

HOW THE COMMUNISTS TOOK AWAY THE FREEDOM OF THE  
HUNGARIAN REFORMED CHURCH.

Up to 1948, life in Hungary seemed to be regular. In 1948 the Communists attacked the Reformed Church. Already in 1947 the Communists had forced Ortutay to put through the House of Representatives the law allowing religious education to be facultative. With this Ortutay sold his party and the Church. The Communists were most surprised that he succeeded. With this there was one year of peace, relatively speaking. Then, in 1948, the strong attack begins on the part of the Communists, after June 12th, 1948, when the Communist and the Social Democratic Party merges and becomes the Hungarian Workers Party. With this the Communists take over power. The right wing of the Social Democratic Party is pushed out, except for such people as Kéthly, Reisz, and Bán, who remain. Then, on June 16th, the law to nationalize schools is submitted as a resolution. A great fight precedes this legislation. My father, as a representative, resigned immediately, as did others in the Smallholders Party. In the matter of two or three days out of this resolution there becomes law.

Bishop Ravasz of the Hungarian Reformed Church fought against this resolution. Then he was forced to resign. His resignation is followed by the election of a successor. Our nomination in the Dunamelléki District was Gyula Muraközy. The nominee of the gov't was Albert Bereczky. Every congregation wanted Muraközy to be bishop and there were no votes for Bereczky. The Communists discovering the situation, were forced to put pressure on in order to get Bereczky in.

Here's the kind of pressure they applied: Dezsö Muraközy, the brother of Gyula, had fought against the Communists when they first entered Hungary. He was in hiding and had been using the alias name of József Kiss. The AVH appeared at the home of Gyula Muraközy and said he <sup>Dezsö,</sup> is charged with killing a certain number of people and fighting against the Communists. This occurred in the summer of 1948 when we thought no one knew where the brother was hiding. But the AVH came and said to Gyula Muraközy that if he wants to be bishop of the Dunamelleki District of the Hungarian Reformed Church his brother hangs. If he refuses the office of bishop in the church, then his brother will be saved. Our family council sat together, since we are related to the Muraközy family, and my father and the others decided <sup>down</sup> that Gyula Muraközy should step/ from the nomination in the Hungarian Reformed Church.

Then, the bishop's office of the District sent a letter to all the churches, saying that Muraközy does not want to be bishop. But in spite of this, one third of the churches voted for Muraközy. Albert Bereczky received the other two thirds of votes. There occurred a similar struggle for the position of chief secretary and secretary of the District. There were three elections, for each of these offices, and three Communist nominees were running against the same non-Communist nominees, and after three tries the non-Communist nominee, János Kardos, was elected chief secretary and I became the secretary. The chief elder of the District became Roland Kiss. He had been an active Communist Party member and at that time was Assistant Foreign Minister. His job was to take the church over to Communist waters.

In Debrecen the bishop was Imre Révész. In 1944 he had made a statement which reflected some Nyilas, (Arrowcross) view. And so, to an extent, he was in the hands of the Communists. He was the president of the convent and also president of the Zsinat (Synod) being senior bishop. The other bishops of the church were insignificant at that time for the Communists. Thus the Communists had their men in important posts. Then, in the autumn of 1948, the Communists wanted to make an agreement with the church.

They rushed things and this was their tactic to hurry things along. They had the law for nationalizing the schools, now they wanted to squeeze out of the church the agreement to give the schools over to the gov't. This was a steam-rolling tactic.

We of the Reformed Church were the first victims of the Communists. The Roman Catholic Church was a little stronger. The Lutherans were too insignificant and therefore the Communists picked us for their first victim. The tactic was to divide and then conquer.

In September 1948 the fight began and we knew we had to make an agreement with the gov't. However, from one local congregation after another came protests against giving the schools to the gov't. The church of Kecskemet was the first to protest. I myself held two lectures against the nationalization of the schools, but it did not do any good.

The <sup>Z</sup>sinat or General Assembly of the Hungarian Reformed Church was called together at the end of November 1948. The task was to vote upon the agreement between the Church and State and the problem of giving the schools to the State. There were 84 delegates in the assembly. The chairmen of the meeting, sharing the responsibilities, were Bishop Imre Révész and the lay chairman Roland Kiss.

