

Respondent's background.

Respondent's father, grandfather, great-grandfather belonged to the intelligentsia. He graduated from secondary school in 1932. He became an horticulturist, was busy as an all round sportsman as well. In 1938-39 he registered at Teachers' College. The diploma which he had obtained at the College of Horticulture enabled him to apply for credit ~~for~~ at Teachers' College which he obtained. After this, he continued his studies at the agricultural faculty of the Institute of Technology (Műegyetem Mezőgazdasági Kara). While studying there, he was drafted. While a member of the armed forces, he started to become a Leftist politician. He stood up against certain injustices. As a result of this ~~new~~ attitude, he became a thorn in the side of the commander of the military school. He was number one student in his class.

One regiment was comprised of three battalions. An extreme rivalry existed among these battalions, when it came to the rating of their respective officer/candidates. Respondent was on duty at the battalion of A Csongrad. There he called his sergeant names. For this, ~~his~~ his superiors called him : "Moscow spy" (Respondent notes that at the time he didn't even know about the existence of a Communist Party.) He was ousted from the officers' candidate school. For the following two years, he had a very hard time because the officers' corps kept vexing him - they could not forgive Respondent that on account of him they had lost their chance of being qualified as the first battalion

of their respective regiment.

Inevitably he became an opponent of the system. Among those with whom he served there were a few of Ruthenian background and these were Communists. He used to be on guard duty with them and they started to educate him.

In 1943, he was convicted: he was called an instigator. He served time in a forced labor camp, where he willingly became a Communist. He escaped and wanted to fight against the Germans. He established contacts with the Russians, English and Americans. Finally he went to Yugoslavia, where he became a guerilla fighter. Among his various duties was also the scrubbing of horses.

At the end of January of 1945, he contacted in Budapest the Communist Party. For his illegal activities, he was retroactively made a Party member. He was eager to create better conditions than those in existence under the Horthy regime. At the time, there were many decent people who became Party members. The timing of when and how people lost faith in Communism, depended in a large extent on the time of their joining. Those who entered the Party at an early stage of its manipulations, became involuntarily so involved and so closed off from the rest of the world as if they had lived in an aquarium. It would be worth devoting special studies to the case of those decent individuals who became blind toward reality - they played serious parts in preparing the Revolution. In this connection, Respondent wants to point out an interesting phenomenon: <sup>on</sup> people who were deeply religious

in their youth are inclined to become violently atheistic (in a way, this was the case of the Reformers); in the Hungarian case, the violent negation of Communism by ex-Communists was the fuel which kept the writers and newspapermen in perpetual motion. This grave internal crisis was produced - ~~that~~ they felt irrevocably responsible for the part Rakosi played in Hungarian history. Ex-Communists became the hottest anti-Communists - Benjamin, Zelk, Lajos ~~va~~ Tamási. Actually, it is hard for Respondent to understand why these oscillations were not more widespread - the explanation may lie in the fact, he added, that people generally don't like to give their wholehearted support for any ~~new~~ cause. It was the wrath of ~~the~~ disillusionment which made the active intelligentsia "pick", ~~during~~ during the last five years. In the afore-mentioned individuals, a very strange ~~course of development~~ process could be observed.

Differences of opinion between Respondent and his fellow Party members started to emerge slowly and gradually. From the very beginning, he was "anti-Party" in a particular question: deportations.

In 1945, Respondent organized the Horticulturist Trade Union; in the same year, he became president of the National Trade Union. Also in the same year, he became a member of the Committee for Claims of Land (Földigénylő Bizottság) and also worked in the Central Office of Agricultural Workers and Small Landholders (Földmunkások és Kisbirtokosok Országos Szövetsége).

Later it was his duty to organize the Agricultural Labor Exchange; in 1946, he headed the main office of the National Headquarters of Agriculturalists. (Mezőgazdászok Országos Központja). And before 1953, he turned against the whole system. His individual fate is characteristic of a whole stratum, though.

In 1946, he was called to Party headquarters: in the county of Zemplén, a Party committee was organized and he was <sup>assigned</sup> ~~asked~~ to become a county propagandist. The very same day his wife gave birth to a son. Nevertheless, they both agreed that he should <sup>ac</sup> ~~accept~~ the job with the lowest ~~sum~~ salary. They had a four year old daughter. Until April 4, 1948, he was active in the county of Zemplén as a propagandist and organizing <sup>g</sup> ~~ing~~ secretary of the Party. At the ~~same~~ time, Respondent's wife lived in Budapest, where she was president of the Party of the Fifth District. While in Zemplén, he started to have differences of opinion with the rest of the Party leadership, as far as local policy was concerned; the Party two-facedness became first evident in the villages and in rural areas generally.

In '48, he attended for three months the Party school - up until that time, he had little to do with theory. He was not familiar with Marxist philosophy - he loved organization and any type of work connected with it and he was in agreement with the land reform. At the Party school, he suddenly ~~was~~ found out how little he had known previously about the Communist ideology.

After three months of schooling, he was assigned to the Party

Headquarters by Gerő, where he worked until May, 1949. He became Assistant Director of the Department of Agricultural Cooperatives (Mezőgazdasági Szövetkezeti Osztály) with the rank of minister. The afore-mentioned department was headed at the time by András Hegedűs. Respondent ran the Department of Cooperatives, <sup>a</sup> according to the Leninist plan of cooperatives. He wanted to put it into effect on a gradual basis - he wanted to reorganize the ~~x~~ cooperatives then in existence (Hagya és Tejszövetkezetek) by rebuilding the structure of these two organizations to correspond to the afore-mentioned Leninist plan. However, Gerő and Hegedűs wanted ~~xx~~ him to do a quick job and the advocacy of speedy actions against Respondent's concept of gradual build-up created an extreme tension between him and his superiors. The situation~~xx~~ became more and more strained and serious disagreement ~~xx~~ occurred in the field of personnel policy. In Respondent's opinion, the individuals assigned to the new types of cooperatives were brought in too soon. As a result, he was the one who lost his Party functions.

