

- (1) That Hungary was a Christian country, she remained a Christian country, and will always remain Christian.
- (2) On August 16th, 1945, when World War II ended. Since that time this was a steady, never ceasing process.
- (2b) The death of Stalin. In his life, this would have been unimaginable.
- (2c) No. At the most, it could have been the moment, when General McArthur wanted to attack China. But unfortunately, at the critical moment he was forced out from his position by the president.
- (2d) I did not have any feeling, I knew it. After the death of Stalin, an internal schism occurred in the Communist Party. Knowing the composition and the feelings of the Hungarian people, I knew that sooner or later, great revolutionary changes would take place. One could make an exact graphical drawing about the rise of the revolutionary spirit, if somebody would study the articles of Irodalmi Újság, beginning with that certain meeting of the Petöfi Circle.
- (2e) The role of the writers emanates of the fact, that they are always more restless and more sensitive than the average people. This can be ^acurse, but it can be also a blessing. From this rule, there are no exceptions even in the case of the Communist writers. The second aspect is, that after the death of Stalin, among the Communist writers, there arose a fight for positions. The younger generation

wanted to push aside the older guard. Nobody should forget, that the Communist writers began to protest against the liquidation of the small landowners and others, only when they thought, that they could make a career this way. An example for the fate of the young talented and socially minded, but not boot-licking Communist writers, is the fate of the brilliant and talented Iajos Kassák, who was entirely neglected and forgotten in these years.

(2f) The most serious was the Irodalmi Újság, where the revolutionary changes could be seen most distinctly. But even in the most leftist Communist newspapers, there could ~~XXXXXX~~ be a change felt.

(2g) The first surprising thing was, two years ago, that famous Eisenhower Text, which was published in fall in Pravda and also in the Hungarian press. About a year ago Professor György Lukács has written an essay of about 40 - 50 pages in the Társadalmi Szemle. In this he took a part and tore to pieces the crimes of the Rákosi regime. I read regularly the Irodalmi Újság, stood in line for it with 600 or 800 people at the newsstand of an old newspaper vendor, who was literarily pushed to death by the crowd. He died in his injuries.

(3) The fact that the free elections of 1945 which took place on the demand of the Western powers, couldn't bring forth the Democratic Revolution of Hungary because of the brutal intervention of the Soviets which helped the Communist

coup d'etat and the establishment of the Rakosi dictatorship. Speaking of the form of state, it would be interesting to mention that in the early spring of 1945, I was present in parliament, when a Social Democratic representative has mentioned in his ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{speech}, that the recent events had made possible that the Hungarian people could change over its ~~XXXXXX~~ form of constitution from the monarchy to the Republican. The Communist censorship has deleted this passage because Révai, the Party ideolog^{ue}, taught it premature and dangerous to upset the mood of the population by throwing in, without any preparation, the possibility of changing the form of state. I was working that time in the press and information section of the prime ministry, thus, my information on this account, is first hand. To continue this subject on the form of state, the Small-Holder's Party was not at all so careful and sensitive as the Communists had been. At the beginning of 1956 I had duty in the Prime Ministry. On the desk of Prime Minister Zoltán Tildy I saw a report prepared for him, which had the following title "The Results of a Round Question According to the Gallup Method on the Form of State of Hungary". I was very much interested in it and looked it over. It said that about 65 per cent of the people who had been asked, wanted to retain the old monarchical form of Hungary. About 20 per cent didn't think that the question was timely, and less than 20 per cent was for the introduction of a Republic. I was still looking

at the paper, when Section Chief Szeleczky came into the room, and seeing me with the report he told me that it is ~~not~~ no more of any interest, since Eildy has been at the Russian High Command the day before and they have agreed, that he would be the first president of the Hungarian Republic. Therefore the opinion and wishes of the Hungarian people, what kind of state they prefer, was entirely besides the point.

- (3a) The first shot before the studio, by which the AVO has killed that Hungarian colonel, who took the side of the Hungarian youth. To this was added, the impossible speech of Gerö. Without these, in my opinion, everybody would have gone home quietly, to sleep.
- (3b) The Hungarian War of Independence was spontaneous. No conspiracy has preceded it. Exactly for this reason were the Russians and the AVO unable to prepare for it.
- (3c) To shake off Soviet oppression and to build a Democratic Hungary. For this the Hungarians don't need any conspiracy. Everybody thinks the same way, which could be somewhat like: Let us leave in peace and in freedom, why don't you leave us alone?
- (3f) ~~All those~~ All those who have lived of Communism in Hungary and whose interest was the further existence of the regime.
- (3g) The family fathers and the older people were neutral but only in the sense, that they didn't go on the streets to demonstrate and to fight with arms because of the responsibility ~~toward~~ toward the family, but in their

- heart they have been on the side of the Revolution too.
- (3h) The most important was "Ki az oroszokkal!" Out with the Russians. "Függetlenséget Magyarországnak!" Independence for Hungary. "Demokratikus választásokat!" Democratic elections! Those certain twelve points which had been so often formulated, beginning with the freedom of opinion and press and containing the free religious instructions etc., these were also the slogans of the people.
- (3i) Substantially it was Anti-Communist.
- (3j) In its basic principles, Christian. Its ideas and its moving forces were the European ideas. After the nightmare of Hitlerism, in Hungary only the illusion of a Christian Europe could have given hope to the people, who hardly woke up from the Hitlerism and already were stricken down by this Pan-Slav paranoia. The whole Bolshevism could be expressed by these two words, Pan-Slavic paranoia.
- (3k) All life is a fight for position. This is true also within Communism. Since the internal schism of the Party, the Party members, the Communist writers, tried to push out each other, and when they had an opportunity, they simply mopped out each other.
- (5) Being no more a youngster, my family begged me, not to go on the streets. My god-child, a 17 years old boy, left us without hesitation and fought during the whole Revolution.

- (5a) Yes.
- (5b) Yes, I helped to tear down the Communist insignia and flags in a nearby school and have burned them in the furnace, down in the basement.
- (7) The university students, because they started it. The Hungarian intelligentsia and the Hungarian students, were the real driving force.
- (7a) I don't know about it.
- (8) Entirely uninformed, stupidly and cowardly and in a barbaric fashion.
- (8e) I don't have personal knowledge of it.
- (9a) Secondary.
- (9b) Mostly of such things, which I have heard already from the radio.
- (9c) The radio was the quickest and most reliable source of news. I listened to Hungarian, to the B.B.C., to the Voice of America, to the Free Europe etc.
- (10) According to my knowledge, between October 23rd, and November 4th everything was paralyzed. Nothing has been functioning. Only the transportation of flour was functioning with the means of trucks provided with Red Cross flags. The bakers were working day and night.
- (10a) See the preceding question.

- (10b) I don't know. I know only that above us there was a Party member living, who simply disappeared for 12 days together with his wife, leaving his three children for the mercy of the neighbors. It was only characteristic of the situation, that all three children have been wearing red-white-green ribbons and participating in all Anti-Communist activities during the Revolution.
- (10g) I don't know.
- (10h) I don't know.
- (10j) I don't know.
- (10k) The Hungarian National Guard, which has been formed in each borough, in order to maintain public order.
- (10l) In my office, those people who have been skilled specialists and therefore have been playing a role even before, now they have been elected to the Worker's Council. Then there were people who have felt themselves neglected and oppressed before and now they wanted to raise their ~~heads~~^{heads}. And then there were some who were plainly opportunists and were hoping in a change. The elections, in fact, were held on the ground of previous agreements among different fractions. I want to emphasize that this is true only for that office where I was working, I don't know about elsewhere. The general fear and insecurity could be felt everywhere. The absence of help from the West has filled with anxiety the family fathers in regard to the future. Only the young people could be courageous and irresponsible.

