remarque.
- (5) I have listened seldom to the domestic radio.



- (6) I was listening to the news broadcasts of foreign stations.
- (6b) I have said already in what order I relied on foreign broadcasts. Interviewer's Note: See question 1a in this section.
- (7) I received information by word of mouth from my friends and also <sup>colleagues</sup> ~~colleagues~~ in my office.
- (8) I found no informations in the newspapers I was reading, atleast no informations which I could consider reliable, of course, later in 1956 the newspapers became more interesting when they started criticising the regime.
- (8a) I used my judgement.
- (8e) Domestic newspapers and broadcasts were as a rule not trusted. Among the foreign broadcasts I think the BBC was considered most trustworthy.
- (9) I think the people tried hard to be well informed.

- (1) Everything should be changed.
- (1a) The principle of general social insurance should be kept.  
Interviewer's Note: After respondent answered point a, he asked me to correct his answer to question (1) as follows:  
"Everything should be changed except what I have said under point a."
- (2) There should be political parties and I would allow every party.
- (3) I believe in the fundamental human rights and I believe in safeguarding them under all circumstances.
- (3c+d) In view of what I have said before, the answer is "no".
- (4) All people should be free to gather in meetings.
- (4b) An armed uprising against the gov't is justified in cases when the gov't is acting against the interests of the state and the people, in other words, when the actions of the gov't violate the fundamental human rights.
- (5) Private capital should be made into the basis of Hungary's economic system.
- (6) As a matter of principal I do not ~~oppose~~ <sup>oppose</sup> the nationalization of heavy industry.
- (6b) The ownership of smaller factories should be restored. Let's say, those which employ not more than 500 workers.

In cases the factories are not returned to their former owners, indemnity should be paid and in deciding which factories should be under gov't management, the interest of national economy should decide.

- (6c) I think private profit is good, except that law should forbid such profit which would be qualified as usury
- (6e) The question of state monopolies should be decided again according to the public good and the interest of national economy.
- (7) I don't see any need for it.
- (8) In principle I agree with gov't planning, but not in its communist form.
- (9) The state should not interfere with the fundamental human rights of the citizen.
- (10e) I feel that the duties of the citizen towards the state and the duties of the gov't towards the citizen are mutual.
- (11) I feel that medical care in Hungary deteriorated qualitatively. The medical care of the masses, or I would call the general medical care, has improved.
- (12) Those Hungarian citizens who in the past had no opportunity to go to the movies, have less opportunity today, while those who had less opportunity in the past, have more today.

This is pretty much the rule in many areas of life.

- (13) The answer is NO.
- (13a) I don't know what was the situation in 1946, because I was prisoner of war and I have not been in Hungary.
- (13b) I think they eat better than they did in 1950.
- (14) The answer is again NO.
- (14a) I don't know for the same reason as above.
- (14b) A little better.
- (15) Production increased since 1945.
- (15c) The increase of industrial production is of course good. The share of the Hungarians in this increase was, on the other hand, not good at all.
- (16) The workers should have a say in determining wages, working hours and placement and in general I would say in questions concerning social/welfare matters.
- (16b) The managers should be the experts.
- (17) Collective farms as they exist <sup>under</sup> ~~in~~ the communist rule, are bad.
- (17c) Let's the right of self-determination of the peasants prevail. The peasants should decide what should be done with the collective farms.
- (17f) Yes, there should be a limit on land holdings, because the interest of the national economy requires it. I would set the upper limit at 5,000 acres.

- (17h) Yes, land should be restored to all kulaks who were expropriated.
- (17i) Whenever it is needed, the state should help.
- (17m) The machine-tractor stations should be dissolved.
- (18) This question should be settled according to the principle of separation of state and church.
- (18c) I believe that the state should support the churches, because the churches serve the interests of the state.
- (18f) I would send my children to denominational schools.
- (18g) I would return church property to the church in order to make the church materially independent.
- (19) This question should be decided on the basis of individual responsibility.
- (19e, f, g, h) Same answer as point (19).
- (20) The first great contribution of Hungary to Western culture and world history was the acceptance of Western Christianity. Hungary served as a bastion against the Turks. I think also that the suppression of the Communist revolution in 1919 was a great contribution and I believe that the revolution of 1956 was a great contribution too.
- (21) I think there is a Hungarian national character, different from any other.
- (21e) I believe also that there are differences in character among Hungary's social classes.

