

- (1) Politics as a science, as a study discipline, has never interested me. Alas, politics in its practical sense is in that part of Central Europe, where Hungary is situated, not only existential, but a primary necessity of survival already since nine centuries. Another question is, of course, why the instinct for successful politics is fundamentally missing from us Hungarians with the exception of a few chosen spirits.
- I was compelled to have a political interest all the time. In the first place, because with a few exceptions since the seventeenth hundreds, Hungarian politics were made and directed always by foreigners, radically different from us. That is the reason why it has been created in Hungary, since the time of Széchenyi, a special political science, namely the "Nemzetpolitika", national politics.
- )1a) Up to 1940, I have preoccupied myself very little with it. From the time of my recognition of the Pan-Germanic dangers, my vocation and politics became twin brothers, equally nourished.
- (1b) Yes, Between 1950 to the end of 1953 I was not interested. I lived from one day to the other, I had no time outside of the primary question of survival for anything else.
- (1c) As a journalist, from 1936 - 1944, in a Christian and Socialist direction. From the end of 1945 to 1948, in the same way. From 1954 to 1956, I allied with every-

body, in the press, in lectures <sup>for the destruction of the regime</sup> /by "counter-people's education". ~~from the destruction of other people's~~

- (2) In the Christmas number of Szabad Szó of 1945, in the inside editorial, I have compressed in one sentence my fears: "We have just escaped the consumption under the "Drang nach Osten", only in order, perhaps, to perish on the slave-dock of the "Drang nach Westen". (My editorial article was taken over by the Kanadai Magyar Hirlap and also in German translation by "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", where it can be found in one of the issues of the first week of January 1946.) Thus, I can say that my view of the future was not optimistic and that I have anticipated some of the horrors which came.
- (2a) I have accepted the editorship of the newspaper of the Peasant Party, although I was not a member of that Party, because due to my criminal lack of knowledge about Soviet ideology, I have regarded as the only safe haven of refuge the Hungarian peasantry.
- (2e) The only factor is that I have regarded the false philosophy of dialectical materialism always as gravely anti-human, because it has built from part-truths and, in addition, on entirely false psychological foundations a system of castles in the air, which they claimed whole and perfect. Perhaps I was influenced also by family tradition, namely my father had to hide for his life during <sup>the</sup> Bela Kun proletarian dictatorship.

- (2f) (ii)
- (2h) The question was formulated without factual knowledge. Against the colonial governing body, which has behind itself all the open and secret support of a victorious power of 250 millions, What could do a 9 million minority which suffers in additon from great existential and psychological troubles. Besides, the primary instinct in every man of the world is survival. Where a system is so th~~roughly~~<sup>roughly</sup> machiavellian that it is able with satanic skill/<sup>to</sup>divide one from the other and incites them against each other, then there is only one explanation for this question: Fear.
- (2i) The kader-card was one of the effective instruments of this elaborate system of fear.
- (3a-g) There was only one all containing grievance: Without free opinion and without free initiative according to the ability and talent of the individual, the purpose and meaning of life was taken away from us. And if one has to do things which are meaningless, have no sense, that is the ~~grievance~~<sup>gravest</sup> humiliation of the human being.
- (3j) This was different according to the individual. For me it was the firm conviction that, even pessimistically counted, there were no more than 10 % who have done it out of their hearts. Example: In November 1953, I was walking with a colleague of mine ~~in the~~<sup>on the</sup> Margit Bridge. At the bridge head in the Pest side we stopped for a

minute and my friend pointing at the AVO headquarters building, said to me: "I bet you, the half of those inside are unreliable." At that moment we were shocked by noticing that behind us an AVH captain was standing and listening. Almost paralysed by fear we started out quickly, but he followed us and passed us, but while doing so he muttered with half of his mouth turned to us: "You are wrong - there are not even 20 %!" Besides this - our belief and the consolation of our religion.

- (4) In the hands of the Central European section of the Moscow Party organisation.
- (4a) In each ministry and important government department, besides the office of the minister or director, there was the room of the Soviet adviser.
- (4b) Magnetophone (tape recorder).
- (4c) See under (4a).
- (4d) The same as of the masses of workers who had been marched out and lined up to listen for Rákosi's speeches.
- (4e) For the same reason why Potemkin has built the villages on the banks of the Don.
- (4f) The Hungarian bureaucracy was nurtured by the K. u. K. bureaucracy. This was then inoculated by the Russian bureaucracy, which had been ridiculed already by Chekhov, with the result that, when an excellent Hungarian professor of oncology (cancer research) tried to

get a cobalt isotope for his laboratory , he was given exactly 65 papers to be filled out for the requisition. The professor exclaimed with desperation: Hungarian bureaucracy was up to 1944 a brontosaurus and this brontosaurus suffers now from elephantiasis!"

- (4h) The people in responsible positions were systematically replaced by new kaders educated in the Party schools; the lower officials of the bureaucratic machinery were known already by the ancient Romans as never having strong character and backbone.
- (4i) The officers have been recruited from the worker and peasant youth. Their advantages were about the same as army officers generally have in any country.
- (4j) Exclusively Party members. I have to note here that up to the end of 1954, the most directors have received their job as a present for their good Party work, for the protection of the state security, which meant, of course, the denunciation of reactionaries to the AVH. He did not need to have any qualification and did not need to work or participate in any productive activity. The only thing he had to do was to listen and watch, sometimes, perhaps, to speak up according to the Party line, but no responsibility was attached to his high job.
- (5) Membership in the DISZ was concomitant to our educational institutions, just as if you take a bus or a

train, you have to buy a ticket. Membership in it did not mean either advantage nor disadvantage. In fact, this was <sup>as</sup> much a phony organisation as the trade unions were. Originally, of course, it was meant to be a great organisation educating the entire Hungarian youth to become good Communists, but practically it turned out to be a dead idea, its only usefulness being to increase the revenues of that part of the Party treasury which was designated as "cash for free use". Its disadvantage was apparent already from 1951 by those who had accepted ~~ISZ~~ ~~ISZ~~ functions. The youth has commonly called them only by the derogatory words "rohadt szoci", which means rotten denounciators and has excommunicated them from among themselves.

- (5c) In no way, only if somebody was neither a student nor has been working in any state enterprise or office.
- (1k) The kader replacement group of the ideological head-section of the Party.
- (6) Only so far that he was safe existentially, but only those derived any advantages from it who actively participated in the organisational work of the Party.
- 6a) The question is good, but not exact. Nobody had to become a Party member; however, there were many who had been forced by different methods. Such were, during the first organisational fury, the indispensable specialists and technicians, all those who had been elected

to become a Party member by their own circle of co-workers, who did this as a safety measure in self-defense against any future eventualities.

(6b) Many - not out of conviction, but because of opportunism.

(6c) With the right of getting ahead and succeed and with the obligation of a very widely interpreted Party loyalty.

(6d) I have known many. Most of them have joined between 1949 and 1951 out of existential need.

(6e) An opportunist would remain an opportunist, whether he has a Party book or wears a cassock. However, on people with undeveloped or wavering character it ~~can be~~ <sup>could</sup> often exert an influence, even following the norms set up by Studdard, ~~wik~~ with stunning effects. Example: A journalist, coming from a unitarian minister's family from Transylvania, who was working with a moderate newspaper, ~~heard~~ <sup>felt</sup> that because of his wife's ~~excessive~~ <sup>spending</sup> standing he had to make more money. He became the ideological editor of Szabad Nép, became a bigot Bolshevik, denounced his best friends, among them his own father, and when I, after being 15 years friends, have asked him only for so much that he should provide me through his important connections with a 15 day permission to stay in Budapest (since I was deported and not permitted to stay in the Capital), his answer was: "With pleasure, but I have a question: Are you loyal or are you an enemy?"

I have known a young doctor who became Party member out of ~~x~~ pure idealism. His father was an old district doctor, his mother assistant professor of organic chemistry. He became the confidential doctor of the AVH within two years with the rank of a lieutenant colonel.

In this connection I must tell you that the so-called "becsavarodot;kommunisták" - (this is an expression created by the streets of Pest, impossible to translate, the closest would be probably "wrapped-up Communists"), you could recognize right away and pick~~ME~~ out from among hundred people, because of their astonishingly uniform physiomy. Sharp searching looks, dry, parched faces, inhibited bearing/<sup>B</sup>disciplined way of walk, peremptory, aggressive tone of speech, coloured with the characteristic head-voices of the hysterics. I was often warned by cab drivers, by the waiter, <sup>by the</sup> ~~A~~ tram conductor, and even by the blue police-man on the corner: "Szaki, vigyázzon, légiveszély!" ("Joe, watch out, air-raid alarm!"), while they only winked toward the conspicuous Party member nearby.

(6f) In spite of my numerous personal experiences, I want to emphasize that it will be exclusively my individual opinion which I am about to tell.