- (10m) Such a democratic and European multi-party system of government which could have shown example and direction to the other Russian satellites. In the struggle against the Communism and the Soviet block, Hungary has brought on silverplate the solution for the West. If the West would have helped Hungary to stabilize the victory of the Revolution, the double-dealing Tito would have lost his game within 5 minutes and Poland would have gotten a great support in her further democratic evolution.
- (11) Naturally.
- (11a) I would like to believe at least, that it has started a historic evolution, which, perhaps, would be able to save the West too. Someone has once written, that truth is living only as long as somebody is willing to die for it. In the West truth is only an abstraction, while in Hungary it became every day occurrence that people have died for it.
- (11b) Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld and the U.N. Delegation had open doors in Hungary. They would have only to appear there. The Russians still respect the West at least as much that they would have accepted the situation. In my opinion, the Hungarian Revolution was defeated only because of the cowardice of Hammarskjöld.
- (11c) Considering that Voice of America and VOICE Radio Free Europe and the other Western radio stations have dealt with the Hungarian events every ten minutes, we have expected up

to the last minute that we will receive some help from the West. Under this, I understand solely the political prestige of the U.N. and not any military help. Those ideals upon which the U.N. was founded, were betrayed by the U.N. in the Hungarian case. The West has become traitor to his ideals, not the Bolsheviks.

(11d) Because the Hungarian people has in its nature the love of freedom and it is in the Hungarian character to stand up for his conviction. It is unlike the intriguing character of the Czechs or the blind dumbness of the Rumanians. The Hungarian intelligentsia, due to the education of the Premonstratensians, Benedictines, Cisterians, Piarists, was strongly European and could not stomach hideous flood of lies, which was introduced by Bolshevism. There was perhaps nowhere such a sharp contrast between the two poles, truth and lie^{as}/in Hungary.

(11e) A Nationalist, Hungarian Communist. A Hungarian Gomulka, who is not only Communist, he is Hungarian too, and I feel that he was, first of all a Hungarian, not a Communist. His person would have been that bridge ~~XX~~^{through} which the Hungarians could have arrived there from where they were excluded after the 1945th free elections.

(11f) The youth and the journalists; in such critical 12 days, this was the important. The driving force and publication. Youth, writers, and printers. There is, of course, no question, that there was needed a certain armed force too. Of names, I would think of László Németh, and János Bodolányi who played a great role.

- (11g) Youth and intellectuals. Secondly soldiers and workers. Thirdly, peasants and finally irresponsible elements.
- (11h) I would not have thought it.
- (12a) On November 25th, 1956. In the moment when Voice of America has broadcast that the United States, instead of giving 5 million dollars, it will give 10 million dollars for Hungary. In that minute, I saw that here is only charity speaking and that Hungary was abandoned by the West. This was the decisive moment for me.
- (12b) No.

- (1) I was office worker in state employment for 24 years. Of this for 7 years, I was working at the Prime Ministry from 1941 till 1948. After that I have been doing all kind of ~~XXXXXX~~ menial jobs. I was iron worker, stoker, laboratory assistant, etc. Later I was working in a laboratory and have also made some patent discoveries. My original interest was ~~esthetics~~ esthetics, philosophy, psychology, and especially music esthetics, which I have studied over 12 years at the university. But in the meantime I made my Ph.d. from Political Science and became a Secretary at the Prime Ministry.
- (2) State employee. Secretary of the Prime Ministry from 1941-48. Afterwards without employment. Then for a while iron worker, then stoker, then hemp collector for a textile factory, then surveyor of radiators and heaters (my job was to calculate the amount of heating material, which, according to the capacity of the furnaces, the owners of them were entitled to buy), then unskilled worker in the Geodetic Institute, later assistant in the laboratory in the same institute and finally laboratory worker there.
- (2a) Between '41 and '48 I was working ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the nationality section on the claim of those Hungarian pensionists of Transylvania, who have been dismissed from their jobs by the Rumanians without pension. After 1946 I was working ~~XXXXXX~~ under Sándor Millok (a Social Democratic representative, he was an iron worker and collaborator of Népszava during the war ~~inmate~~ ^{on} ~~XXXXXX~~ of the concentration camp Mathausen), ~~on~~ ^{on} the

repatriation of persons from the West. After that I was working on the B-List Section of the Prime Ministry, where I had to check on the cases of those office workers, of the Ministry, who have been put on the B-List by the Communists because of political reasons. In 1948 I was dismissed without pension. I was working as iron worker at the building of the AVO palace, near Margit bridge, for one year. After that I was sent to a school for training of Party educators but I was kicked out soon from there because of my Anti-Communist behaviour. After that I became^a stoker in a general school on the Mátyáshegy, from where I was dismissed soon again because of my political behaviour. After a few months of unemployment finally I was given a job by the Dunántúli Textilipar as collector of hemp. After the season for this was over, I was again without employment. Then I became surveyor of radiators and fireplaces at the nationalized houses. I had to define the quantity of the heating material needed because of the planned economy we had in the country. I had done also some geodetic work by landsurveying. Then I was working in the land mechanics between 1953-56 in the Geodetic Institute. The most characteristic for these years was, that I have lived in a complete insecurity, often without job, often I was wandering around like a gipsy as, for instance, I was working at the collecting of hemp for the textile industry or when I was doing

geodetic work, land surveying, etc. .

- (3) My job at the geodetic institution.
- (3a) I found the physical and the experimental part extremely interesting. If this wouldn't have been the case, I would never have come across my discovery. I was especially interested in the experiments with radio active stuff.
- (3b) The fact, that against the well organized Communist clique I was entirely powerless. The best example for this is that when I made public my discovery, I was right away removed from the laboratory and degraded to be a simple laborer again. Even the engineers were impotent against the Party. For my work, my Communist superiors have put premiums in their pockets and received medals on their chest and I was at the same time pushed down.
- (3c) In my previous jobs, where I lived a gipsy's life, at least I was my own lord. Here at the Institute I was delivered to the whims of a Communist gang.
- (3d) In general, the equipment of the laboratory was only good for the eyes. In fact, they were used up, obsolete and often unusable objects. The whole thing was nothing than a big bluff. The staff of the institute consisted of an entirely unreliable trash. The so-called engineers brought in all kind of women as their laboratory assistants. Their only qualification was that they had good relations with the male personnel. One time during my experiments which I had to perform in an icecold room, I received pneumonia.

During my illness I was visited from the Institute by a representative. This is namely a Communist institution, that is that under the excuse of charitable sick visits they send you an informer to your place, whose job is to find out, first of all, whether you are ~~really~~ ^{really} sick, but also in what kind of apartment you live, what kind of books and newspaper you have on your shelves etc.

