

Note: Respondent was anxious to start our conversation with the description of his social background, his education, and his position in the army. Since all this is important for the understanding of respondent's later conduct during the Revolution the interviewer found it advisable to change the usual order of sections in the course of this interview taking Section 8 and Section 7 before Section 6.

- (1) I have a matura abitur certificate which I have received in 1954 as a student of the Petöfi Military Political Academy in Budapest. I received the degree of the same academy in 1954. Then I had one and a half years studies at the faculty of journalism of the Eötvös Lóránd University of Budapest.
- (a) Altogether about ten years.
- (c) I went to school in Nagybánya and in Budapest for four years of elementary school and two years of high school. Between 1945 and 1948 I was a locksmith apprentice in Győr. During this time I went to the trade school for apprentices. In 1948 I was called up to the military. After a year of interruption in November 1950 I was sent to the Petöfi Political Officers' Training School. I received my officer's commission on April 28th, 1951.

To be admitted to the Petöfi Political Officers' Training School one had to come from workers, peasants,

or progressive intellectuals parentage. One's social origin was an absolutely primary consideration at the admission ! Besides one had to be either already member of the Party or candidate for Party membership. With other words not one's character and even less one's intellectual power and learning ability decided but the person's political reliability. For example, there were commissioned quite a few who had flunked four or five subjects and in spite of this they have received the highest ranks. One of my colleagues who came from a minor's family flunked five subjects and in spite of this he was commissioned as a major.

The school was in Budapest in the by now world-famous Kilitos-barracks. The course lasted for half a year. There were about 300 students participating on it who all had to live in the barracks. Once a week we could leave, namely, for Saturday Sunday, for the week-end. The majority of the students had been older Party members but there were among us also some young talented boys. The average age was about 30 but between 18 and 54 you could find all ages represented. The young boys of military age received 96 frts monthly, the older ones (all Party members, of course) received 370 frts + family allowances.

Anybody who had gone through of this half year course became an army officer. However, there had been cases when somebody in three weeks or in one or two months be-

case an officer. Even such cases were not entirely unknown when somebody had no training whatsoever and still army officer's uniform was put on him although he did not even know how to salute.

Our lecturers had been all new officers. Officers of the former army were employed at the most as company commanders but not as teachers. Generally our lecturers had been talented and capable officers.

Each day we had lectures and seminars from 8 a.m. to quarter to 2 p.m. Our order of the day was the following: 6 to 6.15 a.m. morning exercises, 6.15 to 7 a.m. washing and tidying, 7 to 7.30 a.m. breakfast, 7.45 to 1.45 p.m. lectures and seminars, 2 to 2.30 p.m. lunch, 2.30 to 5 p.m. afternoon sleep (this was obligatory), 5 to 9 p.m. individual learning, 9 to 11 p.m. dinner, cultural activities, 11 p.m. taps.

The lectures had mainly political character, to a very small extent military. Our instruction lacked the most fundamental military subjects. Our training in formal military drill (alaki kiképsés), in knowledge of arms (fegyverismeret), in tactics (harcászat) was on a very primitive level.

The political instructors attached to the AVH and to the police were trained with us in this school. These had been detached by the Ministry of Interior to the army for their training. They have received their salary

furthered from the ministry. These were the most rotten guys among us.

The great majority of the men graduating from this school had been immediately commissioned as Captains or 1st Lieutenants. The year I graduated only three of us had been commissioned with the low rank of sub-lieutenant.

On our graduation the highest dignitaries of the country had been present and the graduates of the school have received the highest and most confidential assignments. This is the best proof that the Petöfi Political Officers' Training School was the most elite such institution from the view-point of the regime among the dozen similar officers' training schools of the country.

The spirit of the school was very bad. The main characteristic of it was the boring of each other and the careerism. In this respect the worst were those who had something to hide (vaj volt a fejkönn), for example, former officer of the Horthy army or son of a kulak with 50 or 60 yokes of land or former member of the SS or the Arrow Cross and tried to hide his past by an aggressive behaviour.

There were relatively many Jews in this school.

Since I was summarily dismissed in 1949 from the Artillery Officers' School through a Party disciplinary punishment because of a remark which I made in connection with the Rajk affair and I was readmitted only through

the personal intercession of Lieutenant General N6gr6dy when I met by chance on a Party meeting, I had to take care all the time because my part was always held against me since this happened to me. This was one of the reasons why I never could feel secure and at home with the army.

The relationship between the instructors and the students was characterized by distrust. This can be easily explained since each instructor was at the same time the K6deres of a platoon. This meant that he had to observe his men and spy on them.

The same atmosphere of distrust was also among the students. Everybody has seen a spy in everyone else. Thus no friendships could be born and flourish.

After finishing the above described officers' course I was commissioned as troop officer sub-lieutenant. In April 1951 I was made platoon-commander in the War Provisional Officers' School (szakasparancenk Hadt6ptis-tisk6l6ban).

In November 1952 I was admitted to the Stalin Military Political Academy (during the course of de-Stalinization in 1955 the school's name was changed to Pet6fi Military Political Academy).

Each candidate for admission to the academy had to pass a difficult examination. With other words here not

only political reliability but also knowledge was important. The candidate then was directed to the appropriate faculties or sections on the ground of his general knowledge manifested at the admission examination.

The examination consisted of subjects belonging to the general culture, as mathematics, geography, literature, grammar, history, etc., plus fundamental military subjects. Besides this there was a very serious and thorough medical examination and an even more thorough kader examination (kaderesés).

Since 1955 the candidate could apply for the different faculties and branches of the academy. But before that date in my times we had been directed to the different courses according to our ability manifested during the admission examination.

The weakest had been sent to the course for batallion political instructors. This lasted for one year.

The next ones were sent to the course for regiment political instructors. This was again a one year course.

No degree was given to the officers attending these two courses.

The next ones were those who were admitted to the academy strictly speaking on the collegiate level. There were faculties with two years curriculum and also with three years curriculum. On both the same subjects were taught. The difference was that the brightest students

who were the most advanced in their previous studies and had the ability to absorb easier the new material, were sent to the shorter course where they would learn the material which ordinary took three years in two years. (That was the time when the quick replacement of the old officers by new Communist cadres was all important!) Both courses have given the same diploma.

The academy had several faculties: General branch of service, air force, artillery, and armoured faculties.

I was at the faculty of the general branch of service (Ősziagyvernem). In the two years course section.

At this school the standards were very high. Both the Marxism and also the military sciences had been taught on a high level by well qualified instructors. Also the spirit of the school was better than what I described before of my previous officers' training school. This applies for both the relation between the instructors and the students and also the relationship among the students themselves. Here the students had been already more serious people. Most of them had been serving already with the troops and many of them had been giving lectures already themselves. Both the instructors and the students had been already officers and often some students were higher ranking than the lecturer.

The atmosphere of distrust was present here, too, but not to that extent. Here was also observation and

also some personal intrigues and careerism but not in such a rampant fashion as it was in my previous school.

The number of students was steadily changing. When I was there we had two two years courses and two three years courses. On my faculty in the two years general branch of service we had been 54 of us divided to two platoons. The entire academy had around 500 to 600 students.

The students did not have to live inside. They could go home in the evening to their families. Those from the country had lived inside or took an apartment in the city.

We received the same salary as we had in our last post with the troops before we went to the academy.

In our order of the day we had from 8 a.m. to 1.45 p.m. lectures. We had the same routine of lectures and training as any university or academy has.

In the afternoon private study, meals, and living quarters either within the academy or outside in our private homes.

Of course, during military drill exercises we could go home only in the evening. In addition, the study of military subjects was permitted only within the walls of the academy. This was for security reasons.

The drive was very forceful. We had an immense amount of material to learn and to read. Our subjects were the following: Political subjects: the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism (within this subject we went through

the history of the Bolshevik Party and its literature), philosophy: the entire Marxist literature (all other philosophies, of course, were ignored and prohibited), political economy, general history, the history of the Hungarian people, the history of the Hungarian working class movement, international questions (foreign policy and diplomacy), Party political work (during this class we had to discuss practical questions in connection with the duties of the political instructor, for instance, how he should organize a Party meeting etc. This was probably the least serious subject, in Hungarian leginkább (ra.)

Next we had the military subjects. These were: General warfare and tactics (általános harcászat). In connection with this subject we had an introduction to the knowledge of the different branches of the service. For example, air force, artillery, armoured units, signal corps and communication troops, technical and chemical defence units.

Introduction to the knowledge of arms and ammunition (fegyveranyag ismeret).

Regular military training (alaki kiképzés).

Sports.

We had been thoroughly acquainted with the arms and ammunition used by the United States and Yugoslavia, also about the military organization, training, and tactics of

these countries. (In our code during our studies but even more during our field exercises the US was the blue, and Yugoslavia was the green enemy.)

Both the political and the strictly military subjects were taken very seriously in our school.

In addition we had subjects of general culture and these were the same as those required in a gymnasium for the natura. Mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry, Hungarian language and literature, and last but not least the Russian language. (Russian was one of the most important subjects!)

Great care was given to the raising of the general education and culture of the students. We had regular lectures about the arts, operatic music, etc.

There were two high academies where military and political training was given. One was the Stalin Academy later Petöfi Academy described above. The other was the Erinyi Academy. At the Stalin Academy the political instructors attached to the different units were trained while at the Erinyi Academy the field officers. Only officers and later only officers with a natura or abitur could go to these academies. Party membership was a natural requirement, although at the Erinyi Academy you could find a few non Party members admitted, too. The role of these academies could be compared to the highest field officers' training course from the Horthy times

(töréstartási tanfolyam).

To our academy, the Stalin Academy, students had been admitted only after having been in actual field service. The majority of the students had been through the Petöfi Political School before their admission to the academy. (Recently, according to a new order, the separate training of political instructors was discontinued and instead field officers were being trained in one year courses to become political instructors.)

At first, since they desperately needed new officers, especially political officers with good kaders, students were admitted to the academy without having a matura, just like in my case. We had to study then on Thursdays for the whole day, on other days two or three hours, subjects of general culture and education. At the end, we received our matura certificate together with our degree from the academy. Recently those who have no matura but qualify at the admission examination, will be sent to a three months long very thorough courses of preparation in general culture and education.

The other military academies, for instance, the Kosuth Academy (the successor of the formerly famous Ludovika Academy, the Hungarian West-Point) give a two or three years long military officers' training and their graduates become lieutenants.

The highest military training and education, however,

was not in Hungary. The most promising youth for political and military career were sent directly to the Soviet Union and received their training there.

- (d) I would have liked to continue my studies. I wanted to go to the technical university (after all, I had been a locksmith and I liked to fool around with machinery) and I wanted to get a civilian degree, since I could never know when I would be dismissed from the military. I was prevented in this for three years. At the army they told me that technical training has nothing to do with the military! Finally I succeeded in registering for the university, however, not to the technical university but to the correspondence course of the faculty of journalism of the Eötvös Loránd University. One reason for choosing this subject was the fact that they have given me the most credit there for my previous studies at the military academy.
- (e) For one part I was directed or rather ordered to study these or those things, on the other hand I went to the university in order to get a civilian degree for the event if I would be kicked out of the army. During 1956 just before the Revolution when a 15,000 reduction in the number of the officers was made public, there was a tremendous outburst of discontent and grumbling. Most of us felt that we had been fooled, namely lured into the army with all kind of promises. There we received a one-sided train-

ing and now we would be thrown back to the civilian life, to the same place where we had started off from without having been able to learn any trade during those years or having done such studies which we could use in the civilian life outside and in the meantime we lost already even our skill in our former occupation.

