

- (1) It should be known that Communism as a world view, did not and does not threaten the Hungarian nation; it threatens the Western world, though, (for instance, France, and those Asian and African countries which are emerging from their colonial status to that of states with an independent political and economic life). ¶

The Hungarian nation is invariably threatened by that assumed agreement between the great powers, according to which Hungary is, among other East European nations, relegated to the political and economic orbit of the Soviet Union. If somebody would doubt the veracity of this statement, the proof is being offered by the tragedy of the Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarian nation up till now only inferred that such agreement existed, today this inference became a certainty.

- (2) At Rajk's funeral, there were manifestations which could be labelled as revolutionary. The burial itself was a revolutionary manifestation - the 200,000 people, accompanying the rehabilitated Rajk, did not attend <sup>because</sup> moved by pity - the pilgrimage was in honor of the burial of the regime itself. The composition of the <sup>r</sup>crowd clearly showed this - representatives of rather broad masses took part in it, not only those of certain groups <sup>we</sup> "will go watch how the regime is making fun of itself" (elme gyünk megnézni, hogy nevettetí ki magát a rendszer), was the general attitude.

- (2a) He would divide it into two: incubation and ~~the~~ fermentation ~~period~~ period.

Incubation: The period following the June decisions - people started to gather in apartments and in offices and talk over

certain problems - this was not identical with the period called: "the conspiracy of the decent people".

Fermentation: it occurred with the articles of the Irodalmi Ujsag and the discussions within the Petöfi Circle.

"Fermentation" - during the summer of 1956, a meeting of the Györfy ~~MESE~~ Kollégium was held. (This "Kollegium", identified with the so-called "March Front" was built up by the activities of such "popular" writers as László Kardos, Ferenc Erdélyi, Jolán Majláth, etc., was considered <sup>to</sup> a narodnyik group in Hungary, as it also had a socialist content and <sup>a</sup> patriotic "taste"; as the narodnyik group had been liquidated in Russia and ~~in~~ Hungary was keen to imitate, the members of the Kollegium were either imprisoned or relegated to some provincial spot as assistant & university professors; a smaller part of the group like Béla Szalay and András Hegedűs joined the regime.) At this meeting, about 200 people took part, ~~headed by~~ <sup>headed by</sup> Imre Nagy, and Béla Szalay and András Hegedűs were asked to explain their attitude during the past year. Hegedűs refused and Szalay gave an account in a few pale "sentences". Being able to demand an account for & certain things, was definitely a seething symptom.

At this time, the party was unable to hold meetings; ~~these~~ ~~extremely~~ extremely unpleasant questions had been asked on previous gatherings; yet the Trade Union of the glass factory of Salgótarján tried to convoke one, and out of a thousand people four appeared. Thus there was no more discipline.

Fermentation - following the pressure exercised by some newspapers, more and more rehabilitating processes were starting<sup>ed</sup> during the spring of '56. Respondent himself was asked three times by the supreme court to lodge a protest against the legitimacy of his former imprisonment. Decrees bearing<sup>e</sup> former stamp of lawfulness.

Yes, in the general atmosphere lay hidden the possibility of a Revolution. Yes, one was aware of something being in the making...

At the Bem statue, when he noticed that the soldiers were not allowed to leave the Radezky barracks - "hoist the national flag but cut out the coat of arms" -

At the Mari Jászai Square where the AVH barracks were booted<sup>ed</sup> and where suddenly a flag was hoisted with a missing coat of arms - "No, we will not get off" (na, ezt most már nem uszduk meg) -

The Lajos Kossuth Square was lighted with torches. Some demonstrators lit their own documents (!) - "Let's light torches" - Yes, he was afraid. He was afraid that during the night shooting would occur - that something would happen which would carry away the masses - bloodshed - what are the consequences going to be?! Where are they going to get arms from? Maybe from the barracks of the army and of the police.

(2b) The standard of living "reached" its lowest point at the end of '52, especially as far as the peasantry and the workers were concerned.

'52 was the year when the country came to such a low point from

the viewpoint of political suppression and economic misery, that the crowds ~~xx~~ started to ask: is it worthwhile? Due to forced collectivization, the peasant, from under whom the sheets were taken away, became an ~~x~~ elusive element - he was robbed to the point where he simply gave up (egyszerűen becsukta a boltot); during periods of food shortages, the peasant, as a self-supplier, did not receive bread coupons - what is more, he was accused of buying the bread and ~~gikk~~ feeding it to his animals (during this period, Respondent was imprisoned, but after his release, ~~kin~~ in 1953, he read, starting from 1948, the issues of the Szabad Nép. - (He was able to read them in the Széchenyi Library.)

There is no doubt about it that the internal events potentially bore the basis for a revolution.

Of course, external events should be taken into consideration:  
I Stalin's death, II the Beria affair, III the visit of the Soviet leaders to Belgrade, rather to Canossa, IV he has a contrary opinion to the part played by the 20th Congress - generally people did not believe in the decrees of the Congresses of the Communist Party, thus, these did not influence the crowds; nevertheless, it is true that on their basis the June decrees were brought which were greeted with suspicion, but in which people gradually started to believe, IV Poznan does have a significance and yet it would be erroneous to draw a parallel<sup>c</sup> line. Actually, Poznan worked more like a memento - if something would be done, repress<sup>7</sup>ions would follow. It served as a memento, at times people



were still deliberating. But there came a time, VI Actually, it happened - in the consciousness of people - before <sup>Au</sup> August; while still in power, people knew that he'll be replaced. The interest of Moscow was concentrated upon Tito and it was a known fact that between the latter and Rákosi unreconcilable antagonism existed, thus: Rákosi had to go. The shock came when he was replaced by Gerő: it seemed, at that moment, that the system would go on, Gerő being a pale copy of Rákosi. Thus, his presence could have meant the stopping of any rejuvenation. In conclusion, the replacement of Rákosi did not contribute to the outbreak of the Revolution, on the contrary. VIII He does not believe in the common "breathing" of the satellites, especially not if at a given moment he examines the Polish, Rumanian, Czech and Hungarian situations. If liberalization had been Moscow's aim, then there would not have been such a difference in living standards among its satellites.

v This separate breathing was consciously directed from Moscow. In the summer of 1948, when a real ~~friend~~ friendship started to develop between Hungary and Rumania (Peter Groza had significant connections along this ~~line~~ line and numerous copies of the "Scântea" could be found on the Budapest newsstands), suddenly the cultural relations stopped and ~~the~~ György Nadabán, the leader of the youth movement of the Rumania minority in Hungary, was removed from ~~his~~ his position.

Tito's "bailing out" only fortified ~~the~~ Moscow's previously

adopted attitude to consciously stop the satellites of accomplishing together political actions.

The co-interests did not appear in the consciousness of the masses either - in Gomulka, for instance, the Hungarians saw a specifically Polish "color" and nobody believed that if in one country the political formula changed, this would be followed by similar changes in the other satellites. This was born out during the Revolution: during October, there was no movement of any significance in any other satellite country. VIII A factor which should be taken into consideration when analyzing the immediate situation before the Revolution: The fact is that the letter started out as a demonstration of sympathy toward the Polish people. But it is also true that the demonstrating crowd of the Lajos Kossuth Square had promptly forgotten why it originally went to the Bem Square.

(2c) The Rajk affair.

(2d) See above.

(2ef) Their part was extremely important - nowhere can one trace the critical, later revolutionary, tone as well as in the articles of the newspapers and periodicals. In the columns of the Szabad Nep, <sup>too,</sup> ~~there~~ there were articles which criticized the proceeding manifestations of the system. And, during the last months, the Irodalmi Ujsag became the organ of the attack and negation.