- (3e) About an hour.
- (3f) Eight hours a day.
- (3g) Six days a week.
- (3h) I didn't do overtime, because they didn't pay for it. At my place to be able to work overtime with pay, was a special favour, which could be granted only by the Party to its favorites.
- (3i) The usual Communist feast days.
- (3j) After 12 months 6 days. In the second year, 8 days and so forth.
- (3k) No, this was uniform. For each trade, there was a collective contract, which was formulated by the Trade Union. The Trade Union had its instructions from the Party.
- (3l) It was punished first by fines, which had to be paid in cash, or was deducted from your pay. But after Imre Nagy's new course, only on disciplinary way.
- (3m) Since there was a strongly developed clique system, everybody had to look after connections and find a patron who then would give credit for overfulfilment of the norm, even if the person didn't do a thing. The whole thing was bluff

- (3n) The slave drive was a steady feature.
- (3o) Through my job I didn't get to any advantages. The organization of vacationing was usually entrusted everywhere to a Party member, who has secured mostly only for the Party members vacation. The only time that I received some favor, was under Imre Nagy, when I was invited an elected member of the Council, although I was outside of the Party. Through this post, I had the advantage that I couldn't be fired from my job. In connection ~~to~~ ^{with} this I have to tell you, that for my work in the Council, where I had represented the interest of my fellow workers, also ^{of} /the Communists, for instance their apartment problems, which after all, was my duty as a member of the Council, according to the laws. I repeat, for this work I was severely reprimanded by the Communist director at my working place. As a matter of fact, there was from our institute another Council member, whose occupation was house-ainter, but he was a Party member and he became right away vice director, while myself, who have been in the state service for 24 years, I was the same time only an unskilled laborer at the institute.
- (4a) Part of them have been qualified engineers with diplomas. Besides them, there were strict Party members and laboratory assistants and also women, who have been through some course, organized by the Party, and finally the ~~the~~ ^{collar} declassé elements, former Army officers, clerks, white-~~collar~~ workers,

university professors, etc.. This latter stratum was at the lowest base of the social scale in our institute. The whole institute could be characterized by the slang expression of Budapest bla-bla. When the institute, for example, has organized an exhibition, they simply cut out pictures from periodicals from abroad and then magnified these pictures for 1 1/2 meters and then showed it as the machines and processes of the institute. They could do such fantastic swindles because the superior authority, the minister of the Ministry of Light Industry was a person who had absolutely no idea about anything. There were only cliques, if one was outside, he was a lost vagabond. Usually the chauffeur and the portier were the greatest powers. Many people's fate depended on them. A state employed driver and a portier had in their hands not only the workers, but often also the leadership of a plant. At my place, for example, the director, who was a bigot Catholic, and the chief engineer, have only pretended to be good Communists and so the driver who knew this very well has had them in his hands.

(4b)

(4c) With a widow, who had two children, and who was an artist, painter, and whose brother was interned in Reesk. Besides also with a young chemist.

(4d) I have spoken about political questions all the time and with everybody openly. I didn't try to hide and to deny everything as many others did, but I began my introduction always with the fact that I was a Catholic, I had a Ph.d.,

I was working in public office for 24 years, and that even my grandfather was a university professor.

- (4e) They haven't done anything else.
- (4f) As the Party has wished. For instance, they have refused a perfectly justified request of mine, when, namely, I was called up to the Army for 6 months, during which my family remained without any income. According to a law I could have got some compensation for this time in such case, but I never got it.
- (4h) I went to the Mediation ~~COMMITTEE~~ Committee in the case just mentioned under letter f. They refused to help me.
- (4i) Yes, but I have never come across it.
- (4j) Yes, if they could exploit him. For example, our chief engineer had been a bad kader. His father was formerly the mayor of Budapest. He himself has been studying and working in Nazi Germany but his work was simply indispensable, so he could get ahead, but even he was entirely dependent and delivered to the mercy of the Party.
- (4k) That was the most secure.
- (4l) At our laboratory work, there was no opportunity for such interference.
- (4m) The more somebody was a "lumpen-proletariat" type, the more he was a ~~GOOD~~ good kader.
- (4p) At each plant and institution there were some informers planted there by the AVO. That was the case also with the Army. In each formation there were some people planted with special duties, so that remarks which were

uttered at some exercise outside, within half an hour reached the office of the Political Commissar at the High Command. It was a general practice with the Army that during the political training, the dogmas of Communist ideology were asked always from people with bad kaders. One had to protect himself, as he could. Those who could not, or were already tired of, they simply swam with the current. The informers were recognized by everyone and in the schools and in the plants they couldn't remain incognito. The whole country became suspicious and behaved like conspirators. It is characteristic that in case somewhere two people are talking and ^{an} unknown third appears, everybody becomes suddenly silent until the host would come and assure them that the newcomer is reliable too.

- (5) If somebody's origin is not appropriate, then only unemployment or the basest job would be given to him. For instance cleaning the toilets.
- (5a) Because I was dismissed, or the jobs were only seasonal, otherwise in steady jobs, I was fired.
- (5b) I would have preferred to work on a chair of esthetics or psychology. My main interests were always music esthetics and psychology.
- (5c) No.
- (5b) Yes, because people are forced by their everyday worries to make a living.
- (5e) I would work in such an occupation which would take up

- all my time. In the case if I would still have some free time, I would just watch the sailing of the clouds on the sky. On my money I would buy a great music collection from the classical music up to the most modern music. I would buy every possible record. Then I would travel in order to acquaint myself with the surface of our globe.
- (5g) That, which I have done at the very last, which was the most modern physics, that yes.
- (6) We have lost everything during the war. Since the house where I lived was bombed out and since that time we have been happy if we had enough to eat and if ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ once in a while we could buy a piece of clothe. During the 12 years I never could afford to buy a wintercoat.
- (7a) I, 620 forints.
II, 850 forints.
III, 1,100 forints, monthly.
- (7b) I had an average income.
- (7d) I am alone.
- (9) In Budapest there was only multiply apartment sharing which has made the work of the law courts so difficult and which had ruined family life to such an extent that about 3 years ago a law has prohibited that the Party should mark out any more houses for apartment sharing. Often in one room a three member family had to live and

it was not exceptional that the connecting room was also rented for apartment. If, as it was often the case, the husband had to work far away somewhere, as for instance in Szalinváros, they wouldn't leave a two-room apartment for his wife, but she would have to share that with another family.

(9a)

At least one hour every day after my work for shopping. The little shops had been closed and only a few state stores have remained open in which there were few employees. Since the slogan was to economize and save on human labor the service was terrible. Knowingly and intentionally they have sold also the faulty and often rotten wares because they had to give account according to the ~~XXXX~~ weight of the material. Therefore the employees have stolen as much as they could.

(9b)

Often butter was missing. Other times bacon or lard. Sometimes it was missing for months. Just to give you an example; for 1 1/2 years you couldn't buy shoestrings in the whole country.

(9c)

Generally, on the black-market could only the highest ranking Communists buy things, because nobody else could afford the prices. Also football players, actors and some other privileged persons.

(9d)

Steadily deteriorated because the value of the forint has dropped steadily.