The meeting was held in closed session, no visitors were allowed in the galleries. This was the first time that a closed session of the <sup>Z</sup>sinat was held in the history of the Hungarian Reformed Church. Bishop Révész opened the meeting and said what was about to happen is secret and no one is to publish anything about it or talk about this to anyone. However, in whatever manner we vote upon anything in the meeting, he went on to say, the results of our votes will appear in the newspapers as being an unanimous vote. The debate began. The first speaker was Béla Kun Szentpétery, professor of civil law at Debrecen. He had great prestige as leader of the opposition. On the night preceding this meeting, a small private group held a meeting, and at that meeting Szentpétery held the point of view that we cannot give over the schools to the State. Then, when he got up to speak in the General Assembly, he said that yesterday he held the point of view that we cannot give our schools over to the State, but after one night of torment, he said, he had come to the conclusion that we as a church are weak and we must save what we can. The Communists had offered to let the Reformed Church keep four gymnasiums, that in Budapest, Debrecen, Saros<sup>p</sup>atak, and the one at Pápa. Szentpétery went on to say "Let us try to keep these four. Furthermore, the State assures us of certain subsidies to maintain the theological seminaries."

He continued to say "If we oppose the State any further we will loose everything and many men will be arrested." He, of course, was referring to the fact that although not arrested, but removed from office, was the Bishop Ravasz and Pastor Muraközy were not in the meeting anymore. A few more speakers followed and then Bela Papp, the pastor of the Karcag Church, got up to give a strong talk, in which he said "No, we will not give up our schools!" He began to prove the kind of liars the Communists are, and began to prove how Rakosi had lied. (Bela Papp was arrested later.) Papp went on to say "We must hold out and go down if we have to." Bishop Imre Revesz then made a rather ambiguous statement, saying "I do not trust the Communists. This won't be the first time they do not keep their word and trick us, but the interest of the Church is that we continue to live and then he asked the ~~S~~sinat to accept the agreement.

The next question before the Assembly was how to vote, that is, the manner of voting, in secret or open. The Church law requires a secret ballot. About 60 of us demanded a secret ballot, along with Béla Papp. Roland Kiss was there and he wanted an open vote and would not allow a secret ballot to be taken. He tricked the group and an open vote was ordered. Upon this ~~turn~~<sup>turn</sup> many of the delegates left the Assembly, about 24 of us. Béla Papp stayed in, ~~if~~<sup>if</sup> left.

Each delegate remaining had to vote by voice and with each vote Roland Kiss recorded the votes for himself and also recorded the names of those who left. The agreement was adopted and in the newspapers it was reported as being adopted unanimously, although a few negative votes were cast by voice.

Bela Papp was imprisoned, but his charge and indictment was something else, even though the real reason was opposing the agreement between the Church and the State. Bishop Imre Revesz was deposed in 1949, because of his statement before the <sup>Z</sup>sinat.

With the agreement between the Reformed Church and the State in the hands of the Communists, the Communists began their propaganda against the other church groups, saying, "Why don't you make an agreement with the State?" In 1949, the Lutherans made an agreement, and in 1950 the Roman Catholic Church signed an agreement with the Hungarian gov't.

The question can be asked, why did the State need an agreement with the churches? In the first place, the Roman Catholic Church held in its possession 1,000,000 yokes, (hold) of land property. The total cultivated land in Hungary was 16,000,000 yoke or hold. Through the cultivation of its 1,000,000 hold the Roman Catholic Church kept up its orders and schools.

In 1945 the Roman Catholic Church lost this land, and the 100 hold parcels that were left to the Church were not enough to keep the orders and schools going. Not exactly the same land picture appears in the Reformed Church. The Reformed Church had no large estates, although local churches had a few hundred hold of land. The largest piece of property held by a single church, that I can recall, is the Szolnok Church which held 8,000 hold. This was the biggest property of the Reformed Church and it was a bequest from a Catholic baron.

The churches had lost a certain financial independence and the Communist gov't wanted to get its men into important posts within the Reformed Church. Through the agreement, the Kongrua, that is State aid to help the pastors' salaries, was included. With the agreement the Church accepted the slogan "Free Church in Free State". Up to 1948 the church tax had been taken or collected with the State tax. After 1948 this ended, and the Church needed to depend upon the voluntary amounts that were given through this tax means. Moreover, the Church had no way of collecting from those who did not want to make a voluntary payment.



HOW DID THE COMMUNISTS WORK THE AGREEMENT WITH THE CHURCH?

Up to that point, until the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics did not sign their agreement with the State, the Communist State kept its agreement with the Reformed Church. However, after these two churches signed their agreement, the State attacked the agreement and took the other schools, which had remained to the Reformed Church, away from the Church. Thus, at this time, only the Debrecen gymnasium remained as part of the Reformed Church.

Also, as part of the Communist tactics, the leadership of the Church after 1948 never called a ~~z~~sinat into session. Thus was eliminated the parliament or legislative body of the Church gov't. There was no law bringing ~~a~~ legislative body and only the executive branch of the Church remained to enact laws. This is exactly what the Communists wanted to centralize a power in the hands of those whom they had put into office. In the place of the ~~z~~sinat, which was a larger assembly, there was formed the ~~z~~sinati Tanacs, General Assembly Council of 24 men. A smaller body such as this can be terrorized more easily and made to do what the State wants. Thus, after the 1948 ~~z~~sinat the 24 men council ruled in the place of the ~~z~~sinat.