Two elements can be detected in the part the writers played:  
1) The revolt of the artist against the spiritual suppressor,

a revolt which infected even those who were ~~forced~~ poets in spite of themselves, who were forced by the regime to become poets (Méray, Aczél), but - 2) Respondent does not believe them; each peasant knew that the Korean germ warfare was a humbug - how come that Meray didn't know it? (It "springs" from the essence of art that the artist does not recognize a system which suppresses freedom - this is a cultural - historical fact; each man is a separate world and the one who expresses the separate world is an artist. It is obvious that if the latter accepts a guiding hand, he cannot express that separate world any more.) It was opportunism which ~~led~~ led the writers to write about the Korean war and undoubtedly ~~they~~ <sup>we</sup> must assume some elements of opportunism when it was within their means to express their thoughts freely. Didn't they look forward toward a new Mecana in 1956?

Although Respondent upholds his accusations, he feels that, politically, it is "clever" to let them talk and ~~write~~ write - let the world see that even the pets of the regime took arms against it - let Méray "vomit" what has accumulated in him.

- (2g) The recurring theme of Kodály's "Zrinyi" struck a chord in every heart: "Don't touch the Hungarian" (Ne bántsd a Magyar.) Illyés's poem about Bartók.
- (3) See question (1).
- (3a) If we are referring to the armed uprising then it was Gerő's speech which pulled the trigger. It was presumptuous, insolent, depreciating, belittling - the crowd could not be grasped anymore. It's politically disciplined attitude vanished.
- (3b) He wouldn't say that the system collapsed from one minute to the other - it is unquestionable that the Russians had built up

a perfect control system - politically, economically, militarily - but they mainly built it along the lines of the Party apparatus, <sup>of</sup> which the individual links were infected - man is not a blind executing organ - in Hungary the children lived a double, triple life. They knew exactly how to talk at school, at home, etc. Thus, men with their hypocritical attitude, fooled the Party and the Russians in making them believe that their controlling system was sound.

But the collapse should not be explained with the failure of the controlling system. It was mainly ~~in~~ due to strategic mistakes made by the Russians. The latter did not hold in readiness those military units which would have been adequate to squelch a revolution. Armoured vehicles, due to their nature, were not opportune to "take care" of a popular uprising - they were completely unfit for street fighting.

(3c) Not necessarily an outbreak of a Revolution. They wanted to divert the existing regime toward the direction of a true democracy. The claims of the demonstration had been previously in the hands of people, <sup>expressed in</sup> as "points." The crowd's demonstration had as a goal: the validation of the aforementioned points.

<sup>d</sup>  
(3d) He doesn't think this to be likely.

(3e) With the exception of the AVH personnel, the members of the Party and those who knew that there was no possibility for them in another regime - nobody.

He emphasizes though that this unanimity is not a positive



evaluation - as paradoxically as this may sound - this was his individual problem: he knew that moderation was necessary. If in Hungary there had been in a greater number elements who could have stayed aloof from the Revolution's ~~max~~ captivating quality and if they had been able to size up the danger inherent in such an armed up<sup>er</sup> rising and if they had been able to give validity to such a recognition, then it could be assumed that the Revolution could have brought more positive ~~results~~<sup>results</sup> for the Hungarian people as a whole.

(3g) He cannot name such a group, there was almost no neutral attitude, some elements of the army and the police, and that refers to certain individuals and groups, too, and the part of the citizenry that resisted is not particularly interesting. Everyone was captured by the general enthusiasm.

(3h) <sup>us</sup> "R<sup>u</sup>s<sup>k</sup>ies go home!" On the 26th and 27th of November on the Horthy Miklós Körtér, on the Móricz Zsigmond Körtér, from the Fehérvári út and the Vály út there was a school blackboard placed before the barricades and on this blackboard it was written in a primitive childish writing: "R<sup>u</sup>s<sup>k</sup>ies go home!" and the same in Russian. It is typical that the Hungarians had such weapons against the Soviet tanks.

Slogans against the AVH were the most frequent. Most slogans were aimed against the incarnators of the colonial character.

(31) No. There had already been one in Hungary and now the revolt was against those who served the Soviet Union. He thinks that the Western viewpoint concerning Communism is very peculiar, he

thinks of the Communist~~s~~ menace in an entirely different way, he sees it in the states ~~a~~ that are developing themselves out of colonies, but he still periodically attacks the Western viewpoint on these areas. Maybe they even know what it is all about, namely, that it is not Communist~~ed~~ ideology that constitutes the menace in Eastern Europe, but the possibility of the Soviet Union to keep Eastern Europe as a colony or as a Russian sphere of interest. ~~He~~<sup>He</sup> charges ~~illustrates~~ that the Western politicians, including the American politicians, should also recognize~~ex~~<sup>this</sup> fact; apparently it is more convenient to oppose Communism as an ideology than as a possibility for the creation of which they are also responsible.

The opinion on Communism in connection with Hungary is either false or falsified because in Hungary Communism did not and does not present itself as an ideological viewpoint, ~~if~~ even if there are plenty of follower~~s~~<sup>s</sup> of the Communist~~ed~~ ideology within the Party ~~manifested~~, but it presented itself as a potential cover for the Soviet Union as a great power and as a colonizin~~g~~<sup>g</sup> country. He fears~~s~~ Communism in these places because he knows that there is no such thing there, but he fears it exists in Asia. As soon as the Soviet influence ceases, the Communist~~ed~~ Party ceases also. The Hungarian masses have recognized that. They talk against those elements who have served the Soviet system in their comical dresses."

(3k) They were not essentially Communists, therefore, they participated.

Everyone recognized that Communism is hogwash.

- (31) Yes, there were, not in great numbers, and they showed only later. The question is who do we understand under reactionaries. The 1948 type of reactionaries were not in existence in 1956, the past eight years must have convinced ~~that~~ <sup>them</sup> that the system that they wished to returned to earlier is impossible. The great dream of the reactionaries had shrunk, maximally to the limits of a family estate or a modest pension. There were extraordinarily few of those who asked for more than that.
- (3m) ~~But~~ Preliminary charges, ~~and some~~ atrocities against members of the AVH, leading elements of the Communist Party, and against Jews who in excess to their proportion have participated ~~in~~ in the serving of the regime, even if during the Revolution they were guarding against such incidents with the utmost care, and ~~a~~ <sup>a</sup> certain form of democracy would have been formed.
- (8) He does not believe in the desertion of the Russian Communists and would like to call attention to this fact because he is afraid that the Westerners see something in the wrong light. The Russian tanks were dispatched from the Transdanubian garrisons and those that lie between the Danube and the Tisza on October 23 and 24. Evidently they carried as much food, fuel, ammunition as a tank corps can possibly carry while on the move. It was almost impossible to supply fuel to them during the hot fights of the Revolution as there was no fuel for their disposal in the territory of Budapest and to secure a fuel supply was extraordinarily

difficult. The same was the situation in the ammunition supply, and feeding of the crew was almost impossible; it is well known that there were ~~such~~ tank units whose crew could not leave the tanks for several days (they even had to relieve themselves inside) and therefore their battle power had deteriorated immeasurably. It is easily understood by even a civilian that tanks get in a terribly difficult situation without infantry support in a large city, without the possibility of obtaining supplies, and while they are exposed to the ~~by~~ threat of devastating weapons adequate for the annihilation of tanks, such as the bottles filled with gasoline, that could have been thrown from any windows. In a large city the several story houses gave a favorable possibility for an effective defense. Soon these armoured forces got into an untenable situation in Budapest and the phenomenon that certain members of the Russian army deserted their ranks and went over to the Revolution's side was not the result of the Russian soldier's sympathy with the Hungarian people and with the idea of the Revolution, but was the result of their needs and of the situation that sprung from these needs. It is also his conviction that Soviet army headquarters gave instructions to ~~this~~ these tank crews, in order to avoid their complete annihilation (for which there was a good possibility after October 27), to take such a passive attitude <sup>which</sup> ~~that~~ in the eyes of the superficial onlooker may appear friendly. It is obvious that this friendship was shown on different degrees and was done by different persons of various



diverse reactions and at times ~~had organized~~ <sup>it... created</sup> the appearance <sup>ance</sup> as if some Russians would have <sup>been</sup> converted ~~themselves~~ <sup>become</sup> to supporters of the Revolution. With these qualifications, he <sup>knows</sup> of certain instances, as a matter of fact he has seen some, that tended to prove the Russian's conversion to the Revolutionists' side.