- (2) I was not content. I always felt that in case of my discharge or dismissal from the army, in spite of the heavy and long studies, I could only go back again to be a locksmith or not even that because I lost my practice in my trade during eight years of inactivity.
- (a) Technical university.
- (b) See under question (1) and under letter (e) under question (2).
- (c) Within the army there was no higher training.
- (d) Above average.
- (e) Yes. Only my being in the army has limited my possibility of going to any kind of school I wanted.
- (3) See under question (1)(c).
- (a) I liked the most the tactics (harcászat). Besides I liked also economy, philosophy, and history. On the other hand I did not like the Party political activities. It was a stereotyped, meaningless subject moving on a very

- low intellectual level. Actually nobody liked it.
- (b) 6 hours weekly.
 - (c) See under question (1)(c).
 - (d) Naturally we had such at the military academy. See question (1)(c).
 - (e) If somewhere, then we had it. It was called to keep up our strength against the enemy. We had all kinds of military sports, hand-to-hand fight, etc. Generally all military exercises were pointed against Yugoslavia.

At the rifle-range we had been encouraged in the following way: "Take your aim at the target, comrade, as if beyond that Truman or Tito would be hiding!"

At our decoration-winning war-games and all other tournaments and sports we had been constantly fed with political slogans.

- (4) To make the youth a fanatical believer in the Communist ideas, with other words that they should believe its truth blindly.
- (a) To raise and educate men without thinking, such who would fight blindly for the regime; not to permit foreign ideas to enter the education.
- (bi) It has some initial success. However, with the time everybody will discover that the reality is far removed from the ideas. Just as the endeavour of the Communists

to kill off patriotism from the Hungarian youth and implant instead internationalism and the need of the endless devotion and adulation toward the Soviet Union did not fail to produce sooner or later the awakening of the Hungarian self-consciousness in the Hungarian youth.

- (bii) The majority of the instructors at the army was entirely incompetent and even as regards to the general culture poorly qualified and often totally ignorant.
- (d) I liked the fact that they have given the opportunity for higher education to those who came from the bottom of society and now have been the favourites of the regime. I approved also the fact that in the theme of the education the people, that is the great mass of the hitherto unknown and neglected people has been emphasized. They always claimed that they have been relying on the people and were supported by the people.
- (e) The overdone internationalism, the fact that the Soviet Union claimed always the first place in everything and the Hungarian values get lost somehow in the process. Neither did I like the fact that they have patronised people with so-called popular origin to such an extent that instead of quality only the quantity was important for them so that many incompetent and even weak-minded persons came to the universities. At the same time youngsters, however bright and well-qualified, if they came from other social strata, were not permitted to

study.

In the teaching of history they have overemphasized the role of the people to such an extent that, for instance, the greatest men of our national history have been neglected and even entirely ignored. The Hungarian nobility was portrayed as having been infamous and corrupt throughout the history in spite of the fact that many simple people, many serfs received their nobility in the old times exactly for their selfless service in the interest of the Hungarian people.

Politics had been introduced into everything. The idea that the American imperialism is our enemy while the Soviet Union was always our friend was smuggled into every subject. Needless to say that they have been deeply silent about the Russian intervention in 1849.

- (b) The excessive pre-occupation with politics has produced profound changes in the character and attitude of the youth. While they were constantly preached the Communist ideas, at the same time, they saw in their family and among their friends and acquaintances diametrically opposed thinking and attitudes which caused the result that at the end they did not believe their educators. They became cynical and would think always that the opposite ~~is~~ ~~is~~ ~~is~~ of that what they had been told was the truth.
- (1) Only at a very early age, until someone learns to think independently.

- (5) Locksmith.
- (a) He was working up to 1942 in Nagybánya. From that time on in Budapest in the MIVAG works. In 1944 he was sent to the battlefield because he was accused of sabotage, namely, a locomotive had been derailed. In 1945 he became a prisoner of war of the United States army. He was soon set free, however, and from 1945 he was working in Győr at the usgon factory there. In 1955 I succeeded to get him a job with the army as a civilian locksmith. Because of my desertion he was dismissed from there in 1957 and now he is without a job. He supports himself and my family by working in the market halls as a small cart porter moving and transporting goods for the market-women there.
- (b) He was always in misery since he lived. He started to work when he was five years old because he lost already his parents and was an orphan at this early age.
- (f) We were worse off.
- (g) We had been two of us, I and my father.
- (h) My mother left us when I was only three years old. My father who loved her tenderly, attempted suicide damaging his throat so much that even today he can hardly speak. The wife of the man with whom my mother eloped killed herself by drowning in a river. So there was a depressing atmosphere of this ghastly family tragedy looming over my childhood.

My mother married again in 1936 in Rumania. Later during the war when I was already more grown up she began to care for me again.

My father has remarried later. He took a widow with five children. He meant good. He ~~is~~^{thought} that with the five other children I as a sixth would get some mother's care and family warmth, too. However, my lot was even worse than before. My step-mother did not care for me at all. Finally my father has sent her away and we remained again two of us alone. As I mentioned before, my father is living now in Budapest and working as a eccleie in order to support himself and my wife and my son.

- (i) My wife, my child, and my father. Besides I was supporting also the parents of my wife who lived on the country and both of whom have been crippled and unable to work.
- (k) It was to my advantage but because of my bluntness of expression I always got into trouble.
- (6) Yes.
- (a) In the household. She was of a weak construction.
- (b) 1991.
- (c) One boy, five years old.
- (7-10) Not applicable.
- (11) I always honoured and respected my father because he has

raised me since I was three years old and has sacrificed everything for me. We had some arguments in 1951 because he objected to my marriage with my present wife. For this reason our relationship became for a while strained. We had quite an argument also because of the church wedding since I being an officer my father was very much afraid of the consequences.

- (12) Yes. My father was a member of the trade unions from 1932. From 1945 he was member of the Social-Democratic Party and since the fusion of this party with the Communist Party in 1948 he was a member of the NDP.

He always scolded the present regime since according to him this was not at all the thing which was wanted by the people who had been long-time members of the working movement. He himself was a sapper working on the building of bridges after 1945 and has done very much work on the reconstruction. He had a great hope that time in a better future world. He was then greatly disappointed when he did not even receive from the regime that recognition that, when he was in a need already for a somewhat better and easier job, they would have given him a better deal.

He certainly had a different idea about the rule of the working class than as it turned out. He did not

expect it to take place with Soviet occupation, oppression and terror, where not one's working record counted but rather how one could lick the boots of the political leaders. The country became not the property of the workers but that of the careerists.

Finally he got four disciplinary punishments within a short period of time. One of them because he fraternized with a former officer in his working place and went together to drink at the liquor shop. Another one he got because he told his opinion to the director of the work shop who, before, was his co-worker.

All in all we agreed in most points, only he was a little more careful than I.

- (13) No.
- (13b) Our only disagreement was because of my choice of my wife.
- (13c) Yes. Actually during the last years I was already the head of the family and so I lead, so to speak, my father in many ways.
- (14a) We had a decent family life, far removed from politics. My wife cared only for the family. She had many relatives down in the country, poor peasants, but all of them very antagonistic against the regime. In spite of the fact that my father-in-law was in 1945 a member of the

Party and also member of the Land-reform Committee, however, he was expelled from the Party already in 1946.

(14b) It was quite typical as regards to Army officers families.

(14c) We played cards with my wife or went to a movie.

(14e) My duty hours left very little time for the family. As a field officer I had to get up at 4 o'clock in the morning and arrived home at 1 or 1 30 in the night. I had duty from 5 o'clock A.M. to 11 P.M. ~~NEE~~ Also, when I was at the academy, I had always long daily training and exercises. Later, in the ministry of defense, I had duty only from 0830 A.M. to 0500 P.M. but there was always some extra work in the evenings; Party meetings, lectures, etc. I had lots of control works to do out in the country. About 15 days each month I spent away from Budapest. Therefore my wife was left alone very often and because of this we had many arguments. This state of affairs often leads to the ruin of Army families.

It was not uncommon, also, that officers coming from simple working class or peasant families, after graduating from the Academy felt that their uneducated peasant wife is no more adequate for them. Therefore many such officers get a divorce.

(14f) With nothing. I was usually too tired for anything.

(14g) There were times/~~when~~^{when} ~~when I was called up and ordered here and there~~ according to my will, but there were other times when I was called up and ordered here and there.

- (15) They have been loosened. Divorce became unbelievably widespread. Everything was done to destroy religious morality, which resulted in the decay of general morals and particularly of matrimonial fidelity. The forcing of women to work had similar effects.
- (15d) In the country-side, generally, religion and family morals were preserved to a greater degree. This was the result mainly of the stricter parental supervision. The system itself has promoted IMM immorality. For instance, in 1965 I was travelling in Tokaj. There, the government has brought young boys and girls in order to work on the replantation of the wine yards, so famous once, but now completely ruined by the robber economy of the system. These young people slept in common dormitories. Every evening there was music and dancing up to midnight and afterwards - well, the rest you can imagine yourself. I have to mention here, that at the Army the women were kept strictly separated from men and for instance, I, as a young man, could not even approach their quarters.
- (15e) My son was still very little. Therefore I cannot answer this question. At any rate, I was most definitely against sending my son into a nursery home.
- (15f) See under question 15.
- (16) It became more frivolous.

- (16a) This was not uniform. In the Army, however, it was a principle that the officers should marry at the earliest possible time.
- (16b) These questions have not interested me particularly.
- (16c) There was not an open, but there was a covered form of prostitution. This could be found in every city. Even the newspapers have written about this several times. For example Esti Budapest has written in August 1956 an article which proposed that prostitution should be made again legal because then the prostitutes could be more effectively controlled by the authorities. You could meet such women everywhere in the places of amusement and entertainment, in bars, in restaurants, and even in the espressos. TMK
- (16f) They were more strict about it. For example; in the Army any kind of sexual transgression was severely punished. Naturally this applies only for the little man, the generals just had to pick up their phone and the ~~women~~ were delivered to their homes on order.
- (16g) In my opinion, in such cases, where the birth would be harmful for the society, it should be permitted. I can't decide what policy would be the best in such cases where the honour of the girl and other, sometimes very grave, considerations are for it. Maybe it should be left up to the individual. On the other hand, in those cases

where the parents can easily afford to support a child and want to get rid of it only because of considerations of comfort, I would severely punish the abortion.

During the last years, abortion became so wide spread, that the birth statistics sank below the normal. The attitude of the people in Hungary was: "Who wants to bring a child to this awful world!?"

