

(1) If only for a moment the reins are loosened and the terror suspended, everything which has been preached for years would collapse as castles in the air. In the so-called Satellite states, life is only a question of to be or not to be. We left behind us long ago the existentialist question. It did not matter any more what will follow. The explosive driving force was "at last, I can freely tell and show what I think inside." The cork was pulled out of the bottle and the genie was released.

(2) Respondent objects to the use of the word Revolution and prefers to call it "népfölkelés", popular uprising against tyranny.)

The psychological foundations were laid by the March Party Resolutions of 1955 and the following Rikosi speech. Then, again Rikosi had followed it up as an anti ~~MOVEMENT~~ thesis with his Csepel speech. After he has delivered his self-criticism in the Sport Hall of Csepel, the printers greeted each other next day with the word: "Végre!", which means: "At last!"

In the evening following this speech, first time could one see people uninhibitedly forming groups and discussing things on the street.

The first real revolutionary manifestation, in my opinion, took place in the evening of September 7th, 1956 at the appearance of Hétfői Hírlap in the districts around the National Theatre, the Apponyi Square,

and the Béla Bartók Circle, when in those places the editorial, entitled Tiszta Lap, which means "clean page", was read aloud to hundreds of people by some strong-voiced men.

(2a) On December 13th, there was a public session of Party organisation in the Press Combine on the Lenin Boulevard. Gyorgy Fazekas, former partisan officer and Miklós Gimes, a former young ideologist of the Party (Szabad Nép has used him for four years as its ideological editor), have spoken up in the Rajk case and have expressed their opinion about the perfect negativism of the Party policy. This gave the sign for Irodalmi Ujsag to sound off its well-known characteristic voice. And so began from step to step the peculiar alliance between the so-called "Europäer" Communists within the Party and the suppressed, voiceless young intellectuals outside of the Party, for a common goal. This goal: A freely breathing and with the rest of the world freely communicating Hungary, but with due respect to the brute force of Russia, a Hungary resting on the fundament of Socialism.

(2b) (i) The 20th Congress. This has given oxygen to the explosion to the hitherto suppressed fire.
(ii) Moscow's reconciliation with Tito.
(iii) Rehabilitation of Gomulka.
(iv) Eisenhower's speech in which he asked Congress for an expeditionary force in case somewhere human

rights would be outraged.

(v) The Free Europe Radio Station.

(vi) K&Uml; Poznan.

(vii) The earthquake in the beginning of March and the catastrophic floods at the end of March. Great masses of people have taken these natural catastrophes as heavenly signs.

(2c) Rikosi's self-criticism at Csepel. On July 7th, 1956 on a Saturday, I have made this note in my diary that day: "Mindennek vége - egyenakkor kezdődik". ("It is the end of everything - and at the same time the beginning.")

(Interviewer has seen the little notice-book of the respondent and checked many of the items noted at the appropriate dates.)

(2e) The fact that the writers growing disgusted with the lying against their better selves for over a decade - happens whatever will happen - began to write the truth.

(2f) Szabad Nép: Tibor Méray, Sándor Fekete, Tamás Aczél, Pál Szabó, Prof. Simonyi, the atom-power researcher; Irodalmi Ujság: Miklós Molnár, Zoltán Zelk, Mihály Papp (he was working as mailman for four years); Béke és Szabadság: Róbert Kertész, György Máté, Sándor Harasztí; Művelt Nép: Károly Akos (his article "Egy tanár és a debreceni lunatikus." - "A professor and the luna-

tic of Debrecen."), Gyula Antalfy ("Szarvasbögés" - in English "Belling"), Miklós Molnár (he translated from Albert Camus the last scene of his play "Caligula"), ~~XXXXXXXX~~ László Vértess ("Az ismeretlen C-14" - "The unknown C-14") (this article was written about an isotope, but under the cover it actually dealt with the political development of Hungary in the last years).

Besides this, there had been some poems and radio plays smuggled into the broadcasts which were originating from Alice Halda, who is dead to-day.

- (2g) The discussion in the Petöfi-Circle about the freedom of press and opinion. Also its second discussion about the rights of the citizens and the question of the youth. These had not been world events, but have been the most important forerunners and preparers of the coming Revolution. XXXX Zoltán Zelk's poem "Beláttam mindent", in English "I gained an insight into everything" or rather "I admit everything" in the last July number of Irodalmi Újság.

- (3) The reason could be looked for in the depressing feeling of the aimlessness of life and the circumstances could be looked for in the wider possibilities afforded by the 20th Congress and also in the first permitted travels of the Hungarian intelligentsia including the Hungarian youth in June, July, and August in the West.

- (3a) On October 23rd only for four hours - since Gerö and his entourage ~~were~~ ^{were} still on their way from Belgrade - the government lost its ~~own~~ head, became insecure; there was nobody who would give strict orders according to the intentions of Moscow. The students who had been already in the state of ferment and were organizing themselves and ~~the~~ ^{Pest} the city, which is sensitive like a seismograph, have found, just as an explosive material, the point of least resistance.
- (3b) The answer could be found partly already in the preceding question, but the real psychological cause was best expressed by a Communist slogan: "A Párt a mi eszünk, irányítónk és fegyverünk." ("The Party is our brain, our director, and our weapon"). The brain was not present, therefore the organs and members had ceased to function.
- (3c) The intention was a well-meaning, mute demonstration, nothing else. What has followed is only the consequence of Gerö's intentionally provocative speech and measures ordered by him.
- (3e) Everybody ^{had} the same aim: To get rid of, at any price, what they had.
- (3f) Two insignificant sections of the population: The backbone-broken bureaucrats, left in their jobs and the surprisingly numerous informers, who had been paid by the Secret Service of the Party and behaved loudly, although they had been in constant fear of ~~their~~ death.

(3g) I can assure you, on the ground of my personal experiences, that except the mothers of many children, nobody.

(3h) I developed in ten years an allergy to any slogan; so that it has ^{not} interested me and I cannot answer to this question.

(3i) I think, the question is naive. The ~~was~~ popular uprising was against the anti-Humanism. There was no question about different political theses, only of the elimination of a group which has achieved power and had arms through the exploitation of an ideology. Politics are regarded by the Hungarian people only from one angle, namely: Is it useful or ~~is it not~~ is it not? The popular uprising broke out against a demoralizing and anti-human leadership which was leading the country towards a complete bankruptcy.

(3l) There were. Just as I could not imagine that John Foster Dulles would not take arms against those who would take all his properties away from him and would throw him out from his apartment.

(3m) Suppose ... for two months there would have been a characteristically ^{Hungarian} battle for power, but after that the peasant majority - because we still remain an agrarian nation - which is still sober and attached to his land and house, by its weight would ^{have} stabilized the situation. Since I know the excellently qualified middle-aged Hungarian political intelligentsia, I am

convinced that with a little Western help, a Denmark of Central Europe could have been formed out of Hungary with an unquestionably enlightened and strongly socialist~~ly~~ and humanistic~~ly~~ minded government.

- (4) I was writing newspaper (respondent was editor of "Hétfői Hírlap" and contributed much to the content of the two revolutionary numbers of that paper). I have taken part in the fighting to the best of my ability - and - I have buried my family.
- (At this point respondent became emotionally upset. The interview had to be interrupted for a short time. As he later related, in the morning of November 4th, he was working in the editorial office of Hétfői Hírlap to get the paper ready for distribution in the evening. When he heard the cannonade of the attacking Russian tanks, he hurried home through the unguarded garden paths, only to find his house shattered and only parts of the bodies of his wife and child lying around, which he then buried with the help of his neighbours on the spot.)

- (4a) We have to clear up something: Against the police - I understand the Hungarian police in blue uniforms - thanks to the admirable boldness of the Chief of Police of Budapest, Sándor Kopácsi, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ we did not have to fight. See the article written by me "Köszönet a kérendőrségnek" - "Thanks

to the blue police" in the October 28th number of Hétfői Hírlap. From October 23rd to October 27th, the ^{have} arms and ammunition of the blue police ~~has~~ been our only, in every respect reliable, military supplies. Against the Russians and the AVO the fight was carried on under the leadership of a few ~~intellig~~ intellectuals by the entire youth between 12 and 24, and the workers of Budapest and its environment, up to the point of final exhaustion. The most important centres of fighting had been the Heroes' Square, the Tunnel in Buda, the Kálmán Széll Square, the Ganz Electricity Works in Buda, the central offices of Szabad Nép, and the Kossuth Academy. Almost the entire Budapest garrisons have joined the Revolution, except pessimistically counted maybe 30 %.

- (4c) I have seen such on the ~~Republic~~ Republic Square, on Mars Street, on Andrassy Avenue 56-58, and on Széchenyi Square. It was ~~awful~~ awful.
- (5) With the writing, editing, and distributing of Hétfői Hírlap. We had to transport and distribute the newspaper in the city by ourselves.
- (5e) We have published three pamphlets with the signature of Hétfői Hírlap Barátai, the friends of the Hétfői Hírlap. All three can be found in the archives of the UNO.
- (5f) I was the secretary of the revolutionary council of

newspaper publishers (Lapkiadó Vállalat).

- (6a) It consisted of 32 members, 9 have fallen, 7 have been taken to the hospital.
- (6b) The groups organized spontaneously.
- (6c) From printers to hooligans, who came up from the street, it contained all kind of people, e.g., there were two typist girls in it, then seven students with submachine guns from the student council, and five journalists, who were caught in the office, because they could not go home to ~~visit~~ their families in the suburbs. Everybody could join who would obey the orders of the most competent in the group. You have to understand that up to about November 9th everybody was reliable. The so-called "fifth column", which was organized by the AVO and the Russians as their most reliable help, now did not dare to join the fighting groups. After all, they would not have dared to shoot at the "comrades" and we were watching very carefully for what was the ammunition used by our colleagues.
- (6d) Since further existence of the group was impossible, it scattered and was absorbed by the every-day life occupation of the city. (Lehetetlenülés folytán főszivédtnk).
- (6e) I do not want to answer this. It will be the duty of historic research to find it out.
- (6f) It was strict discipline.