(9a) He read whatever was published.

(9c) He listened to the Hungarian Radio until it broadcast its famous proclamation; to foreign radio stations he listened because from the way the political changes were announced, one could arrive ~~at~~ at conclusions as to how strong the Hungarian government was. Never before did the foreign radio play such a extensive role in Hungary as during the Revolution. Although at times events used to be reported with a delay of eighteen-twenty hours and although in certain fields the preparation of the news material was not the best, still this was the only medium which more or less supplied the news particularly about the position taken by the free world in connection with the Revolution. One could find out about the sessions held at the United Nations dealing with the Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarian people expected everything from the resolutions adopted there.

When Respondent walked the streets of Budapest, he was always confident because when the Revolutionary forces advanced, he could see the strength of the movement and, when the Soviet tanks ~~destroyed~~ destroyed the buildings, then again he was confident that this cannot be done, this will not be permitted to continue, a European

capital cannot be reduced to rubble! But when he turned his radio on, then he realized that no help would come from the outside.

Next to the regular telephone network of the country, there was a special line through which he could talk to Debrecen, Nyiregyháza, etc. He did have reliable sources of information about the movements of the Soviet troops - he did know that the Russians turned back at Záhony, that they occupied Nyiregyháza, and he did know when they were at Debrecen and Szolnok. He had a minute to minute information about the movements of the Soviet armoured units and he knew that the Soviet army was being lined up against the Revolution - and he knew that Western help will not come - and yet, still, under the power of a mystic force, he could not go home and he continued his daily organizing work at the Smallholder's Party - he assisted in the supply of the troops of Béla Király - one could not step out ~~from~~<sup>of</sup> the Revolution. He refused to go home even when his friends told him: "You are out of your mind, go home. The Russians are already in Szolnok" (he knew that the Russians were already in Cegléd).

- (10a) None of them remained intact - however, he did not believe in a complete collapse either.
- (10b) With the exception of the headquarters from the Akadémia Street, the Party ceased to exist. Its officials disappeared. The premises were taken over by the ex-internment camp prisoners, by the various democratic organizations, by the various Party organizations, and by various groups the members of which used to be

persecuted on account of their political convictions. The attitude of the uniformed police was positive and sympathetic toward the Revolution - this was evident already during the demonstration - Respondent saw himself that policemen applauded and voluntarily removed the Red Stars from their uniforms.

(10d) All of them dressed in civilian clothes and partly were hiding in cellars and partly left the country for the West.

However, certain diehard elements and others, who saw a gleam of hope in being able to continue where they left off, managed to stick together, if they did happen to become ~~dis~~<sup>dis</sup>banded; this lasted for such a short time that, after the second Soviet intervention, the AVH could take over the role it played prior to the Revolution.

(10e) The Revolutionary Councils almost took shape. In the beginning they were careful, though, but later they started to exclude the Stalinist elements, and later accepted people who collaborated in the freeing of political prisoners. Basically, it was the general atmosphere which opened the gates. Some members of the ~~XXXXXX~~ courts were removed. At the supreme court, a Revolutionary Council was formed - considerations for legal actions for the purpose of rehabilitation, reconsideration of illegal convictions and the commencing of rehearing procedures were announced.

(10f) The role played by the army is interesting. Its attitude was reluctant, not neutral but rather of a passive nature. However, it became evident that, due to this passive attitude, <sup>it</sup> did side with the Revolution. Respondent had the impression that the high command of the army, with the exception of a few people such as for

instance Maléter, refused to take sides. Lower rank officers and many of the enlisted men at the very beginning sided with the Revolution - it might be more accurate to say though that this part of the Hungarian People's army just dispersed.

It could be mentioned as an interesting symptom that during the time of the first revolutionary fighting, a Hungarian armoured unit was ordered from Piliscsaba for the purpose of supporting the Soviet armoured forces; although, doubtless this was the purpose of the appearance of the Hungarian armoured forces, they refused to fight against the revolutionaries, but they did not help them either. These units took up positions around the Nemzeti Színház (National Theater) but did not make a move for days.

Hungarian military circles in exile tend to accept the Western opinion that, in a given case, the Hungarian People's army will not participate in fights on the side of the Soviet Union. This opinion, according to Respondent, is debatable. (On the basis of the experiences gained during the Revolution).

(10g) The fate of the government is well known.

In the various ministries, the situation presented itself in ~~various~~ <sup>different</sup> forms.

Due to the fact, that this <sup>a</sup> high <sup>is</sup> authority had been duly fortified by the regime, their employees were loyal to the Party, only a general work stoppage was prevalent. Revolutionary Councils were set up, <sup>but</sup> ~~and were not active~~ that their activity was of a



formal nature only.

However, certain ministries, through their Revolutionary Councils, were able to side with the Revolution to the extent that if, for instance, former Stalinist ministers and their assistants arrived in the building of the respective ministry, they were requested to leave, but were not harmed.

Antal Gyenes, the head of the Ministry of Collecting Surplus (Agricultural) Products and Livestock, delivered by the farmers, ~~was~~ abolished the compulsory deliveries of agricultural products and during a meeting especially called for this purpose he told the employees of the Ministry that the Ministry handling these activities, as well as its head, should be abolished - neither of them were needed anymore.

(10h) This was outside of Respondent's sphere of interests.

(10i) The so-called "peace priests" who had been performing some functions, were dismissed by the Roman Catholic Church.

As far as the Protestant Church was concerned, changes took place only in the higher echelons.

(10j) They used certain elements of the armed forces, of the courts, of the ministries, of the Revolutionary Councils of the local councils and also of the re-organized trade unions.

(10k) Workers' Councils, the re-organized parties, the new parties and various organizations which were set up to protect certain interests, for instance, the organization of the politically persecuted. ~~etc.~~ To this group should be added the so-called revolutionary

organizations (for instance, the revolutionary committee of the intelligentsia, the revolutionary committee of university students) and other organizations similar to the above.

- (101) In Respondent's opinion, the formation of these councils should be traced to two fields. One was to take as an example the Workers' Councils as set up in Yugoslavia - these used to be discussed in official circles, before the outbreak of the Revolution; the other factor: the situation created a need for the plans to be run in a truly socialistic way.

Generally, the ~~workers'~~ <sup>Workers'</sup> councils were in absolute charge ~~in~~ <sup>of</sup> the running of the plants and in some places (Győr, Miskolc) their functions included the administration of the community and they even assumed functions of a military character.

Sole jurisdiction over these Workers' Councils belonged to the Central Workers' Council, located in Budapest.

- (10m) After the democratic parties participated in free elections, the emerging government would have been coalitional and parliamentary.

The Smallholder's Party was not exempt from wrong doing - it would be hard to assert that the elections of '45 and '47 were pure, in the Western sense of the word.

The Allied Control Commission saw to it that, in the course of the peace treaty, only the so-called democratic parties had a chance to function, and so, certain elements, whose political conceptions were indeed not identical with the Smallholder's Party's principles did have no other chance than to vote for it.