Those who have done so because of personal grievances were in a small minority. The majority has done it because, sooner or later, they came to the inevitable



conclusion that everything that they have done for the Party in the name of the programme announced by the Party was useless and remained without any tangible result. Those, however, who could safeguard their ability to think, had been unable to wrestle with that dialectics, according to which to-day's dogma became in half a year anathema and the Party had revealed something entirely different as the new dogma, only to change this again in a short time. A true believer, a Communist electrical engineer, told me in the summer of 1953: "Old boy, you know, I have returned my Party book, and when the secretary asked me why, I told him: "I have learned from the Party how to lie, deep and high, wide and long, but crosswise I cannot any more!" (This engineer, because of his excellent knowledge and work, could keep his job even afterwards. He had his work-book, only he did not get premiums any more, which ~~was~~ were assured him in the collective contract and he did not receive any more extra payment for field-work, which meant that he lost about 65 % of his salary which he received as long as he was a Party member.)

(6g) Persons who were needed could have been, as they said in Pest, St. John the Baptist, as long as they did not find somebody else in his place; he was given everything. As soon as the new kader replacement was ready, which happened in about four years' time, most of these people

were eliminated in the most brutal way, since they have seen too much and knew too much about the impossibilities of the Communist management of business and industry, etc.

(6r) The Section for Hungarian Affairs of the Soviet- Communist Party in Moscow.

(6s) Mátyás Rákosi was son of a Jewish grocer from Zemplén. He has an astonishing flair for languages. Besides Hungarian, he speaks excellently German, English, French, Spanish, and several of the Slavic languages. He has a razor -sharp logic. This I can tell from personal experience. I have had long talks with him seven times in 1946-47. According to my conviction, he has an inherited megalomania, in view of his looks, a comical vanity complex, an indoctrinated persecution mania, besides an immense but entirely one-sided education, the patronizing manner of a royal prince, the pleasure in aristocratic tastes (e.g. precious paintings and art objects in his villa), and pastimes. (hunting).

(Interviewer asked respondent: "How was it possible that Rákosi, a Jewish boy from the country, was admitted to the Diplomatic School, the Oriental Academy of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, when these institutions were traditionally the preserves of the aristocracy?")  
At the beginning of the present century, Rákosi was a founding member of the Hungarian Galilei Circle. During the last 30 years of the Habsburg Monarchy, due to the

elastic attitude of the ruling liberalism, it was very much appreciated, if somebody could sacrifice a substantial amount of money for the interests of the state, in which case the social origin did not count. Rákosi has made use of the funds of the First International to secure his admission to the Oriental Academy.

Ernö Gerö; as editor of Szabad Szó, in 1946-47, I have spent many days in the company of Gerö at the occasion of the great bridge building projects, notably in Szolnok and Szentés. We have spent several evenings together in interesting talks and afterwards I was twice his guest in his ministry. I have to mention right here that these talks were held against me in 1948, during my arrest. The AVO had the records of every word, I said.

Gerö was a puritanic, fanatic, Communist Savonarola. In my private opinion, he was the only one who never did anything out of his private interest and never accepted anything. He was the only, within the limits of his faith, has acknowledged, appreciated, and defended every talent. This of course, holds true only up to 1952-53. As a consequence of the characteristic corruption, which has sooner or later affected every Hungarian Communist, without exception. In 1953, Comrade Gerö he too was already hunting.

Gerö had very little general erudition, wore the blinkers of Party ideology toward many aspects of life, but

he had an excellent sense for trade and economy and he was a good organiser too. As far as the interests of the Party were concerned, he had less moral inhibitions than a viper. He speaks Russian, reads English, German, and French, and his passionate hobby was gardening.

Zoltán Vas: He became a Communist only, because he drifted somehow into the circle around Rákosi and because of his excellent abilities as a born reporter. He was entrusted with organisation and found himself arrested together with the group of Rákosi. In September 1956, in the Writers' Union, in the presence of György Máté, Tibor Méray, Tibor Pethő, Sándor Pekete, and myself, he told us in his characteristically cordial manner: "If I would not have gotten mixed up into that mess that time and if I would not have gotten excited about everything which was opposition, to-day I would be perhaps in the meat-packing business somewhere in New York. Because I am a typical case - you will be surprised - of that dafke Communists (dafke is a Jewish word which means "just because"), I have to tell you, I envy you; the devil wanted to become a politician. I wanted to do good business or to edit a good boulevard-paper. Now I am <sup>fat</sup> ~~fat~~, the Party is looking askance at me, because I have liberal opinions, because having remained a journalist, I am still phrasing ~~XX~~ every thesis and every instruction according to my own ways. There is not much left for me. I will ~~get~~ <sup>get</sup> with them or because

of them into my grave." He was a smart business man, rich in ideas, who could choose his co-workers and would stand up for them. His great fault was a senseless and misinterpreted sentimentalism, which is known to psychologists as prison-psychosis.

(6t) The policy of the Party was steadily changing. The reason for these changes should be looked for in the dogmatic disputes and quarrels of the Holy-Synod in Moscow. I do not have any opinion about it. This was no politics, at least not in Hungary. It was only the better or worse execution of orders from above.

(7) No.

(7g) From among the mass organisations, the Szabadságharcos Szövetkezet, the Freedom Fighters Association, was the most popular. One could learn how to shoot there and how to handle different weapons. In the countryside (Hidas, Tolna, Dunaföldvár, Veszprém, Lőrinci) I heard often: ~~"It is good, if one keeps up with the practice."~~ It is good, if one keeps up with the practice.

You never know, when you will need it!" The other mass organisations were just as the trade unions. This was everybody's opinion. I can say that from many personal experiences.

(7l) In no ways. They had been good only for the purpose that provided high salaries for worthy Party members without any obligation to work.

(7m) They cursed them every month, because of the member-

ship dues deducted from the salaries.

- (8) At the beginning, up to 1951-52, perhaps 30 - 35 %. After 1952, 5 - 8 % was the maximum.
- (9) This is an error. The DISZ was never a centre of the resistance. As I have said, there was no such a thing as DISZ but in the file-cards and in the dues' collecting. That youngsters went to a building which had the inscription of DISZ, in order that they could dance there and learn boogie-woogie, therefore they were not necessarily Communist youths. When the Revolution came, the buildings and the freedom fighters' association armories were at hand and had been used, but one should not mistake the paraphernalia for the essence of things.
- (10) The fundamental axis of the terror was the systematically created dependency on the state and insecurity of life. Its pillar and corner-stone was the army of Party members and informers organized against the nation by the distribution of favours and advantages for them.
- (10a) Everybody has felt it, because everybody was afraid.
- (10b) It was organized for the reason which Orwell expressed the following way: "A fanatic minority needs an armed and well-paid army of brigands, in order to be able to maintain its power in the face of the will of the

people. Its duties were threefold:

- 1) informative,
- 2) administrative,
- 3) provocative.

They had to know about everything and everybody. They had to take rigorous retaliatory measures in the right moment and to organize through their agents rumours, moods, counter-moods among the people, or tactically important exposures. Besides these, they had been prepared and ready for all activities which in a Western country would have certainly merited for them capital punishment.

Example: Under No.118 - 138 of Vörös Hadséreg útja (Street of the Red Army) under 7 blocks of private villas, there was built a 4-5 storeys high, underground establishment. It had been equipped with the newest Siemens, Brown-Boveri, Telefunken,<sup>and</sup>/Grundig machinery for monitoring, recording, signaling, and disconnecting. The talks going on between foreign embassies and legations, and who knows how many other ~~its~~ telephone lines could be controlled and recorded here.

Völgy Street 68: The eye can see only four barracks from outside, but inside on four storeys there is one of the most modern printing establishments. Any kind of money, documents, passports, stamps, official papers, seals and signatures could be counterfeited here.

(During the Revolution I had been inside both of these

establishments, walking through with bulging eyes, hardly able to believe all that I saw.)

Maros Street 8-10: Finance ~~department~~ department of the State Security Organs (AVH). At 1st building I participated as a member of the transport section of the building company Várpólotá 31/2. It has four storeys underground. At the bottom ~~there are~~ there are 22 single cells, in the middle there is a dissecting room; above this there is a concrete room of 65 m<sup>2</sup> extension, which was marked on the plan as a rifle-range. It was isolated at the bottom and at the ceiling by bitumen and asbestos. Above this seven isolated and by 80 cm wide walls separated 5 x 4 m sized rooms, covered by wood and glass-wool. On the plan it was called laboratory. <sup>On the</sup> ~~The~~ last floor below the ground-floor were 4 rooms, which had been on the plan as store-rooms. (If I remember correctly the secret code number of the plan of this building was G-57.) Above ground there were four floors planned as regular office building. There were three interesting things as far as the installation work was concerned: 60 KW high-voltage electric current, high-pressure pipelines towards the lower floors, and the so-called wave-filter isolation of the walls at the entire second floor above the ground. It was interesting that after the installation works of the plumbing of the building, the entire team of workers has been relieved. Who came after us, I do not know. According



to my knowledge, this building was the only one during the Revolution which, because of its electrically protected, solid steel doors, charged with high-voltage electricity, the people were not able to open. (Behind the beech-wood doors, which you could see from the street, there have been heavy steel doors, reminding one of the safes of the big banks.)