- (6g) Usually, somebody who had been to the war and had sufficient skill and experience.
- (6h) The same.
- (6i) Everybody listened to the experienced people.
- (6j) In my case, we had a security service organized for four street blocks. We had maintained connection through a fisher-man on the Danube with our friends in the Ganz factory on the Buda side. From them we learned always exactly the movements of the Russians.
- (7) The only one was Maléter. He never left in the lurch any groups who have turned to him for help. He never even asked them who they were. He would attempt the impossible, even risking his own life, but he would rush to the help of those who needed him. I saw him twice myself and both times I received everything from him I was asking for.
- (7a) There was an adventurer, former representative of the Smallholders Party, who is known under the name of *Dudás. He was a totalitarian. No true Hungarian, no student wanted any community with him. He was terrorizing and looting. He had a room for executions in the Szahid Nép office. He was a Mexican-style "maszek" revolutionary. I went to see him on November 7th, 1956; for our plea for urgent help - we had been only three blocks away from his group - his answer was: "You can get everything, but I will send along one of my adju-

tants and you will sign a declaration to be sent to the UN, according to which there is no other possible leader of the country but Károly Dudás." The Dudás group as such has counted very little from the point of view of the Hungarian Revolution. It was rather a wanton group of adventurers. It got its surprisingly up-to-date armaments for vodka ~~of~~ ^{and} great quantities of cigarettes from the Russian garrison ^{of} Székesfehérvár, which was relieved and immediately entrained on October 29th.

The only serious difference of opinion occurred, according to my knowledge, between the young workers of the Ganz Electricity Works of Buda (there had been 27 Jewish technicians among them) and the workers of the Eastern Railway's ^{Station's} section of the Sheet-Iron-Rolling Works of Csepel. Those of Buda have protested vigorously against the excesses of revenge. In my opinion, ~~these~~ ^{the boys} of Buda had been hundred percent right, since murder, as they have maintained, is permissible only after a legal examination of the case. On the other hand, it has to be kept in mind that the past ten years have made beasts even out of saints.

(7b) This question could be left out quite reasonably, because, starting at 9 o'clock October 23rd the entire Hungariandom stood up against the Eastern oppressors as a truly classless society.

(7c) The same answer.

(7a)

The clergy, Catholic, Calvinist, and Jew, rose to the summit of its calling. ~~XXXXX~~ On the Ullői Street in the block of Ullői Street 56-61-72 I saw with my own eyes a Rabbi and a Piarist monk to give the last rites and consolation to their dying believers. Perhaps it is worth to mention that the last fighting groups in the Buda Castle consisting of 62 students have been led by a Franciscan monk. The Piarist monastery on the Makarexko Street, formerly Mária Street, has taken in all wounded and helped everybody who turned to them up to November 9th.

Regarding the behaviour of the peasantry, I have to note that as far as Székesfehérvár, which means that from about 60km radius, each peasant boy came up to join the fighters. From Dorog on October 26th, 290 ~~XXXX~~ 16-21 year old youngsters came up, mostly the sons of miners. They were the first ones to attack the Party headquarters on the Akadémia Street.

(8)

October 24th, on 0 hour 22minutes has arrived to Budapest the first armoured division from Székesfehérvár, called in by the government. Adhering to the truth strictly and objectively, I have to say that up to their relieve on October 29th, only tank was shooting against tank, not on the people or on foot soldiers. The casualties among the people between October 23rd and 29th were caused by the AVÖ and by the units of

the NKVD from the Vilm a Királynő Street. After that the Mongolian division - from which we received the first news October 21st, 4 p.m. from Csap - have taken over the duty of "restoring the order".

(8a) There is a Hungarian proverb which was born during the last ten years. It says: "Az orosz vajban és prézliben sültve is orosz marad", which means: "You can fry XXX a Russian in butter and bread crumbs, he still remains a Russian."

(8d) On the Street of the Red Army (formerly called Kidegkúti Street) was an orphanage for the Korean 'orphans'. There were around 250 16-21 years old students. Over a hundred of them have been fighting with admirable discipline and courage in the groups of the Ganz Electrical Works in Buda, in the Kálmán Széll-Square, on Castle-Hill, and in the Belloiannis and Csacsa Machine Works in the Lágymányos area.

(8e) Against all rumours to the contrary, from my own XX experiences I have to state that there were individual cases, but reports about the defection of whole groups or even divisions are lies.

(8f) On October 27th, Saturday, the airport of Ferihegy was surrounded by two battalions of the armoured divisions stationing at Fehérvár. All passenger carriers which could be found in or around Budapest, were seized and used for the transport of Soviet officials to the

Soviet Union. (See the 8 p.m. turn of MTI on October 27th). The result of this operation remained unknown. One thing is clear: The influence of the Soviet officialdom was zero. Decision and action was in the hands of ~~the~~ the troops, not of the officials.

(9) Surprisingly enough, through the phone, the Hungarian post, the short wave amateur radio stations, and the motorized news service of the university youth/~~which~~ which can be said/perfect. We have known about everything.

(9a) This question—for an understandable want of knowledge of ~~the~~ the factual situation—is inexact. It should be put in the following way: What role was played by the printers? Because journalists, well-informed journalists, journalists who stood entirely on the side of that popular uprising, ~~was~~ ^{were} enough. The real problem was that of the printing. The Printers' Union (Social ~~Democratic~~ Democratic) has done the utmost in accepting and publishing everything which could further the cause of the Revolution.

The role of the newspapers was only informative, since it would have been superfluous either to create moods or to give ideological directions. A perfectly unanimous, active populace was expecting only the affirmation or refutation of uncertain rumours floating around, from the newspapers. We thought of those "pártszertűn" edited "pecsenyét süts" pamphlets, like

Kis Ujság, A Reggel, Uj Szabad Ifjúság, Népakarat,^{etc.}
etc. by political adventurers as exasperating phenomena.
There are four newspapers which could be regarded as
authentic: Magyar Nemzet edited by Tiber Pethö,
Néphadsereg with the Kossuth coat-of-arms on its mast-
head, Hétfői Hírlap, which was actually a Monday paper,
but had two extra editions during the Revolution, and
the Igazság. Very interesting and objective work was
done by the staff of MTI under the direction of the
vice-director Károly Hudák, who is no more among the
living.

I would like to record it only as a fact that on
November 3rd 3 p.m. I went to the head office of MTI
on Naphegy. I received for Hétfői Hírlap the complete
news material from October 23rd to November 3rd for
hours and minutes prepared and bound in volumes.

(9b) I was a reporter, thus, I had all opportunities at my
disposal.

(9c) BBC which had the only authentic broadcasts; Radio Free
Europe, which has done a brilliant service, especially
to the fighting units by re-broadcasting the broadcasts
of the secret short-wave radio-stations operating in
Hungary. On the other hand its news service and com-
mentary cannot be called either sober or politically
sound and shrewd. The Voice of America has been gene-
rally 5-6 hours behind the events. Its commentaries
were also directed rather by enthusiasm than by ob-

jectivity. Radio Paris has given mostly nonsense. Radio Madrid, fortunately nobody believed it. The Hungarian Radio from October 27th, in the wake of events, thus between the upper and the nether mill-stone of broadcasting difficulties and situations changing from minute to minute. Its staff, judging objectively, has worked with the greatest possible sobriety. We are eternally indebted to the foreign journalists in camping ~~in~~ the Duna-Hotel, especially to the ridiculously young reporter of Herald Tribune, who was at the service of his Hungarian colleagues every day at every hour with coffee, with money, with drinks, and with reliable news.

- (10) This complex question can be answered clearly and factually from October 20th. On that day, it was a Saturday, at 9 a.m. in the Duna-Hotel I and my colleagues in my company Miklós Gimes, Iván Boldizsár, and Péter Csobády have received the following news from a Hindoo journalist, who just arrived the night before: "It is something cooking for you in the Kremlin. I have seen many tanks moving in westward direction between Kiev and Kolomea. I do not know, but I do not think that it will be good for you." On October 21th, Sunday, we received the following report from the correspondent of Hétfői Hírlap in Mátészalka, which is only 21 km from Csap,

the Russian border station: "I have counted up to 1111 the motor cars arriving here. Please, answer me immediately! For heaven's sake, what is happening?!" On the same day, on October 21st, Sunday 4 p.m. we received from MTI on the K-line (this was a private line, not operated by the city's public phone system, of which each editorial office had one.) The confidential and at the same time warning information: "Order of the Ministry of Interior: Until further order all fuel, explosives, ammunition, sterilizing material, and medicine can be issued only against the signature of the Minister of Interior and the counter-signature of the Minister of Defense."

This was the time when I have written in my diary the following words: "Et ne nos inducas in tentationem!"

October 21st, Sunday 8.20 p.m. a phone call from Sándor Kopácsy, the Chief of Police of Budapest: "I have received instructions from the Ministry of Interior to prevent the gathering of crowds when Hétfői Hírlap comes out in the evening by using police squad cars checking the papers of the people and making arrests. You come out just the same, the order will not be relayed." This was the first sign of the unreliability of the Security organs.

On October 22nd, Monday at 9 a.m. confidential information from MTI: "Gerö's visit in Belgrade will end

instead of according the plan ~~was~~ Wednesday already Tuesday morning."

On the same day, on October 22nd at 1.30 p.m. I was in the Journalists' Union, where Sándor Harasti, member of the Preparatory Committee for the general meeting of re-electing officials, received a phone call from Nyiregyháza : "Sándor, what are you doing again up there in Budapest? ~~There~~ ^{We} are full here with square-mugged (szögletes pófajú) Mongolians." On this news Géza Losonc y only remarked: "~~What~~ ^{Boys,} "dicke Luft", it would be advisable if we would agree when and where should we meet, if something ~~will~~ ^{would} happen." This we did and, as it turned out later, the suggestion was really foresightful.

In the evening, in my home I was greeted by the AVH lieutenant, who lived on the first floor: "Mister editor, (he used the "úr" instead of "elvtárs" =comrade) what do you say, perhaps I can quit my job."

(I have been living ~~was~~ legally only since September 15th in Budapest; I never knew this man, he never greeted me before. In fact, I got the creeps when this AVG-man approached me! Then he disappeared without trace on the morning of 24th, but on November 18th he came back with his family in all his glory.)

On October 23rd at 11.30 a.m. I saw off my sister to the airport on Ferihegy and was given a lift back to Budapest on the car of the Swiss Commercial Attaché

and his guest who just arrived from Moscow. The guest was Monsieur Ramone from Lucerne. He turned to the attaché and asked him in French, probably thinking that I ~~would~~ ^{would not} understand: "Tell me, M. l'attaché, do you count on it that you might have to leave Budapest soon?" In his surprise the attaché stopped the car: "What do you mean?" Answer: "Within the next days I see the situation in Budapest very black!"