- (16b) It has changed. They became just as respected members of society as anybody else.
- (16i) Yes. There was a complete emancipation for women, not only in political respect, but also as regards to equal working conditions.
- (17) It has sunk, especially in recent times. There is frequent and easy divorce, stealing, corruption, lying, etc.
- (17b) I was working as a supply officer. Everybody was stealing as much as he could. The reason for this is that nobody is given an adequate pay in the system except, perhaps, the most reliable guardians of the regime, for example the AVK and the factory directors. But stealing became such a general habit that even such people, who would not need to steal, are happily participating in the general fray. I like to give you just a few examples about the working of the so-called socialist morality.
- The head of the cloth depot of the ministry of defense

Colonel Kocsis has for years allocated order blanks for cloths for himself. He embezzled over 1 1/2 million forints in this way. His subordinate, first-lieutenant Matrai, apparently encouraged by the example of his superior stole also about 200/^{thousand}forints worth. Matrai was arrested and sentenced for 8 years in prison. However, the chief delinquent Kocsis was only expelled from the Party and from the Army and transferred to another place to become factory director.

Another example; people have been standing in line for meat, for rice and other so-called scarce articles. At the same time the generals and other high ranking officers have been taking home from the ministry of defense many kilograms of pork, of lemon, of rice, and other valuable articles. The quantity was such that it could not have been only for their families but probably they sold part of it to their acquaintances for a good price. When ~~FINN~~ finally this practice was discovered, these gentlemen received only admonition but no punishment whatsoever. On order, coming from Károly Janza, chief of Army provisions, and deputy defense minister, then later, during the Revolution for a few days Minister of Defense, a resort had to be created and furnished for high officers, that is generals, in the Annavölgy not far from Budapest. The generals received there a complete and rich meal

for ten forints while we, lower rank officers, had to pay the same amount for a simple veal outlet. This resort hotel was provided with all comforts and supplied with all possible needs, still Jansa has ordered Captain Dansinger to procure in addition a pony, a cainpanzee, a parrot, and a lawn for the greater recreation and pleasure of the generals. When later these things received publicity, then the man who gave these orders, has exercised only self-criticism. The other man who carried out his orders, on the other hand, was thrown into jail.

I could give many other true stories, in order to illustrate that bottomless corruption at the Army and the shameless immorality of the high officers' corps.

At the same time a civilian electrician, working for the Army, who has taken home a used telephone diaphragm, was fired from his job for his crime and received a severe Party disciplinary punishment. This is the way how equality works in the Communist system.

(17c) There is everywhere where it is possible. The simple reason that people don't have the necessary money and they need desperately to make some, no matter in what way.

(18a) An Army Officer. In the Ministry of Defense his job was youth advisor. (ifjbbági segítő).

- (18b) Yes.
- (18c) Generally we did our work together, we went together for our inspection tours. In our free time we usually played football.
- (18d) Since both of us had been political instructors, we felt simply amused even at the mention of politics. In ~~GENERAL~~ one thing, however, we agreed, namely that the system is not a system of the people and its leaders are not working in the interest of the people.
- (18e) After the Revolution, our friendship ended because of political reasons. He did not see clearly the goals and the nature of the Revolution. He still could not grasp that Communism is nothing but the dictatorship of a few over the millions.
- (18f) Does not last any more. After my escape he still visited my family a few times but because he criticized my behaviour during the Revolution and my turning away from Communism, my wife has shown him the way out.
- (18g) The sincerity and fidelity under all circumstances.
- (18i) The nature of my job was such that I could not keep a circle of friends. However, I had the best relationship with the doctors whose great problems I understood and tried to help in solving them as much as I could. Between these people and myself, a close contact developed not only in personal affairs, but also as far as political

opinions were concerned.

(18j) I don't know. Most of the time I was disappointed in my friends.

(18kl) In friendship I never asked who is who and what is his political opinion. Before the Revolution, it just happened so that I had many friends who were regarded as reactionaries by the regime.

(19 -y INTERVIEW .

my son are also Catholics. In questions of religion I never liked arguments. My wife is religious, she goes to church regularly. I think that this is only good for her, because thus she remained more purehearted, she has more sense of responsibility and she is more faithful than the average woman. This manifests itself especially in such times as for instance, right now in my case, when the family is torn apart and has to live separated.

(19t) I was somewhat an atheist. This came probably from my imperfect education in my childhood and also from the fact that I did not know love because nobody has loved me. I was hungry and clad in rags. Santa Claus did not bring me anything for Christmas. Therefore the conviction grew in me that the little Jesus does not love me as he loves together children. What wrong did I ~~SEE~~ do that I had to suffer so much. My next thought was, that if

there is a God, why does he let to suffer certain people. However, this opinion was formed only by myself and I never told anybody and never tried to preach atheism to anybody.

- (20b) The Communists have been well aware of the great strength of religion. Therefore they did not want to stamp it out, but tried to use it for their own ends. Proof for this is the fact, that they have persecuted only those priests who did not want to serve the regime. For example, the Calvinists and other denominations were left relatively unharmed.
- (20c) Those who were willing to serve the regime and became its faithful supporters. These have received also material rewards from the state. These priests were very much despised by the other priests and by the people.
- (20f) Church going was not prohibited. However, if a Party member was sighted in church, he received severe disciplinary punishment. A member of the Army could be discharged on this account.
- (20h) Sometimes I accompanied my wife to church in civilian clothing.
- (20i) In recent times, churches were overflowing from the great crowds. I think the reason for this was, that people have turned to God and hoped the improvement

in their heavy lot from him. Even Party members started to go to church during the last years.

- (20j) The Roman Catholic Church was in the sharpest opposition to the regime. In my opinion, the reason for this was that the Catholic Church was the most despised also materially because, for instance, its immense land properties were confiscated by the regime. In comparison the other churches have hardly lost anything.
- (20k) In my opinion the Communist education has had its influence on the youth in this matter. Most of the young people are no more religious. On the other hand, this could be easily changed by new religious education of the children.
- (20l) I don't see clearly in this matter.
- (21) It is a principle of mine that I don't give such advise to anybody. Perhaps I would do some good for the moment if I would advise somebody according to my ^{lights} ~~life~~, but it is not at all sure that this would be good for the future too. Everybody has to choose his own vocation, I will let my son become, whatever he wants, even him I would not advise to choose any vocation.
- (22a) In the following order; I. The leaders of the Party and of the Government, members of the Central Committee. II. Generals, members of the AVH, Stachanovites and

factory directors. III. Engineers, doctors, artists. IV. Technical clerks, technicians, Army officers, (with a commission). V. Workers, peasants. VI. Men of the former Horthy regime.

(22b) So the third, namely I would have liked to go to the technical university and get a degree from there.

(22c) They had a privileged position and belonged to the best paid section. However, it should be mentioned here that they haven't been paid uniformly either. For example, the football players have been actually divided into three categories. First the stars, for example Fuskás, Bozsik, Hideg Kúti, second Kocsis, Grosics etc, third those who haven't been the best in political respect, for example Uzibor, Sándor, etc. Sometimes in the same team the players had been differently treated and paid which caused, of course, bitter feelings in those who had been discriminated against.

(22d) Those artists who have served the regime unconditionally have been living well. On the other hand, those, who did not accept the so-called Socialist Realism, they could not get recognition for their art. Generally however, the artists lived better than the average people.

(23) The workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, the small bourgeoisie (in insignificant numbers) and finally

the undesirable elements from the point of view of the regime.

- (23d) Yes, the Party and the state themselves work in such direction. I think that their goal is to break up the unity of the Hungarian people because that is a dangerous thing for them.

It did not raise barriers between simple people. For example, among my friends there were people coming from very different background.

- (23e) Greater, because the regime succeeded in making everybody equally poverty stricken, ~~halfstarved~~ have-nots.

- (23f) Social equality is a good thing only not in that form as they have done it. Rather it should work in such a way that the standard of the simple people should be raised to be equal to the standards of the higher strata of the society.

- (23g) People are more nervous than before. This comes partly from the insecurity of life but also from the educational policy of the system which, instead of stressing the parental love and humanity, has implanted hatred against men. The youth was taught to love only the Party and the Soviet Union.

- (24) the nationality questions were generally well solved and taken care of.

- (25a) The Jews generally, went along with the regime. They had two reasons for acting this way. First, it meant life for them after the Nazis. Secondly, it protected them in such a way that if fought against anti-Semitism and instead of discrimination, it gave them all the opportunities. Naturally there were people also among the Jews, who had been hostile toward the regime, especially the rich Jews.
- (25b) Unfortunately Rakosi, Gerö, etc. had been Jews and so was the great majority of the leadership of the Party.
- (25c) My Jewish acquaintances had behaved either passively or took part in Party works actively. Those Jewish functionaries, whom I knew personally, did not let us non-Jews feel any antipathy neither desire of revenge because of the wrongs they have suffered previously.
- (25d) The spiritual preparation for the Revolution was done mostly by Jewish writers. They took part also in the organization and direction of the Revolution. However, the Jews have behaved during the Revolution mostly passively since they could not see ~~it~~ where the thing would lead and they could not know whether it would not end in anti-Semitism.
- (25e) Since the Party leadership was heavily Jewish, therefore every wrong was attributed to the Jews by many people. However, generally not the simple workers and peasants have been anti-Semitic but rather the former supporters

- of theorthy regime. Anti-Semitism only divides the people and transfers the crimes of the ruling class on a innocent stratum of the population.
- (25f) From the viewpoint of the people it has changed. The people look at things realistically. It is not anti-semitic but it can be turned to that easily.
- (25g) Somewhat lessened. The educational policy of the state and of the Party has fought against anti-Semitism.
- (25h) There is only one question to it whether the camp of the honest people would be enough strong to prevent such racial hatred and discrimination.

- (1) I was an Army Officer.
- (2) Between 1945 and 1948 I was locksmith-apprentice. From October 1948 I was with the Army.
- (2a) I was cultural instructor at the Army Supplies Headquarters of the Ministry of Defense.
- (2b) 1st Lieutenant.
- (2c) For two years.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) (see under the B type interview on Military Affairs with respondent).
- (3) No.
- (3a) The fact that I could work among the people and could teach people.
- (3b) The fact that it was a routine job and in addition the fact that you never could satisfy your superiors.
- (3c) The worst possible. I was not independent. I had to work like an automaton.
- There was no independent cultural work. You had to introduce politics into everything.
- (3e) By streetcar, one hour dully.
- (3f) From 8:30 A.M. to 5 P.M. However, after my work at the ministry I had to go out for inspection to the troops. About 15 days each month I spent away from Budapest.

- (3g) Six days but often also on Sunday.
- (3j) In the Army the length of vacation was according to somebody's assignment, his rank, and his length of service. I had 30 days yearly.
- (3o) In offices I was treated better than the civilians. I could make use of cultural opportunities, better than others. Otherwise there was no advantage connected with it.
- (4 5) Partly not applicable, partly see under "B" type interview on Military Affairs with the respondent).
- (6) Our living condition improved since I received fairly good salary in comparison with the average pay of the people. My father's and that of the parents of my wife has deteriorated.
- (6d) Yes, because I have worked much more than those colleagues of mine who have received much better salary. The exploitation was done by the state. I understand under exploitation the case, when the amount of the salary received is below the value of the work done.
- (7) See under "B" type interview on Military Affairs with respondent.

- (10a) At the beginning it was a healthy evolution. However, when the Hungarian economy was subordinated to foreign interest, the economic life of the country took a wrong turn.
- (10b) It has killed the small man, the small property. The workers were bleed white by the ruthless exploitation by the regime.
- (10c) I was still a child but already felt that it was no good either.
- (10d) It meant improvement. However, during later years this development was directed into the wrong direction.
- (10efg) I don't see it clearly. These questions refer to things which had been changing and affected different people differently.
- (11) They had been very important. This is a general human law, namely that ~~where~~ where there is good living, there is no cause for discontent. Especially the workers and the peasants were hit hard by it, but all other strata of society ^{were} ~~were~~ affected also.
- (11b) The lack of political rights and freedom and the violation of legality. Above all however, stood the rape of the country by a foreign power.

