

(Interviewer's note: When I was instructed to interview this respondent I was told that he was a newspaper man who had participated actively in the Revolution. During the interview the respondent identified himself as a psychologist. He denied having any part in the Revolution. He claimed to have developed a psychological theory concerning the Hungarian Revolution. At certain passages of the interview I asked personal questions. Consequently his psychological theory is given in the framework of an autobiography.)

My father worked with the Hungarian national railways in a managerial position. We lived in a small village. From the point of view of the village our family belonged to the middle class. Even as a child I felt pretty much out of place in the rural surrounding. I developed an interest in psychology at an early age. At the age of 17 I was working at the institute for child psychology where Molnar Imre was my boss. When Molnar was drafted into the labor service I began to work with the institute of Szondi. In 1944 my parents lost their life because of the Gestapo. I returned from my labor service in 1945. At that time the situation was very much confused in Hungary. There was a complete insecurity. The Communist Party wanted to counterbalance everything that was done by the Russian troops. The Communist Party posed as the defendant of the private property. All those people who were menaced by the Fascism joined the Communist Party. This situation of a political polarity existed up to 1947. For a great mass of people only 2 social forces existed: the Fascist dictatorship and the Bolshevik dictatorship. Very few people were able to comprehend the inner construction

of the 2 dictatorships. They chose between them out of emotional reasons. The Jewish petty bourgeoisie sided with the Bolsheviks and participated in the Communist Party. It supported the Communist Party financially. The members of this Jewish petty bourgeoisie were dropped by the Party at the time when the membership was purged. The same situation characterized the Social Democratic Party too. I could name Justus Pal as the best representant of this tendency. He was characteristic of a numerically small circle the members of which wanted to find a protection against the Yellow Star. The members of this circle tried to show a humanist veneer. Certain Communist ideologists tried to emphasize this humansim particularly Lukacs Gyorgy. Lukacs Gyorgy selected many youngsters at those times, youngsters who came from the above mentioned circle and who had a good education in German culture. This is how Szigethy Attila became a companion of Lukacs. Lukacs consciously intended to bring forth a moral split among the Hungarian intellectuals. He wanted to organize them on the basis of moral principles and to make them available for the Communists in such a way. As a result many an excellent intellectual with high moral principles was carrying the flags at the demonstration of May 1st. Lukacs personally is very much responsible for the fate of the Hungarian intellectuals. The other side, Fascism, lost its power but its thirst

for political power stayed. This side was characterized with a conspicuous lack of education. They tried everything to get hold of political power. They regarded democracy as a frame within which they can realize their claim of political power. This side was afraid of a leftist dictatorship. Within this ideological polarization people began to build up their new existence and did it with many signs of a psychological over-compensation. Under the veil of the inflation the spirit of a petty bourgeoisie triumphed. The time of inflation was characterized by a close circulation of the commodities. I sold something, he bought it, then I rebought it. There was no real creative and constructive business activity going on. About the same time in 1945 a psychosis of prisons began to manifest itself in Hungary. Books, published abroad entered the country but they were not available except for a few privileged people in the same way as gold was possessed by a few privileged people. These privileged people who seemed to be successful were animated by the feeling of we are the most clever people. They were animated by an abnormally increased ego-feeling. Such an emotional attitude later on contributed very much to the Revolution.

Academic life was interrupted during the war. After the war it had to be rebuilt. Then many persons were admitted to the universities who did not have any

baccalaureate. A new trend started to occupy the university and in this trend those people were conspicuous again who were persecuted by the Fascists. Many Jewish youngsters entered the university. Having entered the university a great disappointment awaited the youngsters. They found there professors who were evidently afraid of everything, afraid of talking freely. Pretty soon an open tension came to exist between the professors and the students. In the 1950ies those professors who took part in the Horthy system were removed from the universities, they were particularly removed from the faculties of philosophy and law. But many of them were permitted to keep their jobs at the faculty of natural sciences. For example, Professor Buzagh was permitted to stay on. The whole faculty of philosophy was reformed and it got a new name: Faculty of Social Sciences. At the same time the orgy of the non-educated started. Up to 1949 there was a lively scientific life. There was a certain freedom of research. After 1950 the whole situation changed. Scientific research became prohibited. Anybody who was engaged in research lost his privileges. The main aim of the university was to introduce a rather poor Marxism. It was not necessary that the students should really absorb the depths of Marxism. Actually a good knowledge of Marxism was disagreeable for the Communists. The main subject of the ~~university~~ university lectures was not even the reviews but ~~in~~ only the Pravda. The professor