On October 23rd at 1 p.m. at the Hétfői Hírlap editorial session Ivan Boldizsár, the chief editor, to the greatest surprise of all of us, without any introduction, said the following words. "I know that among the plans of the colleagues or, maybe, already in your pockets you have many exciting and constructive articles unmasking the faults of the régime. But I want you unmistakably understood that Hungary's survival depends on the inviolability of her treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, otherwise she will perish." (Where did he know from, he never told us.) At 2 p.m. a student delegation from the Technical University appeared at our editorial meeting. They ~~had~~ handed us 40 exemplars of their points of demands, which they have lithographed, and invited us politely for their silent demonstration in sympathy and admiration for Poland, which they had planned for 4 o'clock p.m. At 2.30 p.m. MTI reports the order by László Piros forbidding the demonstration 10 minutes after, we received a phone call from the

Technical University: "We have not taken notice of it. We are going to march. We ask you for participation."

What has followed is known already too well. I would like to mention only one thing which I have not read anywhere: At 8.30 p. m., when I was standing in the crowd before the broadcasting studio, suddenly I noticed that we ~~we~~^{we} were standing and trampling on machine gun cartridges. With this news I struggled out of the crowd and hurried toward our editorial office. On Gutenberg Square, parked closely to the walls of the houses, I found three empty AVH trucks. I have the suspicion that these three trucks brought the reinforcement for the AVH at the Radio and the civilian provocateurs, who have mingled into the crowd. As we know exactly, Gerő has made up his speech already in Budapest, but at 6 p. m. he had recorded a new text for the broadcast. At the same time he gave the order for the Internal Security Organs for active alert. In this connection, I think it is important to mention also another fact. According to the reliable report of Sándor Bekete, the foreign policy editor of Szabad Nép, the doctrinaire Party journalists of that paper on October 23rd between 3 and 4 p. m., received a confidential phone call from Oskár Bethlen, the shortly before removed chief editor, who told them to leave the editorial office secretly and remain at home that day.

The government took refuge in the atomic bomb secure shelter of the Central Party Headquarters on Akadémia Street, which has been ~~not~~ equipped with telephone, short-wave broadcasting and receiving station, and the perfect machinery for news gathering and the distribution. According to eye-witnesses there ~~was~~ were ~~XXXX~~ food and other provisions stored up, enough for a large staff for at least a year. From this place the régime tried then through its secret or double-faced agents to influence or rather to reverse the course of events. I would mention as an example that on the evening of 23rd, due to the urgent demand of the masses, Imre Nagy was dragged up to the balcony of the Parliament and forced to deliver his speech by the driver of Gerö and two AVH-men holding their revolvers to his back. Imre Nagy has excellently recognized the seriousness of the situation and told already in the second hour of the students' demonstration to his young friend, Miklós Gimes, who later became his chief of press, in his revolutionary governⁿment: "Let us permit^{the} sewage of the first^{four} days to flow past and afterwards with ~~it~~ a sound peasant head will start a Hungarian policy in the interest of the people." No wonder that under the above-described circumstances his evening speech to the crowd on Parliament Square was pitifully weak, although he has pronounced all the decisive words: He spoke of the patience needed, of the unconditional rule of

law, and of humanism, which he pronounced with deep emotion four times during his speech, which he delivered in such impossible circumstances and under such terrific stress. According to the excellently organized news service of police chief Sándor Kopácsy, immediately after his speech Imre Nagy was put under "government supervision" in the Central Party Headquarters on Akadémia Street. From this moment on during the days of successive government re-organisations, the life of Imre Nagy was in ^{the} hands of Ernő Gerő and Suslov, who was in Budapest and thus all his public announcements which he did because of his trust in the future and because of ~~his~~ his natural human cunning, in my opinion can be held against him only by fools.

Accordingly, the government has existed only in principle and in the Radio announcements - ~~the~~ in the reality the government ceased to exist.

The Party organisations? What a miracle, what a wonderful experience! In the morning of October 24th there was no more a Hungarian Workers' Party. Those who have continued to work according to the Party line (partszervek) had been excellently paid and willing for everything; AVH Moscowite agents, who had been clamoring together with the crowd, only by dropping some remarks, have been doing their job of contamination. I witnessed the liquidation of three such acrid remarks dropping fellows; one in the beer hall Apostolok, one

in the Budavár café-house in Buda, and one in the Gul Baba restaurant at the Buda beachhead of Margithid. In the pockets of all three of them ^{were} documents and money which have betrayed their occupation.

(10a) The Party organisation and the Party news service has collapsed immediately. The ANK (Allami Nyilvandrési Központ) has ceased immediately. The supreme Party direction from Akadémia Street has ceased. There was no more ministry or office working. The role of the government and of the institutions were taken over by spontaneous self-help from the part of the Hungarians, and by military measures from the part of the Soviets. On the third day the Party headquarters everywhere had been yawning from emptiness, the functionaries could not be found, and 25 % of the officials had been only too happy to surrender even the most confidential and not yet burnt files.

(10c) About the blue police everything was told above. If somebody speaks about anti-revolutionary activity of the blue police, he probably does not know that on the 25th the AVH has attacked with arms the headquarters of the blue police and has looted its wardrobe in order to get some uniforms for its own use. The police force of the régime consisted of Russian tanks those days.

(10f) The army has ceased to exist. Partly it dissolved and a part of it joined the Revolution, another part went

home, while many troops have been through the disarming action of the Russians, closed in to their barracks and held virtually as prisoners.

(10g) See under (10).

(10h) The local councils - they made big fires and have been burning. They had been happy that they could reduce to ashes and thus destroy without trace the immense masses of their backlog papers.

This was the ~~situation~~ ^{picture on} the 7th day of the popular uprising, when only very few of the best-informed ^{knew} that János Kádár and Ferenc Münnich, two members of the provisional government have fled to Moscow together with ~~SNA~~ Suslov.

(10i) The churches, after the ten years long oppression with little informed and naive enthusiasm, started out for a missionary campaign. It has to be told to their credit that the question of the lost church properties was not even mentioned. ~~EX~~ All priests of every denomination, who dared to move - miraculously there were usually the older ones who did - have behaved worthy of their sublime vocation.

(10j) This question was formulated without the factual knowledge of the situation, because we could say that they have used the drivers of the transportation service, the personnel of the MAV (The State Railways of Hungary), the post-office or the blue police; but this was not the use of an organisation to further their

own ends, but the simple fact that each Hungarian has worked for all the other Hungarians.

(10k) Embryonic Party organisations in the majority with adventures of the Pancho Villa style; a fraternal union of political prisoners was created (Politikai Foglyak Bajtársi Szövetsége), which has been probably most active in saving people. The others have been phantasies walking in the clouds which on the first shot on November 4th have been, quite naturally, dissolving in the air (this is strictly my personal opinion).

(10l) The Workers' Councils, as later events have proved, have been the successful examples of the hard work done by the Soviet-Communist agents smuggled into our midst.

The fundamental intuition of the workers was the establishment of trade union councils, with other words, the defense of their interests and not an organ of directing the production. Their good intentions and preparedness ^{have} been thwarted by the independent thoughts killing effects of the last ten years, which made easy way for ~~the~~ demagogy. About the question who has run them, only so much: He who dared.

(10m) See (3m).

(11) The Revolution can never be forgotten. Of its usefulness I was convinced by the radical change of world

opinion during the last 7 months and also by the intellectual flourishing of the great majority of the Hungarian youth, which have escaped and found new working grounds in Europe and abroad. But the most useful was probably on that account that it has finally destroyed all credits of the fairy-tale which has preached up to now the possibility of the realization of the Communist ideal.

- (11b) The Revolution could have won, if the West would have exchanged its ten years' propaganda for hard currency, instead of remaining by empty words.
- (11c) We have expected help from the West, first of all, on the grounds of the founding document of the UN. Secondly, on the grounds of the encouragements which have been begun after the 20th Party Congress and which were taken at ^{their} face value by the Hungarians with good faith. (Not only Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, but even BBC has sent us messages that they are waiting only for our initiative, everything else would follow automatically.)
- (11d) The reason why the Revolution erupted in Hungary, lies in the fact that among the satellite countries, Hungary is the only country whose population - because of its spiritual endowments and on genetic grounds - could never have any community with the Pan-Slavic dream, formulated by Lenin. And another fact, why Hungary was the country which has given to Communism the lie

by fire and blood, is the fact that from the Hungarian psyche you can take away everything, only its fundamental character, its belief in God - never. He would either die ^{of} it or ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ would win ~~XXXX~~ it back by fighting for it.

- (11e) Imre Nagy was a clever well-educated man with the Hungarian peasant's sober and deep wisdom. However, because of his unfortunate circumstances in his early age, he received his political training from the false school. He admitted his shortcomings to his closest friends in 1949 and said the following: "I must start to make serious efforts to learn more about the European history and political economy." As a leader he had only one decisive fault; he was never driven by desire for power. He was a Hungarian peasant, who wanted to live in peace. This deficiency in his mentality was the greatest obstacle for him to exert his influence actively in the direction which he saw so clearly to be the right one. Regarding his role during the Revolution, it was a pity that he was rather a philosopher and instead of giving orders, he was inclined to meditate over and harmonize things. In order to be fair to him I would like to ask whether any other European politician, who when unexpectedly squeezed into the vise of from one hand a spontaneously erupting national protest, and on the other hand of a satanically perfectly organized and with a hundred times

greater potential force of a great power, could be either wiser or more successful. Imre Nagy was only a man and the task which he was expected to perform would have overtaxed the capacities of a super-man of the atomic age. And finally, it should be not forgotten, but understated, that as much as it was prepared from the part of the Soviets, as ^{which} it was unprepared and unexpected from the part of the Hungarians - the Revolution. And Imre Nagy was only one man with a very limited circle of friends consisting of about 14 people only, which could not be called even a number in regard to the tremendous task of reorganisation of the state, especially under such circumstances. There was a wise saying in Budapest on November 14th: "Imre Nagy was similar to that reliable ship boy who was conscientiously polishing the door handle while the ship was sinking."