(1) The events preceding and leading up to the Revolution, with other words, the causes of the Revolution. In addition that who has taken part in it and what was its goal.

(2) In my opinion it has started already in 1948. To the outbreak of a Revolution one or two days are not enough, for the right atmosphere it is necessary that the ruling section should not be able to rule anymore and that the people should not be able to live anymore in the old manner.

In 1948 has began the total delivery of the country to the Soviet Union. That was when the so called "building of Socialism" started. From this time on could the worker see from day to day that this system was not the one he was hoping for and wanted to be established. The dissatisfaction reached its peak in 1955-56.

In Russia there was the so called de -Stalinization in the wake of the 20th Party Congress. Simultaneously in Hungary too, a so called democratization was started. Even within the Party they have taken up the fight against Stalinism. More and more things came to the daylight which up to that time where hidden before the people. This again added fuel to the Revolutionary dissatisfaction of the people.

The leaders of the Party themselves had been forced to admit that in certain questions they have driven the course of Socialism in the wrong direction. They even started to admit that, for example, they have thrown into prison and send to the scaffold masses of innocent people.

(2b) The most important of all events was the 20th Party Congress.

(2c) The 20th Congress. Even before I read the entire secret closing speech of Khrushchov, I have already seen from the published material of the Congress that tremendous changes were to be expected. This impression could be derived, for instance, from the elimination of the so-called cult of personality, with other words the ~~de-stalinization~~ stalinization.

In Hungary everybody demanded that Rakosi & Co. should follow the Russian example and exercise self-criticism. The idol has fallen and the Party has lost its power and influence to direct the mood of the people already during the summer of 1956 and could only trail after the events lamely.

(We, Party members, have known about the existence of the secret closing speech of Khrushchev. We had been dissatisfied and grumbling because we have not been shown this. Finally they have given it to our hands

in Hungarian translation, but only in extract. However, I succeeded in reading the entire Russian text, which I found one day on the desk of the Russian adviser attached to Károly Jansa. Its effect was simply crushing).

I did not think on the possibility of a Revolution, I was hoping in a peaceful democratic transformation.

I expected that those Democratic politicians, who were freed from the prisons and those who would return from their Western exile would help to direct this development in the best direction.

- (2e) It is an undeniable fact that the writers have played a great role in the preparation of the Revolution. Perhaps it was due to their cultural education they have seen more clearly ~~AMERICAN~~ than the simple people and therefore they have urged the democratization most vigorously. Besides they have belonged to those whose work was restricted and forced into lifeless routine for the greatest degree by the regime. Then they might have felt themselves guilty in the state of affairs which they too have promoted with their writings, education, and the misleading of the people.

- (2f) This change was very noticeable in the tone of the press in the summer of 1956. This was so even in the central newspaper of the Party Szabad Nép. However, the leading role was played by Irodalmi Ujság.

(2g) For example the article by Méray on October the 6th, 1956 in connection with the burial of Rajk.

(3) The dissatisfaction with the material conditions, further the violation of the political rights and freedom and of the legality and the subjugation of the country by a foreign power.

(3a) This was the time up to which all Hungarians, be Party member or non-member, have understood the meaning of things. This was the time when the waves of dissatisfaction reached high point.

There was a whole series of rehabilitation of people innocently convicted. Discussions in the Petöfi circle has reached the point where the leaders could not answer any more without lying ~~on~~ the questions put up to them.

(3b) On the one hand, nobody counted on such developments. Further the police and the Army was not solidly behind the Party. For example, the announced 15,000 reduction in the officer's corps and the planned new reorganization in the Army has made the loyalty of the officers questionable. The government, that is Ernő Gerö, could not give the necessary orders because he was away in Yugoslavia. The Central Committee itself was divided into two fractions. One part of them championed the course of Democratization. The others were insisting on following the old line of Rakosi. For example István Bata has proposed on the night session of the

- Central Committee of October 23rd that the Army should be thrown in against the people but he was voted down.
- (3e) The realization and achievement of Democratization in Hungary on the basis of the 14 points.
- (3f) I don't know.
- (3g) I don't know.
- (3h) This was certainly told by many other respondents already. I don't want to repeat.
- (3i) No. There were no anti-Communist slogans.
- (3l) There have been.
- (3m) In this matter I can't prophesy. However, in case the Revolution would have been inclined too much to the right (there were some signs pointing in that direction on November 2nd and 3rd) after the prisons were opened) then it would have come into conflicts with the workers and the peasants and a second revolution would have ensued.
- (4) In the early morning of October 24th, I started out on a car with my family from Nyiregyháza toward our home in Budapest. The Nyiregyháza-Debrecen highway was swamped with Russian motorized units and tanks heading towards the capital. I was told in Nyiregyháza that this movement began already the evening before on the 23rd from ^{the} Russian border.

I reached only Pestszentlőrinc a suburb of Budapest where I was held up by the people. They surrounded my car and demanded in quite an unfriendly manner that I should remove the Red Star from my cap and tear down my shoulder straps. I obeyed, although I did not understand what was going on. However, you could hear the thunder of guns from the direction of the city. On my questions, the people told me the events of last night and they showed me the 14 Points. They asked me to join the Revolution. I was worried only about my family but they offered shelter for my wife and my child at the house of a peasant.

The officers of the anti-aircraft artillery barracks in Pestszentlőrinc refused to give any help. We asked in vain arms from them. Finally, not having fire arms, we decided that the best we could do to help the Revolutionaries fighting in the city, to build and maintain road blocks thus holding up the Russian reinforcements. There was a high railway substructure under which the main highway led toward Budapest. We blocked this spot by moving and overturning railway cars. In the meantime, many boys went in to the city and returned with small arms. So while the Russians had to get out each time from their tanks and remove the wagons blocking their way, we have disturbed them and have attacked them

MM in the rear. Needless to say that they did not remain inactive either, but have shot to pieces the surrounding cottages and machine gunned also peaceful people walking on the streets.

In the evening of the 25th I succeeded under great difficulties in bringing my family home to Obuda. After this time I was active in Budapest. I tried to bring over to the side of the Revolution the Nagy Antal anti-aircraft artillery barracks of Buda. Namely this would have meant a considerable firing ~~power~~ power for our side. Unfortunately, the officers there had been cowards without backbones and decided to remain completely passive and inactive.

The next thing was that I started to deliver food for the people by a Red Cross car into the Könyvt food shops. I did this mainly because I was hoping that in this way I would be able to move around and find connection with the different military units. I was held up on the 27th by three young Revolutionaries and when they found arms in my Red Cross car, I was arrested and taken in to the Kilián barracks. There I met Pál Maléter, Ms. Szabó etc. We agreed that I would return to the anti-aircraft barracks in Buda and there I would organize ^{the} Soldiers' Council among the enlisted men.

I carried out my mission, but my activities were pre-

naturally discovered by the chief of staff of the division Szegvári and when, according to my instructions, I wanted to arrest him, I was betrayed by my coward fellow officers so that I was arrested instead by him and after having threatened me with execution he ordered me to be taken into custody on the political section of the division. This happened on the 29th. There I have received an official reprimand, but since on the 30th there appeared an official government order on the organization of Soldiers' Councils, I simply left them without anybody daring to stand in my way.

Immediately I contacted again Maleter and the others then I went in to the Ministry of Defense, where we organized the Soldiers' Councils and published the demands of the Army. This we did during the night of October 30th to the 31st.

On October 31st we have formed a National Defense Committee (Nemzeti Karhatalmi Bizottság) in the Kilian barracks. One of the main duties of this Committee was the organization of the National Guard. I was working within the Committee ~~together~~ together with Béla Király. In addition I was commissioned to reorganize the Freedom Fighters' Union.

On November 4th, I was hurrying toward the Ministry of Defense. It was too late when I sighted the Russians

at the corner. They saw me already and held me up. Finally after having shown them my identification card from the Ministry, they have taken me into the building. From there I was taken together with many of my fellow officers to Tököl to the Russian Headquarters. In Tököl I was questioned by 5 Russian officers. They have already obtained information about my behaviour and role during the Revolution from a colleague of mine. Of course I did not know this and on their friendly questions I gave a negative answers. This went on for a while up to the point when suddenly the huge Mongolian chief sprang up and knocked me down with a terrific blow. As if on a sign the others jumped up too and began to beat me. I lost consciousness and ~~XXX~~ when I awoke I found myself in the Military Hospital. There they have already performed an operation on my right eye on which I lost completely my sight. I was in the hospital for 10 days.

Since before I was a Cultural Lecturer of this hospital I knew everybody there and was in friendly relationship with the doctors and their personal. Therefore I felt secure there. I called up the Red Cross where I found a job when I left the hospital on November the 14th. I worked then with the Red Cross until the middle of January.

(7) In the National Defense Committee I had the opportunity to meet the leaders of every significant group. In my opinion the most important and effective have been the Jervin-Köz and the Killian barracks. The best organized and disciplined group was that of Szabo bacsí on the Szena Square.

The best organizer was the simple peasant Szabo bacsí.

(Later the Mikó regime tried to spread rumors about him as having been actually a former Lieutenant-Colonel in Horthy's gendarmes, but this is absolutely a lie.)

(7a) Unfortunately there were conflicts among the Revolutionary leaders. During the meetings there have been heated debates and disagreements. For example, On November 3rd in the National Committee there was a great debate whether the strike should continue or not.

The conflict manifested itself also in that way that on the 3rd there was already discussion about such questions, as for example, who has done more in the service of the Revolution.

(7c) See under question 4 and under question 7.

I was working at the organization of the Soldiers' Councils and as a member of the National Defense Committee. There the president was Béla Király and the vice president Sándor Kopácsy. In this position

I knew all the leading personalities of the Revolution; Maleter, Kiraly, Eszabo Bucci, Dudas, etc.

(8a) At the beginning the behaviour of those Russians who had been stationed in Hungary, had the opportunity to learn to know the Hungarian people and have been already accustomed to the country, has been entirely different from ~~xxx~~ the behaviour of those who have come later from elsewhere. Among the former there was not seldom that somebody took our side in the Revolution. I saw with my own eyes that on Nagyvarad-Square 10 - 18 Russian tanks have raised the Hungarian flag and when it came to a fight they were shooting at the attacking Russian tanks.

The supply for the Russians was not organised. Their spirit was very low, they did not have food, therefore often they gave away their arms for a piece of bread. After November the 4th, the Soviet troops, mostly dark Mongolians, behaved like cruel beasts. I have met quite a few even before November 4th who have thought that they were in Berlin or were looking for the Suez Canal.