An incident which is worth noting is the fact that President of State Tildy, who also was a pastor of the Reformed Church, presented the problem to the Communists and he had to be displaced from office. In 1949 Viktor Csornáki, or Viktor Bun, as he was previously known, who was the Ambassador of Hungary to Cairo, wanted to sneak his father-in-law Tildy out of Hungary. The personal secretary of Tildy, János Péter, informed the appropriate agencies of the gov't about this attempted escape. When Csornoki arrived by plane from Cairo at Budapest, he was arrested immediately and later hanged. Tildy was forced to resign from his office. János [redacted], the informer who before coming to the gov't position, had been chaplain of the Bethesda Hospital in Budapest [redacted] had been known for his leftist ideas. The Communists put him next to Tildy as Tildy's personal secretary.

An old principle in the Communist state has been that when the head falls, then the whole entourage, the entire group of followers, falls also. With János [redacted] the Communists made an exception. Tildy was put under house arrest and [redacted] was made bishop in Debrecen. This was the first time in Communist history, that the head goes down and the secretary goes up.

(You may be interested in knowing also, that when Tildy was brought into the gov't in 1956, his only request was that Bishop János Péter be made to resign from his post.) The bishop in Debrecen, Imre Révész, was displaced and Péter was made bishop. He also became the leader of the National Peace Council in Hungary. Révész was made a member of the Hungarian Academy of Learning by the Communists and got about 3,000 ft. that way. He was pensioned in all of his other jobs. Then like Bishop Peter, who was outside the Party, he received a supplemental fee of 7,000 ft., called "Veszélyességi Pótdíj", in addition to his regular pay. Thus he was held in hand.

Another step against the Church Constitution was taken when the districts of church gov't were changed. According to the law of the church, promulgated in 1791, Article 26, the Church was to have 4 districts. These districts were in force until the Tiszaninnen District was merged with the Tiszantul District, so as to make Bishop Janos Peter govern this entire area, and especially the Tiszaninnen area, which was a dangerous and lively area.

It is interesting to recount an episode that occurred early in December 1949, when the Dunamelléki District of the Reformed Church held a meeting.

At that time Bereczky was bishop and Imre Revesz was still in Debrecen. The lay chairman of the meeting, Roland Kiss, and Bishop Bereczky brought to the attention of the meeting a request or order from the Communist Central Party, that the Dunamelleki District should send its best wishes to Stalin, who was to be 70 years old on December 21st, and to assure Stalin of the loyalty of the Dunamelleki District. At this meeting my father got up and said that we as a church cannot celebrate Stalin's birthday nor can we send such a telegram. We as a church are divided from politics and separated from such things. Then the two chairmen, Bishop Bereczky and Roland Kiss, did not allow a vote to be taken upon my father's motion, which was not to send the telegram to Stalin. The chairman ordered the telegram to be sent and he also ordered that a unanimous vote had been taken, when no such thing had occurred. The newspapers later said that the motion to send the telegram was unanimous by the Dunamelleki District of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

The slogan that the Communists kept repeating, was "Free Church in a Free State", that is "Szabad Egyház Szabad Államban". What does this mean in practice? It should have meant the division of the two bodies, the two groups, but since every church denomination had fallen into the power of the Communists, there was no division or separation.

In spite of this slogan the Communists set up the church affairs office of the State, "Allami Egyháziügyi Hivatal", which was a completely Communist organization and it is this office which runs the various church bodies in Hungary as far as setting up policy. The director of this office was Janos Horvath. Within this church affairs office each church denomination has a special division, even the Jews. The headquarters are located at Pasaret. This church affairs office controls individual churches, church denominations, and the individual clergy. Thus the Communists control the church from top down at every level. They are able to interfere and have their will carried out.

In 1948, when the Budapest area of the Reformed Church was taken over by Bereczky and Kiss, the various deans of the district and other districts were slowly replaced and deposed. The Budapest classes dean was Imre Szabo. When the deportations from Budapest of thousands of people occurred, especially in 1951 under the direction of Janos Beer, these some 70,000 deported people were cramped into slave camps. At this time Dean Imre Szabo of Budapest asked his church members from the pulpit to give contributions to help the deported people, that is, to make their lives a little easier in the deportation camps. The gov't immediately pounced on him and they wanted to arrest him.