- (11f) Actually only two: Malóter and Sándor Kopácey, the chief of police, trained in Moscow.
- (11g) I cannot establish any order of preference. It is without doubt, that the writers have started. It erupted at the Technical University and has carried along then unanimously the whole Hungarian society. Perhaps ~~XXXXX~~ my personal experience of that day, as a newspaper reporter, will show what I mean. On November 23rd 4 p.m. the students started their march. Already some older intellectuals and many workers

who just came from their jobs have joined them. The first flag was burnt by the soldiers of the Ban barracks. They have given the first machine guns to the students around 8 p.m. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, when the latter, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ coming from the Radic Station, ^{have asked for help.} About 9 p.m. the first truck arrived from Csepel with engineer students, who had been practising there and with the news shouted from the top that for ten o'clock the Red Csepel (Vörös Csepel) will be here. At 10.30 p.m. before the Eastern railroad station in perfect order and armour ~~array~~ the four student companies of the Mexiko Street Soldiers' Academy marched forward under the leadership of their officers. All irresponsible elements, according to the well-known psychology of every Revolution, have been there. However, it is extremely interesting how the mood of the public has restrained all irresponsibility^{up} to November 4th. This was really miraculous. Of course, I am speaking here about common crimes, since political irresponsibility, as e.g. the founding of ephemeral parties, has been mushrooming. On the other hand there was a general sober attitude toward them which could be expressed with the following words: Let them spend the fury of their ambition. The future leadership would have, undoubtedly fallen into the hands of the excellently organizing, serious intelligentsia.

- (11h) Yes. Only one thing was not anticipated by any of the middle-aged Hungarian intellectuals; namely that exactly that technical youth which was gasped above any sound measure by the régime, that they would start it and, as they have disclosed and proved during those few days, they had behind them already an 8 months ~~long~~ thorough-going organisational preparation.
- (12) On December 9th, ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ the early morning of Sunday, at 4.30, when the wife of Miklós Gimes called me on the phone and gave me the last message from her husband for me, which he entrusted to her in the last moment, when the car of the militia stopped before his house: "You should leave immediately and you should write the book."
- (12a) My decision was motivated by the fact that I could not see any reason, why should I perish silently after I have lived through those horrible ten years, of which for 4 1/2 I was not even a free man.
- (12b) I have not discussed my decision with anybody, because by this time already the demoralizing fear has taken over again the country and again nobody could be trusted.
- (12c) I have thought of another alternative too, namely that I would disappear in the Hungarian forests with the help of my Hungarian colleagues, but already on the second day I had to discover that, because of quite understandable reasons, nobody dared to hide me.

- (1) I am a forest engineer. I received my degree from the School of Forestry of Sopron/ⁱⁿ1937. At the same time, in September 1936, the parliamentary representative of the city of Sopron, Miklós Lázár, who was the chief editor of the Monday paper A Reggel, has invited me to be a trainee with his newspaper. From that on I learned how to write in the newspaper and after 1938, when I had absolved the one year obligatory practice in forestry, journalism became my second vocation.
- (2) Up to 1944 I have changed several times my occupation from forestry to journalism and back. From December 1945, I became the editor of the report column in Szabad Szó, a Peasant Party newspaper. As a non-Party member I was dismissed on April 1st, 1948 by a Party resolution. On May 8th the political police has arrested me, however, ^{I was} set free after 6 months, but was obliged to report regularly during a three years period. I was put on the 3000 list; that meant that I could not make more than 600 forints a month and that only by manual work and only with a state-owned corporation (it was called the 3000 list, because first 3000 intellectuals had been prescribed as to be screened. Each company ~~had~~ had this list and if somebody reported for job with his working permit, they could check on him. In order that nobody could escape from the consequences of this regulation by changing his name, the job application

form contained a question asking where was the person registered on April 1st, 1948, namely his address from that time has been recorded on the 3000 list too.) From December 1st, 1948 up to ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ September 15th 1949, I was at the Ornithological Experimental Institute of Gödöllő - sub titulo bird-keeper - in reality the director of the Institute. From September 15th, 1949 to March 1950, I was labourer at the Coal & Furniture Transport & Moving Corporation at the South railroad station of Budapest. From the end of March 1950 up to February 1951, I was working for the MEH (Melléktermék és Hulladék Ertékesítő), which was a By-products and Refuse Disposal Co-operative, as collector of rags with a little cart. From March 1951 to May 1951 I was working as surface man at the MAV, the Hungarian State Railways, I. Rolling Building Direction. From May 1951 to September 15th 1951 I was working for Sztálinváros XII., Chief Building Direction as a concrete and iron carrier. From September 20th 1951 to the end of February 1952, I was a swine-herd at the Parker Producer Corporation of Baracs, and afterwards up to May 30th, at the Parker Producer Corporation of Bölcse. From July 1st 1952 to April 1953 I was a truck driver at the Várpalota 31 / 2 Town Building Corporation. From May 1st 1953 to September 15th 1954 I was a soil-mechanical driller at the Power-Line and Cable-Laying, Planning and Executing Co. From October

1954 to January 10th 1955, I was hiding in total illegality. On August 10th 1956, I have received a call for rehabilitation and on September 1st I was offered a contract to Hétfoi Hirlap, as editor which I have accepted.

(2a) See (2).

(2e) See (2).

(2f) I have to state it quite objectively that the plans worked out at the desks of the Party without actual knowledge have been unrealistic and impossible to execute. The experts, and I mean the real technical or financial experts, had only all the responsibility but without any directing and commanding powers. During those years, when I have been working at so many different places, there was not one company in my experience which would not have at the time of the year's end balancing at least 80 % deficit. The political terror, the fear from the AVH, and the unimaginably wide power given to the Party functionaries at companies has silenced every serious critic and spontaneous readiness to help. Even workers with the best kader-cards have become completely indifferent and would execute without any contradiction the most evident stupidities with the remark: "It's not my business, it's not my responsibility, why should I argue."

(3) Let us take my job at the Dunai Vasmű, that means Danubian Iron Works, in Dunapentele. The plant was called later Sztálin Vasmű and the town Sztálinváros. I was there a concrete and iron carrier brigade worker. How did I like it? I was glad that I could find a job at all, no matter what kind of a job and where.

(3d) The technical ~~level~~ ^{level} ~~XXXXX~~ (and I should know a little bit about it, after all, I am myself an engineer), even if we take the 1949 situation for comparison, has been sinking catastrophically. The reason: Prescribed time limits, the task wage system, work competition, and the forced pace of work which was never judged or remunerated according to the quality of the output, but only according to quantity. An example: The construction of a ~~thick~~ ^{ferro-}concrete shell according to a ready draft with the statically calculated hooking of round irons, the framings, and wirings would take by a construction with 4 m height and 40 tons supporting power, when performed by three skilled construction workers with reinforced concrete, who would do a quick and trim, but conscientious and thorough job, at least 6 hours. The norm for this job was set in Sztálinváros at three and a half hours. As a result of this, at the first normal loading the Foundry's bogie-track crumbled like a house of cards.

Another example: To Sztálinváros arrived the Belloiannis stakhanovite speed-up bricklaying shock-brigade

one day and to show us an example they have carried up a 240 qm wall on 47 qm territory in three days, each of them making 2900 forints. There was great celebration, wreaths, and medals - and then they left. The

second night after their departure, the entire wall together with the concrete ceiling put up already has collapsed.

Hygienic conditions? Yes, there was everything there - on paper. The reality was something entirely different: Bad water, impossible housing conditions, only one warm-water shower room with 45 sprinklers for a cut 2000 people, latrines, mess-tins with one spoon, and unbelievable filth throughout the territory of the entire construction. Anybody who could ^{would} find a place to live in the surrounding villages, from where we went to work by using the very well-organized truck transportation service.

- (3e) Generally 2 hours a day.
- (3f) 8 hours, but at the transportation, where I was working, if a wagon arrived, and it usually did arrive, our work-time was prolonged for 11-14 hours.
- (3g) 5 1/2 days. Saturday we quit working at 1 p.m.
- (3h) Overtime was paid within the task wage system, which meant that e.g., if we had to carry material which was difficult to transport often we made less by working 14 hours than other times with 8 hours work.
- (3i) Sunday and the holidays of the Communist state.

- (3j) After each fulfilled month one day.
- (3k) It differed according to the different jobs. The management and the intellectual workers have received usually 24-30 days vacation, according to their collective contracts.
- (3l) Lateness at the second time was punished by fines; absenteeism, at the first time, was punished by deduction from the salary, at the second time, by dismissal.
- (3m) The norm system was always changing, mainly because the norms has received a premium if he was able to cut down the norm. It was carried out at the start by great enthusiastic speeches during the evening meetings and, at the end, by diminished figures on the pay-roll.
- (3n) The brigades leaders, who were called the state slave drivers (állami hajcsárak), were paid better, and if this did not work, a few workers were taken away by the AVH, just to give a little incentive to the remaining for more enthusiastic work.
- (3o) I possessed working papers, which meant that I could live in a relative security.
- (4a) The majority of them had been peasants fleeing the land because of the hardships of collectivisations. There were also many bums, who have not been rooted anywhere and who have not had anything but the little bundle they carried with themselves. Besides, there

were great many déclassé intellectuals.

- (4b) Within a brigade, which contained about from 14-16 men, there was usually good co-operation, if for nothing else simply because of the instinctively felt existential imperative. Besides this we have not been communicating with others. Everybody was afraid of everybody. We have not even seen our superiors, they never left their offices, only the Party secretary and the popular educators.
- (4c) Everybody was happy, if he could go home after work. Fraternisation was only in the pubs.
- (4d) Everybody was speaking everywhere and all the time about political questions, but the true opinions you could hear only in the pubs.
- (4e) Party members had the opportunity of getting ahead. Outside the Party there was none.
- (4f) In no way.
- (4i) There was a "shop triangle", because the Party members had to be placed into good paying jobs.
- (4j) Up to 1955, non-Party specialists could at the most work in their own line, but without the possibility, ~~without~~ of recognition and getting ahead. Besides, he was subjected to the direction of a superior, who usually has not had any other qualification besides being a Party member. This man would head sometimes the advice from the specialist, but more often not.
- (4l) Only the political ^{agents} had interfered with the operations.

On this see also under (3d).

- (4m) From 1955, when the bankruptcy of the state economy became apparent and partly because of Imre Nagy's policy, they had been forced for more sober considerations. Only in two places there was no discrimination and the greatest possibilities were offered for a good job for everybody, namely at the so-called "rejtjeles" code jobs of the army and the AVH. In those places one mistake could cost somebody's life. The best specialists were selected after careful examination and information, who then were given the alternative: "Either you work for us and you receive so and so much salary from us, or accidentally your file will come into our hands."
- (4n) In principle the sons of workers, peasants, and "progressive" intellectuals. In practice, everybody who has accepted, professed, and preached the dialectically changing views of the Party and took upon himself the necessary "confidential" works connected with it and did not have any inhibitions caused by humanist feeling or by his conscience.
- (4o) See under (4n).
- (4p) The director of the personal office was usually a Party man with^a "celluloid" Party book, which was issued only to members of the AVH. There were everywhere built-in AVO informers, if not professional, then informers recruited by intimidation and money. They

belonged usually to the type three of Studdard, namely they were sly, ready to everything, city lumpen-proletariate. They usually had no Weltanschauung, education, or a solid trade. (The great number of this type could be ascribed to the last 40 years of Hungarian political life. I mean that complete deafness and blindness of the last 40 years ~~and~~^{when} even those smacked of Communism in the eyes of the officials who tried to improve the situation of the masses on the ground of justice and Christian humanity.) The activities of these people have been very interesting. We called them the "besurranók", the sneakers. They raised their heads everywhere, had a well-organised circle of friends, had unlimited amounts of money and drinks at their disposal.