(I really think that the troops, sent to Hungary, were destined originally for the Suez. I base my suspicion on the fact that in spite of the cold November weather they have been in light summer linnen uniforms so that

- so they were freezing to death and besides their equipment was not for street fighting, but rather for the expected fights at the canal zone. For instance, they had with them quite a few amphibious tanks, which could be used on the water.
- (8c) Quite shamefully. They fought on the side of the Rakosi regime. For instance, the Greeks at Szalinváros have shot at the people.
- (8e) See under letter a.
- (9) I had no time for newspapers or the radio. All my time was taken up by the work of organization. I was interested only in the military news of the Revolution, which I received through the telephone reports, sent to us by the Revolutionary Committee.
- (9abc) See under question 9.
- (10) These organizations have come over simply and smoothly to the side of the Revolution. How much this was a deceit rather than a sincere act of faith was shown only later but at the beginning we had been deluded by our easy successes.
- (10a) First of all the AVO has crumbled. Most of the local Councils have been also dissolved and instead Revolutionary Councils have been formed. The police has been absorbed

in practice into the national guard.

(10b) The MDP, the Hungarian Workers' Party, which was the cover name for the Communist Party has been abolished and instead the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party the MSZMP was formed. Among its founding members there were Pal Malster, Sandor Kopacsy, Imre Nagy and many others who are kept in prison today by Kadar.

The Party organisations have been mostly dissolved and the functionaries disappeared nicely and quietly.

(10g) The government broke up during the Revolution and those members of it, who felt that they would be held responsible have fled from the country.

The higher officials have taken their way toward the airfield of Tököl and placed themselves under the protection of the Russians.

Other members of the government and high offices have gone over to the side of the Revolution.

The Ministries usually formed their own Revolutionary Councils, however, their activities were practically limited to the barest in those days.

(10h) See under letter a.

(10j) The Army and the police.

(10k) The Revolutionary Council, the Workers' Councils, and more than 40 political parties.

(10l) I don't know.

(10a) A Democratic republic.

(11) Yes.

(11a) Yes. It has shown ^{us} ~~them~~ the termination of the Hungarian people, its political stand, its desire for freedom and its heroism. Although the Revolution was defeated, still it will remain an eternal reminder to the ruling clique that the Hungarian people cannot be forced to wear shackles forever.

It was useful also for that reason that it has opened the eyes of the people. Many such data have come to their hands and to the daylight which have proved irrevocably the complete immorality and rottenness of the system even to those who were still blind to it.

It was useful also because it has shown to the West that this handful little Hungarian nation does not deserve that harsh treatment which it always received from the West, for example Truman, Yalta, etc.

(11b) Yes. Either with effective help from the UN and the Western powers, or by clever tactical moves. I mean under this, that instead of having insulted the great Russian Empire, we should have flattered the vanity of the Russians by sending them, for instance, telegrams of thanks and gratitude to Moscow after the first inter-

vention, saying that they not only have liberated us 12 years before, but they have saved us now again from the horrors of fascism and expressing our certain hopes that they would help us in proceeding on the road of Democratic development and in the eliminating of the harmful legacies of the Rakosi clique. With other words, ~~he~~ ^{he} might to have made possible for the Soviet Union that they could have withdrawn smoothly from Hungary without losing their face. Unfortunately, we had been too much of a fire-brand for such clever tactics. We let ourselves carry away by the flush of victory.

(11c) I did not expect only medicine but concrete armed actions. After November 4th, they should have forced the Russians to withdraw by different sanctions.

(11e) I think of him as an honest Hungarian man for whom the love of his country and his patriotism are much greater things than his political principles. Unfortunately, he was rather weak, he did not see clearly the power potentials working in the Revolution and the way out from the chaos and catastrophe. He should have proclaimed the neutrality of Hungary much earlier and asked for help from the West. He should have tought of the defense of the country and ordered a general mobilization and he should have called up ^{two} ~~in~~ strong divisions for the defense of the capital. (I have

- urged this last measure constantly in the National Committee until Maléter himself saw the necessity of it on November 2nd but then it was already too late.
- (11f) Only the people. The politicians, and the military leaders began their role only later.
- (11g) The youth, the intellectuals, the workers, and the soldiers, others, the peasants and the irresponsible elements.
- (11h) no.
- (12) At the end of February.
- (12a) They wanted to arrest me.
(Up to the middle of January I was working with the Red Cross. I was sent to Yugoslavia in order to receive the Care packages for Hungary. For this mission I succeeded in procuring a passport and an authorization signed by Antal Apró, Deputy Prime Minister and Grubenyik, the Russian Commander of Budapest.
In the first days of January, I went in some business to the Ministry of Defense where, to my greatest surprise, I met Es. Szabo, former aid of Maléter. He told me that Maléter sent out his instructions according to which we should join the Sarkatolon, that is the new police force of the regime, in order that we could occupy it from within.

I followed this instruction with several of my colleagues. After a few weeks however, the Elharito section (Defense Section which was composed entirely of former AVH men) has started an investigation against us. I was accused that ~~they had seen me~~ I was sighted twice already to enter the U.S. embassy. I defended myself with the excuse that this was necessary in connection with my job, receiving and transporting the CARE packages from America. Finally I thought it more secure, that with the help of the hospital doctors, who have operated on my eye, I asked for sick-leave and discharge from the service. One day I received a confidential warning that I would be arrested that night. On this news I fled to Yugoslavia, using the last time my legal passport.

((12b) I did not have time for that.

(12c) I had, that was the reason why I secured a passport. Namely we talked over with my friends and fellow officers that as long as it would be possible, we would not leave Hungary but would try to get commissioned into the different posts and using the hatred of the people against the Russians and the Kadar regime, we would organize a new resistance. We would leave the country only then if there would not be any more hope left at home.

Several of my former comrades are still working, just

as I described and I hope that their difficult mission
won't be without fruits, won't be in vain.

- (1) Yes, it is only natural that one is interested in something which affects the course of his whole life.
- (1a) In 1948, when I came to the Army, I began to have an interest in politics, since there one of the main subjects was politics. Later, when I became cultural instructor, ~~was~~ my job was heavily loaded with politics. There were times, however, when just as a reaction to the over-done political activities, I was so much fed up with politics that I would not read even the newspapers anymore. When discovered, I was given several times serious scolding because of my neglect. I received regularly the Népszereg without looking at it often for months.
- (1c) As cultural instructor at the Army, naturally. Later also during the Revolution. For this see under Section R.
- (2a) With the Social Democratic Party. First of all because I was a worker's son and it seemed to me that in that Party I should be able to find the people who would fight for my principles.
- (2b) After the fusion of the Social Democratic Party with the Communist Party in 1948 when they formed the Hungarian Worker's Party, the MDP.

(2c) They have changed. At the beginning I trusted in the rightness and truth of Socialism, but until the summer of 1955 I became convinced that everything what they have said was nothing but empty bla-bla and reality lay diametrically opposite to it.

Since I am here now in the West, I could see also with my own eyes how untrue was everything what they have told us about the West and the situation of the workers in the West.

(2d) I had not a good opinion of the Communist Party before 1946. I shared in this the general hatred of the population against the "liberators" who have been looting and raping throughout the country and with this our hatred and despise turned also against those who have served and glorified these asiatic hords. Besides, my master's family, where I was apprentice, had been very religious people and naturally strongly anti-Communist especially because of the persecution of Cardinal Mindszenty. Their attitude has affected also my thinking.

However, around 1947, when I saw that they brought a new currency and that the living standard of the people was slowly raised, I began to believe the propaganda of the Party.

(2e) See under letter d.

(2f) IV.

(2h) With terror. People have been afraid of the AVH, of prison and of deportation.

(2i) To all extent we had been warned and threatened with this all the time. We had been yearly twice qualified (minősítés). Each time everybody was trembling like an aspen leaf because in case of bad qualification, one was demoted, which meant reduction in one's salary, which again could have catastrophic consequences in the support of one's family.

The qualification was not fair. It was made entirely according to their political viewpoints and not according to the qualities of the person and the work performed. In fact, if the person was able and talented, the stricter the censures against him had been. For example, in my case they have written in my record in the following way: "... he is a talented, able officer, excellent organizer which makes it the more serious and condemnable that he is irresponsible, likes Jazz music, does not criticize and condemn enough the Western bourgeois decadent culture etc, etc."

Anything which was entered on one's kader card, that remained there and followed him to the grave. There was no such a thing as superannuation or revision of the kader cards.

- (3) They did not value my talents and ability satisfactorily, they did not pay me according to the amount of work I have performed, and they have always insulted my self-consciousness. Besides I have seen that the working class, where I myself came from, does not live the way as it was said by the regime.
- (3a) XI, VII, and XIII. (The last one rather later).
- (3b) VIII, II, VI.
- (c) VII, X, and XI.
- (3d) XIV, II, and V. (I want to add here also number IX. This would probably surprise you, but you could not imagine how important the food question became for the peasants. During harvest time the peasants often did not have bread, neither did they have lard, sugar, etc.. But of course, they had been sent by the regime every day Szabad Föld, a newspaper expounding them the people's paradise on this earth.)
- (3e) III, V, and XV.
- (3g) With the workers and the small men, the alcohol, besides family love. For me the music has meant the purest relaxation and enjoyment. There was hardly possible to go to the theaters or movies for this, since they were filled with worthless political socialist realist pieces.

(4) It was in the hands of the Soviet Union. Rakosi and Co. had been only puppets in the hands of their Moscow masters.

(4a) In each ministry and in each important position everywhere you could find the Soviet Advisers. Rakosi has ~~been~~ ^{often} betrayed himself when explaining a Party line he said, for instance "as we have discussed this with our Soviet colleagues". In the Ministry of Defense, for instance, each order and each instruction, before it was handed down, was presented first by the minister to the Soviet military adviser for approval.

The slogan that all power belonged to the workers was only an eye-wash. Although this was used all the time in order to deceive the people and although the working class has received some real privileges, -for example they were the only ones who had all the possibilities of advancements, the doors of every school were open only to their children and generally they had to be the least afraid of the terror! - in spite of all this, the political power of the working class, and even the possibility of participation in the political life of the country by the working class, was equal to zero.

(4b) The Council of Ministers were subordinated to the Party. It executed the instructions of the Party.

(4c) The Party.

(4d) Nothing. It was a mere marionette theater. It has

brought only such resolutions, which have been prescribed by the Party.

- (4e) Only because since they have ~~PREACHED~~ preached all the time Democracy, they had to deceive the people somehow. For instance, by that device that it was permitted at least on paper, to cross out a name on the ballot.
- (4f) You could see that everywhere. For example, in the Ministry of Defense the head of the motorized units had no right to allocate or transfer a motor-car without the written permission from the minister or of the chief of staff.
- (4g) It was wide spread because no section of the society was paid enough salary. First of all the bureaucrats of the local council, especially the officials of the housing board, could be bribed.
- (4h) Mixed. Generally of reliable elements, from the point of view of the regime. But of course, personal connections counted heavily. The former name for such connections, namely "protekcio", was now changed for "Socialist connections" or "Szocialista összeköttetések".
- (4i) Generally from the children of workers, peasants, and progressive intellectuals, who have seemed reliable from the point of view of the regime. I myself did not see any advantage in being an officer. Just the opposite! A worker, when he has put down his hammer, he was free after, not like me who could be summoned during the night.

Also, if a worker has told his opinion to the foreman, he was not arrested for that, while I would have been thrown into prison in no time for the same thing. To top it all, my salary was not better than a good worker's salary either.

(4j) From reliable leaders, mostly of Party members. Later generally only of those who have attended the Red Academy.

(5) Only so far that DISE members had been admitted easier to the schools and to different other places.