Both, Bishop Bereczky and Roland Kiss did not allow Szabo to be arrested, but rather Szabo was deposed as dean of the church and sent out to a small, tiny congregation in the Tiszantul District, where he died. Thus, with this opponent out of the way and this kind of a circus of sending a dean to another place, the church leadership was able to put a Communist into the place of Szabo. The new dean was Sandor Fekete, who later was replaced by Peter Hajdu, who also is a scoundrel of a Communist with a dark past. Thus was carried out the Communisation on the lower levels of the Reformed Church. First, the top level - the bishops; then the deans; and finally various pastors being removed. In the city of Kecskemet the dean of the church there was removed in the same way. He was forced to resign, that is told that he would be arrested and jailed if he did not resign. Then, at the local level within the congregations the members of the Presbyterium, (Consistory) who usually were the wealthier men of the community, or the leaders of the community in times past, were displaced from their offices in the Presbyterium as enemies of the proletariat. This order came from the Party, that is the office of church affairs, to Bishop Bereczky and then to the local churches. The method employed of getting these men out of the Presbyterium or Consistory was that some were forced to resign, some were arrested and then the Communist-line men were brought into the Presbyterium.

At Kecskemet this did not succeed. We at that church held out against the order. However, Bishop Bereczky at his congregation, the <sup>P</sup>Bozsonyi Ut Church, made the change. Then, when the bishop was able to push Mura-közy out of the senior pastorate of the Calvin Square Church, Bishop Bereczky made the change in the Calvin Square Church also. The question to ask is, who was the director and leader of all of these maneuvers? It was no one else but János Horváth, the director of the State office of church affairs. He gave the orders as to who was to be kicked out.

THE CHASM BETWEEN THE CHURCH LEADERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH AND THE MEMBERSHIP.

There was a great division between the leadership of the Reformed Church and the church membership. The great majority of the membership of the Hungarian Reformed Church was made up of the landed peasantry, the so-called kulaks, then the middle-class in Hungary, and the greater percentage of the intelligentsia was reformed. Thus, when the deportations and arrests began to take place in Hungary, a greater percentage of the Reformed Church membership was arrested and the number of the Reformed people arrested was greater than the Roman Catholic number. Why did this occur and why was this possible? The reason is that the Reformed Church in Hungary on the basis of the 1791 law had autonomy. The Roman Catholic Church was part of an international body and had support from Rome, and Rome would say "no" to the election of certain men to certain positions. On the contrary, the Reformed Church was limited to Hungary and our individual men could be terrorized into submission or be arrested within the borders of the country, with no one from the outside speaking up. It is interesting to note that in 1871 the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary wanted to be autonomous, separated from the State, but this did not succeed. They are tied to the State and to Rome.



This tie was their luck and fortune at this time. Before the Revolution the Reformed Church leadership, which had ~~submitted~~ submitted ~~under~~ to the Communist power, was not able to sway the entire church. The membership and the pastors of the Reformed Church remained strong and solid during the Revolution. Their bravery was exemplary and on October 30th, when the Revolution was victorious, by that time already the Reformed Church had re-constituted itself, Bishop János Péter had been dismissed, Bishop Bereczky had been pensioned and the rest of the men had to resign. On October 30th the plan that the re-constituted Reformed Church of Hungary had was to have Bela Papp be elected Bishop at Debrecen and Bishop Ravasz return to his post in Budapest with Muraközy as assistant to Ravasz in the Junamelleki District. The Reformed Church was purified on October 30th.

In Budapest the Budapest Theological Seminary had five victims as a result of the Revolution. Two of the boys are buried on the Seminary grounds. One of the boys killed was Ferenc Batka and the entire group of theological students was arrested.

When I left Hungary the struggle between the State and Church was openly going on. The Reformed Church wanted to keep that freedom which it had won during the Revolution.

However, former Bishop Ravasz had been sent back to his home to house arrest or exile. The son-in-law of Ravasz, István Bibó, was arrested. He was a professor of philosophy and law at the Szeged University. In the Imre Nagy gov't he had been a Minister of State.

Muraközy could not be removed and he became the Deputy President of the <sup>K</sup>onvent. A tremendous struggle was going on for the office of dean in Budapest. The struggle was between the pro-Communists and the opposition. The leader of the opposition was Sándor Jób. Peter Hajdu wanted to come back to his position. He said that his resignation was extracted under force and terror, but the truth is that he resigned voluntarily because he became frightened. The question was very simply decided by the Communists, who resorted to their own methods and tactics by arresting Sándor Jób along with Professor Barna Nagy, who was the nominee for the office of dean of Budapest. Professor Nagy has six children. Both of these men were released only after the intervention of the Swiss Theologian Barth. Professor Nagy was beaten and all of his teeth were knocked out.

The Reformed Church Bishop at Pápa, Elemér Györy, was retained. He is an old man who is neither hot nor cold in the sense that he is neither for nor against the system and even the Revolution did not push him out of office. I do not know what happened in Debrecen in regard to the office that had been held by Bishop Péter.

HOW THE COMMUNIST - SUPPORTED BISHOPS AND LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CHURCH WORKED.