Respondent states that his views were proved by the outcome of the elections of 31 August, 1947 - the voters who previously sided with the Smallholder's Party, and these were evidently rightist people, cast their votes with the so-called opposition parties (Sulyok, Barankovics).

Although, during the time of the Revolution, it appeared that the Smallholder's Party created the greatest interest amongst the people, it would be hard to say that, during new elections, the Smallholder's Party would have been able to gain the majority.

On November 2 and 3 certain political parties, such as Christian Democratic Parties who adopted and stood on the basis of Christian ideology, brought forth the idea of a certain political unity. These parties were attracting those elements which did not have a chance to speak up before. These groups definitely could have rendered dynamic assistance to these Christian Democratic Parties. One can ascertain that, during the last two days of the Revolution, the Roman Catholic clergy started to participate in organizing these parties.

There was a very small likelihood that the so-called Peasant Petöfi Party would have been able to re-emerge in the course of new elections, because prior to the Revolution, it was known to be the "branch of the Communist Party" and, as a result of this, it became so unpopular that it had to change even its name. Thus, it might have had a slim chance and only in the Eastern part of the country, the previously "agrarian-proletarian" regions.

From the hesitation and lack of zeal which was apparent in the re-organization of the Social Democratic Party, one can infer that the Social Democratic Party has lost its prestige to a large degree in front of the masses. One should take into consideration that areas which have<sup>a</sup> decidedly industrial character, such as Csepel and Ujpest, and other rural industrial towns, the young group of industrial workers as well as a substantial percentage of the former Social Democrats would have preferred to vote for a so-called socialistic party with Christian ideology against a plain "Christian Democratic" party.

In Respondent's opinion, the Communist Party would have shared some of the votes, however, with a very poor percentage. At no time, during the Revolution, did a view emerge which<sup>would</sup> have denied ~~any~~ existence to a Communist Party, provided that it would have been able to remain within a democratic frame.

(11a) It was useful for the so-called "Free world".

(11b) No; the reason: the divided state of the world, as pointed out by him in the answer to the first question.

This was Respondent's definite opinion starting from October 27-28.

(11c) That was all the Hungarian people had been waiting for.

<sup>"basis"</sup>  
The ~~XXXXXX~~ created a problem. They did find something in the founding documents of the United Nations, though. He himself was searching for legal grounds.

"It cannot be tolerated that the capital of a European nation



be reduced to rubble, in 1956, when one hears nothing but the voicing of human rights to freedom and similar eye-wash."

The form? The police of the United Nations - positive side.

In a negative way: stop the Soviet action by force.

(11d) This question is hard to answer because the basis for comparison is not available.

In the case of Hungary, there was practically nothing which would have tied the people to the leaders, while, in the surrounding satellite countries, the case was entirely different.

In Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia the leaders were much closer to the people; in Czechoslovakia for instance one could safely say that the state apparatus is run smoothly. In the favor of the Czechs was the fact that they had an entirely different chance, a far better one, from scratch - their country had not be<sup>a</sup>vanquished. The ~~is~~ smaller political tension and the generally higher level of economic well-being excluded the possibility that events similar to those which occurred in Hungary, could ~~take~~ take place.

Due to the Poznan events, <sup>a</sup>certain easing ~~is~~ up of the situation occurred.

If one considers that the most Stalinist and the most unpopular of the leaders of the satellite countries was Ra<sup>i</sup>kosi, who managed to hold onto his position ~~is~~ even after the breach with Tito was healed, one understands why, due to his Stalinist methods, there was no drainage for the accumulated tension in Hungary -

this appears to be one of the basic reasons of the outbreak of the Revolution in Hungary and not elsewhere. If, in addition to these factors, one takes into consideration the temperament of the Hungarian people, then the aforementioned thesis gains even more support.

- (11e) He was <sup>(the)</sup> most popular Hungarian politician during and after the Revolution. He established his popularity partly in 1946, when he stood up for the small peasant so that he might own a piece of land, but he gained most of his popularity in 1953, and prior to the revolutionary times he proved to be the sole political personality suited to become the leader of the country.

It should serve as an additional proof for his immense popularity that though it was suspected for days that he was the one who had asked the Soviet Union to intervene with armed forces with the purpose of suppressing the Revolution, even this failed to affect adversely his good name.

Respondent does not think that Imre Nagy is a dominating statesman in the ~~the~~ history of Hungarian politics, but he does not accuse him for having been unable, during revolutionary times, to hold on to a position which would have served the interests of the Hungarian people. In this connection, it should also be remembered that Imre Nagy was forced by the revolutionary masses, practically from hour to hour, to assume a bolder and bolder attitude. In a given situation, it was impossible for Imre Nagy to play a part similar to Gomulka's.

- (11f) The question of personalities during the Revolution, is an



culottes (the intelligentsia was represented in the fights by the former political prisoners.)

(11g) V, I, III, VI, IV, VII, II.

The irresponsible elements cannot be counted in the ranks of the youth.

(11h) It was quite evident, particularly to those who were familiar with the position taken up by the university students.

(12) On the 20th of November, 1956, at 11:00 in the morning.

(12a) When it was ascertained that there was no possibility of remaining in the country and being left alone in peace - the time of reprisals was there again.

The president of the planning office asked him: "What are you doing here?"

During the Revolution he was a member of the Revolutionary Council of the intelligentsia and started to organize from the very first day, the x Smallholder's Party; in pre-Revolutionary times, starting from the <sup>end</sup> ~~start~~ of 1945, he took part in illegal activities.

From 1943-50 he was ~~kept~~ held in the <sup>AVH</sup> basement ~~prison~~ of 60 Andrassy ut (this lasted for half a year), then in the internment camp of Budadél, this was followed by a special confinement in the Internment Camp of Kistarcsa, and from 1950-1953 he was in the Forced Labor Camp of Recsk.

(12b) After thinking all of this over, an idea presented itself: would it be possible to continue this fight in the free world? Wouldn't



it be preferable, in the interest of the Hungarian people, for some men to leave the country? This was the reason which induced János Horváth, Sándor Kiss, Zoltán Benkő, Zoltán Nyeste, Tibor Zimányi (<sup>he</sup> was captured and is now in jail), followed by Respondent, Pál Jónás (the president of the Petőfi Circle) and Balázs Nagy - ten-twelve people; <sup>to leave the country</sup> these organized in Vienna and in Paris the statutory meetings of the Revolutionary ~~Max~~ Council.

(1) Economist - prior to 1948, he was chief of the Statistical Division of the Office of Price Administration; since the spring of 1954, jack-of-all-trades at the Tokod glass factory. Between the two above-mentioned occupations, he has been woodchopper, stonecrusher, carpenter, road builder, and in addition, jail fodder.

(2) 1936-1941 - bank employee at the Central Branch of the Credit Bank (Hitelbank).

1942-1944 - comptroller at the Salgó Coal Mining Enterprise (Salgó Köszén).

1944-1946 - business manager of the Salgó Coal Mining Enterprise (Salgó Köszén).

1946-47 - chief auditor of the State Coal Mining Enterprise (Állami Szénbányászat).

1947-48 - chief of the statistical division of the Office of Price Administration ( ).

1948-1953 - Prisoner - Andrásfű Street,  
Budapest  
Kistarcsa  
Recsk  
Pestvidéki  
Markó

1953-to the summer of 1954 - trained worker, unskilled worker, but mostly unemployed.

1954-56 - economist and jack-of-all-trades in the glass factory of Tokod. (Respondent will write for the Project a study about the glass factory of Tokod.) Periodically, the Ministry of Public Housing and Construction utilized him by sending him out to organize

the work system of other glass factories.