(5b) No, but it was useful.

(5c) No, I was member of the Party.

(5k) The Party

(6) At the beginning I was proud that I could be a member of the Party. I believed that within the Party I would be able to work on the building of a better future for the Hungarian people. Later, when I discovered all the lies, I was already ashamed because of my Party membership. However, then it was already impossible for me to quit my job and the very existence of my family was at stake. This time I was known already as the person who likes to slip away from the Party meetings as soon as he could. I was namely terribly annoyed already at that time with all those lies.

(6a) Generally there was no compulsion, but it was expedient.

At the beginning, in 1948/49, those people had to join who have been in leading positions. If they did not do this, they were made impossible.

(6b) The careerists. Especially those people tried to get into the Party who were discriminated against by the regime. For example, children of kulaks, of former officers etc, who tried to circumvent this way the disadvantages which were there because of their origin.

These became more catholic than the Pope. The most ardent and bloody-mouthed Communists and informers came from among such people. During the last time, genuine working class people have not been any more enthusiastic about the Party. They had to be caught virtually by rope to come and join the Party. I read all the Party resolutions and all of them were full of the demand that the working class foundation of the Party should be strengthened.

(6c) The Party members had not much rights. According to the organisational statutes, they had the right to criticize the Party leadership, but in reality, everybody knew that his ~~IRISHKASHIOME~~ fate would be sealed if he would use this right of his.

The duty of a Party member consisted of obligatory participation in Party meetings and activities, in carrying through the policy of the Party in his field

(5e)

of work, in obeying in a disciplined way the instructions of the Party and in paying the progressive Party dues. I know quite a few people who have been changed after they became members of the Party. They became careerists as if suddenly all opportunities would have opened before them and therefore the previously honest and modest people began to push ahead and use their elbows mercilessly. These were the people who spoke up always at the meetings who looked for ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ faults everywhere and in everybody and who denounced others.

There were, however, especially at the beginning people who joined the Party out of idealism and for whom it took time to realize the dirty reality.

During the last years, however, according to my personal experience, only such people have joined the Party who did this because of their personal interest and had been plainly careerists.

(6f)

or later they discovered that the teaching of Marxism was only on paper and the reality was entirely different from that what we have imagined under Socialism. Also the fact that it was much more important the victory of the Soviet Union over the entire world, than the raising of the living standard of the population in those countries which had been already under Communist rule. Not even to mention all that filth, that ~~XXXXX~~ corruption

which was discovered by each member sooner or later!

(6g) This varied. It depended on what kind of connections somebody had. I have known many non-Party members who had been in important ministerial positions.

(6h) Yes.

(6i) On September 9, 1949. I became a candidate for the membership in the Army. I was recruited to the Party by the Party Secretary in my unit who has given me a questionnaire, which I have filled out and soon I became a member.

(6j) Because I believed that the Socialism preached by them, would ~~would~~ really contribute to the rise of the Hungarian people.

(6k) Yes. See under letter f.

(6l) When in October 1954 I was sent to the Ministry of Defense, I could see first time on the national level too the horrible distortions of the system. At the same post I could see the unbelievable corruption of the leading section and the shamefully deceitful character of the entire system.

(6m) I was working in such field that I could not avoid to be constantly involved. I was political instructor.

(6n) The Party cells had been usually organized in somebody's workplace. Therefore I belonged to the Party within the Army. However, I was together there not

only with the other political instructors, but also with the Party member field officers and also the civilians who worked for the Army and had been members of the Party.

(Only those Party members who had been outside of factories for instance working in small trade or in the household, ^{were} ~~that~~ organized in cells on territorial basis).

At the head of the Party stood the Party Congress, which had its convention each four years. The Congress has elected the Central Committee of the Party. The membership of this depended on the size of the Party.

Between two Congresses the Central Committee was directing the work of the Party. The Central Committee had several departments for the different fields of activity, for each of which one member of the Central Committee was responsible.

The Congress has selected also the Political Committee of the Party, the Control Committee and the Revision Committee.

The Central Committee has elected from among its members the secretaryship of the Party, which consisted of five members.

Then there were the Party Committees of greater Budapest and of the counties. Under the County Committee were the District and the Town Committees. Under the Town Committee were the district and the factory basic

organizations, or Party Committees. (If membership exceeded 500, already Party Committees could be elected).

Under the District Committees had been the village and the kolkhose or state farm or tractor station, basic organizations or Party Committees. The smallest unit was the Party group. This could be formed by 3 members already.

In Budapest there was the Budapest Party Committee, below it the District Committees, below that the factory and the area primary organizations and Party Committees.

This was the organizational structure of the Party in civilian life. At the Armed Forces it was somewhat different.

(For the build up of the Party organization within the Army see 'B' type interview on military affairs with respondent).

That Party group, to which I belonged in the Army, had 18 members. Our primary organization consisted of 125 members.

(60) Generally there was a meeting every two weeks in the Party group and every month in the primary organization.

The type and the manner, and even the tone of the meeting could be entirely different. At the beginning of each meeting we had elected the presidency. The type of the

meeting could be, for example, a meeting called for the election ~~the~~^{of} leadership or for theoretical training, or for the admission of new members and candidates, or for the discussion of Party resolutions, or there were so called Action Committee Meetings held, etc..

There was a great difference in the conduct of the Party meetings according to the time when it took place. In 1953, the spirit, the tone and the whole atmosphere of a meeting was entirely different than in 1950 or 1951 has been. And this was again different from a meeting held in 1956, when for instance, in one of our resolutions we have called the generals "second-rate".

(6r) The political committee and at the last instance the Communist Party of the Soviet Union through its advisors in Hungary.

- (6a) Rakosi is very able, clever, and a good organizer. He speaks several languages. He can easily create a friendly atmosphere and close contact with the people. The fact that he has ruined the country, cannot be attributed to ignorance, in my opinion, but rather to the fact that he was a rascal and a Russian agent.

Notably ~~Farcs~~^{and} Ernő Gerő had been able and talented men too.

Most of the others had little capacity but the more big was their mouth. In my opinion the stupidest of them has been Dögei, János Kádár, István Bata and so ad infinitum.

as the most honest among all I consider Imre Nagy.

He is an open, straight forward honest man, whose patriotism is greater than any fanatic following of principles. He was a friendly, human man whom we called only as "Imre Bácsi" or "Uncle".

6) The political line of the Party changed steadily. At the beginning they admitted everybody. The main goal was the nationalisation of the heavy industry, land-reform, new currency and through these measures the winning of the popular favour. The take-over of power was made relatively easy since behind the Party stood the Red Army.

1948 was called the year of change and rightly so. Since the Party, by this time, had all the power, did not care anymore about popular opinion and began the fight against the so called kulaks, small trades men and artisans, etc., in order to ruin them and eliminate them from the society. On August 20th, 1949 the new Constitution was proclaimed. The Party started on the "building of Socialism" with the first 5 Year Plan.

However, in 1953 they were bankrupt already with their great economic plans and were forced to put aside Rakosi and let the popular Imre Nagy take his place, who then introduced the so called new course with the June Party Resolution. Rakosi in the background was conducting steady intrigues against Imre Nagy and succeeded in

coming back in 1955 and to continue his old line up to the XX Party Congress.

This time when the destruction of the cult of personality became imperative, even Rakosi was forced to exercise self-criticism. Of course, he would have liked to remain even after that the old one and ~~desire~~ to rule further the people but after the publication of the XX Congress Party Resolution, the Hungarian people drove to the wall Khrushchev and tore the Party by open and courageous criticism until finally the Party let the whip fall from its hands which was seized immediately by the people and used on the back of the Party.

(7) of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Union, which was later called MOHOSOK.

(7c) To prepare the youth for the defense of the country, with other means, to raise such men who would fight in the case of a war on the side of the Army or as partisans.

This organization gave training in the use of arms, in driving cars, motor boats, in flying, in using radio sets, etc. Actually it had greatly contributed to the efficiency of the youth during the Revolution, namely the youngsters below military age have learned to use arms through this organization and the arsenals of the

Wolfe. At least at the beginning the only sources of supplies
 to me and my unit for the Revolutionaries.

- [7d] I joined in 1950 and remained its member only up to the
 time when I returned again to the Army.
- [7e] Since I was already a veteran Army man, I gave military
 advice to its other members:
- [7g] Since the people did not like the mass organizations, be-
 cause of the dues they had to pay the dues, on the other
 hand I took away from them lots of their free time.
- [7i] These workers they have outlived already their reputation
 and as a result they did not have any significance any-
 more.
- [7n] These workers did not like the Trade Unions, because those
 did not perform their real duties, namely the fight for
 the interests and the defence of the interests of the workers.
 Instead the Trade Union championed only the raising of the
 price of living materials etc., with other words, the
 material which the workers could hear in all meetings,
 in the streets, in the theater and everywhere and of which
 they have already fed up ad nauseam. Even the circus
 did not have been preaching against the reject and exhorted
 the people for material saving!
- [7o] It did not the workers disliked the Trade Union also
 because they had to pay lots of dues, but if they needed
 something, they have been left unattended. The Trade Union

gave advantages only to the privileged, for example the stachanovites.

(8) It is impossible to say numbers, since nobody dared to tell these things to the others. I think that during recent times, many have been disillusioned.

(10a) The terror was manifested not only in the corporal torture of people, but even more aggravating was the spiritual terror, namely that one did not dare to say his opinion in order that he should not be kicked out from the Army or from his job, and thus not to become unable to support his family. The physical terror has hit only certain sections of the society but the spiritual terror has oppressed the entire Hungarian people.

(10b) The AVH was the political police. It was organized mainly because they did not trust the regular police and the Army. Only the most reliable people of the regime had been admitted to its ranks with the intention that all those people who would commit anything against the dictatorship of Rakosi and the Soviet Union, or anybody who seemed likely to be able and willing to commit sometimes something against them, such people should be exterminated whatever methods and means should be necessary to achieve this. Here in this matter

it did not count whether somebody was a Communist or not
Example: The execution of Rajk and Co.

(10e) Generally at least at the beginning, they had been asking for adequate reliable people from the local Party organizations. Those recommended in this way had been taken then to different schools for training. Later they were inducted from those workers and peasant boys who seemed to them reliable. At the selection preference was given to the Party members.

(10j) Both of them belonged under the authority of the Minister of Interior but they did not keep contact with each other.

(10k) The high Party leadership has directed the work of the AVH. At the same time a Party secretary could be arrested and taken away by the local AVH without any trouble.

(11) No.

(11b) Everybody was helpless against the terror and arrests, but generally it was more likely that the people of the former system would be hit first. For example, Kulaks, former Army officers, etc.. Namely these could be accused with everything. For example if they would have wanted to liquidate me, they would have probably hanged me in secret somewhere in the basement of a jail because it would have been rather difficult to accuse me of having been the spy of the Imperialists and having wanted to restore the old order.