When a particular church district of the Reformed Church met for a regular meeting, the bishop of that district merely reported to the assembly concerning his activity and his activity represented the legislation of the district. There were no votes as to whether he should do something or should not do something, he had already carried out that which he wished to do or which he had been ordered to do by the State Office of Religious Affairs. At the level of the classes within the church district, we who were members of committees, were never called to any committee meetings.

There was no discussion, no opportunity for legislation, the executive or dean of the classes carried out the policy. Thus the church was centralized. Everything emanated from above, even the themes for sermons were sent out to the pastors from the central office of the konvent.

There were two views within the Reformed Church concerning Bishop Bereczky. The one attitude was that they hated Bereczky and they did not want to speak to him nor even meet him.

The second attitude, of another group, was - and the representative of this group was Sandor Joo - who said that Bereczky or ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>Terci b/csi</sup>, as they fondly called him, knows that people dislike him, but he is sacrificing himself in spite of all to ~~save~~ <sup>save</sup> the church as long as he can, and to keep the church alive as long as he can. They went on to say that the one or the organization which has time, has life.

In 1949 my father was present at the Dunamelleki Church District meeting. After 1949 there was no opposition sounded at all in the church district meetings. There was no opportunity for it to be affected. The pastors on the lower levels did very excellent work. Many worked among the deported people, who were interned in camps. People such as Joo and Imre Nagy sent things to help the interned people. The house of Joo was full of clothing and belongings which had been brought there by the friends of the internees. His home became a storage point.

Earlier I spoke of the fact that the Communists made a deal with Muraközi, saying that if he did not accept the office of Bishop of the Reformed Church they would not arrest his brother. However, the Communists, in their regular fashion broke their word. Muraközy's brother was arrested and sentenced for life.

We were able to get him off the death sentence, which had been given. The brother was let out of prison during the Revolution and then again, on November 21st, was arrested. Now, very likely, Gyula Muraközy was allowed to be President of the Konvent of the Reformed Church, I would suspect because they have him under their thumb. The Communists are able to threaten him and hold him in line by saying that they will hang his brother if he does not do what they want him to do.

LAW IN THE HUNGARIAN STATE.

Through various connections a person is able to get people out of jail and to have various sentences reduced. This can be achieved because the whole criminal code or criminal law is so flexible, that is in all law there is an objective and a subjective approach. The objective side is the fact, the crime itself, and nothing else is important. In Hungary this objective side or approach has been abandoned and the subjective basis of interpreting law and dealing with crimes has come to the fore. Whatever a person tells the judge on a subjective basis, he will listen to it. And this is important, this counts. For example, the social origin of the criminal is important, the actions of a Communist, be they even criminal acts or deeds, are interpreted as not harming or being injurious to society. Whereas an individual whose social origin is bad, his actions and acts and deeds are harmful and injurious to society. Thus law, the practice of law and the judging of individual cases, is individualizing the crime and it is not the crime itself that is considered, the subject is more important. Thus, one can interfere with Communist justice on the basis of subjective judgement of a deed or act.

Ten thousand people were jailed in the last few months in Hungary and this was done on the basis of subjective judgement, on the basis of what the individuals' ~~social~~ social origin is.

Here is where Marx's dialectical materialism comes in. Every man is determined by his social environment and surroundings so that he cannot escape the determinism of this environment and thus the law deals with him out of this background. For example, Rakosi said at one time, that a kulak remains a kulak even without a list. Rakosi said this when Imre Nagy in 1953, July 3rd, gave the kulaks a little better position and eliminated the kulak list. Rakosi's statement occurred a week after Imre Nagy eliminated the list.

The role of the Parliament in legislation has been disconnected. The executive dictates the laws. This executive promulgates what is called circular laws. The particular law covers a short page and a half, whereas previously a law dealing with the subject would require 100 pages in length. The method and directions for the administration of the law are not published in the daily newspapers, but by a secret bulletin and various documents and orders the administration is indicated. Thus, under criminal law the public does not know the basis on which he will be judged.



Even the attorneys did not get the secret bulletin concerning the administration of the law. Only the circular or general law was published.

Formerly, before the Communists took over, the BTZ (Büntetö Törvény Kodex) of 1878 was important in law, including the "Csemegi" Law Book. The Csemegi Law Book operated on the basis of its general or circular part and secondly the specific part. In the first part the principles of the law were laid down, in the second part the crimes with specific punishments were listed. The Communists, however, could not operate on this basis and could not assure their existence. For the Communists a specific part was not important. Rather, in the place of the general or circular part, they promulgated a new circular or general portion. Thus, in the court the judge had to use the Communist general or circular law for the principle concerning the law, as well as concerning the administration with regard to the specifics. No matter how much an attorney tried to stick to the specifics listed in the Csemegi Law Book, the Communists did not care because the judge sentences on the basis of the new general law. It is on the basis of this subjective approach that Stalin executed 30 million people.