regularly read the Pravda and lectured on it as if it were science. The word science was fetish without any meaning. They repeated over and over again that ~~Marixm~~ ^{is} Marxism⁴ a scientific Weltanschauung but this statement has never been supported by a logical explanation of the philosophy of Marxism. The professor said that everybody may learn Marxism, but the students had the feeling that they cannot and do not learn the Marxist philosophy. As a result the ~~xxxxx~~ students had the impression that they have no value they are no good to comprehend Marxism. They became filled with the feeling of their human nothing-ness, they became filled with the psychological basis of a Byzantinism . If a system regularly tells just the opposite what common sense would suggest it must have always the same psychological effect ~~xxxxixx~~. The subjects of the system ~~fall~~ feel themselves as if they were nothing, as if they were unworthy of the blessings of the system. The realization of this situation was one of the great causes of the Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarian Revolution was pure from a moral point of view. The thieves were judged and sentenced by the mass on the street. In 1945 I became a member of the Social Democratic Party. At that time I wanted to become a psychiatrist and I needed a state scholarship to carry out my studies. I turned to the Social Democratic Party to get the necessary support. Instead of the fellowship they offered me a job at the educational

department of the central secretariate of the party. First I was teaching at the party schools in the country. Later on I became teacher at the central party school teaching history of philosophy. At that time I was a convinced Marxist. In 1946 I became a lecturer at the academy of social sciences. This was a common institution of the Social Democratic and Communist Party. The teachers there were furnished by the 2 parties. The academy was acutally run by the Communists. I realized it there for the first time that the Communists were playing an official revolution in Hungary. The Communists had an old and well developed technique how to treat the people's front, to treat it in a way which serves the Communist purpose and leads to an establishment of the Stalinist dictatorship. I arrived at Marxism from an emotional situation. At the same time I have always had a feeling for Platonism. About the end of 1947 these Platonic ideals got the overhand in me and I conceived the idea to leave the Social Democratic Party. I felt alone in the party. The election of 1947 made me loathe of politics. About the same time I became sick and had to spend a few months in Matrahaza. This was the time when the idea of merging the Social Democratic and Communist Party came up. During the months ~~ix~~ of the merge I was busy with preparing a study about the economic situation of the Eastern block. I finished this study in January 48. Originally I wanted

to prepare it for the monthly review of the Social Democratic Party. However, at the end of my study I came to the conclusion that in the last years the countries of the Eastern block increased their foreign trade with Soviet Russia by 5 to 15% which in my eyes was a good proof of a Russian economic and political expansion. When the 2 parties merged all employees of the Social Democratic Party were transferred into another job. I first got a job with the institute ~~of~~ for child psychology. Later on I became the head of the psychological department of the institute for the science of labor. At the same time I attended the university. I was just working with the institute for the science of labor when I was called by the central office of the Hungarian workers' party. They wanted to give me a job in psychological line. They asked me whether I agree with the last book written by comrade Rudas. I told them that I did not agree and so I did not get any job. 2 months later in October 1948 the personnel secretary of the institute for science of labor called me and warned me that I should behave like a good Party member. At that time I was not paying my membership fees for seven months. After this warning I paid my membership fees. At that time my daughter was 1 1/2 ^{months} ~~years~~ old and wanted a security in my job. From this time on I had to keep up with the Party. In 1952 the institute for the science of labor was dissolved. A few months before

that I enrolled at the biological department of the university of natural sciences. I received a state scholarship there and attended it for 6 semesters but I did not finish it. This was the time of the theory of Lysenko and a new so-called general biological institute was established at the university and dedicated to the theory of Lysenko. The university lectures dealt with his theory on the level of the newspaper articles. It was impossible to deal with any other problems, particularly there was no possibility of going into psychological problems as I wanted to do. In my spare time as a student I was preparing the study of the psychological problems of the family life in Hungary. It became a theoretical study since there was no possibility of carrying out empirical experiments. I can sum up the main ideas of this study as follows:

The Communist system carried out a forced emancipation of the women. This emancipation was motivated partly by the general ideology and partly by a very concrete and local reason. At the elections in Hungary the votes of the females decided, and decided against the Communists. It became therefore a very important point in the program of the Communists to carry out propaganda among the women. Let's not forget that there were more women in the working age than men and the Communists' production system needed the female labor force. From a purely psychological point of view the

women represent a typical conservative force. They are characterized by a ^{passivity} ~~passivity~~, particularly in the lines of politics. At the same time they are characterized by a tendency for Hysteria and a mass hysteria can be easily produced among women. It is one of the aims of the Communism to expand and propagate the atmosphere of femininity. In the Communist system an absolute fatherly image exists that of Stalin. Everybody else can take in only a position serving this absolute father. As a result in the practical family the father must lose his central position and such a loss of position is furthered by the general economic situation. In the jobs in the medium income ^{brackets} women earn more money than men. In the average family the wife is supposed to work. If she loses her job, the financial balance of the family cannot be maintained. The wife-mother has the balancing situation in the most important aspects of family life. She has a ruling position in the family, even in those families where the man earns more. Communism did everything to insure a central position in the family to the woman. The children go home but do not spend an essential part of their day at home. The family becomes a meeting place of different members. The child does not receive an exemplary pattern from the father because not even the father knows what should be the exemplary pattern. The husband-father tries to maintain his old positions through force and

even brutality. The average family life is characterized by recurring scenes, violences, quarrels, and disagreements. Thus the original picture of Freud is overturned. The mother manifests the fatherly image for the child. In the general or normal situation it is the mother who binds the child to the home. The Communist system wanted to transform the mother into father through the school system and the mother and the school were supposed to take in the old role of the father. The role of the father finally lessened so much that even the system wanted to help the situation through the famous laws concerning marriage. Divorce was made more difficult. There was some great change in the role of the children too. The children became mobile within a large area. My daughter at the age of 7 left her daycare home, took a streetcar and visited her aunt. The child searched for a substitute for the lost father and searched for it in an illusory way. In the Kindergarten the youngsters were enthusiastic about father Rakosi who became the image of the good protective father which could not be found within the family. The remnants of such a transposed fatherly image can be found even at much later age. Just a short time ago here in Vienna I met a boy of 16 years who told me: "Rakosi is a scoundrel, Stalin is another scoundrel, but Lenin is good!" This statement is a good example of the tendency of retaining

the ancestral image. As another similar remnant a general anti-American feeling can be observed among the Hungarian refugees in Austria. The Communists succeeded in creating a myth. Of course, the myth was against their program and the Americans became the ~~heroes~~ heroes of the myth. Now among the refugees we can observe the disillusionment of the myth of the fatherly hero. What happened in Budapest after the death of Stalin was the revolt against the severe father, embodied in the person of Rakosi. After the complete disillusion of the Communist Party during the Revolution one could see the loss of orientation a Verfallenheit in Budapest. The different social classes were searching for a point of orientation and they could not find any personality who could have embodied their claim for a father. The Communist society is in its essence always based on the mother's right and the regular image of the father cannot be built up in an easy way. Returning to my personal fate I have to mention that about the end of 1952 the family situation forced me to take up a full-time job. I was still attending the university at night courses, but at the same time I took a job with a construction work. First I was an office clerk, then ~~norm~~ supervisor, then referent for labor relationships. Later on, I got a supervisory job in the statistical department of the state trust for construction. In the last capacity I had to deal with

statistics concerning the plan. The plan decided, for example what percentage of the expenditure should be spent on wages. For construction business it was generally 28 to 30% which was calculated on the basis of the norms. The hourly wages and the norms were fixed according to political point of views. For example, in mining the wages were much higher. Then in some territories of the country the wages were higher than in other ones. For example, if a large labor force was needed in one city it was declared as belonging to the first wage class and the higher wages naturally attracted the labor force. This is how it was so easy to recruit the huge labor force for Sztalinvaros or for Miskolc. Concerning the production plan each firm had to prepare its own plan submit it to the ministry in Budapest where it was approved or changed. Because of the red tape, however, the approval of the ministry came after a very long time. Often it came at the time when the time period of the plan has already been expired. The plan was controlled by many authorities. First by the plant, then by an intermediary ~~state~~ authority, for example, the construction trust, then by the ministry in Budapest, by the central statistical office, furthermore by the local Party organization and by the local trade union. The system of control required a great amount of paper-work and many clerical work. Within ^{the} plant the most important part of the control was carried out by the