- (3) During the <sup>year</sup>pe<sup>ri</sup>od of 1946-47, he thought that he would be able to achieve results in the fields of economics and production management - because of this, he contributed articles to various periodicals and also worked in part for the Institute of Economic Research in various tasks, collaborating with István Varga, Miklós Szentkirályi, Gyula Haypál in questions of price statistics (calculations relating to living conditions, cost of living ~~business~~.) X

(In connection with this, Respondent has offered a study to the Project - see page 5 of "Tájékoztató" (Bulletin) dated April, 1957, published by: A Magyar Franciaországi Magyar Menekültügyi Iroda (The Office for Hungarian Refugees in France). The title of the ~~examined~~ article is: A Comparison of the Costs of Living in France and Hungary (A Franciaországi és Magyarországi életfenntartási költségek összehasonlítása)).

After the elections of 1947, the possibility of remaining at <sup>ing</sup> the State Coal Mining Enterprise<sup>ended</sup>; then, István Varga who had just turned over the direction of the then so-called Office of Price and Commodities (Anyag és Árhivatal) had him transferred to the newly formed office of Price Administration, <sup>t</sup> which officially became established at the beginning of '48. He was entrusted with the direction of the <sup>P S D</sup>price statistical division, in spite of the fact that he was politically unreliable, and was given free hand in the selection of his employees. This activity, as

he states, limited his sphere of interests, he gladly performed his work, and, during the summer of '48, his division published a mimeographed news bulletin "Price Statistical Bulletin" (Árstatistikai Tájékoztató). This was done upon the request of Zoltán Vas,\* the Chief ~~Secretary~~ Secretary of the Economic Chief Council (Gazdasági Főtanács Főtitkára) who would have liked to ~~have kept~~ <sup>keep</sup> informed all the economic main offices on price statistics data.

Although the Office lived completely in the atmosphere of the new regime, this depressive <sup>ing</sup> "air" did not touch the statistical division. This they achieved by working extremely hard, arriving at the Office at 7:00 instead of 8:00 in the morning, organized <sup>ing</sup> while withing the framework of the Division advanced courses, ~~by~~ completing assignments within the set time limits, and if an action along the policy of the new regime was requested, then they found recourse in their already overloaded schedule. At first, this was so successful that the Communist Party members assigned to this Division ~~generally~~ did not report them, ~~but~~ ~~informed~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~nature~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~different~~ ~~assignments~~ ~~and~~ ~~circumstances~~. That's how things were going on until the fall of '48, when requests were made in the direction of falsifying statistical data, requests which they did not fulfill. Differences of opinion, inquiries by the AVO, interrogation by Zoltán Vas, followed; and finally, when he was arrested by ~~the~~ ~~authorities~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Section~~ ~~Mr~~ )



the AVO for ~~was~~ illegal activity, then his work at the Price Administration was also labelled : "destructive, anti-regime".

- (3d) Excellent.
- (3f) From morning at 7:00 until evening at 10:00.
- (3g) Seven.
- (3h) They did not pay for it.
- (3i) Yes, but he did not take them. In '48, he was for three days on the Lake Balaton.
- (3o) None.
- (4a) Young economists with identical political mentality.
- (4b) Very friendly atmosphere. He himself was obliged to work in a cubby-hole because on his beautiful large desk young men and women were always ~~standing~~ sitting
- (4d) As far as political questions were concerned, there was ~~an~~ ~~amount~~ silence.

In September of 1948, his desk was pried open - in August 1956, he discovered who did it. This particular person was fired in 1950; in August of '56, he reported at the Office of Planning and asked to be re-instated and made reference to the fact that he had ~~was~~ always been a good and alert Communist because in 1948, he was the one who pried open the desk of Respondent. <sup>at</sup> This action had the desired result because Respondent was arrested and received a heavy prison sentence. This admission backfired because Respondent had already been recalled to the Planning Office and the informer was told that he would be charged with false accusa-

tion and for causing jail sentence to a person who, meanwhile, had been rehabilitated. (Note: this charge was never filed.)

~~Respondent~~ This incident was reported to him by those very same people who rejoiced when he was removed ~~it~~ from his job.

In February 1949, a few months after his arrest, this division was dissolved and of those employed there - up/<sup>to</sup>that time, some were dismissed and the rest were distributed among the various other divisions.

....at the end of 1953, after release from jail, he found employment at one of the large machine industry factories, as a taught lathe hand. He was assigned to one of the largest sections of the plant, where - within a few days - word had spread that he was an ex-convict of Reesk (how word got around, he does not know to this day because he had not told a single soul.). From that time on, there was hardly a single worker in the section who did not lend him a hand at every opportunity. One worker would adjust Respondent's machine; another would share his mid-morning snack. A few days later, one of the foremen asked Respondent why he was doing that particular type of work - ~~the~~ <sup>with</sup> the machine, at the moment - since he could not earn very much at it. Within an hour Respondent received another work assignment with which already, on the fourth day, he was able to improve his output by 160 percent. There was an engineer there, assigned by the Ministry, who occasionally would stop by the Respondent and talk to him for hours.

It is Respondent's conviction, that he was dismissed from this factory, two weeks later, because the woman in charge of personnel impressed upon him that it did not seem "smart" that he was employed as a laborer; as they were unable to provide other work, he was requested to "voluntarily" leave the factory.

So what could he do? He left.

....In a few days, he received employment - stevedore work - at the  $\text{\textcircled{M}}$  Csepel docks. The bag toting lasted for only three days because he was again called into the office and asked to leave.

....He reported to a junk yard as a temporary helper for stacking work. It was not good work, but he could earn as much as 40 forints per day. A week later, he was talked into leaving - which he did.

....This continued for about six months. In the summer of 1954, an old friend, who was the head accountant of one of the main divisions of the Ministry of Housing and Public Construction, got him a  $\text{\textcircled{M}}$  job as a clerk at the Tokod glass factory.

When hired, Respondent asked the Party Secretary and the director whether they were aware of the fact that he was an ex-convict. "Of course, but don't think about it at all," he was assured, "your only thought now should be your work."

Here Respondent could do anything he desired. In general, the clerical group of the factory was quite incompetent - they had workers' kader, and therefore, Respondent was assigned to do all the so-called "quality" work - such as production, timing, preparation of accounts and settlement of legal matters. He was completely unsupervised. There was hardly anyone there, during the course of his more than two years of employment, with whom he would have had the slightest difference of opinion; if it happened, it <sup>was</sup> only ~~due~~ due to ~~my~~ minor matters of vanity; in no event was it political.

He was on good terms with the director, the Party Secretary, and the deputy of the latter; in general with everyone. He did not endeavor to restrain the expression of his thoughts. The others were only cautious in their discussions with him, when there were several together.

Periodically, the Ministry utilized him by sending him out to organize the work systems of other factories. At these places, appointed representatives (without the required training) of the Ministry of Public Housing and Constructions were sent out to check on him and occasionally they reminded him that he was just being tolerated.

On one occasion, the factory director and Party Secretary defended Respondent against a woman, the Chief of the Division of Personnel in the Ministry, when she visited the factory and enquired why Respondent was being employed.



Respondent felt quite ~~good~~ <sup>well there</sup>, but, occasionally, he would have liked to have done something else, although he ~~had some~~ <sup>had some</sup> opportunity to talk to the workers and these conversations ~~and these~~ ~~conversations~~ compensated for many things.

In August of 1956, Respondent was recalled to the National Price Administration. This was learned in the factory and, seeing that he did not accept the offer, he was showered with such <sup>signs</sup> of sympathy that it made him quite uncomfortable.

From this time onward, the events kept building up. Respondent maintains that life had never been so beautiful. To watch the agony of ~~something~~ <sup>an</sup> inhuman <sup>system</sup> is most uplifting.