Let me give one example: At the Chief Building Direction XII. of Sztálinváros, the room of the personnel department was always empty. During the Sztálinváros purge in September 1951, which was carried out against inimical elements, ^{we got to know the} first time the officials of the personnel office. One was a driver, who was always all around the place; the second a waitress in the canteen; and the third a sandwich man, who has carried a little portable buffet hanging from his neck, all day long among us. These three have been always carrying gossips and speaking confidentially with the workers and you can imagine what a painful surprise

this discovery was for all of us.

- (5) It was a form of hidden slavery. One could not quit, only could be dismissed. If he dared to quite despite, his work-book was marked with the words: "He left without authorisation", which meant that for 6 months he could have been given job only by the Office of Labour Reserves.
- (5a) The 3000 list has caught up with me everywhere very shortly. Therefore, as a sneaked-in enemy, I could quit "with consent".
- (5b) I would have returned to my original job, forestry engineering, because it would have been impossible for me to write newspapers and especially because the only closed community, where one could live securely, was the society of the foresters.
- (5c) I did not have any chances to get ahead.
- (5d) After 1950 there was only one wish shared by any normal Hungarian: "To keep alive and to survive."
- (5e) I would like to have a one-room-and-a-kitchen wooden house, ~~xxxxxxx~~ somewhere deep in the forests, a cheap vehicle with which I could keep up contact with the world, and I would try to replace my lost library and finish my research on wild biology and in my free time I would write.
- (5f) Nothing. I was well enough informed about the Western mentality.

- (5g) I have lost my family.
- (6) For this you ~~find~~ find the answer in my previous answers.
- (7a) In 1947, first waclass editorial salary: 2.100 forints. Between 1948 and 1955, 600 forints. I was not permitted to have more than 600 forints salary monthly.
- (9a) Before Imre Nagy and after Imre Nagy, without exaggeration, at least 10-12 hours weekly. It has differed very greatly. Sometimes we had to stand in line for rice, although Hungary's rice production was at least 1 1/2 times as much as the consumption; other times for toilet paper, for shoe polish, for cheese, for bread, and often for milk. It was a common occurrence that you could not get any eggs, although before the Communist régime came into power in 1947, which was 2 1/2 years after the end of the Second World War, Károly Bárányos, the Minister of Agriculture, had announced that the production of the first-class, export-ready eggs had already surpassed the production of 1938, when Hungary was abundant in agricultural goods and had exported great quantities of it.
- (9b) Public supply with consumer goods was dialectical. With state permission or rather following the order of the state economical authorities, the so-called scarcity-goods could be bought only in compulsory

linked buying, with other words, you had to buy with it a certain amount of surplus goods. In the villages, from one day to the other disappeared the most necessary goods, e.g. horseshoe-nails, pocket-knives, lamp batteries, cooking oil, scythes, nails, and kerosene. The reason for this was the so-called Central Economic Planning, with such people at the top who had not the slightest ~~an~~ ability of supervision and coordination, e.g. in Pécs in March 1953, ~~there was~~ stocked ^{with} ~~it~~ about 5 waggons ~~full~~ of workers' overalls unsold. In Tolna, not far away, at the same time in the stores you could get the same overalls, which would have cost only 17 forints in official price, for 64-85 forints taken from under the counter, that means illegally.

- (9c) The black market was a buying opportunity only for people in well-paid jobs. People like me could only buy in the state-operated shops whatever there was there and what one could afford.
- (9d) From June 1954 to March 1955, at once there was again everything available. This was the only change.
- (10) I have no opinion about this, because there was no economic life in Hungary. There was only planned economy in the Communist sense. In my opinion, you can speak of economic life only there where the work and the production, the wage and price, and the human profit is

from the point of the individual intelligent and progressive. In the system of State Capitalism all this loses sense, everybody becomes official, nobody has anything to call his own, has not a vested interest in anything, but is interested only in keeping his salary and to steal as much as he could without getting into trouble. (There were some ^{honourable} ~~honourable~~ exceptions to this, but those had been quickly eliminated in a true Party manner.)

There was no economic life, there was only the doctrines of materialism running amok. Even to ask a question about the progress and evolution betrays a lack of factual knowledge about the real situation. If somebody can take as a progress Sztálinváros or the combine of Borsód or Berente or Tiszalök, or even Tiszapalkonya, where in a 100 km radius there is no coal, but that did not prevent them to build there a power station, then we can see clearly the truth pronounced by the Swiss economist, Jung; "The Russian-type Communism, due to its misinterpreted materialism could be compared to the greatest curse of contemporary humanity, namely to the senseless cell-building work competition of cancer."

(10c) The same as I have said about the present situation of the Hungarian refugees. A brutally mutilated country was entrusted to a social stratum which had personal friendly ties with the Great Powers. Every-

thing was promised, but only 10 % of the promises was cashed. The economic situation before 1941 looked fine in the show windows, but in the reality only 30 % of the population have lived a human life according to the European standards, 70 % were just vegetating. The situation of this majority differed from to-day's situation only in so far that earlier the individual had his right of self-determination and the result of his work was his own. Therefore life had a sense.

(10d) Between 1945 and May 1948, in a relatively democratic state of affairs, the country has started out in the path of a remarkable progress. There was plenty of initiative and plenty of opportunity to earn. After the 1948 change of régime, the economic life deteriorated to such an extent that finally it brought about the Revolution.

(10e) Yes, I heard about discussions. But in this connection we have to keep in mind that the question of production of the satellite states was a Soviet economic question. This was handled independently from other questions, which, according to the Soviet definition would fall under the category "nationality" questions. The governments of the satellite countries, in the first place the Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Rumanian governments, had been composed of Moscow-trained personnel, who had been actually Soviet officials, who, except their knowledge of the language, had been complete strangers

to the country in their power. If there was any discussion about production and consumer goods, there was only a wisely tolerated Potemkin discussion. Every plant, every sector of production, not openly but in fact, directed by the strictest terror, was working according to the plans of Moscow's interests. The best characterization of these countries is that they had been both in view of work power and also of production capacity only colonies of the Soviet Union, pushed into the utmost limit of dependency. Providing the country with the necessary consumer goods was entirely indifferent. The most important job of the AVH was to discover those accumulating phenomena which could eventually hinder the execution of the plans of Moscow. If there were such phenomena, urgent promises were made for more production of supplying the scarcity goods and the raising of the living standard.

(10f)

If the treasury of the state, inclusive the Party, has been empty, following Lenin's NEP doctrine, they left freer play to private initiative. It is only natural that the sole fact of the possibility of private property and the great driving force of the formula: "I am working for myself" has accumulated in a short time quite a considerable capital, if you take the whole community of the maszek people. Then the Secret Service was set to work to discover the capital in private hands, whereupon the state struck down and

nationalized it. In the last two years only the stupid and the idealists had taken the maszek fate upon themselves.

- (10g) In 1956, knowing the mood of the people, but only partially (and as all partial knowledge becomes totally wrong when generalised) and under the influence of Polish and Jugoslav examples, ^{they} have loosened up the spiritual and economical terror. In the leading positions people who had also the right of giving signatures on decisions affecting other people's life, could make lots of money and feeling the new mood (according to my personal feeling also because of Party directives to that effect) became mollified and more generous. Individually, I was living in illegality and in spite of this fact I was able to work different interesting and serious work at the Radio and with different papers and even at the Scientific Institute of Forestry, so that between March and September 15th I made a monthly average of 3000-3500 forints, which amount was carried under different items in the book-keeping of the above-mentioned employers. During this short period, as we have learned from documents which came into our hands between October 29th and November 2nd, the AVH had strict orders, which have directed its work to be concentrated mainly on the informative activities and only the minimum administrative activities were expected.

(11) In the older generation of the workers, who had seen better days, have been decisive. Also from the point of view of the young intellectuals. The older intellectuals and the younger generation of workers, on the other hand, have cared very little about material things outside of the most basic needs. The greatest complaint was, first of all, the great fear and total insecurity of life. Nobody knew when and why would he be liquidated.

Material questions had the most decisive importance for the mothers of families. The women could not stand any longer the hardships of every day life, the little petty worries; and the women had been for 80 % of the Hungarian society indirectly the greatest power of influence.

- (1) Four years of elementary school, 8 years of gymnasium, and 4 years of School of Forestry Engineering. In addition I had absolved ^{two years as a private student at} the Institute of Biology and received a doctor degree.
- (1a) From 1920 to 1936 plus two years.
- (1b) I went to public school for the 4 years of elementary school, then I have absolved the 8 years of the ~~XXXXX~~ gymnasium at Kaloosa in the school of the Jesuit fathers.
- (1c) I wanted to become a forester.
- (2+3) Not applicable.
- (4) The first goal was the unconditional departmentalisation. They needed specialists with blinkers. They had before their eyes the old formula for ruling: "Divide and impera". In this connection I would like to mention something unbelievable for Western ears; namely that students, enrolled at the university, not only had all their courses strictly prescribed, but they were not allowed to attend any other lecture, which they might have been interested in. There was no such a thing as choosing an optional subject or course; and if the student was caught in trespassing his strictly defined territory and attending a lecture belonging to another sphere, he was not only severely reprimanded for his unwarranted interest, but in some cases was thrown out from the university altogether.

- (4a) The accent was on the unconditional inoculation of Marxism-Leninism.
- (4b) 10 years is not enough to reach the desired goal, mostly you still have there the parents, who grew up and were educated under a different social system.
- (4c) The greatest fault of the régime, from the point of view of its interest, was the deplorable salary of the teachers and professors. The Hungarian professors and teachers have done everything out of fear, but nothing out of conviction. The behaviour of the pupils depended almost entirely ^{on} ~~from~~ their home education, where the mothers with straight and sober thinking were in majority. But in my opinion, children, in any case, cannot be educated by dialectics, because the child's intellect is most logical.
- (4d) They loved the class autonomy, because within its frame they could tell their opinion to their teachers and this opinion was in innumerable cases very painful.
- (4e) On the other hand the study competitions were intensely disliked, because the judging of the results depended ^{on} ~~from~~ the quantity of the knowledge which fell into the category of the Party line. ("pártszerű ismeretek")
- (4f) In line with the steady changes in the interests of the state and the Party, the aspects of education were changing too.
- (4g) The youth is not different, only due to the circumstances, it is frighteningly more experienced and

more realistic.