The Party building in the second borough on Statistika Park, has also a four-storey underground prison, just like every other Party building in the capital city. I was present, when on October 28th, 42 prisoners had been brought up from there, of whom 17 had been in single cells and have just learned that they were not in Russia. Their guards had been Russians.

(10c) I have my bitter experience only of three departments: The department of ecclesiastical affairs, the department of press policy, and the department of control of the unreliable elements.

Not of my own experience, but I know from sources which I regard as reliable that besides these there had been a so-called V-Department, which was responsible for the files of the members of government and the leaders of the Party. Then, there was a T<sub>1</sub>-T<sub>2</sub> Department, which has collected informations on the leading scholars and scientists and I heard about the so-called K-Department, which has controlled the steps of the foreign diplomatic personnel.

(10d) They had painfully exact files on everybody who had been only by a hair's breadth more important than the low average. At given time, if they needed some information about some group or section, or if they sensed some danger from some quarter, they would look up their files and would select a person or rather several persons, who had some vulnerable point due to their existential needs or moral life. These people then were arrested on the street, coming from their homes or going home in the evening, or had been lured by<sup>a</sup>/phony telephone call in to the trap of the Secret Police. At the headquarters, the unfortunate victims were shown the documents and were given to be understood their complete moral, social, or positional ruin. With excellent psychological sense they would leave the victim with this fact revealed to him alone in a room in an intentionally prepared fear-installing environment and atmosphere, giving him one meal daily, but without saying him a word. During this time, in the neighbouring rooms they conduct so-called "tickling"-hearings, so that the lonely man could hear the noise of the beatings, the savage howling, and the heart-breaking cries and screams. After a certain time, unexpectedly, usually during the night, a well-dressed polite, well-mannered man would step in, who would close the door behind himself with a key, sit down opposite the prisoner and ask him whispering confi-

dentially? "I hope, you understand that I cannot speak aloud. Why are you here? Do you want to smoke? Tell me, aren't you hungry? I forgot to eat my lunch, I just remember, I still have it here in my pocket!" The patient usually gladly listened to the friendly voice and, because he really did not know why he was there and under the influence of the loneliness of the environment and his nerve-wrecking fear, he would really believe in the good will of his visitor. The latter, before he left, whispered once more to the prisoner: "I will try to help you!"

The prisoner was left alone for another two days. Then, in the most unexpected moment, five men would break into his cell. They would shower him with unbelievable accusations and - knowing his previous life from their records - they would tell him such possible probabilities, accompanied by shouts and smacks in his face, which he well knows that in the system and, exactly against the AVH, no lawyer could ever clear him of. After a few hours, he would be left alone again, only to be ready to receive the good man, who would come now with a bottle of rum in his pocket. Anyone who had a little less than enough strength of character, has drunk out the rum and, within half an hour, almost unconsciously signed a statement, in which out of patriotic duty and of conscious love for the people, he would offer freely and in the interest of the

victory of socialism, his services for the "iron fist" of the working people, namely the AVH. And when he awoke to his conscience, he had already a code letter and number, the fee was fixed according to the individual cases, and he had in his pocket the grant of his most favourite wish, which he betrayed during his drunkenness. (In the Lunatic Asylum of Lipótmező, the No.2 closed section had more than thirty active patients suffering from paranoia and fear complexes, who had been mentally ruined in the way described above.) From the moment when somebody was thus recruited for the AVO, he had to meet twice or three times weekly his "caretaker and instructor" and hand him over the written report about all those questions he was instructed to find out at the previous meeting. I know of several who had committed suicide, several who had told everybody that they should not speak with them, because they were informers of the AVO, and also I know of such, who have conspired with the people or group, whom they should have watched and, on the basis of the philosophical law of half-truths, have entirely misled the AVH. There were many organized informers, but the practice has proved that very few could or did give exact information.

To their most effective methods belonged the inducement of their patients into indulging in harmful passions. This could be alcohol, drugs, women, or

gambling. I know of two cases, who have received from their AVO ~~szakasz~~ caretaker foreign exchange to be sold on the black market. In whichever form the unfortunate fell into the trap, he became morally dead. I hold in my own hand a prescription, given by the AVO to somebody, for 25 m' morphium to be delivered by the drug-store of the hospital on Kútvölgy Street. I heard from doctors also about dolantine, cocaine, and opium. (Respondent's brother was and is a leading physician in Budapest.) Women had been trained and drilled by similar methods to become slaves and obedient instruments of the AVO.

The agents provocateurs belonged to the organisational body of the AVH. This job, especially in Budapest, has carried with it constant life-danger. They had to have arms and papers in their pockets. We had very good ears. The people of Budapest have quickly recognized the intention and there was always a young worker or a tough, rough man, who would lay down such a big mouth on the asphalt.) I heard also about anonymous denouncers, but later it always turned out that they were not anonymous at all.

(10e) I do not know anything official or reliable about this matter.

(10f) Those whom I have known, came from the society of uninhibited rowdies and from the intellectual Jews. Their age was between 28 and 35.

- (10g) They have enjoyed extraterritoriality, freedom of action without fear of responsibility, total freedom of movement and speech, and everywhere and in any situation limitless financial assistance and absolute independence of the administrative organs.
- (10h) Yes, except if the fall of his boss ~~Ministry~~ ~~Ministry~~ or of the Minister of Interior or of the Party secretary plunged his confidential service-men together with himself.
- (10i) The best description would be: The hypnotizer and the hypnotized.
- (10k) The Party was the AVH and the AVH was the Party. The Party has controlled the AVH and the AVH has controlled the Party. The power was in the hands of the Hungarian section of the Soviet MVD.
- (10l) Yes. I met Sándor Kopácsy in the middle of August 1956. I do not know about his fate.
- (11) Yes, I myself and all my close friends for longer or shorter periods.
- (11a) The arrest of my best friend and cousin, the Roman Catholic priest, whom I mentioned already. On December 16th, 1953, in the night 1:30 a.m., the bell rang at his room in the parish of Tabán. A middle-aged woman called on him and asked him to go along with her to her dying mother and bring along the last sacraments. (Since the Mindszenty affair, they have never taken

away a priest directly from the parish house, lest the believers should learn about it immediately and get upset.) He followed the woman to one of the ~~XXXXXX~~ farthest streets of the parish district where, at the said house, he was awaited not by a dying, but by the AVO car and two detectives. He succeeded in taking to himself the Blessed Sacrament in the moment when he realized the situation, but the Holy Oil and the other holy objects were taken away from him by one of the detectives and thrown into the sewer. I am quoting word to word the remarks of this detective, as my cousin told me: "Adja ide azt a varázscsokót, ne büzőlje be tömjénszaggal a kocsinkat." ("Give me that magic bag, don't make our car stinking of incense.")

- (11b) The daughter of Iure Waldbauer, who died not long ago, as the concert maestro of the <sup>Philadelphia</sup> Philharmonic Orchestra, went to the US legation, in order to ask a visa to visit her father. She was, however, prevented to enter the legation at its gate in Hold Street by a car, which ran up to the side-walk. She was pulled into the car and we did not see her for 3 1/2 years, until she returned from the internment camp in Kistarcsa.
- A friend of mine, an engineer, who was lying in bed with a serious pneumonia, was arrested at 2:30 a.m. He was virtually dragged out of his bed, permitted only to put on a pair of trousers and a smoking-jacket and was thrown into the AVO car. We never saw him again. Half

a year later, his wife received a package with the trousers and the smoking-jacket and a bill for 3.400 forints for the maintenance and medical expenses.

I myself was taken away by ~~xxx~~ a car, which has been hiding under the bridge of the Nagyhíd Viaduct, when I was coming from my home from Húvösvölgy. That happened on May 27th 1948.

- (11c) I know. A friend of mine, Catholic priest, was arrested in July 1951. In October he was transferred as a physical wreck to the priestly hospital on Széker Street. He had to stand opposite the wall through four days, without being permitted to sit down for a minute. Afterwards he had been taken to a room with two bath-tubs, one containing steaming hot water and the other icy cold water. He was submerged alternately in one and the other. Afterwards he was put in a cell lighted by four Jupiter-lamps, where he could lay down on a bunk. but every three quarters of an hour, he had to report to the guard, in order to ascertain that he was awake. If he failed to do that, he was kicked up by the guard.