This is how the Revolution arrived, in which Respondent did not believe, and which he feared. But it was impossible to hide in a cellar and <sup>the fact</sup> that he did not hide ~~anywhere~~ <sup>still</sup> he evaluates in a positive way. Up to the last split second, he acted as if everything had to be accomplished for the freedom of the Hungarian people; even then, when the Russians sped into the Cegléd railroad station and Respondent figured that most likely <sup>they would be in Tokod by</sup> ~~they would be in Tokod by~~ Sunday. Saturday night he gathered his papers at the office (he was organizing the Smallholder's Party), burned them and at midnight went home to sleep with the thought in mind that he did not believe he would be able to come in the following day. He did not go in.

(4f)

During these times, the Trade Union operated only nominally and

only functioned as a representative of the workers' social interests; this is not to be confused with something worthwhile; just vacations or the distribution of minor assistance. In reality, it was no trade union thus it was not the representative of the workers' interests.

- (4i) Yes, there was a "shop triangle," but in this factory the director, who had earlier been an AVO, managed things. The Communist Party Secretary and the director had, in general, personal differences which were never straightened out. The director was a ~~xxx~~ stranger, transferred from Salgótarján, while the Communist Party secretary had grown up right in the factory with the workers.

This is a very interesting subject and it would be worthwhile developing it!

- (4l) And how!
- (4n) Party members, stool pigeons - there were ~~many~~ <sup>such, too.</sup>
- (4o) . . . . ., too. (See above?)
- (4p) No, because the director, as a reserve AVO, took care of this job himself and built up the stool-pigeon system. One of the women bookkeepers, "confessed" to Respondent that he did not need watching because she told everything to the director, anyhow.
- (5) There was no possibility, as far as Respondent was concerned.
- (5b) He always wanted to go to a little hut in the Matra where he could breed sheep and pick mushrooms. He would have also gone anywhere as a librarian, but of course this remained only a dream.

- (5e) He would write and travel a lot, grow fruit, and plant flowers.
- (5g) Certainly not. Why? What do you mean <sup>by</sup> "why"?
- (6) Information coming from him, in response to such questions is not worth a damn.
- (10) Quite badly.
- (10c) They could have pulled themselves out of it by a clever ~~and~~ social and economic politics.
- (10c2) It was characterized by <sup>a</sup> wartime type of economy, with those typical symptoms that brought a transitional boom.
- (10d) A very significant deterioration. In heavy industry, agriculture, foreign commerce.
- (10f) These were emergency solutions without any security ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> all. Respondent does not believe that they were lasting manifestations and they really were not!
- (10g) Respondent has not really ~~and~~ evaluated it fully and he advocates a measure of caution with regard to this question. He views this as a rather complex matter. One cannot answer everything with "yes" or "no".
- (11) He considers the material situation of extra<sup>o</sup>rdinarily great significance. Of course, one must view this question only in conjunction with other factors. There were periods when the economic conditions were considerably overemphasized and others, when political terror pushed the dissatisfaction arising from material insufficiency into the background. For instance, during the times of mass arrests and deportations.

- (1) University - school of Economics - economics - business faculty,  
PhD in economics.
- (1a) 1924 - 1941.
- (1b) Mixed - high school was parochial - reformed.
- (1c) No.
- (1d) No.
- (1e) Acute and chronic interest in problems of economics.
- (2) No - would have liked to study also abroad.
- (2e) Approximately.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) Communism strived to develop <sup>e</sup> that type of man who would blindly  
enforce the will of the regime.
- (4b)1) It hardly accomplished anything.
- (4b-2) Among the teachers, as well as among the professors, a goodly  
number were enthusiastic Communists; according to respondent's  
opinion, there was a disproportionately greater number of Communists  
among this professional group than ~~found~~ in any other seg-  
ment of the intelligentsia. The reason for this can be sought  
in the very unsatisfactory earlier situation of the teaching  
staff which, thus, expected something from the "new order" -  
better recognition - better living conditions. To the above  
reasons, can also be added the very poor training, low intellec-  
tual level of the teachers, thus their incapability to perceive  
wider horizons.
- (5) Earlier: vineyard superintendent; later: vineyard smallholder,



with seven acres of land. Father was a "knight", <sup>(vitéz)</sup> a pet of the Horthy regime. While gently grafting grapevines, <sup>he</sup> welcomed this with a peaceful resignation. His attitude toward the regime was one of acceptance; he had nationalistic tendencies, but, on the other hand, condemned anti-Semitism, as an attitude incompatible with decency. He was, in general, angry with every nation, except the Hungarian, which he deeply liked; yet, many times, he reminisced about the good old times under the monarchy, when he had dinner for two <sup>t</sup> ~~trajcárs~~ at the Burgvártá, during the period of his military service - he was extremely proud that, during his hitch in the army, he <sup>had</sup> guarded ~~the emperor Franz Joseph (Ferenc Jóska)~~ <sup>(take part in the reoccupation of)</sup> the emperor Franz Joseph (Ferenc Jóska).

In 1940, at the age of 64, he was permitted to "occupy" <sup>when he</sup> Transylvania where he was born and lived until 1919, when he had to flee because of his participation in the Székely army division.

In 1944, after having become a little bit acquainted with the Russians, he expired - unobtrusively - of a stroke.

- (5e) Yes, seven acres of vineyard which his father had acquired through his own earnings.
- (5f) Average, his family never had money during his childhood, but <sup>d</sup> they had the necessities of life and <sup>were</sup> well clothed.
- (5g) Six members.
- (5h) They are alive, they were married. In 1956, respondent lived with his sister because, previously, he absent-mindedly set :

fire to his apartment.

(5k) Hurt him, but the AVH made him <sup>feel</sup> this only due to his political viewpoint; between 1945 and 1948, his ancestry was still forgiven.

(6) Was married until 1948, then imprisoned. <sup>Since</sup> ~~After~~ 1954, he has been relatively happy as a divorcee.

(6c) Two.

(6d) Eleven, <sup>misc.</sup>

(7) In spite of the divorce - according to others - on "unbelievably" good terms.

(8) Unfortunately - yes.

(9) Yes.

(9b) Not on this subject; "Let them fraternize with everyone", he and his ex-wife figured.

(9c) At first, yes, then they learned what to believe and what to say (we are talking about children six to ten years old!).

(10) Yes, with hardly any success; the older boy when nine years old, was a "culture - trustee" and, from time to time, with a hypocrisy <sup>is it</sup> which would have shamed mature politicians defended his "position" with the following slogan: "Father, it is still better if I do it!" Poor children!

(11) Pretty well.

(12) Yes.

(13b) No - even his father was a democrat in this respect.

(13c) Yes, he could not make his father understand him and many times he would hear: "You are crazy, my son."

- (14) He lived a very limited family life. The hermetically sealed years he spent in prison made him numb and thus <sup>he</sup> felt only his responsibility or duty toward his family, although he strived to do it in an acceptable manner. Occasionally, he remembered that he also was human, but then quickly returned to his hardened self".
- (14b) It was not typical.
- (14c) When he had free time - did he? - he would go into the mountains with his sons; on one occasion, after seeing hikers with heavy knapsacks on their back, panting and sweating, climbing a steep hill, his seven year-old son asked: "Father, do the tourists earn a big salary?"
- Respondent was obliged to admit that only children had sense.
- (14f) Respondent did not have spare time; however, if he wanted to go anywhere, no one hindered it. The AVO had his home under constant surveillance for many years: who <sup>came</sup> ~~was~~, etc. However, the janitor said only what respondent told him to.
- (15) They have loosened, to a great extent.
- (15) Yes, as a result of the occupation of the parents, cooperative day nurseries, and the general misery.
- (16) Yes, they became more closely related, even in the negative aspects of the evaluation.
- (16b) e) Yes, they did, they became lax; ~~the~~ courtships and marriages <sup>were</sup> given less consideration, and <sup>were</sup> occurring with inadequate responsibility or thought of consequences. The parents' absence,

due to more than full time occupations, certainly contributed to this. In respondent's opinion, though, a more important reason is that they did not think of "tomorrow".