In Hungary for example, if a landed peasant or kulak in the early morning is having his breakfast out in the field over a fire, roasting a piece of bacon, he is sentenced to death for endangering<sup>g</sup> the crops. The basis on which this sentence is carried out is the subjective approach, that is that his social origin is anti-society.

COURT PROCEDURE AND MANNER OF JUDGING IN HUNGARY.

In a law court in Hungary, each party has the right to call witnesses, but if the prosecutor maintains that a certain witness called by the defendant and his lawyer is dangerous to the welfare of the State, then the defendant has no rights and he cannot call that witness.

The State prosecutor's office has a special "double zero" list of lawyers who are allowed to take political cases. The defendant, who is charged with a political crime, is not allowed to select his lawyer or defender. The defendant and his lawyer are not able to examine the indictment brought against him. This is not public, it is "double zero". The head of this "00" office under the prosecutor is an AVH officer, Pal Bakos. Not even the wife or children of the defendant are allowed in court when the hearing is carried out. It is not a public hearing. When a lawyer did work for a defendant and client under this basis, under the new legal ethic in the Communist State, the lawyer was required to work and cooperate with the court in discovering the material truth of the case. As a consequence of this the Communist lawyer does not defend his client in the sense as is known in the West or as was known previously under Hungarian law, but rather he is a helper of the judge and of the court against his client who is considered an element of the anti-State or anti-class.

In the Mindszenty and Rajk trials the defending lawyers said the strongest talks against or condemnations of their clients.

The following information is contained in the secret bulletins of the administration, but are generally known in law circles. A man can be arrested and detained if the expected sentence of his crime could be more than one year. And he can be detained if there is a possibility of his escaping. The maximum length of detention and arrest, before a person is brought to trial, according to law is 30 days. However, observe the cases of Maleter and Kopacsik - both of them have been under arrest for nine months now. Under the law police detention can last only 48 hours. But even this lasts for months. In theory the pre-sanction is that the man is innocent until proved guilty.

On the basis of the Soviet idea of the State all the satellite countries were re-constituted and re-shaped in 1949. In Hungary a new constitution was proclaimed in 1950. The prosecutor's office was also re-constituted and now the power of the State is in his hands, so that the prosecutor and his office are above the AVH. The national form of gov't is lost.

When the people began to observe that the national forms were being lost, <sup>and</sup> the Russian forms of gov't were being installed, the Communists had to come up with some idea to pacify the people. They came up with the idea in Hungary of a bridge that would help them span the transition they were going through in Hungary. The bridge they came up with was the Marxist idea of form and content. In Hungary, they said, we are under a national form, but the content is Socialist and they built everything, the whole thing, on this basis, the character of the whole State and organization of form and content. Thus the form is Democracy, Democratic centralism which slides into terrorism; the content is terror.

The Party and State are two separate things, they go on to say, but in practice the State becomes the servant of the Party. How is this done? The Party Headquarters exist on Akademia Street, where the Party has 23 divisions. The same number of State Ministers exists in the gov't - 23. The reality of the situation is that the Party Headquarters is the common Ministry and the various State Ministries are the specific Ministries. Every question is first worked out in the Party Headquarters and then prepared for the State Ministry. Thus the State Minister is a servant who carries out the orders of the Party division.

I was in the Party Headquarters frequently and gave numerous lectures there about law, and frequently satyriized them, that is the Communists. All orders go from the Party Headquarters, the division offices, to the State Ministers who have the orders printed. This is the form and content, the theory and practice, which is in contradiction.

The various provincial councils all have various kinds of divisions and the Party Headquarters has the same number of divisions as exist in the provincial council. The same is true with every village council. Decisions are made at the Party office and given to the provincial council.

The Soviet State does not interfere as much as one would expect, but it is the Party which interferes in everything and directs Hungary through the Party. Thus the Soviets are correct to the extent that they say they do not interfere as a State. This is the reason why the Communist Party has to be eliminated. It is the Party that maintains a discipline and the members are loyal to the Party.

The form is Democracy in the idea, concept and principle realm, the content is the Party terror in practice. However, the proposition that the Communists teach is that theory and practice is one.

The Communists say that the State did not always exist as a form or entity, and will not always exist. They say the State came into<sup>1</sup>existence when private property came into existence and it is the State that was formed to defend property. Thus the State was the enforcement organization of the ruling class. In every State form<sup>1</sup>the State ruler is the minority and the ruled are the majority, they go on to say, except in Socialism, where the State administers for the welfare of the majority and not for the minority. In Socialism only the shell form of the State exist and when the transition is made over to Communism, the State will no longer exist. Why will this be? There will no longer be private property, there will be no ruling group and therefore there will not be needed an enforcement organization to maintain this private property, so that there will be no need for a State to exist.