Father Jenö Kerkai, Jesuit sociologist and well-known youth organizer, was led to a "walk", blindfolded and his ears stuffed with waxed cotton, every two hours. According to his description, usually down in some stairs, then through some courtyard, then, according to his feeling in some place where the boilers were,



since it was very hot there and so on and so forth. He was given food once in a day in such a way that he was handed a piece of bread, then from his one ear the plug was removed and he was told that they thought of him as an intelligent man, who could find his water by himself. (According to Kerkai: "This was the most wonderful and the most concentrated spiritual exercise in my life. There were only God and me.") Kerkai was then released, after half a year he was re-arrested and my last <sup>news</sup> of him was that he was serving his sentence in the Vác penitentiary, where he was gluing paper bags and, as we knew from a person released from there, who was working with the Father in the same brigade, he is holding - spriritual exercises.

Generally, people with high intellectual powers, were seldom beaten, they were tortured in different ways, e.g. one of our most excellent linguist and artistic translators, who stood very close to the Communist ideology, became somehow involved in the Rajk affair. For weeks he had to sit 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. on a bench, without a back, but a 25 degree angle of inclination, so that his feet could not reach the floor. He received enough to eat, enough to drink, only he had to sit there motionless and nobody would say to him a word.

(11d) Until the end of 1951, the class aliens, the clericals, people with connections abroad, and the social-democratic intellectuals.

- (11e) This question shows lack of factual knowledge. The hasbizalmi and tömbbizalmi could - due to their office - visit any apartment without invitation. They had been the feelers of the AVH built into the district councils. The AVH has learned through them, what was the daily programme of a marked man, who is going to him, and when he is certainly at home. (On October 28th 1956, in the morning, I met the tömbbizalmi of my former home in Széphalom Street. He admitted with humble self-criticism that in 1948, the AVH has learned from him the time when I returned from my vacation, which I have spent in Szabolcs.)
- (11f) In no way. We knew it for sure that three of our colleagues had been in the prison of Pestvidék. Somebody was just released from there, who set these three when they were brought in. Still, the administration of the prison answered the request of their mothers and wives in the following way: "We are very sorry, we do not have these names on our records."
- It was two weeks by some, six months by others, after which they have permitted the notification of his family and they could send him once a week a so-called "hygienic" package, which could contain clean underwear, soap, toothpaste, and a towel. Visits were allowed only after the sentence was pronounced and three months of the prison term was already served. Afterwards, monthly one from 10 minutes to half an

hour, in the reception room of the jail or internment camp the prisoner could meet his family behind barbed wires and in the presence of a guard. However, if somebody had enough money, he could find out about the whereabouts of the prisoner earlier and take up connections with him through the services of middle-men, the so-called "kijáró ügyvédek", whom I have mentioned already in connection with the previous question. All this, of course, in the more fortunate cases, let us say in the 60 % of the arrests. The others simply disappeared without a trace.

- (11g) I know. There were so-called "public" prisons, as e.g. the Pestvidéki and the Markó. To this category belonged also the prisons at the county centres and the so-called penal institutions of the Ministry of Justice. Only those people were brought to these places, whose fate was already decided by the "independent Hungarian Judiciary". The so-called preliminary arrests could take place in any of the AVH headquarters in the country or, as I have mentioned already, in any of the prisons installed under the Party headquarters. The person under arrest - with very few exceptions - never knew where he was. The great concentration and forced labour camps could be found - with the exception of Kisarcsa, Recsk, Óskú, Pét, Dunabogdány, and a few others - in the neighbourhood of the "great constructions of Socialism".

(11h) The district and local councils, with the help of the házbizalmi and tömbbizalmi, at the beginning of 1950, have set up files on persons considered unreliable from the point of view of the state security. Around the middle of May 1951, an order was issued dealing with the future fate of such persons. "A Népi Demokratikus Allam rendjének, termelő erejének, és Dolgozó Népiink nyugalmának biztosítása érdekében végrehajtandó globális ellenőrző és nevelő intézkedés." ("Global controlling and educating measures, which have to be executed in order to secure the order and the productive force of the People's Democratic State and the peace of our working population.")

The execution of the deportation was left to the district and local administrative authorities. The persons notified were given from 4 - 24 hours' time of preparation. They could take along 15 - 50 kg of personal belongings to the village, which was assigned to them as their new habitation. Transportation was taken care of by the trucks of the AVH.

The history of the deportations would merit a serious study. I would like to say only so much that from July 1951 to the next year, about 60 % of the older and weaker section of the deportees had perished. In the spring of 1956, the deportees were rehabilitated and they could return to their former place of living.

- (12a) First time in May 1948, second time in the fall of 1950.
- (12b) The question is wrong. The charge was given to the accused only five or ten days before the trial. Up to that time he did not have the slightest idea, why he was in jail. During the questioning, one was asked the most unexpected questions about all possible subjects under the sky. It should be kept clear that nobody was ~~was~~ convicted because of the real cause why he was arrested and why his elimination from the society seemed to be desirable by the AVH. The accusation was usually based on half-truths, but constructed on entirely invented phantasy.
- (12c) The investigation has taken place much earlier than the arrest was effected.
- (12d) First time, I was taken to Andrassy Street 60. The second time: Even to-day, I do not know where I was.
- (12e) My daily food was: In the morning half a litre of black coffee with a slice of bread. At noon time, soup with a slice of bread; in the evening, tea.  
We knew that our time for questioning arrived, when somebody has received meat and vegetables independently from the others.
- (12f) In May 1948, I was ~~was~~ kept for three days in a private cell. Then, during the night, I was taken up<sup>to</sup>/an office room, where four AVO have waited for me. I was ordered to squat and, in that position, I was questioned for

about two hours, then I had to lie flat on my belly on a couch and they beat me with sandbag-truncheons on my spine and around my kidneys. Afterwards, I had to take off my shoes and my shirt, and if I could not or did not answer any question of theirs, they stepped on my feet or pressed their burning cigarette butts into my naked upper body.

In 1950, I was no more manhandled this way, but I had to stand first for 48 hours and three days after, for 67 hours, motionless, turned toward the wall between two guards, who were periodically relieved and exchanged. (At the end of February 1948, my physician brother has thoroughly examined me and found that, in spite of the German concentration camp, my health was in satisfactory condition. In 1951, he diagnosed a comparatively serious myocardial degeneration with leftward inclination.)

(Respondent has shown his bare back to the interviewer. It is covered by scars and the knots resulting from broken bones can be seen and touched.)

I got the creeps when they told me about my ways prepared in the greatest secrecy and quoted my words which I have uttered in the company of only four or five absolutely reliable friends of mine. In spite of all my investigations afterwards, I never learned where they got all this information from and who was the informer among us. It is only natural that afterwards I never

spoke with anybody, except if I knew the person intimately for at least the last ten years and only if we could speak completely alone the two of us.

- (12h) I was not sentenced, I was set free, but kept under police surveillance - I had to report twice weekly for three and a half years - the idea being, according to my conviction, that sooner or later I will lead them to the traces of such people whom they were looking for. (Suspecting this, from the beginning of 1949, I avoided the meeting with anybody, except of my cousin, who has belonged to my former circle of friends.)
- (12c) The hygienic care of the prisons consisted of chloride of lime and DDT. Often, if they wanted to break down somebody's willpower morally, - they have done it with me for fourteen days - they would not let him out from his cell and when, not being able any longer to resist the natural functions of his body, he soiled the floor of the cell, he had to clean it up with his bare hands.
- (12p) Depriving somebody of his meals, solitary confinement, baths. (There were cases, where somebody had to sit for three days in water.)
- (12t) I did not ask for it. I was summoned to the Party (in the B athory Street headquarters) and I was told that they would rehabilitate me.
- (12u) I was re-admitted to the Union of Journalists, I could live again in Budapest legally, my kader-card was torn

to pieces before my eyes and in the official writ of my rehabilitation, the former accusations levelled against me were called unjust and untrue and having formed a part of the terroristic persecution against me and: "The Rehabilitating Committee is recommending you to the proper authorities and requesting a two-room apartment with every modern comfort for you and you will receive an indemnity of 55.000 forints for your loss of income since the cessation of your job in 1948 until September 1th 1956." I did not get a penny and then the Revolution broke out.

- (13) Only one: Never and nowhere should he say any opinion about anything; he should do his job; he should avoid any acquaintances with unknown women, however charming and interesting they seem to be; he should go very little to public places of recreation and amusement; he should not correspond with people abroad; he should speak about his thoughts only with his friends, known to him from head to foot and, even with them, only between four walls and tête-à-tête.
- (13a) There is such; e.g. a fisherman working alone on his own on the Danube. Or somebody who has reliable friends and is working at some representation abroad.
- (13b) If somebody has enemies, nothing can help.
- (13c) That is always useful. Still, the most secure connection remains, if somebody has the opportunity to



establish a confidential relationship with one of the non-Party, but from the point of view of the state, existentially important star of the arts or scholarship or sciences, who has international reputation. (Zoltán Kodály, Dr. László Simonyi, the professor of the Institute for Atomic Research, and a few other similarly famous men have saved literally hundreds of people from the consequences of unjust and false accusations by their immense ~~prwa~~ prestige and courageous stand.)