- (10) In a Bolshevick planned economy, any kind of economic life has to end in bankruptcy. In that minute, when private initiative, which is the spring of every economic and trade activity, have been eliminated, then all economic life has to drown into stagnation. All productions of Hungary from toilet paper to the aluminum is reject.
- (10c) No comment.
- (10d) Between '45 and '48 the Hungarian agriculture has taken the best road possible toward great development. I don't know so much the industrial section. The Communist coup d'etat has ruined and has thrown back far behind everything.
- (10f) It was only sporadic. Since Imre Nagy's program the small farmers have been encouraged but the small trade and commerce had been only touched lightly. For example, to ^{obtain} a simple permission that somebody could start ^{weaving} ~~knitting~~ in his own room, he had to secure the highest Communist patronage.
- (10g) Since Imre Nagy has fallen and Rakosi has returned, the economic situation of the country was steadily sliding downwards.
- (11) Decisive. The heavy burdens of every day worries have kept in a steady gravely depressed status the workers just the same as the intellectuals and the peasantry. Exception was only a very thin stratum. The AVO, the doctors, actors and football players. This latter could travel, could smuggle and trade on the black-market.

- (1) I have a doctor's degree from Political Science.
- (1a) Between 1912 and 1930.
- (1b) I went to the gymnasium of the Prémontré fathers in Nagyvárad, later to the Rumanian state school and then to the Péter Pázmány university of Budapest.
- (1d) Geodetic technical schools.
- (1e) To get a doctor's degree was a family tradition with us.
- (2) Not applicable.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) To win the youth for the materialist world view. For example, in July 1956 Gerö in a speech has assured the workers of Csepel of the freedom of religious instruction. In the afternoon of the very same day, as member of the Local Council, I participated on the meeting of the Educational Committee. There the presiding female has communicated to us the orders of the Party according to which we must fight with all our force against registering the students for religious instruction and we must report to the Party those parents of whom we have the suspicion that they want to send their children to the religious instruction.
- (4b) Already the 6 year old child had to discover that what he is taught in the school is false or at least it is in conflict with that what he is hearing from his parents

or on the street from his surrounding.

- (5) Professor on the University. His field was International Law and Penal Law.
- (5e) Yes. House and ~~XXXX~~^{wine} yard.
- (5f) In good circumstances.
- (5g) Eleven. The parents and nine children.
- (5h) The Peace Treaty of Trianon has cut into our family life. My relatives are living partly in Hungary, partly in Transylvania. All of them are living under very difficult conditions. They are working heavy ~~SIXTENSENEXBANE~~ physical jobs and are living from seasonal occupations and miserable pensions.
- (5i) Since the death of my mother in 1949, I was living alone, sharing an apartment with others.
- (5k) To my disadvantage.
- (6) I was single.
- (7) To (14) not applicable.
- (14) Unmarried.
- (14c) I started my work at 6 A.M. and I returned home after I had done my shopping at 9 P.M. My little remaining time was just enough for keeping my household in order and for preparing my small supper.
- (14g) In reality I had so little free time left over ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

that I couldn't even call it free time anymore. Before I went to sleep I used to listen to BBC and to Voice of America and tried also to receive some musical programs.

(15) As far as I know, within my ~~entirely~~ ^{comparatively} large circle of friends and acquaintances, family life has been disintegrating. You can hardly find any more in fact family life. To ruin the Hungarian society more than it is now, would be impossible.

(15e) Naturally. It was a Communist doctrine that the children should be taken away from the influence of the parents and they should be turned against their parents. Then the system of education with all the emphasis on the bad sides of it. During one of the Council Meetings, I had taken part, one point was about ~~the~~ ^{the} fantastic stealing and robbery which was perpetrated by the youth on the days of the so-called "collection of iron and metals". On these occasions the youngsters have broken into private houses and gardens, they dismantled the water faucets and the door-handles, they have stolen bells from the chapels, they dismantled the tree-shields, iron grates, and statues of the castle and have smashed them in order to get more scrap iron. Another point of the meeting was the fantastic looseness of sexual morality among the youth. When I asked that why ~~THEM~~ has then Szabad Nép in 1948 celebrated that 14 year old girl who became a mother and why ~~THEY~~ did they show it on the doors of the maternity clinics the

slogan that "asszonynak Kötelesség, leánynak dícsőség" that is: For a wife it is duty, for a girl it is glory, the presiding lady answered that that time this was a necessity but for the Party the family was always sacrosanct!

(16) Yes.

(16b) The tone of conversation among the youth has sank to the level of coach drivers and market vendors.

(16c) The parents are broken by overwork and worries and depressed to such an extent that they couldn't care for their children. The intelligentsia was eliminated (in Hungarian the expression used is *Kilúgozták*). The new leading stratum cannot even speak Hungarian rightly. From the radio downwards the tone became rude and common, thus young people perhaps do not even realize how rudely and commonly they talk and behave.

(16e) Officially not, but in fact yes. (When prostitution was prohibited, the prostitutes were walled up and were given driving instruction, they became the new taxi-drivers. The result was, that in Budapest nobody dared to take a taxi which was driven by a women, because she wouldn't know how to drive and wouldn't know the streets either. In our institute the "Kulturfelelős", which means the person who was responsible for cultural activity, was formerly a "madam" in one of the public houses. Now her job was to organize our vacations. In the resort hotel she has rented the empty rooms by hours for couples. In other

words, she continued her former occupation at the expense of our scientific institute. Everybody knew about her "cultural activities" but nobody dared to do anything against her, because she was an influential member of the Party.

(16f) Entirely amoral.

(16g) For 10 years abortus was punished by lifelong prison. Then last July they have decided in about 10 minutes debate that in certain cases abortus is a must, prescribed and ordered by law. This ^{is} only another example how completely the system became discredited within and outside the Party in each respect.

(16h) Actually there is no such a thing as illegal child because any mother can report anybody as the father. In the coming years there will be a complete breakdown of the school system, since in the past years children were born without any limits. Young girls have been taken for two, three months vacations together with boys. When afterwards a mother has run to the Party in desperation because of her pregnant daughter, the answer was; this should be her "glory".

(17) It sunk.

(17a) In the time when I was working as stoker, there was a gipsy woman with four illegal children. She became Party member and was sent to a four months course in education. Before that she haven't had any schooling. After finishing the course, she became the lecturer on education in the

- (17b) inner city of Budapest in the Council of the VI. borough. During the building of the AVO palace, on the bank of the Danube, the night guard and the police men have collaborated and carried away in huge sacks the precious ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{parquet} for firewood. In the same way the other workers have also stolen everything that their hands could reach. The result was that about five times as many material and money have been spent for that building than it would have been actually necessary.
- (18) My best friends have died and one of them disappeared. After 1945 time was so little and people were so much driven that there was no possibility to keep up a circle of friends. The only escape of the Hungarian intellectuals from the bitter reality was after 9 o'clock in the evening when he extinguished the light and pulled the blanket up to his eyes.
- (19a) Roman Catholic.
- (19b) I had similar experiences twice already. Just as during the Rumanian occupation in 1918, also after 1945 only in the Catholic and Calvinist Churches could we demonstrate that we were Hungarians and Christians.
- (20a) Considering that the Calvinists tried from the very beginning to compromise therefore they haven't been persecuted as much as the Catholics who ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{following} in the footsteps of

Mindszenty, have resisted from the start.

- (20b) As with everything else, everything is good for them that they can use for their daily politics.
- (20c) They had no influence among the people. If a peace priest went up to the pulpit, the people left the church.
- (20d) They were forced to speak and act against their conviction. For example, for the incredible ~~low~~ ^{low} tricks of the Communists on Good Friday all Council members, among ^{them} priests and believers had been called for a meeting lasting the whole day. For lunch pork chops were served and we were watched who would not eat of it.
- (20f) During the Revolution I have seen the Kader card of a colleague of mine. Among others there was the remark that she was going to church, every Sunday (my Kader card was mutilated, thus I don't know whether this item was on it or not). The children of a devote and church going couple would not be accepted into higher schools. Those children who went to religious instruction have ruined their future progress. Those former monks who have been giving in secret religious instruction, if they were denounced by somebody, they were thrown into jail.
- (20h) Generally yes.
- (20i) Generally people who had been wounded, who had troubles, who had been miserable, who did not find any other consolation anymore.
- (20k) The young people will never appreciate the values of any religion as much as people after a certain age. This is

a biological and psychological law.