- (16e) Yes, in spite of the closing of the houses of prostitution. There were coffee houses with their "regular" prostitutes. Besides this, the call girls would solicit people on certain streets.
- (16f) "Who the heck knows?", there were periods when it appeared that way, for example in 1949-50, but generally - respondent believes - they were not strict.
- (16h) Yes.
- (16i) Yes, they are more independent, but the price for it is such hard labor that there are ~~those~~<sup>who</sup> would gladly see the return of the harem. The women don't need equality - ~~still~~ only old maids are advocating <sup>this</sup> - they seem to desire something altogether different. Even respondent does not exactly know what.
- (17) Very much.
- (18) Alright - I'll think! Met at the university in 1936 (she or he not specified).
- (18c) Occasionally we read books, next to each other.
- (18g) (This finally is a more sensible question!)) Respondent used to say that he selected or screened his friends by asking himself this question: would he be willing to stick by me, even if, during the course of a fight, the two of us would have to face a much stronger foe? He does not value those friends who are not willing to share his troubles. In other words, the criterion



of real ~~a~~ friendship is, <sup>whether it</sup> bears <sup>up</sup> ~~any~~ under any hardship for a just cause.

- (18i) Many of the above - in a strange way - were in his circle of friends.
- (19) Complete freedom of religion, religion is one of the most sacred private matters.
- (19b) This is his conviction.
- (20) Yes.
- (20a) NO. <sup>The</sup> Protestant churches - principally the Reformed - were attacked the least.
- (20b) At first they desired to utilize them for their own ends, then destroy them.
- (20c) Mostly opportunists, rather than loyal to the regime, or perhaps this was their way of helping.
- (20f) Well, they did not hold anyone with a rope. However<sup>r</sup>, in general, churchgoers were called to account for it everywhere.
- (20i) The older folks attended more frequently, as did the peasants in the Catholic areas, and the former middle class <sup>which was</sup> ~~was~~ pushed aside anyhow. Less frequent in their attendance were the Hungarian people in general; especially the Communist Party officials, the leading government office holders and a significant number of opportunists. The youth did not strain itself either. In the case of the latter, not only the influence of Communism brought this about.
- (20k) Yes, that is why he answered the above as he did.

(201) The Roman Catholic Church, alone, was important in this role. As a faithful <sup>P</sup>rotestant, he can only view this question objectively.

(21) Doctor.

(21b) <sup>T</sup>ry to obtain outstanding recognition in some specialty.

(22) The best groups:

1. Party leaders, high-ranking members of the political police,
2. Leading government functionaries,
3. Certain segments of <sup>the</sup> intelligensia operating in independent fields:
  - a. Doctors, Artists, Writers,
  - b. Researchers,
  - c. Certain experts, even if, according to main occupation, they were wage earners,
4. Wage earning craftsmen, engineers.

Worst groups:

1. Those of the former middle class who were cast aside,
2. Certain categories of workers,
3. During a certain period, the entire peasantry, but most particularly the kulaks,
4. Clerks.

(22a) As far as his financial situation was concerned, approximately in the middle; politically, the worst - not even in a listed category.

(22b) He was quite satisfied with his lot; he had no particular desire to belong to a better group. He was not starving, nor was he in rags and he was actually quite happy to be an "outcast."

(23) He denies that there are social classes in Hungary and he objects that the questions are simplified to this extent. Those groups, which had been developed to the extent to fit this characterization in Hungary, are not social groups; but may become such in due time.

(This question cannot be viewed from an American standpoint, where mainly the bank account designates the social group and not so much the arrival on the Mayflower.)

But, if he is pushed to the wall (Ha meteroszakolnak):

- a. Leading suppressors,
- b. Suppressors,
- c. Suppressed,
- d. The most suppressed.

Of course, one could also say I that they are:

- a. Intelligentsia
- b. Workers
- c. Peasants, too.

(Apparently respondent was pushed to the wall quite a bit, because he is writing for the project a study on "the changes of social groups in Hungary.")

(23b) He did not feel any barriers.

(23e) Less.

(23g) More direct, but at the same time less courteous, a certain

ugly, uncouth mannerism was rapidly gaining ground;

"Mert tudja, maga, Kovács elvtárs" (As you know, you comrade Kovács,

"Öreglány" (Old gal)

"Cucc" (Sorry, do not know the corresponding English slang).

And other delicacies of this sort. But there are those who state that this is what you must have in a real democracy.

"It could be, <sup>but</sup> I have not, unfortunately, been able to become acquainted with a single democracy. Could someone recommend one? Slowly but surely I could use it!"

(24) Yes, at one time, the Yugoslavs (Croations, Serbians, Catholic Serbians - horvát, s<sup>z</sup>erb, bunyevác) minority groups.

(24a) He claims that the Moscow regime favoured and put into leading positions mainly northern <sup>Slavic</sup> ~~Slav~~ elements. Of course, it could be that this symptom was only a "forging ahead" reaction of these formerly suppressed national minorities.

He also states that the Jews (although he is against their being considered a minority) could - in a rather conspicuous way - get advantages from the regime. This was undoubtedly one of the most striking phenomena of the last decade.

He is quite concerned about it because this fact influences indeed very much the view one takes about the part played by the Jews in Europe and in the whole world.

(25) Unfortunately, he had answered it above.

(25c) He ~~was~~ had many excellent Jewish friends, has some, and will always have some! These friends' attitude toward the regime



was entirely identical with his. They opposed it.

(25d) Yes it increased - even more than during the arrowcross period, because then, at least, there were some people - a good part of the workers, peasantry, the more cultured segment of the intelligentsia - who felt sorry for them. This is not so today, today they don't have to be pitied for anything, they are in a much better situation than the broad masses.

(25h) Until the present regime will last, they will live - with smaller or greater fluctuations - better than the average citizen, but respondent does not feel that, after the disappearance of the regime, they would have any security in Hungary. It would be wise indeed to start ahead of time their "transplantation."

Nobody should be fooled by the moderation, restraint, during the revolution! Then primarily something else mattered, and the "right" political attitude banned any action against the Jews.

Yes, the Jews should be removed from Hungarian soil, in their very own interest! "I'm afraid, I am very <sup>much</sup> afraid!"

(1) Pretty much.

Because he is still a naive soul who believes that one can obstruct the Danube with a stalk of straw. (<sup>Azt</sup> ~~az~~ hiszi, hogy lehet szalmaszállal Dunát rekeszteni.)

(1a) Politics occupied a rather big sphere of his activities - he is ~~azak~~ ashamed of it because <sup>he</sup> ~~he~~ does not believe it to be a positive manifestation.

(1b) In '46-'47 he was less interested because he hoped to become a decent bourgeois. He was a statistician and hoped to be able to spend all his energies in economics.

(1c) During the pre-war period, starting from '36, he worked along the lines of the agricultural socialists (Falukutatók).

In '42-'43-'44, he took part in illegal, anti-fascist, anti-German actions.

In ~~a~~ '47-'48 he took part in illegal anti-Communist actions.

Starting from '52 until the Revolution, in anti-regime groupings.

(2) As far as he was concerned, '45 did not bring the political development he had expected. During the period of '46-'47, he had some hope that the road toward democracy was still open, but the elections of 1947, showed that the lowering of Hungary to the status of a Soviet colony had been adequately prepared. The belief of this preparation was also justified, as far as his own state was concerned, <sup>by his being</sup> ~~he~~ arrested and imprisoned in the fall of 1948.

From '48-'53 he was rather hindered to react to the political situation.