- (13d) It helps, but only if the person is loyal to the Party. On the other hand the Party was just as generous to Princess Odescalchi, who has been for years Rákosi's confidential secretary. Not the origin, but the service is what counts!
- (13e) Even the priests of the "church of Lenin" can be bought with money and money offered for the benefit of the state can work miracles. Entire families, among them people who counted as "criminals opposing the People's Democratic State order", have received passports and the green light for escape.
- (13f) Not always. Sometimes silence is interpreted as inimical attitude.
- (13g) I can state, out of my ~~own~~ conviction based on numerous objective experiences that the Roman Catholic church and people with Catholic ideology are the worst enemies from the point of view of the Bolsheviks. Therefore, in their political philosophy, these have

to be persecuted by the state ex officio.

- (14) From October 1948 up to the death of Stalin, the graphic curve of terror has been steadily rising. For four weeks after the death of Stalin, there was the wildest terror - the terror of the insecurity. From May 1953, it ~~was~~ receded steadily and ended in Imre Nagy's government. From February 1955 to August, the AVH has succeeded in re-establishing its terror régime again. From that time on, it receded more and more, went over to the Party line, in other lines the informers' activities were stepped ~~up~~<sup>up</sup>, but only such informative work was done intensively. (It has to be noted here that this time, after ten years of practice, already even people with average intellectual capacities, have recognized from far away or at the first question, the people of the AVH.
- (14a) The first lasted from April 1948 to February 1949, the second from September 1950 to August 1951, the third from January 1955 to May 1955.
- (14b) In 1953 was the beginning of the ~~mass defection~~<sup>defection</sup> of the Communist intelligentsia from the Party.
- (14c) In 1955, the AVH because of the insecurity caused by serious schism and struggles going on within the Party, tried to save its position, probably on the instructions received from the Russians. They did not dare any more to do arrests, but they tried to approach

many intellectuals through their agents, in order to recruit them as new informers by letting them know the compromising data which the AVH had in its files about them. This period was perhaps one of the most beautiful times of the awakening self-consciousness of the nation. Szabad Nép, Esti Budapest, and even the Radio in a comic lecture - not to mention the open conversations on the street and in society - have publicized many cases where the person approached has simply kicked out the AVO.

- (15) The Hungarians were the sheep and the Soviet Union was the shepherd.
- (15a) In Moscow, about what should be done and in Hungary, about how.
- (15b) From 1954, I had a few, very well-informed Communist friends, who had been at confidential positions, but that time, already in opposition to the Party.
- (15c) In that policy of execution, which the Communist leaders have done out of fear and concern for their own power in the face of their <sup>own</sup> radically different judgment and opinion revealed to some of his friends. (I consider the following as a reliable account, since the person who told me, at the time of the building of the underground system in Budapest and the great works of Stalinváros, has belonged to the confidential circle of Rákosi. According to him, seeing the plans

for these establishments, Rákosi has shaken his head and his voice full of misgivings, said: "These are grandiose ~~plans~~ <sup>plans</sup>, but such ~~plans~~ <sup>which</sup> even with a little obstacle in the way, with a little miscalculation, ~~they~~ can ruin us.")

- (15d) With only one; in February 1948, in the Ministry of Agriculture. I was receiving an interview from the Minister, Károly Bárányos, for my paper when the "Russian" - because he was called only by this name - entered. He was a polite man, who spoke very well Hungarian. He just came to the ministry two weeks before the time of my interview there and five weeks after, the great "anti-state conspiracy" of the Ministry of Agriculture has exploded.
- (15e) It was the most pronounced in those fields of production which were the most important for the Soviet Union, that is in the agriculture, in the metallurgical industry, in the nitro-chemical industry, and in the heavy machinery industry. The weakest was in the field of public administration; that was delegated to the ~~XXXX~~ colonial vice-government of Hungary.
- (15f) The answer is contained already in the previous question. Besides this, according to the changing situation at the so-called "centre of gravity" places. (Súlyponti munkák). On the other hand, in the army they could be found everywhere.

- (16) After people have somewhat recovered from the initial fear caused by the terror, they would tell about themselves things - as self-criticism, perfectly in the Party line ("pártszerűfogalmazásban") - which were hurting very much. In three years' time one was able to recognize from far away people with whom you could speak and those with whom you could not. Two ~~themes~~<sup>themes</sup> were absolutely and deadly forbidden: The fact of Soviet oppression and ~~that~~ that the Party is lying. It would cause also immediate retaliation, if somebody would have dared to tell that the workers were exploited. From 1953, the workers began to speak quite openly and from 1954, their example was followed by everybody within the limits of sanity.
- (17) All official orders were all the time violated pro and contra. It was a question of connections, money, smartness, or courage and determination. Contacts were built out through the years, money could be found through connections with people in the great building projects and great business companies, and finally, if somebody with sober circumspection, but courageously dared to be a smart man, he could solve many things.
- (18) The strength of the system was the Soviet power, its weakness was the system itself.

- (19) The Communist seizure of power which took place after thorough preparation by the Party between April and August 1948, has caught the Hungarian people unexpectedly by surprise. It was such a hard hit and it was done with such an onslaught by deliberately lifting the bans before all irresponsible careerist "Lumpenproletariat", who could be won for everything, since it did not have any moral senses, that the nation became dazed for 2-3 years, like one who has lost <sup>(consciousness)</sup> ~~consciousness~~. There was some dissent and grumbling; there were smaller or greater passive groups, but the terror and the cloak, which was let loose, has flooded and suppressed everything. The only real resistance, as it is well-known to everybody, was the Catholic Church, which has lost in this battle practically all its first-rate fighters. The middle class, the more valuable parts of the peasantry, and the intellectuals in the free professions have proved their bankruptcy in these first years. Why? This is probably one of the most important moments: For the simple reason that for years they have looked upon the events as hypnotised, as seeing a nightmare, which they simply could not believe. After all, Hungary was for 900 years a European and a Christian country. Now, between our whole ideology and education, which was based on Christian and European human ideals and on certain principles of morality, and the flood of lies and common gangsterism, which was now professed

by the state authorities and promoted by arms, courts, and the press, there was such a phantastic contradiction that this had to be first somehow grasped, realized, understood, and explored in all its aspects.

The renowned novelist, Sándor Márai, said to his friends a few days before his escape from Hungary: "Boys, I feel like somebody who went to sleep in a suite of the Waldorf-Astoria and is waking up next morning in the jungles of Brazil with the painful sensation that the water-rats are gnawing in his flesh."

- (19b) No group was able to oppose the régime.
- (19c) Those who have lost any moral standing in the society through their own faults and now serving the new system and making good money without work, could revenge themselves on the society for their grievances, which was actually their own making. And also those who have believed that the system will be able to remedy their just grievances.
- (19d) Between 1953 and 1955, did we recover slowly our consciousness and in that period was formed that spiritual attitude of the nation which finally erupted in the Revolution of 1956.
- (19e) It grew from day to day.
- (19f) It was a personal business of the individual. Those who are speaking about groups are either dreaming or lying.

- (19g) Yes, this was already a group, but this group could count for about seventy percent of the Party intellectuals, in other words, of its leading stratum in all positions.
- (19h) I know about this only so much that the army - with the exception of very few - in case of war would have been not the bulwark, but the mine in the Warsaw Pact.
- (19i) It was, but they have begun to organize seriously only at the beginning of 1956.
- (19j) See Irodalmi Újság.
- (19k) I want to answer this question with the words of a shop-foreman in the shipyards of Obuda who explained to me a fact - which actually Rákosi has mentioned twice himself in his speech during the March Resolution - in the following words: "Listen to me Joe (Szaki), they are the biggest asses, when they say that the sabotage is organized. Everybody is doing sabotage. I am an old Social-Democrat. Do you know, what it means "spontaneous sabotage" ("öntevékeny szabotázs")? And in addition, it's very useful and lucrative. Copper is needed for the ships destined for the Soviet Union? Plated sheets will be good enough for them! The copper will be sold to the small foundries. I do it and my colleagues do it, often without saying a word to each other."
- (19l) Every trauma, according to the laws of traumatology, sooner or later will erupt in action.
- (19m) (Note: Respondent was recommended for a "B" Interview



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"A" INTERVIEW

SECTION "G"

LL

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on the intellectual ferment preceding the Revolution  
of 1956),

- (1) After 1948, the two most reliable sources of news had been the bulletins released by the British and the US embassies. Up to 1951, they appeared daily and were distributed through an organized distribution service free of charge. Most of the distributors had been arrested <sup>in</sup> 1951.