department of bookkeeping. The chief accountant had to prepare every month a report and a ~~kaaz~~^{longer} form of report quarterly. The statistical department had to prepare the same kind of reports concerning production. It was indeed very difficult to realize the plan. The firms usually exhausted their wage fund before the plan expired. In order to hire a stock clerk it was necessary to receive the approval of the Országos Letszambizottság in Budapest. Since such an approval came after a long time and sometimes it never came, the stock clerk was hired by the ~~firm~~^{firm} but his salary was paid at the expense of the wage fund. There were many difficulties in the other fields of the organization. It happened that sand was delivered from Siofok to a construction in Pecs. The truck drivers charged more load and a longer route in order to get more premium. It was a system because a truck driver would have starved if he would not have cheated. The system corrupted the people intentionally. Everybody was corrupt and corrupt for petty sums. It was a feeling^{of} debasement for everybody to cheat for few forints. The great Revolution was actually an attempt for self salvation. People did not want to steal anymore. They tried to be honest. After 1950 people did not dare to talk. It was as if everybody would have taken on a mask, making himself inaccessible for everybody else. The Revolution was a great attempt to put off this mask to make oneself accessible for

the other people. By that time everybody saw that the state planning was a bluff. It was a buffonery to prepare plans. However, the planning had a great psychological importance. It set up certain strict limits to human activities and nobody was sure when he trespassed those limits set up by the Party. Everybody was moving on the thin border line of jail and freedom. A decision made in Hungary today was based on the decision of the Party leadership made in Moscow yesterday. Every problem, every affair became an appendix of some personal political struggle, particularly in the 2 years preceding the Revolution. A flood of orders and laws was issued. Everybody infringed upon them in his daily activities. The Revolution wanted to create a tabula rasa in this respect too. The Revolution was working under the jail psychosis, a psychosis created by the barbed-wire on the border of the country and by the laws and orders within the country. The same psychosis helps to explain the problem of anti-Semitism in Hungary. During the Revolution there was no anti-Semitism, except for some insignificant atrocities in the country-side. However, there is a great anti-Semitism among the Hungarian refugees in ~~Austria~~ Austria. Now these Hungarian refugees find themselves in the fate of the Jews, in the fate of the eternal homeless Ahasverus. The refugee wants an explanation concerning the ^{elef-contradiction} ~~elef-contradiction~~. In Hungary the notion

of Jew and Communist merged. If somebody was in
Auschwitz that represented undoubtedly a ^{charitable} ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~
advantage for him up to 1952. After that there was no
more advantage attached to it. The Communist Party
itself tried to get rid of the Jewish functionaries.
In 1952 a tendency set in whereby the Party tried to
squeeze out the Jews from the middle functions, but
even this policy was initiated by the Jews in the
highest functions, such as Rakosi. During the famous
medical process of Stalin one could hear pretty often
in Budapest that the domination of the Jews has ended.
The Jewish petite bourgeoisie in Hungary adhered to its
own feeling of power in an unrealistic way. They be-
lieved that they cannot be hurt as long as Communism
was ~~being~~ ruling. The Hungarian Revolution took place
as a struggle between 2 polarized Jewish groups, be-
tween the outsiders and the insiders. This is the ex-
planation why there were no atrocities in Budapest.
The so-called Christian middle class was enthusiastic
about the Revolution but at the same time it spelled
out the rationalization of the idea of the revenge. It
was realized in the lynching of some AVH people. At the
same time the Christian middle class ^{immediately} ~~immediatly~~
announced its claim for the political power as being
the only social group eligible to power. It was well
represented in the person of Maleter, the former
captain in the guard of Horthy. Only the Jewish petite ^{bourgeoisie}

joined the Party. The real Jewish bourgeoisie never did so, but took up the different marginal positions in economic life. They were interpreters, translators, editors of books, they were in the free professions. They found an economic sphere for their self-realization without joining the Party. The life of this Jewish bourgeoisie is a good proof that the policy of the workers' kaders must lead to a moral bankruptcy. This Jewish bourgeoisie is well-represented in the career of Merse Ferenc who made 3000 to 4000 forints a month. Even after his arrest and regained freedom he was able as a translator ~~and translator~~ to make more money than the average person. Because of so many changes in the social and psychological structure the presently existing anti-Semitism either in Hungary or among the refugees abroad cannot be compared to the anti-Semitism before 1944.