- (4h) See (4g).
- (4i) To become a Communist, in the Soviet interpretation of this word, is purely a matter of character. For a short time, maybe for 4-5 years, somebody could be seduced, but to convince him would be possible only by facts. Now, in 4-5 years anyone will discover that the facts are standing diametrically opposite to the thesis of Communism.
- (5) My father died 1932. Up to 1919 he was chief captain of the border guard of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. After that, up to 1926, he was under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Interior
- (5f) We were living as human beings.
- (5g) Five.
- (5h) Three brothers, all alive.
- (5i) It was not possible for me to live together with them.
- (5k) Only for my disadvantage.
- (6) I was married.
- (6a) My wife, thanks to her knowledge of languages, was able to do translations for the Foreign Tourism Company.
- (6b) From 1943.
- (6c) My wife and my child died on November 4th.

(7-13) Not applicable.

- (14) We lived in constant fear and anxiety for each other, just as a ship-wrecked white family would live in the midst of cannibals.
- (14a) We did everything for each other what was possible
- (14b) Thousands and thousands of families have lived like this.
- (14c) I tried to meet a member of my family.
- (14g) I did not have the right of free movement, and actually I could travel to Budapest only with permit.
- (15) It is not a Hungarian, it is a general European phenomenon. Due to the realistic matter of fact approach of the women and, at the same time, ~~and~~ the often fearfully idealistic approach of the men, the crisis of the family is the same in Hungary as elsewhere in Europe.
- (15e) On the field of child education, you could experience often the bewildering phenomenon that, while under the influence of their experiences, the parents were willing to compromise with the methods of Communism, the integer and pure logic of the child turned them back to the right path. In other words, the child has educated its parents.
- (15f) Divorce became epidemic. Its reason was the abnormally forced emancipation of the women. Man has lost his authority. You could hear time and again: "What do you think who you are. I make more money than you!" Generally in the countries under Communist direction, the most sensitive and at the same time more materia-

listic nature of the women has developed the type of the independent, self-sufficient women, who tried to escape all responsibilities and worries of family life. For the majority there was no sense and no end in having children, because the questions, on what material basis you could have them and for what could you educate them, could not be answered by many.

The statistics on divorce are unknown, because it was not published. But it must have been great, because in 1955-56 the Communists have started a great propaganda campaign in the interest of the protection of family on the basis of Communist morality.

- (16) In the first place among the workers and the peasants. At the middle class and the aristocracy this change took place already earlier, especially it was noticeable since 1940/41. The causes for this were manifold: The pressures to leave the parental home and live in the crowded living spaces of the cities; the tone of speech and behaviour in the working places, which has been a far cry from all Christian morality. Then, the speech delivered by Magda Jéború, under-secretary of People's Education in 1948, which was disseminated by great hords of people's educator brigades, who were sent on trucks to every village and, at the same time the Asiatic acts and behaviour of the Russian occupation troops in the first years, have caused fundamental

changes in the moral values and attitudes of the youth. Let me mention as an example the agricultural, technical school of Dunaföldvár and Szekszárd-Bánk (these two schools were under unified direction). There the director, during his evening control visit has found the 14-15 years old girls and boys together in the dormitories. He called to account the Party secretary supervisor. His answer was: "Didn't I tell you, comrade director, that we ought to have asked for the costs of a cultural club-room in our budget? After all, the youngsters must have some fun, don't they?" XXXXXX (I was told this story by the director himself.)

- (16a) The sober thinking has sunk back to an almost primitive level. In the villages and in places of work in the country, the bride-groom is often 18 and the bride is 16 years old. The average age of boy and girl at the time of their marriage is 20 and 18. The average duration of a marriage is between 6 months and 1 1/2 year.
- (16b) It happens; in very rare cases I have experienced something different. The usual case is a marriage out of a previous sexual relationship. The parents are responsible for this only so far that the economic misery has forced them to let their children go to work at an early age.
- (16c) Officially it was abolished by a legal order; in reality there was an existential prostitution. The possessors of power, be that a Party secretary, or the director of the personnel office of a small company,

or a minister, they all have exploited their opportunities in this direction. (The hunting lodges of Gyulaj, Högyész, Gemenc, Pilis-Muflonszállás, Bükk-Jávorkút, etc., furnished and equipped with princely luxury on the hunting reservations, which were marked as government territory and guarded by AVH, could tell many interesting stories about these. I myself, having been a forester, and having many colleagues and friends in that occupation, have seen some of this and heard about some of the others). In Budapest it was organized by the so-called "törzsvendégek", - regular guests of the espressos and by the directors of the companies, in order to increase their business and raise their "tervteljesítés" = fulfilment of the plan. With one word, there was prostitution and it was much greater than ever before.

- (16f) On paper the Communist have been stricter in everything. But again this question could be answered only by stressing my previous statement, namely that all activities of the régime were Potemkin shows, by which they hypocritically tried to clothe their colonial government policy into the respectable garment of morality.
- (16g) Birth control was entrusted in the spring of 1956 to a medical council of the district dispensaries and was effected by the official authority of the state. Personally I am a Catholic and respect the authority of the church.

- (16h) It has changed. The state was happy about it, because it would like to use them as its janissaries.
"Anyának szülni kötelesség. Leánynak dicsőség!" which means: "To give birth is duty for a mother, for a girl it is glory." This was the slogan, disseminated widely by the people's educators.
- (16i) It has changed fundamentally. It led to a grave crisis of the family. This, however, has developed from about the middle of 1953, a wonderfully advancing and spreading moral disgust and nausea and provoked a strong reaction which started to manifest itself in the behaviour of the youth, especially in the villages and among the university students.
- (17) In a state where there is no private property, no security of life, where the régime considers the greatest guarantee of its own safety ^{the} ~~to~~ creating ^{of} ~~an~~ atmosphere where nobody can trust anybody, where the people applauding the festive speech ~~today~~ to-day, could be executed to-morrow for the same, there on the one hand will develop ~~xxx~~ spontaneously a wonderful highwaymen's code of honour, "betyárbecsület", on the other hand complete amorality will be the rule. The best example for this could be found in the attitude of the workers, who would ask: "Why should it be a crime to defraud public institutions or state companies, if it is true that everything belongs to

us!" Not once or twice, but very often I have heard skilled workers calculate in the following way: "I could take that job, I guess, because I could scrape together (összekalapálok) 1.800 up to 2.000 forints monthly and the pickings (szajré) will make another 1.000 forints; from this I can maintain already two households (namely to work far away from his home)". Only those did not steal who did not want or who had been extremely stupid.

An example: During the cradling of the concrete-slabs of the cooling-towers of the Power Station at Inota - it was early spring and very cold - the workers asked the carpenters: "Aztán szakikám, legyen elég hulladék!" = "Be sure that it will be enough chips!" Now, in ordinary circumstances, with one board of an inch's width, by careful calculation, the cradling of a half cell-slab could be managed. But at Inota 4-6 boards of an inch's width had to be used for the cradling of one cell-slab. The chips disappeared from night to night. On the other hand, one could regard as a constructive result that XX the villages surrounding the "great constructions of the Socialism" contain the most new peasant cottages, built from excellent materials, and with healthful construction (of course from the material "removed" from the site of the Socialist constructions.)

(17c) The so-called "confidential" assistance was very widespread, but in a typical Communist manner. It was done through the semi-official "kijárók" (= procurer of lobbyist), who had been usually, from the point of view of the Party, reliable lawyers and people with similar occupations. The fee was paid to this middle-man rather than to the men in the top office who made the favourable decision. Each ministry had such middle-men and there were four or five lawyers whose names were whispered all over, employed also by the AVH.

(17d) They have not been numerous. One of the greatest sociological riddles of the last 6 years in Hungary. From where did they get money for the best-tailored suits, shoes, and for spending at all the ^{fashionable} ~~places~~ places. During my most recent career ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ journalism, which has lasted for such a short time only, I had the opportunity to track down half-way one of these interesting characters. He was living in a furnished room, his occupation officially was technician, his job was: one year vacation without pay for reasons of health. I was able to bring out totally only one basic attitude from the subject of my unfinished report: "Idénézzem. Tata, engem nem érdekel ez az egész. Klassz nőkkel akarok járni, csinos üzleteket kötni - jól akarok élni!" (=Look here Daddy, I am not interested in this whole business. I want only to go with classy dames, make some nice money, and have a good time." Actually this

attitude was already the sign of the infiltrating Western bourgeois materialism.)

- (18) He is my second cousin. We know each other since our
XXXX childhood.
- (18a) A Roman Catholic priest.
- (18b) He is one year older than I.
- (18c) We used to go and hide together in little restaurants on the Buda side and e.g., we translated into Hungarian Orwell's "1984", Huxley's "Ape and Essence", and some interesting articles of the "Digest", which we have received from a cleaning woman working at the British Embassy. Besides we talked about politics and politics and again politics.
- (18d) See under (18c).
- (18e) There was no change, but both of us had been under observation, our meetings were reduced for about three or four in number during a year.
- (18f) The friendship continues.
- (18g) Not materially, but spiritually and with human feeling and understanding should stand by all the time. It is much easier to make money than to receive friendly words which would dispel fears and would clarify feelings and notions.
- (18h) It was the most difficult; everybody was afraid of everybody else.
- (18i) As a consequence of my situation during the last years,

I was not able to maintain a circle of friends.

(18j) It has saved one from total desperation.

(18k) The question is under what circumstances and with what intentions would he have accepted it. In my case, we would have had to terminate all intercourse, because perhaps it would not have hurt me, but he would have certainly gotten into trouble because of his contact with me.

(19) My parents were Roman Catholics; all members of my family belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.

(19a) See (19)

(19b) I am/^apracticing Catholic.

(20) My personal religious life was not affected, but to practice religion was made, in many ways, quite impossible. Just to give you one ~~xxxxxx~~ example: From the fall of 1950, it was impossible to attend a spiritual retreat. Such a thing would have been regarded right away as a counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

(20a) It has affected each church equally. There was no exception. The reason for this is that Communism itself is the most dogmatic, the most bigot, and the most intolerant, materialistic religion: "He who is not with us, is against us." - This is the motto of Lenin's breviary.