They go on to say that law is the product of the State, and if there is no State there will be no law required. They call this the principle of the passing of the State. To this principle Stalin added an interpretation, that is that in Communism the form of the State cannot come to<sup>1</sup>an end as long as the environment in which Communism finds itself, Capitalism, is still existent.

In real Communism there is no enforcement whatsoever, because there is no State. However, Stalin said this cannot be done because Capitalism exists and Capitalism will eliminate Communism by force if Communism itself does not rely upon enforcement of powers.

The State has two functions: 1) Internally, to keep order in the State and internally to oppress the anti-class group by means of the court, prosecutors and police. 2) The other function of the State, according to Stalin, is external security of the State outwardly. Here is where Communism is vulnerable - at these 2 points. The Russian Communists say that they are a class-less society, or perhaps groups or classes exist as peasants and workers who are not antagonists; if this is so, then why is it necessary for the Russian Communists to maintain internal enforcement, if there exist no anti-class elements? Here is where the state concept of Communism falls down, the theory and practice. Here, at this point is where the Communists cannot defend themselves or say anything. It is with their own theories and with their own principles that we must attack them.



EDUCATION IN HUNGARY.THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF LEARNING - MAGYAR TUDOMANYOS AKADEMIA.

In 1949 the Communists took over the Magyar Tudomanyos Akademia from the inside. How was this accomplished? They did this by re-classifying the old members as advisor members with no voting rights. Those members of the Akademia, whom the Communists could hold in hand either because they had been former arrow-cross members or because they had prior character. These became either regular members or corresponding members who can be elected to membership. In the place of the non-voting members of the Akademia, the Communists brought in their own men. Those whom the Communists kicked out of regular membership were by and large anti-Nazi people. The arrow-cross people were used by the Communists to make the Akademia putsch.

The idea of planning and planning policy was introduced at the Akademia also. Every division had a plan for research and it was designated as to the areas of research. The Akademia told you what you can occupy yourself with, as in my case: I wanted to study parliamentary law, ~~investigated further~~. However, they told me to study the peasant situation and the development of the peasant situation. Thus the Communists used the academy to accomplish the intellectual foot work that was needed.

THE NEW ACADEMIC DEGREES.

The Communists introduced new academic degrees. The highest being the Tudományos Doktor. The next one being the Tudományos Kandidátus. All those former scholars who could not be doctors because of their origin or who had been kicked out for some other reason, were made Tudományos Kandidátus.

At the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia the qualification committee selected those persons who are to be Kandidátus or Doktor or Akadémikus. The category of Akadémikus was reserved for Communists. The former bourgeois could reach only the Kandidátus category.

Since pay was low for teaching, the scholars and members of the academy were paid well. The regular member received 3,000 ft. a month and a corresponding member received 2,300 ft. a month, as a member of the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. The general pay received by the intellectuals could perhaps be 1,000 - 1,200 ft., but additional privileges were given to these intellectuals, such as the use of an automobile, special resorts with free vacations, one such was in the Matra Mountains and the other at the Balaton Lake, a special hospital, the Kútvölgyi hospital was available to scholars and their families and to central Party members.

No one else could go into the hospital. Here the best medical care was given.

The Tudományos Doktor received 900 ft. monthly pay. The Tudományos Kandidatus 472 ft. through the Hungarian Academy of Learning, Magyar Tudományos Akademia. Thus it was important to be a member of the academy, or important to be a scholar, because it involved extra privileges and extra pay. However, the academy told the scholar what theme he had to work on, or what kind of research he had to do. Thus the Communists controlled the activity of their scholars.

The training of young scholars was done through the training system of aspirants or "Aspirans", which the Soviets introduced and brought from Russia. Here again these young aspirants received some 1,200 - 2,000 ft. a month pay. They had nothing else to do but to study. A group of such students received a councillor called "Aspirans Vezető" and he received 300 ft. a month for being their councillor. This councillor or leader was a professor. The period of study for the Aspirans was three years. During the first year there were examinations in the basic subjects; first, Party history; second, Marxism and Leninism; third, Russian language and so on. In the second year examinations were held in the major field or subject.

And the third year was devoted to the preparation dissertation in such a subject which the university approved or designated for the student. Everyone was directed as to what he should study and where he should conduct his research. The Aspirans had to defend his dissertation publicly, and if he was successful in his defense, the Aspirans became a Kandidatus.

It is at this point or throughout all of this that Party politics and cultural politics merge. A few people got money for doing nothing and if a professor was an Aspirans Vezetö he received additional money for his services.

In 1951 a university reform was instituted. The Nyilvanos Rendes and the Nyilvanos Rendkivüli professors became either professor or docent. The ones whom the Communists favored or liked received the status of professor and those whom the Communists did not favor or did not like, became the docent. This is the status that I held.

Even the humanity classes had review or exercise sessions. All the university was divided up into special classes of 20 to 25 students and for these groups there were review or exercise sessions. In these sessions there was constant repetition and constant pounding away as to what the State is, over and over again.