(201) The fact alone, that all religion is in its essence contrary to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ materialism. Everything else follows out of this fact.

(21) Modern Physics, Radioactive or Atomphysics and Chemistry.

(21a) Because working with this stuff, one will acquire an individual responsibility without which modern life would become chaotic. The second reason is that one would learn how the seemingly dead materials are full with living secrets (see the two famous articles of De Broglie, of which the first was written in his youth and the second after 20 years).

(21b) Getting ahead is out of question since the man would collide with the Party ideology and fell down. Only by constant compromises and by the total denial of his own self would he be able to exist.

(22) The best off; football players, doctors, engineers, AVG, Party functionaries, Party writers, poets and actors. The worst off had been the members and the children of the former intelligentsia and state employees, the former great landholders, the former rich peasants, the former financial and business class. In one word, all those who were classified by the Communists as the reactionaries.

(22a) The former intellectuals.

- (22b) To no one, as long as the Communist regime exists in Hungary.
- (23) In essence there is a class belonging to the Communist dictatorship, comprising the Party, the Trade Unions and in addition that well paid stratum mentioned above under question 22. On the other hand, there is the great mass of the exploited classes, independently from the fact whether they are intellectuals or manual workers.
- (23d) The system has rudely destroyed our separating walls in the society but actually the social differences ~~XXXXXXXX~~ have remained in essence. In spite of the fact, that everybody was elvtárs, that is comrade, still a worker had different interests and ways of thinking than for instance the peasant.
- (23e) There is no such a thing as social equality. The only thing that counts is, whether somebody is a Party member or not. If he is not, he is considered as a homeless dog without human right. There exists the most cruel and sharp discrimination in Hungary today.
- (23f) It's a tremendous change. The asiatic roughness and barbarism has broken into Central Europe with the Bolshevism.
- (24) I have no information on this question.
- (25) The rich Jews had been just the same affected as the rich Christians. On the other hand, the small proletarian

Jews have received just as much opportunity as the son of a drunkard iron worker, with the difference that the proletarian Jews usually were able to exploit this opportunity much better, partly his connections helped him in this, partly he was more talented.

(25a) Generally conformist.

(25b) I didn't know the exact composition of the Government but according to my information, the decisive power was always in the hands of the Moscovites, who had been almost exclusively Jews.

(25c) I had. They had been extremely conformists and their only ambition was to secure material advantages.

(25d) Among the Hungarian writers there were many Jews. Thus in the Petöfi circle the role have been also great in starting the Revolution. However, in my opinion, there was rather a fight for position among them which could have resulted only in some kind of Titoism with the time.

(25e) ~~With~~ In the masses the feeling toward the Jews was very bad, since the Jews have conformed to the regime excellently and generally everywhere in the government, in the Party in the industrial and commercial concerns, they had been in the leading positions. It's no wonder, that the masses have attributed the "blessings" of Communism to the Jews.

(25f) Essentially not.

(25g) In this question a very calm and purely objective attitude has been born in Hungary. I was talking with many people during the Revolution and have learned that everybody ~~with~~

was for a pure democracy and against any kind of anti-Semitism and persecution of minorities.

(25h) In my opinion, Hungary had a Jewish question only, because the Jews, in their boundless ambition for material goods, have forgotten that there were also poor masses in Hungary who have taken part by their work in forming the capital too, but never could feel any return service for that. If the Jews, as I hope, will step on the path of social justice, then it won't be any Jewish question anymore in Hungary because Hungarians do not have an inborn hatred against any race or religion.

- (1) By normal intellectual development it is ~~unseparable~~^{inseparable} from human life.
- (1a) Not exclusive but a steady existentialist question was for me, since my 12th year, when I lived through the Rumanian occupation.
- (2a) The Small-holders Party, because their program has coincided with the interest of the Hungarian people that time.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) As today.
- (2e) Regarding that I have studied philosophy, all ideologies have naturally interested me, even those which I found entirely negative. Communism has interested me as a symptom of the illness of society. I have seen its completely negative psychological and philosophical foundations or rather its having no real foundations at all, I can summarize ~~AGAIN~~ my opinion of Bolshevism again with the word, it is a Slavic Paranoia (See the psychological ~~STUDY~~ study of Lenin's portrait, he has a typical Paranoic face).
- (2f) II.
- (2h) Terror.
- (2i) They have created a status of steady fear in society. On November 2nd, 1956 all of us were called into the office and we could see our kader cards. However, in my kader file I could find only my personal data. Everything else

was destroyed beforehand. My proof for this is, that on the outside cover of my file there was the number of pages, inside many of these pages were missing. As I learned from other employees of the Institute, the management has been working for two nights, feverishly on the destruction of all compromising data in the files.

- (3) The fact that they haven't let me even to work as manual laborer for over half a year, after I was dismissed without pension from my lifetime job. Much later I could become a laboratory assistant only through the protection of an important person. Then, also, my discovery was not only stolen from me but in addition it was effectively pigeon-holed and prevented from publicity. That I have never received a recognition for my work, when at the same time my superiors have received acknowledgements and decorations for the job, I have been doing for them. Then that all my politeness and gentlemanlike behaviour was misinterpreted and answered only by rudeness and etc. etc.
- (3a) XII, IV, I and II.
- (3b) V, X, and IV.
- (3c) VII, XV and III.
- (3d) XIV, VI, and I and II.
- (3e) XV, X, VIII.
- (3g) When the great politics seemed to be filled with electricity and lightening. For example, at the time of McArthur's plan of attacking Communist China, or the death of Stalin.

- (4) The First Secretary of the Party.
- (4b) Subordinate.
- (4c) The Central Committee of the Party. Rakosi, Révai, Farkas, Marosán, Gerö.
- (4d) After 1948 it has not even filled the role of a puppet theater. I used to say that the whole parliamentary system in a Bolshevik state fits just like the tailcoat on a gorilla ("gorillán a frakk" in Hungarian).
- (4e) They have played theater for the foreign public.
- (4f) The number of officials ~~MI~~ has grown at least three times of the number employed in the so much scolded Horthy regime. Each Bolshevik state is suffering from a phantastic elephantiasis.
- (4g) It could be rather called the common stealing and sharing the booty.
ignorant
- (4h) From ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and for their job not qualified, but politically reliable good kaders. Where specialists were absolutely needed, there such a person usually with a great family was left, but he had to work himself to death.
- (5) Not applicable.
- (6) To belong to the class of exploiters.
- (6a) I don't know of any case where somebody was forced directly to join. But the fear, the worries for survival and opportunism has persuaded many for this step, especially in the course of the fusion of the Social Democratic

Party with the Communist Party.