- (11g) No.
- (13) He should not talk to anybody about anything. In addition he should be very careful in selecting his friends.
- (13a) There is no one, because everybody is controlled by everybody else even the Prime Minister is watched and supervised.
- (13b) It helps in so far, that it dispells any suspicion about the origin of the Party member. Therefore the person should be a good Party member but he should not be too active, on the other hand, he should repeat all the time those slogans for example, "elvi éberség", theoretical watchfulness and "a rendszertörés ököl" the hard fist of the system, etc.. He should not avoid members of the political police but should make friends with them and should praise their patriotic job.
- (13c) They are very useful. If possible always with the leaders and if somebody has some embarrassing political past then it is very useful to try to involve some political leader acquaintance into some kind of an embarrassing affair for instance, a woman affair and thus to cover up and protect himself for a future eventuality when he could use as a blackmail against this person the threat of revelation of his past false step.
- (13d) It is useful and advantageous. There is not much possibility to keep it secret because sooner or later

they discover it.

(13e) It helps.

(13f) Yes. It is a general law that silence is golden.

(14) There had been. For example; in 1953 during the regime of Imre Nagy there was a significant ease-up.

(15) Essentially Hungary's policy was directed by the Soviet Union through the channel of its different advisers in Hungary.

(15e) It was equally strong everywhere. They have taken care that nothing should be left out. From the highest leadership of the Party down through every ministry and every military unit there was a Russian adviser. Generally, these have behaved quite civilized.

(16) Everybody is abusing everything where nobody can hear or at home in the midst of their families.

(16c) With nobody. You simply can't trust anybody because the AVH knows how get out even from your nearest relative the confession about everything.

(16d) Generally I spoke about my past and was silent about the present.

(17) Very many. For example; in the Ministry of Defense many orders have been issued which could be evaded

as you wanted.

(17a) For example; very little money was given for the cultural work. At the same time I found always ways that under some other title I could procure more money for my work. The same way I was always able to get an automobile for myself and also to go on the country tours by circumventing the orders of my superiors but actually I always did this under the pretext of some other official orders.

But there were many cases when orders were evaded in the way that it hurt other people. For example, apartments reserved for great families has been secured by single men or couples without child through different bribes.

(18) Its strength was that it was able to deceive many true idealists, that it has called itself the "system of the people". Actually at the beginning it has given many advantages to the workers truly. For example; the social services, the possibility for schooling their children etc. However, its greatest strength was and remained always the Soviet Army in Hungary and the AVH. Its weakness was that it has reduced the entire population into depravity and has ruined entire sections of the society. The violations of their legality, the delivery of the country to the Russians, the spring of the Soviet

idol, the heavy atmosphere of distrust, the suppression of the rights of free speech, press, and assembly, with all these the regime has antagonized and provoked the population against itself.

- (19) One form of the resistance was, that the workers did not fulfil their norms, they have made lots of rejects,+ then the peasants did not fulfil their deliveries and later that the people began openly to stand up against the corrupt leaders.
- (19b) First of all, people of the ancien regime, who were deprived of their possessions by the new regime, made impossible and even their families were stigmatized.
- (19c) First of all, part of the workers and the peasants and Party members who have received something from the new regime.

- (19d) It has decreased under Imre Nagy.
- (19e) It has increased.
- (19f) I don't know this.
- (19g) I heard about it. There was a group formed around Imre Nagy. In the summer of 1956 the Central Committee split into two opposing groups. One part of them has demanded the removal of Rakosi, and the rehabilitation of Imre Nagy.
- (19h) There was resistance.
- (19i) The writers and the students, due to their education, have seen better the situation than the simple people. At the same time the writers, because of their national and international reputation, could open their mouth more safely and they had also better opportunities and possibilities to air their criticism before the public through the press and the meetings and conferences than this would have been possible for an average man.

- (1) From the newspapers and from the radio.
- (1a) The radio.
- (2) I neither had the money nor the time to read the press regularly. I read newspapers usually only in the Ministry of Defense, but not every day.
- (2a) Nephadsereseg, Szabad Ifjúság, and Szabad Nép.
- (2b) No.
- (2c) I read Nephadsereseg because that was the paper of the Army. I liked Szabad Ifjúság because during the last times, it has been very good.
- (2e) It was.
- (2f) The ^{well-}wax newspaper was very poorly prepared. Nobody liked to write articles for it and nobody liked to bother much about it at all.
- (2g) No.
- (2j) Those which were brought in by the balloons. In the beginning they contained lots of nonsense, but later they had already some concrete facts and became rather good.
- (3) Very frequently. This was my job. I was cultural instructor.
- (3a) Such which let me forget my everyday worries. I simply adored the comic strips and also the historical movies.
- (3b) In connection with my work I have seen all kinds of films.

- I could not stand films with political meanings.
- (3e) Yes. Mostly Russian movies. I could not stand them. On the other hand, I loved the Western movies especially the French ones, of which we received relatively many.
- (3) Very seldom. On the one hand, theaters had been quite expensive, on the other hand, we could not leave our child alone at home.
- (3f) Those with historic background and the musical. I hated the Russian theatrical ~~works~~^{products} and the political plays.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) I did not have much time for it.
- (4e) Mór Jókai. I did not like to read the new Hungarian writers.
- (4f) All the works of Shakespears, and Ernest Hemingway: "Old Man and the Sea."
- (5) Yes. In the morning, before I went to work, I listened to the news and to the wheather forecast.
- (6) Yes. R.F.E., Voice of America, and sometimes the Hungarian broadcast of the Spanish Radio.
- (6a) I listened mostly to the R.F.E. . That has kept my spirit alive.
- (6b) Everyday in the evening.
- (6d) I have been disappointed during the Revolution in R.F.E.

Up to that time I had to means to control its reliability, therefore I believed in it.

- (6e) A colleague of mine in the Army has received Party disciplinary punishment. They made terrific fuss about it.
- (7) Rather about Yugoslavia during the summer of 1956 from people who have been travelling there. Besides we heard from athletes of whom I knew a few, about the Western world and the living standard in the Western countries.
- (7d) Many, for example that the Americans will come to liberate us etc.
- (8) Up to the summer of 1956 not at all. But then from that time on up to the Revolution the newspapers have written already more realistically.
- (8d) One acquired already the practice in evaluating how unreliable the press was. During the last months in the meetings of the Petöfi Circle, there have been great revelations. For example, Márton Horváth told the assembled writers and public that on May 1st, 1956 even the Weather forecast, given by the radio and in the press was falsified in order that the people should turn out for the parade and demonstration. We almost froze to death. It was so cold, still the army and the workers had marched out in shirts because officially it was warm!

- (8e) Generally the news of the Western radio stations.
- (8f) When I could buy it. Usually I could not get it anymore. During the last months before the Revolution it became more and more interesting and good.
- (8g) Seldom. I did not like it. I read rather the Szabad Ifjuság in which I could find very good articles.
- (8h) I received it very seldom. It was good. It has criticized the faults of the regime realistically and rightly. People have almost torn to pieces the newspaper and each other.
- (9) Yes, they have tried. Everybody was listening to the Western radio stations. I do not know any family who would not have listened to them.
- (10a) I know that the United States has forced Japan to capitulate in the August of 1945 by dropping two atomic bombs. I did not have any moral judgement on this issue.
- (10b) The South Koreans have attacked North Korea in 1949. Because the Americans needed the Manganese and the nickel mines to be found in North Korea. Up to 1956 I was convinced of this fact.
- (10c) During the time of the war I believed this charge, *turn out* although in recent times everybody knew already that
- (10d) this was also nothing but a lie. I knew that in Western Germany the Americans used the Fascists in order that

they should serve as the cannon-fodders against Russia.

I did not even try to form a judgement about this.

At our place in the Army, there was very little concern about Germany, we have rather prepared always for an attack against Tito.

(10e) At the beginning it was nonsense. It made me only angry. Later it became better.

(10f) There was a time, when I knew only so much that the West German fascists tried a coup d'etat in Berlin against the workers. Until the Summer of 1956 I knew already better.

(10g) That the Western powers have agreed with the Soviet Union in a peaceful co-existence.

(10h) I knew only very bad things about them. I thought that they were composed of Arrow Cross Fascists and former land-lords who want to bring back the old system.

(1) To solve the question of ownership in regard to the factories and to the land in such a way that they should really become the property of the people.

To make a thorough reform in the economic policy of the country, according to the special needs and character of the country.

The reorganization of public administration in such a way that with fewer officials a more efficient job could be done.

To change the present system of distribution.

To abolish the Party fetishism.

The leadership should be entrusted to such people who have proved by their knowledge and by their fidelity to the people that they were worthy and able to lead.

(1a) The social ownership of the means of production.

Most of the social services.

The opportunity of learning, but this should not be limited only for certain class but be made equally available for all.

The work of the councils and worker's councils.

(2) Yes, because only this way can be a democratic progress secured. Only this way can be the country governed in

the right way.

- (2a) No. The Hungarian people like very much to dissent and to scatter its energies among many parties. Too many parties would only dissipate the strength of the nation. According to my opinion either it should be a two party system, like in the United States, or I would permit the following parties: Christian Democratic Party, United Peasant's Party, Social Democratic Party, Communist Party. Besides a Party of those who have participated actively in the Revolution, I think it could be called the Revolutionary Democratic Popular Party.
- (3) Let us have a pure Democracy. It should not be permitted anything that could violate this. For example, hatred should not be permitted (anti-Semitism). Neither should be hatred against other nations tolerated.
- (3a) No, because with this we are also promoting the freedom of expression.
- (3b) Those who are betraying the people in the service of foreign interest should be called to severe account. This would not violate democracy. Each Party and each man should work in such spirit that his country first, and every ^{thing} else after it.
- (4) Yes.

- 4a) In such case, the government should not permit it, because the government should be released from its function only by the parliament, elected by the people.
- 4b) In such case, if it is violating the democracy. If leaning on certain groups, it creates dictatorship in order to subjugate and exploit the population.

Popular uprising against the yoke of Germanism and against the yoke of Fascism is justified.

- (5) The fundamental things: The heavy industry and great enterprises should remain in state ownership but the workers should be given shareholdings because only this way the workers would feel that the factory is theirs. Private initiative should be secured but only together with workers' stocks.

Abolish the Kolchose system, because this does not correspond to Hungarian needs. In Hungary small peasants' holdings should be created, in other words the Danish way should be followed in agriculture. Besides these, some great state farms should be left for experimental use.

The slogan of the Revolution "Földet gyarát, viszom nem adjuk!" We don't give back land and factories, should

be kept in mind but the proprietors, who had been illegally deprived of their property, should receive some kind of compensation.

My idea ~~xxxxxx~~ would be to create a national foundation of which the following should receive some aid. 1. The war widows and orphans, 2. the families of the heroes, fallen in the Revolution and the invalids and incapacitated of the Revolution, 3. those who have been deprived of their property and are unable to work. (Those who are able and capable to work should be given appropriate jobs).

- (6) See under question 5.
- (6b) No.
- (6c) Yes, but only to such an extent that it should not hurt other's people interest. Everybody's livelihood should be considered.
- (6d) State owned.
- (6e) Yes, this was so also in the past.
- (6f) On luxury articles. It should not be extended for vitally important articles.
- (6g) Business and trade based on the principle of free competition is much more advantageous.
- (7) In heavy industry yes, in consumer industry no, because there free competition would profit the population.