- (20b) The Communists want to extirpate all religions according to elaborate plans, which are taught in their Party schools. They are using them with the help of people with weak character, or ^{amenable} ~~amenable~~ to money, ~~XXXX~~ and, according to the mass psychology doctrine of ~~Le Bon~~ Le Bon, through the contamination of the leaders, they are hopeful to contaminate the masses too.
- (20c) Here I would like to remark that I am fully sharing the saying attributed to Leo XIII.: "I see the greatest proof for the divine origin of the Catholic Church in that, that its own priests cannot destroy it." The first guard of the "peace priests", with the exception of Richard Horváth, who suffered from a inherited "latent paralysis", all had been gravely mishandled under Andrásy Street 60 and have acted in a psychosis of fear. After that, the rest following the ~~thesis~~ thesis of Le Bon mentioned above, seeing the example, out of weakness of character and because many of them have regarded the ecclesiastical office as a life insurance and not as a vocation, have joined to the many excellent names of the first guard. From this follows that good faith is out of question in this connection. Good example is the case of Miklós Beresztóczy, who belonged to the best and most educated and courageously active leaders of ~~the~~ the Catholic Workers' Movement, which existed up to 1944. During the Mindszenty case he was, according to my information, for 3 months in Andrásy Street 60.

Afterwards, he never said one word ~~about~~^{about} his experience in jail, not even to his most confidential friends and ecclesiastical colleagues. Even in 1953, four years after his arrest, if a car stopped outside of his office, he would turn pale, start to shake, stagger to the window, and afterwards, relieved from fear, sitting back to his desk, he would still mutter quite idiotically: "Not they, thank God, not they!"

- (20d) It has dissolved the religious orders, with the exception of four teaching orders - three male and one female - whose number was drastically reduced. The priesthood was brought into material dependency from the state. The AVO has screened out the best members of the hierarchy and the priesthood through careful AVO kader systems and with the help of secret informers. The replacement of the priesthood became extremely difficult, since most of the seminaries were abolished and, in those remaining, the number was set at a low minimum. The AVO has maintained agents in each religious community and further diminished the number of the practicing priests by arrests and internments so that up to June 1954, with few exceptions, only the old priests, hardly able to work, and ~~those~~^{those} with weak character remained at their posts. The book-keeping of the dioceses and parishes was put under state control and even the acceptance of private donations was prohibited.

- (20e) Between 1949 and 1953, they tried to intimidate the believers and to make for them impossible the exercise of their religion by an organized service of informers. But contrary to the priesthood, the believers succeeded, because of their great masses, in eliminating this system or rather ~~to~~ ⁱⁿ brand ^{ing} it as dangerous for the mood of the population, for the productivity, and for the fulfilment of obligations towards the state.
- (20f) Yes, if somebody dared to.
- (20g) See under (20f).
- (20h) I went whenever it was possible.
- (20i) In the first place the women. They behave with admirable courage. I have known a teacher who went to mass every Sunday from Húvosvolgy to Újpest, which was about 1 1/2 hour travel one way, because she thought that there nobody would recognize her. The former middle class, that is the now déclassé elements, for whom there was no more to lose, have gone to church without fear and in greatly increased number. The new class of officials and intellectuals have frequented the churches less, but that was rather because of tiredness and indifference. On great holidays, every church was full to the point of bursting apart. This was not only because of the religious sentiment of the people, but in a way it represented a courageous and open demonstration against the whole system.
- In many cases, church attendance and the use of sacra-

ments actually increased during these years. An example for this is ~~can~~ⁱⁿ the statistics of the parish church in Viziváros, which I was able to look into during my newspaper reporter career. According to that, in 1950 they had 60 communions weekly, in 1952 that number increased to 400.

- (20j) Two denominations have refused to compromise with the régime until the régime succeeded in creating satellites among them. These two were the Catholic and the Jewish communities. The reason for this may be found in the fact that both of them are fundamentally universal, with the same liturgy, with the same central spiritual direction, with other words, they are above state territories and boundaries. The Protestant churches have tried to save their position relying on their more liberal attitude which is responsible only to the individual conscience. They acted with the best will, but they have apparently not known enough the situation and the nature of Communism, because they did not seem to have realized that you need only once to sit down to the conference table with the Communists and give them a chance to prove their "good will", and your cause is lost. The Protestant churches have lost a tremendous amount of their reputation in Hungary. In my private opinion, it is not their fault. Later on they had their "peace priests" too and their situation did not differ from that of the Catholics.

(20k) This question cannot be answered with the limitation on Hungary alone. This is a general phenomenon of the age. All humanity is caught up to-day between two types of materialism. One of them means terror and devastation, the other promises a rich civilisation with great incentives for personal success, but both of them weaken the religious interest of the people or change it to a cold indifference. In Hungary, where Catholicism was not so very long ago the official creed of the country, the faith of the parents was so to speak the request of the right social attitude for the children. During the Communist rule, speaking objectively, it became first of all a political attitude. The youth has seen that many of those people are kneeling now in the churches from whom he heard in his youth from his parents or acquaintances only bad things. He formed his opinion accordingly: "Oh yes, now they are praying, because they do not have any other refuge!" Religious education was only possible within the family and for this, because of the tremendous efforts needed to provide the family with the necessary material needs, very few parents had the time. It is the more interesting that since 1951-52 there had been forming some nuclei of the "religious self-education". These were small groups which organized very secretly since the régime would have treated them harshly if discovered. I have no idea how many percent of the Hungarian youth belonged to

these groups. But to those who do, religion means a lot more than it meant to their parents. I myself have learned from them the new formula: "A Katolicizmus nem egyház, nem vallásfelekezet, hanem életforma és világnézet." ("Catholicism is not a church and not a religious denomination, but it is a form of life and an attitude towards the world - Weltanschauung.")

(201) The fact that it has preached the gospel of Christ and has preached it the same way, with the same content, as it did for 2000 years. Contrary to this, the dogmas of Marxism-Leninism have changed with every year of even every month. Leninism has preached hatred, religion preaches love, reconciliation, and mercy, and compassion. The ~~xxxxxx~~ churches have had many martyrs; and to create martyrs was probably one of the greatest blunder of the régime. Resistance was strengthened also by the common occurrence that in spite of all terror, people could see again and again priests who did not care about their own security and life, but worked tirelessly for the people, consoling the suffering, taking confessions during the whole night in the hospitals, preaching fearlessly from the pulpit and were not ashamed to go from one family to the other for their lunch, because they have not had any material benefits.

(21) Civil engineer.

- (21a) Because this was the only possible career, where a young man could somehow escape the danger of departmentalisation, which led inevitably to a narrow viewpoint.
- (21b) In the first place unconditional knowledge. Secondly, if he would have trusted me and would have accepted me as an older friend - I would have taught him for that politely smiling, unconditional silence. Knowledge and taciturnity have been, even in the Communist system, on gold-dollar parity.
- (21c) This is almost impossible to define. First of all, it was a matter of good luck. Here I ought to mention that the community of Hungarian engineers, including those university professors who had been in the favour of the Party, have succeeded in insisting on a sober selectivity. For example, in 1951, in the freshmen year of the Lóránd Eötvös Technical University - under this it is meant each faculty and each Technical University of Hungary - according to the "campaign for technical replacement", devised by the Planning Office of the Party, 16.000 so-called "working and peasant youths" were herded together. On the faculty of civil engineering of the Budapest Technical University e.g., on October 1st, 1951, 2.700 freshmen had been registered. On October 1st 1952, from this number there remained 900 only, in 1953, 350; and in 1955 January, 110 have received the diploma. It is worth to notice

that at the same time, from those excellently qualified, but because of their bad kader not admitted, young men, usually from the intelligentsia, 60 had been employed as unskilled workers through the intervention of the assistants at the Technical University, who were then given jobs and salaries in the different laboratories and research institutions working under the supervision of one or the other faculty of the Technical University. Of these 60 students, who frequented the evening courses, which were left open, 47 have finished in 1955, almost all of them summa cum laude. (From July 1954, that is from the time of Imre Nagy's first government, all of them had been accepted as regular students by the university.)

It is also thanks to the community of the Hungarian engineers that the middle-aged Hungarian intelligentsia, which was sentenced to destruction by the régime - both men and women - have survived in a comparative safety. Example: In the wide regions of Tiszántúl, where the deportees from Budapest and other cities were settled, the technical jobs were filled out of them at the newly built great power stations of Tiszalök, Tiszapalkonya, ^{at the} Tiszántúli Távvezeték, and the water engineering projects, at the forestry engineering, which has worked on the reforestation of the Great Plain, the office of engineers of Road and Railroad Planning and Levelling in Tiszántúl, and this was the

work of the engineers alone. In this way many thousands of these unfortunate people have been accepted into the frames of state enterprises and as such they could trickle back with the time to their original place of living.

- (22) The best off had been, under all circumstances, members of the AVH and the Party functionaries including their circle of relatives and friends. Immediately after them followed the stratum of the irreplaceable scientists and specialists (~~of~~ the unquestionably privileged and immune status in every society, held by the scientists ~~today~~to-day, is best illustrated by the example of Kurt Seidl, who was according to common knowledge ~~is~~ one of the outstanding advisers of the Schacht economic policy of Nazi Germany. Under the Communist régime he was the chief director of the greatest plant improving experimental stations in Hungary and has been decorated four times with the Kossuth-prize, the greatest distinction which can be given by the Hungarian People's Republic. To-day this same man is the director of the plant improving laboratory of the plant research station in the State of Florida, USA. It is true that he is a fanatic scientist with tremendous abilities and also it has to be said to his credit that he used his great positional advantages exclusively to further his job and to help his colleagues and co-workers.)

Next in the line are the technical intelligentsia and after them the artists, but only if they have accepted the Party line. On the same level with the latter, follow the economic and trade specialists. The situation of the others was average and very unsteady ~~xxx~~ according to the changes and fluctuations in the political atmosphere.

The worst off had been the people in the free vocations, but with a Christian ideology (lawyers, doctors, priests, writers, journalists), also the former officialdom of the ministries and other offices, the former landowners, and the former officers of the army, but only if you take the material wellbeing; because above a certain level of intelligence, the spiritual tenacity of these classes counted much, since they had been able to endure hardships often much better than people on a lower level of spiritual education with less odds to face. The class of the so-called "rich peasants" - labelled by the régime with the awful word "kulak", which was introduced to Hungary by the Russians - was almost completely exterminated. (According to ~~statistics~~ confidential statistics in 1951 there were more than a hundred suicides among them.) It is interesting that the God-fearing and deeply religious Hungarian ~~XXXXXXX~~ peasant, if once he has ~~once~~ succeeded in acquiring some property, he was unable to suffer material losses.