- (6d) Yes, those more simple people who had become Communist according to my experience have been of the lowest intellectual level. On the other hand the intellectuals, who became Communists they were such people, for whom nothing counted but the easy and good living.
- (6f) The question is too complex to be answered easily. I know of one complete case, of a street-car conductor, who has been disillusioned, because he simple could not stomach Rakosi's great antiTito campaign and the following sudden reversal of the Partyline.
- (6h) No.
- (6r) The first secretary of the party, but actually the Moscow Central Committee.
- (7(The Hungarian Soviet Society.
- (7a b) Everybody in our office has been a member, the membership dues were simply deducted from our salary.
- (7cde) I was never asked. I became simply a member. Since the office has deduced the membership dues from my salary. If somebody would ask me, what was the most harmless phenomenon during the last years, I would answer that the Hungarian Soviet Society. Outside the collecting of membership dues, they haven't done a thing under the blue sky. They haven't even showed a Soviet film to us, or played a record from some Soviet composer. Although it is possible that the little Lenin and Stalin

statues which were put in every plant and in every apartment house in the corner niches and were lighted by red ~~XXXX~~ eternal lamps day and night, just like the icons in old Czarist Russia, the upkeep and the decoration with flowers of these fetiches could have been the job of the Hungarian Soviet Society, although I am not sure, maybe this important function belonged directly to the Party.

(7g) They have hated it. There was a joke circulating in Budapest which expresses very well the feeling of the population in connection with the great parades they had to take part on May 1st each year (in Hungarian Május 1. Kikelet és Hazaszeretet ünnepe: Ki kellett vonulni, és mindenki haza szeretett ^{volna} ~~XXXXXXXX~~ menni.)

(7l) They have been stagnating.

(7a) The most stupid part of the workers have enjoyed that they could speak for hours and that the others had to listen to their stupidities. The great majority of the workers have been bored to death by the whole thing.

(8) I think about 10 to 12 per cent, which, according to statistical studies of the masses, just about corresponds to the scum of the population of a country of about 10 million people.

(9) That this was never a stalwart Communist organization. The youth was bought into it only through the promise of loose morals. As far as the role of the members of

the MSZ in the Revolution is concerned, it has to be noted that this was only the consequence of the biological young age. The Hungarian youth and not the DSZ as such has made the Revolution.

- (10) The fright and the fear of the population, which was caused by the terror and the perpetrated brutalities. Everybody has felt this as a constantly present thing since there was no family who haven't had somebody in jail or in deportation. Since from young children to old people, everybody was forced to work, everybody was in a dependent status and knew that because of one careless word he could lose his job.
- (10b) A copy of the Russian GPU, which in turn was nothing but the further development of ^{the} secret police of the Czars. The whole thing is nothing but the natural outgrowth of the Slavic character.
- (10e) I don't know.
- (10g) I don't know.
- (10k) It is the executive organ of the Party, the real military force in the country.
- (11) Yes.
- (11g) A colleague of mine from the Prime Ministry, who had been the referee of the affairs of the German minority during the Horthy era, was arrested ~~XXXXXX~~ at the very day of the East Berlin ^{uprising} ~~uprisings~~ together with all the other

officials who had been known to the AVH as having some connections with the German affairs. They all had been interned without trial.

- (11d) Former Army officers, state employees, church leaders, members of the religious orders. With one word, all those who, due to their spiritual capacities, could be suspected as being able to encourage the population for "reaction."
- (11g) No.
- (13) If somebody can keep quiet like a fish (in Hungarian hallgat mint egy csuka), and if the Party says to him to nod and he will nod and if the Party says to him applaud, he will applaud and in the meantime he tries to be small and disappear just like a little gray point and tries to swim with the current.
- (13a) If somebody is active in the way as the Party is demanding it at any given time, but even then it is dangerous because in the case of a mistake the individual doesn't count. The Party cannot make mistakes so people have to be sacrificed as scape goats.
- (13c) Only through connections can somebody succeed (haver és barátai alapján lehet érvényesülni). Either the cleaning woman or the portier or the driver has to be won over to your side.
- (13g) Generally yes. Not too long and I don't think it's worth.
- (13f) Unquestionably.

- (14) First there was only scattered internment, then purge in the Army, then mass internments. There was a steady fluctuation.
- (15) Decisive.
- (15a) The strongest is on the highest ~~ISXONXIXM~~ ministerial level. In the Army, at the Radio, people's education, theater and film. It was least able to penetrate the scattered farm world of the little peasants. (In Hungarian: Kisparasztok tanyavilága).
- (16) Only by mass participation on religious services, and professions, by storming the box offices for certain theatrical and cinema performances while others were completely boycotted, by the tremendous applause, lasting for minutes, given to the English football players etc.
- (16c) Only with very old friends.
- (16d) This is a matter of individual temperament. I, from my part, never liked to hide and always found ways to express my opinion.
- (17) Of course by fraud and falsification.
- (17a) I had to prepare each month the productivity of our office which gave me lots of work. Finally I got annoyed with it and just took a big red pencil and wrote the percentage figures into the report out of my imagination (in Hungarian: hasból). Nobody ever discovered it.

- (18) Its strength is the presence of Soviet troops. Its weakness is the social and religious composition of Hungary with which it was not able to cope.
- (19) The greatest resistance against the regime was actually bred by the regime itself, namely, it has demoralized the masses and they have taken every opportunity for hidden sabotage and stealing. The workers and the peasants have gotten into worse and worse economic situation instead of the ever promised paradise and this couldn't be hidden by political program speeches. This fact was the most demoralizing, namely, the constant lying in the light of the cruel reality.
- (19b) The selfconscious and not compromising intelligentsia.
- (19c) The lumpenproletariat, which has only profited.
- (19d) At the time when after the death ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ of Stalin and the fall of Rakosi the Party was shaken by internal schism, those Communist writers and students who felt themselves neglected now tried to upset the leaders of the Party and to occupy their plush-chairs and for this they have used the name of Petöfi and nationalistic slogans. They certainly had no idea that by behaving this way, they would help an anti-Communist revolution to be born.

- (1) From the Radio.
- (1a) The BBC, the Voice of America, the Radio Free Europe, Radio Paris and a Swiss radio station. Always the one I could receive best. (On November 2nd, I came across quite by chance the Hungarian language broadcast of Radio Moscow. This has repeated several times that day the news that in connection with the Hungarian events they would re-examine the Warsaw Pact and begin immediate negotiations about the withdrawal of Soviet Troops from abroad. This news has deceived me too and gave me false hopes. I find it interesting that I never heard that anybody knew about this, although it is very characteristic that it happened at the same day when the leaders of the Soviet Union had already sent troops en masse to Hungary.)
- (2) I bought about 10 or 12 times each month the only foreign newspaper within my reach, the paper of the Austrian Communist Abend. I read Hungarian Communist newspapers only if there was something really exceptional in it.
- (2g) See letter a.
- (3) I saw the last movie in 1949, the Hamlet. I haven't had time, neither the desire to go to the Communist movies.
- (3bc) See question 3.
- (3e) No, I didn't go to theaters, neither to the movies because I was disgusted with them. ^{They} I succeeded ^{in giving} ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Communist slant even to the classical pieces. I did not have either

the time, or the money for recreation, not to mention the fact, all tickets had to be bought through the Kultúrfelelős, the person responsible for cultural activity. She distributed them to members of the clique. I would have gotten only bad or the most expensive tickets from the grace of such a woman who wanted to ruin me from the beginning.

(4) I had hardly read anything since 1945. Partly because I was disgusted with the Communist books, partly because I had no ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ time left for it.