Besides these, the Hungarian news broadcasts of the Western countries. Among these the most up-to-date was Voice of America, the most objective, BBC. The broadcasts of the ~~XXXX~~ Radio Free Europe, had been frequently contradicted by BBC.

- (1a) The most important was the British Home Service.  
(1b) After that the 6 p.m. and midnight news of AFN Munich and after that its Hungarian language news broadcasts.

- (2) From 1949 to 1953, I was preoccupied with work and with looking for work. I had no time to read newspapers. It was not worth either. I read usually weekly once the Sunday number of Szabad Nép, because out of that I could see exactly the Party line of that week. As far as weekly and monthly periodical literature is concerned, I have read only scientific magazines, e.g. the Természettudományi Közlöny, Orvosi Hetilap, Erdő és Vad Gazdálkodás, and when I could get hold of it, the Digest. This latter I usually read at the reading room of the British and the US Embassies. Sometimes, in one or the other editorial offices I could see the "Neue

Zürcher Zeitung", Die Tat and the Weltwoche. At the editorial office of Magyar Nemzet one could find twice a week the New York Herald Tribune and the Paris Soir.

- (2e) In all places of work there had to be a wall newspaper, but this was prepared only because it had to be and was renewed usually only at the time of official control visits, when the six months old and worn out news had been removed and replaced with the relatively new ones.
- (2g) See under (2).
- (2j) I saw some of the leaflets sent by the balloons of Radio Free Europe. This was at my place of work in the Cserhát and in the Bakony mountains. There was no other illegal printed material up to 1954.
- (3) I did not get to the theaters neither to the movies. I have not seen one movie or theatrical performance from 1948 to January 1956.
- (4) Very much. I used this time to re-read the Greek and ~~ROMAN~~ Roman classics and to make a thorough study of ancient philosophy. Thus, I have read from the Iliad and Odyssey to the Breviary of Epictetus and from the Ethics of Aristotle to the Summa Theologica of St. Thomas, everything available.
- Volume by volume all the works of Huxley. Through the kindness of the Piarist fathers, I learned about Graham Green and his works. Together with my cousin, we trans-

lated Orwell's "1984" and Huxley's "Ape and essence".  
My steady companions have been the Missale Romanum,  
Madách's "The Tragedy of Man, and the Ballads of Arany.

(4e) Berzsenyi, Vörösmarty, Arany, Gyula Juhász, Attila  
József; Huxley, Green, Steinbeck, Thornton Wilder,  
Chesterton, and Paul Claudel; Gyula Krúdy and Jókai.  
Why? Because only this way could one remain an "Athenian  
in Sparta".

(4g) The public libraries, especially in the villages, have  
been - with the exception of a few Gárdonyis and in  
false covers hiding Márai's and Sárkány Török's volumes,  
which have been smuggled in by some honest teachers -  
just murderous trash, happily not read at all.

(5) For the Radio the same answer applies as to the news-  
papers. One has listened only to the announcements of  
the Party and of the government and that only because  
of sober self-defence.

(6a-d) See under (1).

(6e) They did not punish it as such, they always found some  
other title by which they could revenge it. (At the  
same time the clerks of the construction direction in  
Sztálinváros have listened to Radio Free Europe in the  
morning, at noon-time, and in the evenings. In the club-  
room of the power-station at Ajka, the Party secretary  
has taken upon himself the role of the "hírfelölös" =

responsible for the news. Foreign news could be listened to only in his presence, because this way even the shadow of suspicion was avoided. The motto was: "Watch out, the secretary-"szaki" is not here yet!" In 1953, if there was no stranger present, the workers were dancing in the evening to music from AFN Munich in Ajka. The Party secretary was before an unskilled worker at the power station and he kept his ~~\*\*\*\*\*~~ loyalty to his fellow workers to this extent.

- (7) From the end of 1953, the best and most reliable source of information was a number of the internal contributors to Szabad Nép, which has been already in a process of ferment. One could find out from them the true situation in Moscow and at the same time, the excellent summaries of the Western news, prepared by the official news service of the Party.
- (7d) There were lots of rumours circulating all the time. The best illustration is that almost classic greeting in Pest: "Tell me some good news, never mind if it's not true!" (Any former inmate of prison or internment camp, or person who had been in preliminary arrest, can testify to the miraculous fact that the inmates of such institutions had always better, more reliable, and objective information about the situation than people living outside in comparatively more freedom. I do not know why this was so, but this is a fact.)

- (7g) There had been, e.g. the district physicians, the barbers working around the institutions of the Party, a few first-class dentists in Budapest, and in the country, the old waiters of a few first class restaurants.
- (7h) The workers in the liquor-shops. In the state offices there was always a so-called "duma szoba", a room for intimate conversation. The intellectuals, on the other hand, mostly among themselves between four walls; the peasants in the villages have gone to one of their wine-cellars, where only the invited guests were allowed to enter.
- (7i) There is, but there are no more discussions, only communication of experiences, "tapasztalat átadás".
- (8a) There was no reliable newspaper, but if somebody learned how to read between the lines, Magyar Nemzet was good for a while and also the Béke és Szabadság.
- (8c) The press was directed and the news service was according to the Party line, "pártos" news service.
- (8de) See under (8a).
- (8f) I started to read Irodalmi Ujság at the end of 1954. Before that time, I have seen only a few numbers of it. It was lying miserably. The most interesting period in the development of Irodalmi Ujság, is between June 1954 to September 1955. These numbers, to a person who can read, are the most excellent documents on the

psychology of the ferment and development.

- (8g) From September 1954, every day. For a brain which had the power of combination and interpretation, from this time - excepting a few short lived relapses (due to the fluctuation ~~XX~~<sup>in</sup> the strength of power of Oszkár Bethlen) - it was an excellent paper.
- (8h) I was editor of it.
- (9) For this, I want to give only one example. When I was working as a driller, I had been in about 85 villages, in all parts of the country within a year. For example, in Lőrinci (Mátra Power Station), Tiszafüred, Tiszapalkonya, Szolnok-Külsőváros, Berente (Borsód Power Station), Ajka, Bonyhád, etc. In all these places, you could seldom hear the intermission sign of Radio Budapest sound from the open windows, but all the time, openly and without any shame, the clarinet sign of Radio Free Europe was loudly rising in the air. This fact proves that everybody was trying to be well-informed. (I was present once on a meeting called together to discuss better production. The Communist Party secretary, who presided over the meeting, unintentionally betrayed himself as having listened the night before to the Radio Free Europe broadcast.)

- (10a) This has finished the Second World War. However, I would have never dared to take the moral responsibility for this act upon myself.
- (10b) The question is one-sided. The first step of aggression was unquestionably started by the Soviets, but the situation was brought to the point of explosion by the power struggle of both, the West and the East.
- (10c) With ~~the~~ an elementary knowledge of the physical sciences, anybody could see through of that mystery story constructed for the stupid masses. It was the greatest impossibility, which will remain a "cause célèbre" in the cultural history of human stupidity. The Soviet documentation has shown, inter alia, an insect with kitin-hull as the spreading insect of the American bacteria. Anybody who has ever studied some entomology knows that the kitin-covered insects have phosphoric acid secretion which kills off, ab ovo, all spore, bacteria, and even viruses.
- (10d) I never took it seriously, because I had informations about the development of the Western German psyche toward pacifism.
- (10e) At the time when I was a driller, I have found such myself. They were prepared with little skill and with saddening lack of knowledge of the real situation in Hungary. I thought of it as irresponsible demagogy. Even so, it was better than nothing. It kept us believing that the West is caring for us.



- (10f) We have known everything about it. Its suppression has sown into our souls the first doubts about the action potential and the reliability of the West.
- (10g) I knew enough about it, but in Hungarian eyes Geneva was always a "gitt-egylet" (An untranslatable term. It means a "children's play association, which busies itself with unimportant or irrelevant matters".) and it remained such.
- (10h) We did not care about them. Their ideas and goals have been long ago by-passed by the rapidly changing time?

- (1) The whole system should be changed.
- (1a) The new system which I am thinking of, would contain quite a few things based on similar ideas, but entirely different in execution.
- (1b) People approve of the general, popular insurance system, of the land reform, of the enlargement of popular education, to a great extent, <sup>of</sup> the just normalisation of the excessive social and material differences, of the possibility of success independently of any cast system, of the appreciation of the workers, who have played an important role in the branches which are contributing to the equilibrium of the production of the state, and of making available for everybody the cultural possibilities. But, we were able only to approve of these ideas and principles, but not of the practice, because, in fact, that was almost <sup>nowhere</sup> ~~XXXXX~~ and non-existent.
- (2) Undoubtedly.
- (2ab) In this part of the world, it is to-day yet unimaginable. We have learned that those policies, which have been built on anti-human philosophy, are similar to the epidemic spreading insects. We have to use desinfectors against them. It is not right, because it is violating the human freedom, but anybody would be crazy who would let a leper come among his children.
- (3) I am convinced believer in the freedom of speech.