The Western world wonders why such a large staff was needed at the University. The reason is that for every professor there were three or four assistants who conducted the exercise classes. The assistant to the professor was always a Communist Party member and was an informer who kept an eye on the professor, who may be outside the Party. This assistant checked on the professor, the docent, and controlled them too. Thus the Communists <sup>solved</sup> the problem of training students in the Communist line. They had three or four assistants to the professor, who were Communists and kept an eye on the professors.

ADMISSION TO THE UNIVERSITY.

Admission to the University also went on the basis of a plan. A Five-Year Plan was made up, which said how many doctors, lawyers, etc. were needed. In the Ministry of Education there was a Beiskolazasi Osztaly (Admissions Division), which had the job of ensuring the proper number of students and graduates would be in each profession or area on the basis of the figures of the Five-Year Plan.

Twenty times as many students applied for admission to be doctors and engineers as could be admitted according to the Plan. So it was the job of this division to put people or students over into law or other fields, because too few people wanted to be lawyers. It was thus that an actor was sent to Law School; it was thus that someone who wanted veterinary medicine was sent to Law School. The students admitted were divided on the basis of social origin also. For example, among 500 law students 40% were of worker origin, 30% peasant, 20% intellectual, 10% Egyeb (the rest), which included children of small business men and 0% for the ~~ex~~-group, which was the anti-class group. It was thus that medical students, all those wishing to study medicine, came to us after Law School for the admission<sup>1</sup>examination.

The admission examination committee at the Law School had three members: the chairman who was a professor or dozent ; the second member was a delegate from the Communist Party; the third member was a representative of the youth organization DISZ. The questioner was the chairman or professor. If the committee had to vote upon a particular examinee, then the professor, like me, would be voted down since I was in the minority. The examiner - examining chairman - asked the questions and on the basis of the answers points were given to each question asked. Our questions had to be submitted previously to the gov't office of admissions and approved. The examiner asked such questions from the list, which brought forth very poor answers and in these cases even the Party and youth delegate had to give low points for the answer. It was thus that certain people were kept out of the Law School - those people whom the Communists wanted very much to be admitted to the Law School.

Then the records of this committee were submitted to a Csucs Bizottsag, which then examined our records, the record of points, and examined our recommendations. It was thus that at one time 20 students whom we had recommended as a committee with a full 20 points, that the superior committee did not accept them because all of these students were of intellectual family origin.

As regards the ~~Q~~x-group, the examining committee of three were told to give these students such questions that they could not answer them, and it was in this way that the ~~Q~~x-group was eliminated completely from being admitted to any of the schools under the Communist system.

Students could appeal their cases, if they were not admitted. Appeal the case to the admissions office, whose chief was György Cedi. It was he who made the Hungarian cultural politics.



SPECIAL MATURITY COURSES.

A person who was a good kader, but who had not finished his middle school, was able in one year, through a special course "Szakerettsegi Tanfolyam" to receive his maturity certificate. By this means the Communists avoided having these students face an admission examination at the university, for the simple reason that many of them were stupid and could not even write.

In September 1951 this special course had a morning division, an afternoon division, and a correspondence division. Later, the evening section was merged into the correspondence division. All the big boys in the AVH and the police organization in Hungary were in the correspondence course. They were given a specified length of time in which to finish the course. In this particular area of university training the regular maturity certificate was not required and by this means the Communists filled the universities with a large number of stupid people who had only three years of elementary school. None of the professors dared fail these students who were high officials in the AVH or assistants to various State ministers or were engineers with only three years of elementary training, employed in the Building Ministry.

We in the Law School did not dare fail any of them; for example, the president of the capital city is Kalman Pongratz, who has had only six years of elementary school. In all of his records at the Law School, professors have given him the best grades, but he is stupid. Another similar situation exists with Ferenc Mezval of the Ministry of Justice. In his record he has only fives at the Law School. Previously he was a shoe-maker. These are the kind of people who are being pushed ahead by the Communists and who run the various ministries.

INTERVIEWER'S RATING:

The following should give a clear picture of the reliability and the adequate authority with which the respondent speaks. In the Reformed Church of Hungary he was a member of the <sup>Z</sup>sinat. He was the lay secretary of the Dunamelléki District of the Reformed Church; had been the law professor at the Reformed Church Law School in Kecskemét, and the pro dean of the school in 1949; later on the faculty of the Law School at the Budapest University, which position he held until he left Hungary. He was also during the Revolution president of the Budapest University Revolutionary Council. His field of study and of teaching was history of law. This, as he says, the Communists could not alter very much, although they did reduce the number of hours that a law student had to take in his field. He is a man with an extremely keen mind, well organized in his presentation of the material, and one who has risked his life for what he believes.