(4e) A few books from Krúdy, Márai, and Thor on Wilde.

(5) Yes, at home before going to sleep.

(6) Yes, see question 1a. At home ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ 1 - 1 1/2 hours.

(6d) BBC was the most objective, but its objectivity bordered often on impossible stupidity. For instance, when it has quoted objectively the phantastic lies from Szabad Új in connection with the Mindszenty and Grösz affairs. Radio Paris was very colorful. Voice of America, in its own way has given interesting programs and propaganda, although this stands even more for the Radio Free Europe. These latter two radio stations have much greater effect on the masses than BBC. As I have mentioned before, I haven't read the Communist newspapers very much but I was very well informed from the state of the world by listening to these

foreign radio stations.

- (7) Actually I haven't heard more about world news from anybody than what I knew myself by listening to the radio. At most I have received more information about domestic happenings, for instance about the experiences of the deportees and internees after they returned home and we could speak with them.
- (8) I did not believe the news of the Communist newspapers. The above mentioned "Abend", although it was Communist too, still it has been published in the West, it had to be able to compete with other newspapers, therefore it contained often interesting news. Because of this, not all of its numbers were permitted to be sold in Hungary.
- (8b) Since I have listened to foreign radio stations regularly I never had any doubts about the right interpretation of the events, besides that, since Hitler came to power the Hungarian press started to bring the real news under very careful and clever camouflage. Working at the prime ministry I have learned how to interpret and evaluate the news appearing in the daily press.
- (8e) B.B.C. .
- (8f) Since last spring I was standing in line for each of its numbers. Although with the coming of Autumn the events have always preceded already, even the Irodalmi Újság, still it remained a sensation. I will never forget the day when I rushed into the laboratory with a terrific blast

on the regime, waving in my hands the Irodalmi Újság as my authority. You should have seen the terror on the face of the elvtársak - comrades and to hear the icy silence which took over for a minute the whole laboratory only to give place to a terrific outcry and rush toward my paper which was almost torn to pieces, they all wanted to read it so badly.

- (9) Certainly, but secretly nobody else should know about it and nobody should know even that someone was well informed. Maybe the great desire for more information could explain the fact that just as in Hitler's time, now again there was an unbelievable mushrooming of fortune tellers, astrologues, and horoscope makers and their business flourished as never before, all this under the aegis of materialism!
- (10) I have known all the news material from the western radio stations.

- (1) Regarding that the system is built on a stubborn materialistic ideology everything, which follows out of this, has to cease automatically if a change would take place.
- (1a) That very minimum of social improvement which has perhaps taken place inspite of all odds during the last few years.
- (2) Undoubtedly. In a nation composed of such diverse social strata, as it is in Hungary, only different parties and interest organizations are able to express the wishes of the people.
- (2a) Yes.
- (2b) No.
- (3) It is better if everybody is able to speak up and tell his opinion than if people have to lay low and keep quiet.
- (3c) No.
- (3d) No.
- (4) Yes. If somebody likes it, he should go to meetings. People with collective inclinations will remain always collectively minded and the individualist would not go to meetings anyway.
- (4b) I have received a degree from Legal Philosophy. The question what is right and what is not, what is legal and what is not is decided always a posteriori.
If a clique has strengthened its power, it can always find the legal basis and explanation for its actions.

- (5) From my part I am not only doubting the rightness ~~the~~ of the regime, but I simply deny the whole concept of Communism. In my opinion it is absolutely wrong and everything should be changed without exception if normality is to return to Hungary. If the Revolution could have stayed for at least four weeks in power, everything would have changed entirely. The private property should be restored, but coupled with a system of progressive taxation. (Here I want to mention that the system of taxation in Hungary works in the most chaotic and scandalous ways. For example, if you pay your taxes, you are given a receipt but without date. It can easily happen that in case the authorities need more money they would extract from you the taxes three times for the same period).
- (6) I am not an economist. In principle I am against all kind of nationalizations. In the minute when private initiative and individual interest is eliminated, the production will suffer.
- (6a) Private property within certain limits.
- (6b) Yes, see under question 6.
- (6c) Yes.
- (6e) Monopolies, such as tobacco, and the alcoholic beverage, as long as the state does not find any other suitable revenues, have to be maintained because of the pressing financial needs of the state. Besides this, for example, the tobacco is an exportware, which has to be able to compete

with the products of other countries. Therefore, according to my opinion, in this case in Hungary only state control would work.

- (8) The same as of the whole Pan-Slavic Bolshevism, namely its monomania. In Hungary from the first minute to the last to which it will last, it is a bluff and humbug. Such a planned economy, were for 2 years you can't get a screw in a certain size or for 1 1/2 years no shoelaces are to be found because these were forgotten from the plan, this kind of economy belongs to the nutshouse.
- (9) The state should remain in the background and only interfere if it is necessary, just as a policeman appears on the scene ~~XXXXXX~~ only if some accident happens.
- (10) Naturally, to pay taxes, to become soldier, etc.
- (10a) In the case of a parliamentary form of government, the duties of the individual toward the state and of the state toward the individual are today defined and complete forms which are accepted by everybody who is accepting parliamentarism.
- (11) Considering that I was state employee for 25 years, I can only say that it did not improve. Before the people in different occupations had different social insurance. There was one loop-hole remaining in the insurance system, that is the creation of a social insurance system for the

agricultural laborers. Now they have thrown together everything and established the same insurance for everybody, at the same time spoiling everything. Everybody is afraid to go to the district doctor, who is overworked and is rather a bureaucrat than doctor. These doctors write their prescription on their bureau desk without examining the sick person. Just before the war the modern beautiful OTBA hospital was built from the money of the state employees. Now its taken over by the chief Communists and the employees can go just as everybody else to the district doctors, in whom they have no confidence, because of the reasons mentioned above.

(12) The demand for movies, theaters and other recreation has grown. The possibility not, since there are hardly any new movies and places of amusement built and people don't go to the Soviet movies and theatrical performances. On the other hand great masses are standing in lines for Western movies. That shows, that the demand is there, it has grown but it cant't find satisfaction.

(13) No.

(13a) From 1945 to 1948 it was better. Afterwards there was a catastrophic downfall.

(13b) Can be answered this way: Since 1948 we had suffered always shortages but the standing in lines differed according to different articles. Once this was missing

once that, for weeks or for months.

- (15) I have never been preoccupied with industrial questions. As to the consumers productions, for instance tooth paste, tooth brush, shoe polish, matches, etc. were often missing from the market for months.
- (16) I am not qualified to give an opinion in this question. I think there are always only few people apt for leading roles. The average man does not have the judgement, foresight and responsibility for leadership, be a worker or not.
- (16a) I have my reservations toward any collective phenomena.
- (16e) Those who are qualified for it.
- (17) You could spot collective farms in Hungary very easily even from the windows of the train. Where you saw the worst crops, the most neglected fields, you knew they belonged to the collective farms.
- (17c) Dissolve them.
- (17h) Yes.
- (17i) If a state stands on ethical principles, stealing remains stealing if that is one ^{roll} ~~roll~~ or 10,000 jokes.
- (17l) If a state has to support agriculture, there must be something wrong.
- (17m) I don't know the answer.