- (7a) Heavy industry should be in state ownership with workers owning the stocks. Small industry should flourish on private basis. If small industry expands and becomes a greater enterprise, stocks should be given to the workers.
- (8) As regards to the nationalized sector of the great industry, it is right to plan. But overdone planning, which was, for instance, forced on the peasants and on small trade and industry, was entirely mistaken.
- (9) Yes. The citizens' private life, private property and questions of religion, etc. Also questions of human principles and dignity.
- (10) Yes, for example taxation, military service, the respect for the laws, respect toward the government and the authority.
- (10b) I would not keep an army in Hungary. I would keep only a token unit for preserving public order and for parade purposes. The reason for this is because nowadays such a small country as Hungary cannot resist the armed attack by a great power anyway.
- (10c) It should try to protect the interest of the country. It should respect the rights of the citizens, it should work toward the well being of the people.

- (11) It has improved. However bad was the Trade Union's social insurance center SzTK, it had some achievements. There were somewhat more social services, for example vacationing, maternity grants, and vacations etc.
- (11a) Leaders of the Party, AVH.
- (11c) Private doctors are very few. Actually all doctors had some state jobs. The Army doctors are not permitted to have private praxis, therefore there is great discontent among them.
- (12) Technical knowledge has developed since and with it the cultural possibilities have grown.
- (12a) In connection with my job, yes. People usually preferred the Western movies, because they did not contain so much politics.
- (13) Personally in my case, yes.
- (13c) The Party functionaries could get easier such articles which were not available for ordinary people.
The best was in 1947 and in the beginning of 1948.
- (14) The same answer as under question 13.
- (15) Yes.
- (15b) First of all in heavy industry and in power producing.

- (15c) It is disadvantageous because it is not based on the resources of the country.
- (16) The direction of the factories should be given to the Workers' Councils as it was started during the Revolution. To be sure, ~~that~~ technically qualified specialists should be included.
- (16d) The director of the factory should be a person irrespective of his origin who would be able to organize and direct the work of the establishment.
- (17) The character of the Hungarian peasant is not suited for this experiment.
- (17a) There are some very good ones, where the peasant is living relatively well. However, these could develop only because the state, in order to create such show Kholchozes, has given them all help to the detriment of the others.
- (17b) There is a need for state farms. Through this device we can secure the freedom of the free peasants, namely if the peasants are reluctant to produce a certain crop which is needed for the national economy, the state farms could do it.

The state farms should be model farms, which, because of their scientific methods and technical equipment, could achieve the best production results and thus become important factors of the national economy.

The land should be taken away from those peasants who do not understand how to work it and do not want to work on it. It is an impossible situation that some people, because of their ignorance and laziness, ruin the rich Hungarian soil. There are many examples for this. To mention just one, I have seen with my own eyes the terrible destruction, which has taken place in the world famous vine-yards of Tokaj. These people then should be sent to work as employees to the state-farms.

- (17f) Thirty yokes. This is about the amount of land which could be worked by a family without the exploitation of other men's work.
- (17h) See under letter f.
- (17j) No.
- (17l) Yes. The peasants should be given loans, improved sowing seeds, technical advice, free veterinarian care, etc.
- (17m) They should be attached to the state farm, but they should work also for the small peasants.
- (17q) Modern agriculture is impossible without mechanization.
- (18) Yes.
- (18b) No. All de-nominations should have the same right.
- (18c) Naturally. Dishonest living should be secured, because only in this way they can be expected to be sincerely

- on the side of the state and only in this way they can turn all their attention to their educational vocation.
- (18d) Yes, especially in the moral and human education of the youth. The experienced and wise clerical pedagogues can only help.
- (18e) It should be optional because this is also one aspect of democracy.
- (18f) The one I would find the best one and near to my home.
- (18g) The same as with the land of the former land owners.
- As a general principle I would say that the clergy should not get mixed up in politics, because this is not their life vocation.
- (19) Those members of the Party, who have taken part in the Revolution or have been disillusioned from the system during or after the Revolution and did not rejoin Kadar's Party, should have the same right in everything as any honest man.
- (19a) Members of the MSzMP, with other words the new Party of Kadar. Nothing should be done to the small people who had been misguided. The others should answer for their activities before legal court.
- I would punish severely those who have murdered people and those who, for instance, former Horthyite officers, had no reason to join the Party.

- (19b) They should answer before the law for their misdeeds.
- (19c) Everybody should be judged according to the crime committed by him.
- (19d) For the traitors of the Revolution, their deserved punishment should be given. Those who haven't done anything should be left alone.
- (19e) To those members who haven't committed acts of cruelty, nothing. To the officers according to their guilt. In each case legality should be considered. I am against any arbitrariness.
- (19f) According to their activities. They should not become members of the new police. Those should be taken back to the new police who had been on the side of the people during the Revolution or have resigned.
- (19g) If they have not committed great crimes previously either, then they should have the same right as all other citizens since these people have been, first of all, Hungarians and not Communists.
- (20) 1456 the Victory at Belgrade, ^{and 1848-9,} 1700-6/the Wars of Independence, 1956 October 23.
During the course of history Hungary has proved in every occasion its vitality and that it had a right to have a place under the sun.

Hungary had saved Western civilization from the Turkish devastations, and it would be good to bear this in mind, when the Hungarian question is discussed again before the world.

(21) Yes, I think this is a natural consequence of the geographical setting and historic past of the Hungarian nation.

I never gave serious thought to this problem yet.

(22) Neither one.

(22f) Yes, there were differences and privileges in every respect.

(22i) Comparatively it was better because democracy actually started to develop. In 1946/47/48 the living standard of the people could be said quite bearable.

(23) I am for the realization of the United Europe. Without solving this problem, it is impossible to solve justly the territorial problems.

Example: Hungary has a just claim on Transylvania and the other territories lost after the first World War. After all, those territories had been part of Hungarian history for centuries. But let us look at the facts. For example in the case of Transylvania, it has about

7 million inhabitants of which 5 millions are Rumanians and 2 millions Hungarians. If Transylvania would be given to Hungary, the Rumanians would not like it. In the other case, the Hungarians do not like it, ofcourse.

In the case, if only Hungary would be freed and her neighbors would remain Communists, there could be no question about the United Europe. In such case, the lost territories should be claimed vigorously by Hungary.

(23c) Yes. The Rumanians want to extend their frontiers up to the Tisza river.

(23d) Yes. Since the Hungarians don't belong to the Slavs, the latter hate them. This fact was used by Khrushchew during the Revolution and also after it.
The closest to us stand the Poles.

(24) I am all for the idea of the United Europe.

A Danubian federation wouldn't do it, because all equally small people would compose it and there would be a steady fight about who should be the leader.

(25) The Russian, as a human being, is honest, good hearted and simple, who is in the same slavery as the Hungarian people. The villain among them is the Mongolian, the Tartar and other dark breeds.

(25a) Perhaps I think that the best are the White Russians.

- (25c) No, I talked with such soldier, who has despised and hated the Communists.
- (25e) They have treated us as enemies, they were looting and raping our wives and daughters.
Later this has changed, but the initially accumulated hatred in the minds of the people against the invaders is still alive.
- (26a) The fact that it is building the system on the working class, and that it has the promise of a better future. Then the fact also, that it tries to prove its thesis by a kind of scientific method.
- (26b) The fact that its principles are today unrealizable and therefore they are untrue.
- (26c d) Even Marx was wrong in many things, how could they be then right. Lenin and Stalin have forced up on the Russian people a beautiful ^{demagogy} clothed in scientific robes.
- (26e) It is impossible to find out where he really stands.
- (26f) No, they are rather Bolsheviki and Russophiles.
- (26g) They are Marxists and that in the worst ossified form. They just can't see that the theory, as such, is long outdated and that there is a need for an entirely new and modern thing today.
- (26h) It cannot be, since it does not teaches that the problems should be solved on modern basis with the cooperation of

every man, instead it tries to achieve everything through the ruin and extermination of other people.

(26i) Between 1945 and '47 to a certain degree. But it was not perfect since the Russians were on our back.

(27) My opinion on this matter today is, that this is no solution for any country. Essentially the system remains the old, only it is more loyal to the people and tries to achieve its ends without the Russians.

(28) No, for him it is more important the internationalism as his own people. Imre Nagy wanted a Democratic republic. He wanted such a system with the introduction of the multi-party system which would have been the best for the peculiar characteristics of the country. The multi-party system in itself would have automatically excluded the one party Communist dictatorship of the past.

(28b) It is possible because people liked him. However, I would have thought Béla Kovács as the most appropriate man since he was not compromised in neither direction.

(29) I don't think ^{of} any of them as good.

(30) At the present a party which would stand on the idea

of the Revolution. For example: A Revolutionary Democratic People's Party. Perhaps the Christian Democratic Party.

- (30a) Béla Kovacs, Imre Nagy.
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) There have been persons who received more and such who received less.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Less.
- (31e) Adequate.
- (31f) The writers definitely more.
- (31g) It varied.
- (31h) Those who had been on the blackmarket had lived well.
- (31i) At the beginning less, in 1955/56 already more.
- (32) From the previous groups, letter a) and letter b) letter f) and letter g) had been better off than before. Letter c) letter d) letter e) and letter i) had been worse off. Letter e) remained about the same. I approve the change by a) b) but I don't approve it in the other cases.
- (33) These are relative things. Here, not social classes or groups are decisive but people and political principles.

- (34) I have no worries on this account and if I would have had, it should have been long discarded here in France, where I can see with my own eyes that even the milk and the bread comes from the United States and not as in Hungary, where the Russians are taking away everything, we have.
- (35) Those who are afraid of the wrath of the people because of their misdeeds and in addition those emigrées who are treated with all the privileges by the Communists for example Koreans, Greeks, etc.
- (35a) The entire Hungarian people.
- (36) When I left Hungary, I did not ~~RECKON~~ see clearly yet. I knew only, that the system was no good. I did not know, however how a ^{different} political set up looks like. Only in the West I acquired my opinions about things as I have answered on this questionnaire. First I had to see the political and economic face of the West and to exchange my opinion with many people. Now I think I have already quite definite ideas about a truly democratic republican system, which I would like to see one day in Hungary.

- (1a) My sincere opinion is, that if you are conducting such thorough and detailed interviews with many of our new Hungarian refugees, you will be able indeed to discover the antecedents and reasons of our Revolution and also to see what kind of social and economical order would have been brought into life in Hungary, if the Revolution would have succeeded.
- (1b) Yes, and just because I think that you will be able to collect many new and valuable data, I urge you to send these to the United Nations when the Hungarian question would come up again ~~XXXX~~ for debate.
- (1d) I think, sincere ones.
- (1e) It was quite thorough.
- (2a) Naturally.
- (3) Here in the West we have now among the refugees persons who know the Communist system inside out exactly in all its ideological political and economical aspects, its strength and its weakpoints. In my opinion these people are left unused by the West. Although the Soviet system could be attacked through these people in its most sensitive Achilles-heel. These people would know how to turn the ^{weapons} \checkmark of Marxism, Leninism, against the whole Soviet system and also how to open the eyes of those behind the iron curtain, who are still blind toward

the truth.

(3b) I was thinking of it but I have no means to do it.

Interviewer's Comment on Respondent:

Respondent is a straightforward and honest young man who is anxious to learn, but does not impress one as being too intelligent. He was a member of the Communist Party and believed in its truth up to the summer of 1955. Although his conversion seems to be radical and absolutely sincere, his thinking is still somewhat confused; e.g., his views on his country's past remain very much biased. His bitter childhood experiences left an indelible mark on his soul.