- (3cd) If the government is working honestly and justly, any insulting or oppositional voice would become ab ovo ridiculous. And if the government is bad, in spite of all inhibition and punishment, everybody will speak about it.
- (4) If we succeeded in making incapable of germinating the dangerous epidemics, meetings will serve only to further clarify issues; therefore they will be good.
- (4a) If the government is bad, the government should fall.
- (4b) In one case: If the government of a system is anti-human and anti-society, and if this government, i.e. system, is upheld by armed terror. (Note: Even in this case, only then if there is no hope whatsoever that the sober societies could intervene in order to end the anti-human measures.)
- (5) Hungary can only become viable again, if free enterprise and free competition - kept in a sober equilibrium by appropriate taxation - will serve as the basis for sound economy.
- (6) Yes. The basic materials and productions and their distribution, which are of existential importance from the point of view of production and of the sociology of a country, cannot depend on the business interests of certain individuals.

- (6b) The finishing industry has to be left in the hands of private ~~indiv~~ individuals. The reason for this is the fact that only free competition can secure the most important demand on industrial production, namely the reliable and solid quality.
- (6c) Yes. Without seeing the results of somebody's work and without the possibility of getting ahead and succeed through his own ability and work, labour will lose its meaning for the individual.
- (6d) The private bank, if it is serving the public good within the state.
- (6e) Yes. I think that the practice of the Roman Empire is still right. There, according to the doctrine of Claudius: "The bread and the oil, the wine and the life-beautifying fruits cannot be left to disappear in the sacks of the profit-seekers."
- (6f) Outside the monopoly of the basic needs of life, everything else.
- (6g) The commercial monopolies have killed the Hungarian economy.
- (7) See under previous questions.
- (8) There is no state without some planning of its economy, but it is a utopia to plan more than a year ahead, especially in the field of agriculture. However, there has to be a planned policy, which should be formed in

perfect knowledge of the situation with fundamental training in national economy, with great elasticity and the art of balancing. Everything else has proved its bankruptcy enough in the Soviet sphere.

- (8c) Keeping the economic possibilities of the state before the eyes, to those agricultural and industrial products, which can be fit profitably into a geographical unity or into the frames of an economic union.
- (8d) Demand and supply, never anything else.
- (9) The state has the right of interference only in matters concerning public interest.
- (10) Exactly the way as a member of a family has obligations towards its family.
- (10a) Without taxes there is no state. How high the taxation should run, that will be decided by the right or the wrong social attitude of a society. If it is right, it will take into consideration the weaker and less skillful members of the society too.
- (10b) No comment on this.
- (10c) Good laws and orders will be kept willingly.
- (10e) The state is the totality of the citizens; it is not an end in itself. Therefore the state is for the citizens and not the citizens for the state.

- (11) It has been improved to a great extent. This is the only thing which, although only to a certain extent, but it still means a great development.
- (11a) The Party and persons who were indispensable for the Party could afford anything.
- (11b) The others on a mediocre average.
- (11c) Only so much on this point that, in spite of some generalized but not general, excessive phenomena, the Hungarian doctors have grown up to their vocation.
- (11d) The system developed very nicely during the years. However to the great detriment of it, there were many among its administrators, who have worked with the standard of the well-known "socialist working morale".
- (11e) The work competition campaign among the chemical factories has deteriorated to the extent that e.g. in 1955, weekly three or four urgent telegram circulars were sent out to all drugstores to suspend, or rather hold back the sale of some series of medicaments just sent out by the factory. In Sajószentpéter, in the case of a vaccine against scarlet fever, the warning arrived too late and the result was 160 serious cases of scarlet fever in that relatively small community. That happened in 1954.

Miners working in wet mines need badly vitamin "C". In Sajóbáony, there were signs of scorbutus, in spite of the daily six pills of vitamin "C". The physician of the mine has crushed five pills of vitamin "C" and

this pulverized stuff he sent up to Budapest to the Institute of Public Health for analysis. The official answer was: "The material which you have sent for chemical analysis is talcum powder with some ascorbin acid traces." (Ascorbin acid is the vitamin "C".)

In Borsód County, in the villages far away from Miskolc, the district doctors, who had been exiled politically to that part of the country, but who had to provide for 3-4000 souls, did not receive permits to buy a motor vehicle. The same happened in many other parts of the country. At the Hungarian Medical Congress, which was held in February 1956, Prof. Horányi has revealed the official statistical data for the last two years. According to these, the mortality rate of the country doctors increased as compared to 1938, by 65 %. The cause of that was in 91 cases among 100 arteriosclerosis or one or the other kind of thrombosis, resulting from murderous overwork..

- (12) Yes, but already in 1950 people, even in the villages, have learned how to discriminate. This is shown by the fact that - as we have learned in the summer of 1956, when some of the official account books have been available - the Soviet films have brought in only 5-8 % of the money which was paid for them. On the other hand, many could not afford to <sup>go to</sup> a good theatre or a good film, or they had no time to stand in line

for the tickets.

- (13) This question lacks again factual knowledge. With the exception of the "slave" section of the society and the relatively rare times of disorders in distribution, which was caused by pure stupidity in Hungary people ate well. Perhaps not with the variety of a Western restaurant, but sufficiently to satisfy the average needs.
- (14) Much worse. Up to 1946, because there was no clothing, after 1946 because, due to the régime's policy, the clothing industry has been ruined. One could not afford to buy good clothings. For example, a good quality, well-tailored suit has cost the amount which a department head chief engineer has made in a month, 1.700 - 1.800 forints. A good pair of shoes was 550 - 700 forints. The cheaper ones were junk. Well-dressed people have clothed themselves either from blackmarket business or because of their political reliability.
- (15) See Imre Nagy's speech on June 10th, 1953.
- (15c) See under (15).
- (16) The fundamental question here is the healthy organization for the defense of the workers' interests. This could be called trade union or whatever you like.



- (16d) Those who are absolutely qualified and know not only about their own business, but also about the national economy.
- (17) The same as the people have understood the letters standing for collective farms, namely the Hungarian TSzCs, which was translated for Tovább Szolgáló Cselédek. That means in English: Servants continuing to work in their bondage.
- (17a) According to my experience, the collective farm system was bad.
- (17b) The same is true of the state farms too. The soil will produce only the desired production for the national economy, if it will truly "belong to those who are working on it".
- (17c) Even its memory should be forgotten. Co-operatives are only justified in the Danish form, as protective and marketing co-operatives.
- (17d) The land has to be distributed; this is imperative. First of all, the peasants should get cultivable land, but not as a present, but for a wisely set price which could be paid in instalments. In the eyes of the Hungarian peasant - I can testify to this out of many experiences - land which he receives as a present, has no value. He values only such land which he can know for certainly as his, because he has acquired it through hard labour.

- (17f) After a sober distribution of the land, which should take into consideration the geographical conditions and unities, the further development should be left for the skilfulness and knowledge of the farmers. One or the other piece of land, which has special qualities and, maybe, particular geographic unity, should be left, because of its usefulness, as a greater unity, a greater estate, but generally the most reliable backbone of the Hungarian ~~agric~~ agricultural economy, were always the 60-100 yoke, intensively cultivated farms.
- (17g) Yes. Exception would be the animal and plant improving experimental stations which have been developed before 1938. These are more needed to-day than ever before. But the administration and direction of these should not be left to the departments of various ministries, but should be entrusted to the practically working scientific institutes.
- (17h) Yes.
- (17i) This question is to-day already obsolete. The land-owning class has been almost completely absorbed; from their descendants not even 15 % or perhaps much less, know anything about farming. However, if there would be any possibility for that, just for the sake of creating a spiritual equilibrium, those people who had been deprived from their land property, should get some nominal compensation for it.
- (17l) Undoubtedly. In the form of improved seeds for sowing,

pedigree animals, parasite control, long term investments, loans, and cheap fuel for agriculture.

(17m) I would think the Danish form as the most healthy. I

would entrust them to the Farmers' Interest Associations.

(17q) Mechanisation <sup>the</sup> in/form as the Communists tried to intro-

duce it, is fundamentally mistaken, because of the

peculiarities of formation and composition of the

Hungarian soil. Besides, natural farmyard manure is

indispensable for Hungarian agriculture.

(18) Only so far that the state should guarantee the right

of free activities for the churches. The teaching

orders, in order to enable them to keep up their

schools, should receive a certain agricultural terri-

tory. With this exception, the church should be com-

pletely independent and should be the church of the

people; the people should support it.

(18d) Yes, because of the moral side of the education. Not

the teaching of religion should be obligatory, but the

religious education, whether in school or in any other

form.

(18f) Only to church school.