- (21) They meant a "rather" great help in keeping people in line.
- (3af) He had to get up daily at 4:30 in the morning and he loved to sleep - this he can never forgive. He can truthfully say that he has always been against Communism, and he can also truthfully state that his feelings were never as intensive as during those moments ~~when~~ when the alarm clock would ring. Every minute was carefully figured out - he put his milk to be heated, simultaneously ran down to awaken the janitor, ran back, drank his milk, and ran down the stairs again to be there when the janitor would open the door and let him out amidst their both ~~blasting~~ <sup>cursing</sup> the regime.
- (3a) XII - their presence was a yardstick by which he could measure his own misery.  
 VI - he had good reasons for this.  
 XI - he could have done something worthwhile and was not allowed to. ("Igen, mert mindig széklábat csináltam. És azt is a leghitványabb alakra" - Respondent made allusion to the Phalanstère scene of The Tragedy of Man, where Michelangelo is forced to do factory work.)
- (3b) XIV, - I, - III.
- (3c) IV, VI, V, III, - even the intellectuals would have like to ~~eat~~ eat and have some type of shelter.
- (3d) XIV, IV, II, - this does not apply to certain regions, the Protestant peasantry of the Dunántúl, Vasmegeye, Hajduság, Bihar megye, does not give a damn about its priests. (Fütyül a papjaira.)
- (3e) XV, III, V.

Starting from '54, his conviction was that some changes must occur in the Soviet system and thus also in Hungary; this belief was more and more born out by the events of the following years.

And nothing is more characteristic as far as his sharp political insight is concerned, than the fact that in the evening of October 22, 1956, he had absolutely no inkling about the outbreak of the Revolution on the following day.

- (2a) He had never felt any ~~exagger~~ exaggerated respect for any political party.
- (2b) No - he was a peaceful bourgeois.
- (2c) No - he is terribly stubborn.
- (2de) His opinion about the Communist Party and Communism did not change.
- (2f) (While examining the following alternatives, Respondent said more to himself: let's see now which ~~one~~<sup>box</sup> fits me or in which ~~one~~<sup>box</sup> do I fit in?) (Two-he exclaimed with triumph.) But he does not think that the Communist Party should be driven underground. They should come out, while watched. (Let them come out, and may the devil... (gyűjjenek ki, a fene egye meg őket!)).
- (2g) Necessarily. According to his opinion, the majority of the Hungarian nation. Why? What does the Hungarian nation have to do with it? It does not even understand what it is all about. "I am also a communist, because the price of the bread went up," does not mean fraternizing with Communism. (Már én is komenista vagyok, mert felemelték a kenyér árát," nem jelent kommunistákkal való bratyizást!)
- (2h) It was imposed through financial dependence and terror organizations.



- (3g) Everybody with everybody else, when this was possible; only in the closest family circle, when this was not possible.
- (3h) This was utterly impossible.
- (3i) Was there anything else? The servile tone of the newspapers, the parrot-like <sup>repetition</sup> ~~repetition~~ of the slogans, the driven out crowds for purposes of demonstration, expressions like Matyas Rakosi the Father of the Hungarian nation; (Rakosi Matyas, a magyar nep atyja;) the fact that in each technical book, the introduction started out with: "According to the findings of excellent Soviet scientists..." One could not have written a book about how to raise mushrooms without saying: "As Lenin already had told us..." Such "little" annoyances poisoned the atmosphere.
- (3j) Maybe the fact that he was not bothered by these, while in Recsk (the kickings were annoyances of a different nature).
- (4) Moscow.
- (4f) Was there anything else but bureaucracy?
- (4h) Generally reliable Party members.
- (5) Not applicable.
- (6) Being a Party member meant for a few, conviction, for the majority, prosperity or power, and for many just being left alone.
- (6f) Those who had sound minds had to become dissatisfied, the opportunists only if their interests were not assured any more.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) Would have been completely out of the question.
- (6r) The Party leadership from Moscow.
- (7) Yes sir! When hired by the glass factory of Tokod, he was given a membership booklet and told that each month he had to glue in a

certain stamp. He was not asked whether he wanted the booklet, but he did not protest against accepting it.

- (7e) He ~~stuck~~<sup>stuck</sup> in the stamp.
- (7g) The members were rather disgusted, it was thought of as being a branch of the Party. Of course those who were organizing it had slightly different opinions and if one looked very hard one could always find a couple of idiots who believed in it.
- (7l) They executed the orders of the Party - they gave it a basis.
- (7m) For some time they protested among themselves, then they accepted their existence.
- (8) Very few - but this number varied during the last decade.
- (9) The youth became aware of the inhuman traits inherent in Communism; it had to realize that the possibilities/<sup>for a decent living</sup>were always being narrowed and that not only did it not have any proper chances to finish its studies but not even ~~work~~ adequate work was assured. Of course, factors like "desire for freedom", "uncompromising attitude", "not being tied by family life" must also be taken into ~~work~~ consideration.
- (10) It was organized according to Soviet models. Its duty was the fulfillment of the will of the Party.
- (10e) By application and by enlistment. Besides, some "trustworthy" elements from the army and police were being transferred by the most varied means to the AVH. Till 1950 there was rivalry; after that the police were subordinated, but even in the period of dependence, there was a latent hostility.

- (10k) It ~~is~~ is his firm belief that the AVH and the Party functioned parallelly - he cannot imagine that there would have been any antagonism because both were executing the same orders.
- (11) Yes, he himself.
- (11d) The groups would vary in time - the liquidation waves would come according to certain programs. It was characteristic, though, that besides the individual reasons one could always detect ~~a~~ common reasons.

Who would be arrested? Those about whom it was pretty obvious that there<sup>y</sup> were the enemies of the regime, or those about whom one could reasonably assume that they were against the regime, and there were also arrests which were done for purposes of setting examples.

- (11g) Yes.

What should I tell you about concentration and forced labor camps? Maybe a dream.

While in Recsk, he dreamt that he, together with five fellow-prisoners, ~~was~~<sup>was</sup> going to be hanged, there was a ~~g~~ bright ~~sun~~ sunshine and he figured: I am sure that the sun will beat into my eyes, while I'm going to die. That just shows that I've been unlucky during my whole life and I'll continue to be so until my very last minute. I'm sure that my colleagues will be much calmer, much luckier: they'll be able to die in ~~the~~ the shadow, while I'll have the sun in my eyes. - "Do you want to know more about Recsk?" (I could not answer. Later on, he did tell me more.)

- (12a) During the summer of 1948. He did have a premonition, he and his co-workers had finished a big job, they went out to celebrate, and in the midst of drinking, he suddenly exclaimed: "I will not be able to do it for long anymore." Ever since, he had been ashamed of this incident. He actually had tears in his eyes. All his life, he hated to be pitied, and, during that banquet, he demanded sympathy. The fact is that he did like his co-workers, and he did hate to go to prison. But it was unavoidable, he knew it.
- (12b) (At this particular moment, I did not have the heart to pursue the matter legally. See charges in Section W.)
- (13) "I should advise someone, I, who did not steer clear of trouble?" he burst out laughingly.
- (14) There were definitely fluctuations, it's his feeling that the terror was the strongest after the outbreak of the Korean War. (See more specific answers under Interview "B".)
- (15) It played the decisive part.
- (15b) He read newspapers, and he watched the events.
- (15c) <sup>T</sup>error organizations (AVH, police, army) the guidance of the so-called political life, of the ~~economic~~ economic and cultural life, there was no field where their influence would not have been felt - slowly everything was being transformed.

What were the Russians not concerned about? They looked into the toilets. (He again burst out laughing:) maybe I should say it with the words of Gyula Illyés: (from his famous poem "One Sentence on Tyranny")