The average worker, measuring by Communist standards, could make a living somehow, but the terrible harassment towards over-production and in the work competition has ruined them nervously to the extent that to-day ~~they~~^{there} are latent or active neurotic illnesses among the Hungarian working class by a high percentage which, however, cannot yet be measured and known. In the fall of 1954, on a conference of district doctors held at Budapest, a doctor from a working quarter of Ujpest has reported the following: In his district, which has about 3,000 people, exclusively worker families, 65 % of the ~~xxxx~~adults live regularly with sedatives and sleeping pills. Another example: A drug store supplying a district with a socially relatively mixed population in Buda, has reported its monthly business in sedatives, narcotics, and sleeping pills not in the usual measure of vial, but for the sake of a comic illustration in the weight of 29 1/2 kg. This was done according to officially controlled book-keeping and the news ~~has~~^{has} found ~~their~~^{its} way to the newspaper. Next day Imre Nagy personally has inquired the truthfulness of this curiosity. (This was a curiosity only so far that the other drug stores never took pains to make their balance in kilogrammes and publish it.)

- (22a) To the intelligentsia which was persecuted because of its attitude towards the world - Weltanschauung.
- (22b) To the group of the scientific researcher, which was

of course impossible for me because of my political behaviour.

(22c) Just as the successful gladiators in Rome.

(22d) If they were ready to follow socialist realism, then it was good; if not, they could go to carry stones or build roads or, as the Goncour-prize winner Istókovich, to draw advertisings for ^{the} state hotel and restaurant industry.

(25) Number one: Party aristocracy. Number two: The indispensable technical aristocracy and the middle and worker class of these two classes.

Number three: an opportunist group of intellectuals and skilled workers as a new middle class.

Number four: A working class which came from entirely different class origins and now has been levelled through their circumstances of work and living. To this we have to add the peasantry too.

Number five: And finally a politically branded, very numerous, and although in a veiled form, but actually slavery. (Thus, we find here the exact cross-section of the Russian society during the time of Catharine the Great - the secret dream of Stalin.)

(23a) For eight years I have been everywhere, lived and worked, and kept my eyes open for observation all over the country.

(23b) No, it has only been a great exchange of the positions

and a new class was created, that of the slaves.

- (23c) I did not approve of it, neither before the war nor after the war.
- (23d) In social communication, no - but this is again Potemkin show - in reality it was quite impossible to break into one class from the other.
- (23e) In one thing the whole society of the People's Democracies became equal and in this respect we became really a unified society: Everybody, without exception, was afraid. But exactly this fear has formed in practice glaring inequalities between the different strata of society.
- (23f) This is bad.
- (23g) I have generalized here, although generalizations have usually their faults, but I still think that it became uncomparably looser and less refined than up to 1947. If somebody was polite, nice, and ready to help - we have been afraid of him and with reason. At the same time we have to keep in mind that people with such an education or rather lack of education, reached the leading and directing positions who with the haughtiness of power have demanded the aping of their behaviour. It is interesting that a great proportion of the trained skilled workers and of the young intellectuals who came from peasant and worker kaders and received their diplomas from some of the higher educational institutions, with the passing of years,

acquired quite a high standard in human and social behaviour. It was a most interesting psychological study to watch, how during the much heralded dictatorship of the proletariat, the intelligent worker and peasant stratum took on bourgeois habits and morality with an admirable ease.

- (24) Yes. Up to 1951 the Swabians for reasons apparent. Between 1951 and 1952 the Serbs of Tolna, Békés, and Bács-Bodrog counties because of Rákosi's hysteria about the Titoism.
- (24a) The Slovaks, but only at the beginning. At any rate they have received their national schools, even a higher educational institute, newspapers, cultural centres, and permission for starting ~~x skaxking~~ organisations. (Private opinion: Catherine the Great's Pan-slavic dream.)
- (25) The question is very touchy. To understand it, some preliminary explanations have to be given and some facts explained: At the end of 1948, the key-positions of the Party, of the government, of the AVH, and of the economic planning, which means all economic positions, had been occupied, counting even with strict objectivity, at least to a degree of 65 % by Jews. The Hungarian Jewry was not so numerous that in one direction or other everybody ^{of them} would not have some ^{family} ~~familiar~~ connec-

tions. And characteristically of the excellent ability of acclimatisation of the Jewry, they have perfectly learned and accepted the Sógor-^{Koms} mentality of the, 4000 for a hundred^{of} years ruling, gentry class. (This Hungarian expression is untranslatable ^{into} in English. It means that everybody is somehow or other a relative and a friend.) From this many things follow which do not even need explanation. Only one section of the Jews has suffered the same way as the Catholics - the religious Jews; with that difference that because of the foreign currency hunger of the Communist economic policy, they could receive steady and significant help from their co-religionists abroad, who have proved their solidarity admirably toward their brethren behind the Iron Curtain.

- (25a) The Hungarian Jewry has to be divided into two: One part was filled with a burning desire of revenge for their sufferings inflicted on them in 1944. They had been fanatic Party workers from 1945 up to the beginning of 1953. This was the less numerous part. For the other greater part, a definition was given by an excellent Jewish economist, who has great conceptions and clear views. According to him the Jews have fitted themselves into the existing economic and political life, tried to make good business, not for the régime but for themselves, deliberately, because the Jew carries in his blood the economic talent and after the first year of the régime each of them has already seen

in what way will it ~~will~~ be possible to ruin it sooner or later.

It has to be mentioned also that most of the really valuable and qualified talents in public administration ~~was~~^{were} saved by the so-called Moscovite, but in fact very clear-headed and human Zoltán Vas and by his narrow circle of assistants in the planning office and through the different economic establishments which were founded by him.

(25b) Partly I have answered this, partly it is public knowledge.

(25c) I had. Mostly doctors, journalists, and artists. I do not know whether in their situation I would not have filled the same place as they did. One is certain: Around February 1953, when in Budapest there was no more than perhaps 20 % such better paid jobs, where not a Jew would have been, at once there was started a counter-current: "Watch out, we cannot continue this any more, we have to cut down!" I had three friends with whom I had been in leitmeritz, in the German concentration camp together, who had been in leading positions in the planning office, in the National Bank, and in the Foreign Trade Bureau. I received my information through them about this movement, which has indicated a turning point in the behaviour of the Hungarian Jewry. And, in fact, with the exception of a small, blind minority, the Jews from the end of 1953 started with great determina-

tion to ferment and to disintegrate the system. A good example for this is that in January 1954 the working ~~community~~ community of about 22 young Party ideologues have started with admirable courage and readiness for sacrifices to take up the connection with the young Hungarian intellectuals who had been, up to that time suppressed and forgotten (some of the names of these young Jewish Party ideologues are well-known, like Miklós Gimes, Miklós Molnár, Tibor Méray, Sándor Fekete, György Fazekas, Endre Enczi, Zoltan Zelk, etc.)

(25d) The Jewish students behaved just like the other Hungarian students. If we want to make a nationality question of the Jewish problem, we ought to mention that in the Ganz Electricity Works of Buda, the Jewish students had 70 % loss; from 26, 17 have fallen

(25e) A certain sympathy stemming from the guilty conscience because ^{of} the events of 1944 coupled with a great amount of anger. This is humanly only understandable, since everywhere where you could make money and was comfortable, you could see only them. Otherwise it sounds a bit comic, but the reality is what was already defined by Ferenc Deák in the following way: "In Hungary it is a nonsense to speak about the Jewish question, since every Hungarian, even the tanyai summás (seasonal worker on detached farms) has at least one Jewish friend by whom he would swear. He would say: Yes sure, nasty is the Jew, that is true; but I have a friend,

he is a Jew, but he is a "fenemód jó ember" (jolly good fellow). If - continues Déák - ten million Hungarians have a "jolly good fellow" Jewish friend, then the Hungarian Jew is just like us; some are nice and some are nasty."

If we have to make a distinction between Hungarians of Jewish origin and Hungarians of Christian origin, I would have formulated the question differently; namely would have asked, what was the attitude of the Jewry. And for this question the answer would be: Only stupidity and prejudice can make a people responsible for an inherited, 3000 years old character. This is, of course, a view dictated by humanism. What was done by the Jewish members of the AVH surpasses the capacity of the neurology to give a diagnosis, because that was beyond any hysteric paranoia and sadistic imaginations. This I can tell you from my own personal experiences. With a little knowledge of people, in spite of all its horror, one could make the judgment that those people were completely unaccountable for their deeds. I, who had been already treated in the cells of the Gestapo, can only thank to my strongly construed Asiatic nervous system and to my deeply religious Christian education, that I could remain wholesome in this respect.

(25) I quote again Ferenc Deák, because his wisdom is actual even to-day: "In Hungary he is anti-Semite, who is envying the Jews more than necessary." Anti-Semitism

as such has actually achieved a form of education because of the envy stemming from the misery of the people, since the most poverty-stricken, lonely Jewish widow has received at least twice a month a good-sized IKKA package. A simple teamster, with whom I was working together, told me : "Listen, we should not beat these people, we should force them to come among us and, by God, teach us how they do it!"

At the same time we have won a certain political maturity by our ~~inherited~~ anti-Semitism. Example: On a meeting of the foresters, there came up the question of the steady gains of ground in all positions by the Jews. The opinion expressed by the people present at the meeting turned out to be surprisingly unanimous: "It does not matter, those asses as the Russians are, out of their bigotry will not let the Jews make money. Naturally, the Jews will start complaining. That will be only good for us, because that ^{vill} be heard from New York to London and Tokio, everywhere!"

(25h) To give an answer to this question is almost impossible. It is a pity that about 70 % of the Jewish intellectuals left Hungary during the recent months. I say a pity because, in my opinion, in the case of a change we would have to "re-import" our young Jewish economists, cost what cost, because of elementary need of them in Hungary. The reason for this lies in the fact that only they had, in these last ten years, through their con-

rections, the opportunity that they could achieve a really excellent knowledge in private and national economy. The children of the Hungarian intelligentsia have been barred from ~~this~~ these studies, the children of the worker and peasant kadets, apart from a few exceptions, have not gone to that field, because the unconscious desire to imitate and ape the past patterns, was still strongly present even in these classes. I am convinced that in Hungary, in the future, there will not be any more a Jewish question, only a question of characters, in which both, Christians and Jews, will fail. Extreme passions ~~isn~~, of course, will be always and everywhere found.