I have said already that I think that even today the Hungarian society is made up of 3 broad, social classes, the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia.

- (21f) The social differences before 1945 were more conspicuous.
- (22) The best gov't Hungary had was under Steven Bethlen.
- (22f) The social and economic inequality in Hungary before 1945 was significant.
- (22i) The period between 1945 and 1948 was worse than the period preceding it, but it was definitely better than the period that followed it.
- (23) I think that borderlines are important.
- (23b) Yes, I think the Hungarian people have a rightful claim to territories beyond the present boundaries. They have claims in Transylvania, in Slovakia and in the South. They can rightfully claim the territories inhabited by Hungarians.
- (23d) I do not think that there is a natural conflict between Hungarians and their neighbors.
- (24) The solution is Union, but the memberstates of the union should preserve their autonomy.
- (24b) The best combination would be that of Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.
- (25) The Russians as a people are primitive, unbalanced, uneducated, but basically, as all people of the world, they are good.

[[Answers are to (Revised - 1)]]

- (26) I do not approve of Marxism.
- (26h) In the West, perhaps, it is possible that a Marxist can be a Democrat, but in the East I don't think that a Marxist can be a Democrat.
- (26i) A Democrat is characterized by a well developed sense of social justice. He is aware of human togetherness and he is dedicated to the defense of fundamental human rights.
- (27) I think Titoism or National Communism is a transitory phenomena. It cannot be a permanent form of communism, because it must then end either in communism or in democracy.
- (27e) My answer would be the following:  
It is a transitory possibility, but permanently I don't think a communist can be a patriot. There may be situations in which a communist may act as a patriot, but it cannot be a permanent attitude. He must choose between communism or his fatherland. Because as I see it, communism is basically international.
- (28) Had Imre Nagy stayed in power after the revolution, I believe Hungary would have developed towards democracy and Nagy would have been forced to step down.
- (28b) For the time being, Nagy would have remained at the head of the gov't, but as I have said, he would have been forced to step down.

(29a) Good.

(29b,c,d,e) Bad.

(29f) Neither good nor bad.

(29g+h) Good.

(29i) Neither good nor bad.

(29j,k,l) I cannot answer this question in such terms as good or bad.

(29m,n) Both good.

(30) The party which would win in free elections in Hungary would be a Hungarian Christian Party.

(30a) The most popular leader, no doubt, is Mindszenty.

(31a) Below.

(31b) Above.

(31c,d,e,f) Below.

(31g,h,i) Above.

(32a) Better.

(32b) Did not exist.

(32c,d,e,f) Better.

(32g) Did not exist.

(32h,i) Better.

(33a,b,c,d,e,f,g) Difficult.

(33h) I cannot formulate my answer in such terms as coincide or conflict.

(33i) "Coincide."

(33j) Conflict.



- (34) I had no concern at all about the United States.
- (35) Those who would fight for the present regime would constitute hardly 1% of the population. They would be the party members in highest positions and in general those who have supported the regime beyond the point of return, the members of the AVO I would include among these.
- (36) My opinions have not changed in any of the questions we have discussed.

- (1) You said that the purpose of your work is a scholarly report. Why did you ask then about the time and circumstances of my escape? And why do you ask my name? Interviewer's reply: "The time and circumstances of escape may have some interest for the scholar who studies this problem. As for your name, I have explained that you don't have to disclose it if you don't want to.
- (1a) The questions you have asked me, are very well selected. The evaluation of the answers should lead to a better understanding of the Hungarian situation.
- (2) I intend to go back to Hungary if and when the regime will be changed.
- (3) I have a suggestion to make, that you should ask more questions concerning the future of Hungary, about the ideas the Hungarians have concerning the form of gov't, political and social and economic conditions they would like to see in Hungary after the country's liberation. I think this passage should be more detailed.

INTERVIEWER'S RATINGS: Rapport with Respondent was very good, altho I often doubted his frankness. First of all, he tried to sound more democratic than it seems to me that he truly is. Also I have the feeling, that he tries to whitewash himself and to prove that he was no collaborateur with the communists.

Not knowing the area in question well enough, namely the functioning of the courts and the office of the public prosecutor, the interviewer does not feel qualified to evaluate the statements made by the respondent. I feel, however, that he was more of an opportunist than he was willing to concede. In general, I feel that respondent was overly anxious to stress the spirit of resistance. Such a spirit existed no doubt, nevertheless it was more often overshadowed by considerations of opportunism than respondent was willing to admit.