(19) This has only one solution. The popular judgment has

to be prohibited most strictly. But besides that, they

should be left to their fate. The people know very

well how to discriminate and select.

- (19b) The leaders should be called for account.
- (19c) They should be brought before a screening committee, each in the district where he was working, which committee should be set up everywhere according to a ~~new~~ sober principle and under the chairmanship of an indifferent man, qualified in legal proceedings.
- (19e) There is no such a thing.
- (19f) The first step: All of them should be interned and screened according to the data discovered on their activities and investigate it; the murderers should be sentenced according to the law; the opportunists should be deprived of their first class ~~status~~<sup>rights</sup> as citizens; those who were forced into the organisation, should be given back to the society.
- (19g) Except the officers, the greatest number of them could be kept as police-men and the screening should be left for them to do, as a body which would certainly throw out the unreliable elements.
- (19h) Free room for them for their further activities.
- (20) From the point of view of Western culture, a very important event of world history was the Magyar conquest of Hungary, namely the fact that just at that territory in the Carpathian Basin, a people has settled down which was entirely stranger to all the surrounding peoples. And because it was a stranger

and, in its soul a true believer, up to point of naivety, and straightforward and gentlemanlike, up to the point of foolishness, it has believed that its true vocation was ~~to~~ to defend the West against the blows coming from the East and it has fulfilled this vocation with the greatest sacrifices. Behind the live-fence of this slowly bleeding and weakening people, has developed, strengthened, and become cultured that West which later sat into its neck and has cheated out Hungary of everything which she has ever possessed. Besides this invaluable service of defense, Hungary has given the world, from the days of Louis the Great up to our own days, innumerable artists, scholars, and scientists with a peculiar intuition and creative force.

- (21) Hardly any more to-day, but one thing remains: That intuitive capacity which it brought along from the East and unconsciously still has, namely that it recognizes the decisive problems of the ages before any other nation and tries to find the answer for it. Example: Hungary had the first constitutional monarchy, Hungary had the first social revolution, and with the example of Transylvania, Hungary has tried first the confederative collaboration of different peoples.
- (21a) In that it is intuitive.
- (21b) In that that it could never be slave.
- (21c) In that that it has always put humanity before business.

(21d) In nothing.

(21e) The nation is small. That, in spite of this, the different social strata have specific characteristics, is due to the fact of the strong mixture of foreign elements. The landless peasants and the former Hungarian aristocrats, had both the same fundamental human characteristics. The revolutionary instability of the worker, the greediness of the developing bourgeoisie, of tradesmen and artisans and their separativeness towards the rest of the society, the corruption of the middle class bureaucracy, and the anti-humanistic pride of the leading aristocracy, are the result of the admixture of Slavic, Saxon, Swabian, Turkish, and latin blood.

(21f) Yes.

(22) There was none. Any that would have been such, must have perished either because of the imperial interests of the Habsburgs or the aristocracy, which was put in power by the victorious powers, or because of the power interests of the imperialistic III. Reich and later the Soviets.

(22c) The feudal Hungary actually has ceased to exist in 1919. The Horthy régime has resurrected it only in its shadow, which then during the World Depression of 1931, has died a final death. Feudalism can exist only if there is actual power at its disposition.

- (22f) The social differences have been pronounced. The economic differences, except a small minority, cannot be said to have been great.
- (22g) It was a 20 years long, desperate conjuration of spirits.
- (22h) There was no Hungarian policy. Hungarian policy could have been made only by open sacrifices of individuals. Of this, except the one Pál Teleki, one part of the leading governing class, because it was German, did not even want to think; the other part on the other hand, did not deserve to be called Hungarian nor politician. They were with the words of Berzsenyi: "Hitvány gyöge báb" (contemptible, weak puppets).
- (22i) From 1944-48, there was the most healthy and most helpful period of the last half century.
- (23) We have learned already that the political frontiers are the cancer of Europe.
- (23d) Only in the case, if the propaganda for passionate insistence on the rights of political frontiers poisons the people. My conviction is that the people living in the Danubian valley, can live in peace with each other in the atmosphere of their knowledge about their mutual need to live together.

- (24) Our problem could be solved only, in the first stage, by an experimentally created, Danubian Confederation, (see Pál Teleki's plan), but at the final stage only by a United Europe.
- (24c) The Hungarian scholars and scientists should give the ideas for a solution, in the first place, <sup>of</sup> questions of the agriculture, but also scientific problems relating to the real life. The execution and the policies should be left for others.
- (24d) Russia should remain a great Power.
- (24e) Only that these things would only retard the solution which can be effected without these procedures.
- (25) To-day I cannot be yet objective, therefore I do not want to say any opinion.
- (26) Marxism is built up on one single truth and sees only one section. Everything which sounds beautiful it, ~~is~~ because of its false fundamentals, is ab ovo impossible to realize.
- (26c) Lenin was not a Marxist, he only found a theory which he could fit to the messianism of the Eastern Slavdom.
- (26d) Stalin was not a Marxist either. With less culture, but with characteristic Slavic despotism, he was the same as Ivan the Terrible or Alexander I. He was the Czar and the Head of the Church.



- (26e) Tito is one of the last shoots of the mass leaders of the 20th century. In my opinion, he is not an ideologue, he is only a very skilful chess-player with a great sense of political realities and with a great lust for power. He is a phenomenon of our time.
- (26f) Very few of them have any idea about Marxism.
- (26h) Democracy is a political notion. Marxism, to-day, cannot be separated any more from the dogmatic system of materialism. And in a case when a dogmatic system wants to govern a state, democracy is ab ovo impossible.
- (26i) In 1000 years, only for two years, from the beginning of 1946 to the end of 1948. Even this was spiced with Soviet-Russian occupation.
- (26j) In principle, the respect of the opinion of others, the appreciation of the human values, the recognition of private properties and of the right of success of other people, the right of objective criticism concerning the interests of the community, and the subordination of the individual interest to the interests of the society and the prohibition of power, which would be exercised to the detriment of others. But this means for myself that since decades I would have liked to take a lamp into my hand, just like Diogenes, and look for this man.
- (27) I do not know. In my opinion, it is a notion absolutely unclarified and, I think, it does not exist at all.

My suspicion is that under National Communism we have to understand the antagonism toward the oppressive power of Moscow.

- (27c) The same thing applies to Gomulka.
- (27d) He is not a Communist. He recognized the weakening of the Soviet Union and, because he has been deeply disillusioned of the Communist dogmatics, he tried to turn their own dialectics against them in the interest of the Polish independence movement.
- (27e) It might be a prejudice, but with Communism, which not in its principles but in its evolution, has proved its essence, any human feeling is incompatible. Such a system which has as its basic dogma the class struggle, the contradictions within the society and the conscious, ardent hatred, can be called only satanic. Patriotism, on the other hand, is a human feeling.
- (28) I have told my opinion already in the preceding chapters. I want to add only so much that it gives the widest possibilities for the boldest guesses.
- (28b) It did not happen; there is no sense to talk about a conditional past.
- (29) I have no comment on these questions.
- (30) It has to be answered together with (30a):
- (30a) If there would emerge a popular leader, his Party

would win the elections. And if there will be such a leader, his name is certainly not known to us to-day.

- (31) Under what they deserved, the groups under a, b, c, d, and e, with the exception of those scientists and intellectuals who are indispensable for the colonial policy.
- (31fhi) Above their merits.
- (31g) The Party and its favourites definitely above.
- (32) Outside ~~the~~ of the Party organisation, which has been paid already by the Soviet Union that time, therefore has lived well, everybody has been under better circumstances.
- (33) I have to state again that harmony was only during the respite and during the ferment before the Revolution; even that time it was not harmony among the different social classes, but it was a national harmony, hoping in its delivery from tyranny. The governing principle of the Communist system is the "bella omnium contra omnes" and the state power, as the neutral third, is rejoicing.
- (34) Only one thing, that namely the United States considers far more dangerous the Soviet Union for herself than to prove her obligation stemming from her preaching about

the liberation of the oppressed peoples, which is going on since years.

- (35) Those who have fought on the side of the régime after October 23rd, that is about 1 1/2 to 2 % of the population.
- (35a) Actively or passively, 98 % of the nation.
- (36) I have none.

- (1) I would like to ask only one question: Does the Columbia University think it right and proper to conduct a propaganda campaign between two Great Powers, in such a way that it can cause the bleeding to death of a credulous, little people or, maybe in the future, of more little nations, of course, with effective, propagandistic success for the United States.
- (1a) I consider it as a decisive and important gathering of research material, which has few parallels in the political history of the 20th century. The question is, how will it be used and digested.
- (1c) From the lack of imagination.
- (1d) Those things which are really important and essential, in my opinion, will be said truthfully.
- (2a) Under all circumstances.
- (3) I have told these in connection with the preceding questions.
- (3b) I am writing a novel about the human experiences of the last ten years.