- (18) The Vatican is the competent authority for settling this question with the state.
- (18f) To church school. I myself went to ecclesiastical school and there I have learned only good. A state employee can never devote himself to education as thoroughly as an ecclesiastical teacher. Certain tasks of life and such is education, demand great sacrifice and self-~~denial~~ denial.
- (19) It is not my duty to pass judgement. That should be done by a future independent Hungarian court.
- (20) According to Palmerston each nation has certain geographical peculiarities which cannot be changed. Applied to Hungary, we have to say that Hungary was predestined to ward off in his own body the attacks of Eastern barbarism. Christianity, which was accepted during St. Steven, is still the greatest force in Hungary's position. The greatest tragedy of Hungary during the last century was the controversy between Széchenyi and Kossuth. Kossuth has destroyed the grandious but most realistic ideas and plans of Széchenyi.
- (21) Undoubtedly just the same as every other nation is entitled to a peculiar national character.
- (21e) Yes, even the Hungarian peasant is aristocratic. I think only the Englishman has a similar pride and self-conscienciousness, *úr a saját portáján*.

- (21f) Yes.
- (22) From the great crisis only the policy of the Kállay government could have led out the country, if at the same time, wouldn't have been the destructive Miklós - Imrédy fraction and the German occupation on March 1944.
- (22f) Differences and inequality were harmfully significant.
- (22g) It was unquestionably Hungarian with Hungarian faults but it still meant more opportunities and possibilities from the viewpoint of Hungarian life than any kind of Communist experiments. The office of the regent has meant great obligations in the critical times which was not appreciated enough by Horthy, not so as by Pál Teleki.
- (22h) ~~Wedge~~ ^{Wedge} in between the great powers and containing a large German minority in the body of the nation, a better political leadership would have demanded tremendous political ability and courage. As I mentioned above, the greatest fault was, the absence of courage for standing up the right moment for the country's right and interest.
- (22i) A certain factual regeneration has started in all fields. It was almost unbelievably wonderful how quickly has stood up the country on its feet.
- (23) I think it's important that people speaking, thinking and feeling Hungarian should live in a common political territory.
- (23) Political differences and friction can be only among nations which are living next to each other. Thus there were

and there are differences with neighboring nations.

- (24) I think that only in an all embracing ^{inter} national organization can be the present differences solved. This could be a united Europe, a Danubian confederation or ^{under} any other name.
- (25) I have met only Russian soldiers, who had been the same as they have been known by millions of witnesses during the so-called liberation.
- (26) I have dealt with Marxism only as one of the subjects in economic theory. For my part, I always regarded it as a erroneous economic system.
- (26e) Tito is an opportunist (lesi-puskás) and his fate will be the same as the fate sooner or later of every opportunist politician.
- (26h) I don't find the question exact and clear. After all, Democracy depends in the final analysis on the individuals, for instance, during the Horthy era the mayor of Pecs has introduced and realized such democratic and social reforms which would be envied even in the greatest democracies.
- (26i) In Hungary there would have been democracy if the Communist coup etat wouldn't have taken place with the assistance of the Soviet Army.
- (27) It is an attempt in order that the individual Communist leaders should gain independence from Moscow and thus

- get some dollar loans from America. It is a double dealing Communism (in Hungarian Kétkulacsos kommunizmus).
- (27e) No, it is a cheap trick that at the ~~XX~~ same time when they are preaching international Communism with the slogan: Proletarians of the world unite! at the same time they appeal on the patriotism of the people.
- (28) Imre Nagy would have become that temporary bridge, which would have led to the real democratic Hungary.
- (28b) He would have remained at the head of the government until the new general elections.
- (29a) In the case it is ^{able} ~~XXXX~~ indeed to realize the idea of Humanism, it's good.
- (29b) I think that the Western colonizers have given more good than bad to the colonial colored people. Everything for which they are shouting today, they have received from the West.
- (29c) Actually it means that each plant, each animal, each man has different life interests.
- (29d) I don't know. It is only a bluff.
- (29e) It is an unavoidable phenomena of life. The thirst for power of persons, the expansion of states; When smaller nations are suppressed by it, I consider it bad.
- (29f) I consider it certainly as good. If it is regulated by appropriate taxation policy. In other words, I think that capitalism is a healthy phenomenon if the distribution of

the national income is healthy.

- (29g) Without bourgeoisie there is no modern social order. In the moment when the Bolsheviks will loosen up a little bit their system, a bourgeois class will be immediately formed whatever its name will be. The bourgeoisie is the trunk of a society.
- (29i) Péter Veress is according to the people of Pécs the greatest opera singer because, as they say it in Hungarian, "Egyedül játszotta el a Parasztbecsületet." (The english translation would be: he alone has performed the Cavalleria Rusticana, which of course refers to Mascagni's opera, but the Hungarian sentence has another meaning, namely, that he alone was able to gamble away the honesty and reputation of the entire Hungarian peasantry.) To say this, hurts me particularly because I was his admirer from the beginning. He has been the real Péter Veress only when he was still together with Mára¹, Aron Tamás², Kodolányi and the other young writers in the March Front.
- (29j) In Hungarian they are called ~~KKK~~ hard working, diligent well-to-do farmers. Each little peasant would have liked to reach this status. Only the Russians have introduced the notion of a bad "kulak".
- (29j) I know very little of him. According to that he was an international Communist against the Slavik Bolsheviks, that's why he was put out of the way.
- (29k) He was a good Czech.
- (29l) He is a reserve figure on chess table of the American

politics.

- (29m) She is a well intentioned, but stubborn social democrat whose views are very limited (in Hungarian akinek megvannak a szemelőzöi).
- (29n) Mindszenty is the only person who, from the first moment on, has clearly and actually appreciated the Bolshevik danger in Hungary and, unlike the politicians, he not only saw this ^{but} stood up against it.
- (30) Independently from the fact, what the name would be, in Hungary that party would win, which would announce and realize a Christian and European program.
- (30a) There is none among the politicians. Mindszenty weighs even in the politics heaviest.
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) More.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Less.
- (31e) More. (The doctors and the engineers. The doctors became a special cast).
- (31f) From them the Party members more, the others less.
- (31g) More.
- (31h) Less.
- (31i) Less.

- (32) After 1948 it became more and more apparent that the doctors and the engineers belonged to the privileged class, which, of course, was even more evident in the case of the Party members.
- (33) In my opinion people who live within one country have to coordinate their interests, else every harmony and peace would be impossible.
- (34) Nothing at all.
- (35) Those, maybe, 12 or 15 per cent, whose interests are closely bound to the survival of the regime.
- (35a) Everybody else.
- (36) NB.

- (1a) I think these are the typical test questions, applied to the Hungarian situation.
- (1b) Yes, I think that only by such laborious collection of small mosaic pieces could be the picture, of what have been in Hungary during the last 12 years, obtained.
- (1c) Generally the people have the tendency to show themselves in a favorite light and to hide the less favorable things.
- (1d) Generally speaking, yes. Exceptions would be perhaps the personal questions. I am afraid that many will magnify and dramatize their role played in the revolution.
- (2) Only about the fact that the longer such a situation endures the more a society will decay and become depraved. Therefore the West should not place its confidence in the passing of time because the situation will get worse and worse in the East.
- (2a) I didn't leave for adventures, I have never thought of not returning.
- (3) Only that if you have started with such a tremendous job you should work up the material quickly and with an appropriate apparatus as long as the whole thing is timely.
- (3b) Two of my articles were accepted and published but now the world is no more interested in my things about the Hungarian situation.