He was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture where he became Supervisor of the Chiefs of various departments. In this capacity, he was in charge of ~~a~~ newly emerging organizational problems and the reorganization of activities<sup>ities</sup> which did not run smoothly. Among others, a chief managerial department had to be organized, as well as county and regional departments.

In 1951, Respondent was discharged of his position at the Ministry of Agriculture. Three months later, he became the ad-

ministration<sup>of</sup> of 4200 acres of land which belonged to the School of Horticulture of the Ministry of Agricultural Sciences. This was an uncultivated piece of land at Soroksár.

In the summer of 1955, Respondent was excluded from the Party and fired from his job. The accusation: statements made by him which were contrary to the interest of the People's Democracy. However, he was able to prove that he had lost his job due to the fact that he was ousted from the Party; on December 12, 1956, he tendered his resignation in writing<sup>ing.</sup>

Respondent became acquainted with Imre Nagy in 1945; the latter handed him his confidential papers in 1956. He became familiar with everything that went on within the closest circle of friends of Imre Nagy.

In Hungarian relations, there is no such a thing as "Titoists", "National Communists". There are three questions of major importance which have to be considered, though, in the act of detachment of former Communists.

The first one is the question of Hungarian independence, rather than that of the dependence of the Soviet Union. (To believe in Hungarian independence ~~is~~ and the acceptance, at the same time, of the dependence of Moscow is an insane dogma).

Question number two is that of the Party. After having taken into consideration the Hungarian historical events, the ~~scrutinizer~~ <sup>scrutinizer</sup> will have to ask himself whether it is possible or not to accept the belief in the existence of the one and only

Party - those honest Communists who had analyzed this tried to establish whether it was to the advantage of the Hungarian people to have a Popular Front as Imre Nagy wanted to establish it in '53, and which approach was labelled by <sup>R</sup>Rakosi as "the denial of the leading role of the Party" - which would have meant the negation of the "cult of personalities" - or continue to accept the ~~max~~ omnipotence of the Party.

The third question is that of "Marxism-Leninism". A substantial part of Marxism and Leninism has become politics which assumed the inflexibility of dogmas. In connection with the study of this ~~the~~ third question, the subject of "revisionism" comes up. The type of activities this term covers is explained in the following lines: to view with critical eye those dogmas which were never true and those which had been true once upon a time; the denial of the thesis that Marxism-Leninism is the exclusive social science which will bring about the salvation of mankind.

If a Communist severs the umbilical cord as far as the aforementioned three problems are concerned, he can hardly be labelled a Communist anymore.

Respondent states that as far as the first question is concerned, Imre Nagy has never been a Communist, not even in 1945. It was in '45 that Imre Nagy advocated that it should not be the Soviet army which should distribute the land but that a Committee for Claims for Land should be established and <sup>pertinent</sup> ~~permanent~~ proper legislation be introduced - "it is not necessary for the Russians

to acquire popularity this way."

In the second question, Imre Nagy saw clearly what the situation was already in 1953 - Rákosi had every reason to accuse him of "anti-Party attitude".

As far as the third question was concerned, in '55-'56 Nagy was not aware of not being a Communist anymore on this score either. This was pointed out to him by his closest circle of friends during the Revolution and he had to agree.

I will enumerate the main problems pointed out by Respondent  
(It took place on the train.) (The book "The Iron Curtain" - 1957)  
during our "introductory conversation!"

In Respondent's view, it is of paramount importance to do away with ~~the~~ the schematic observance of events which take place behind the Iron Curtain. Due to this schematic view, the United States politics as far as the East European area is concerned, is completely erroneous. It also plays an important role in the incorrectly practiced American policy pertaining to problems behind the Iron Curtain. One of the mistaken concepts is: the



Russian army is nothing more but a horde of Mongolians.

The ~~k~~ Hungarians express this view because they feel that they are expected to make such statements. Thus, during the Revolution, they sincerely believed in it.

Respondent points out furthermore that politics cannot be made by establishing a theory that anybody who is a Communist is an opportunist, a scoundrel who wants nothing more than to grab power a parasite. This type of mentality does not lead anywhere.

It is equally wrong to believe that every difference of opinion within the Party is nothing more but fights for power of different cliques - <sup>ese</sup> ~~these~~ differences do not, as a rule, demonstrate weakness, neither do they mean ~~fall~~ falling apart of the system. As a consequence of this Western erroneous mentality, Radio Free Europe recommended that Imre Nagy should be swept away; and, of course, it follows that <sup>every</sup> SS soldier was a decent man because he was an anti-Communist already in those times.

Life behind the Iron Curtain is just as many-faceted and complicated as it is on the other side. New people keep coming into the picture. In order to have a sound policy, it will have to be based on every day life and not on dogmas and theories.

The Western world should leave no stone unturned - it should apply every method conceivable - to find out what is really happening behind the Iron Curtain. Respondent states that he personally never believed that spying on a large scale was going on

behind the Iron Curtain. But, during the ~~six~~ months following the Revolution, he couldn't help noticing that there was no spying going on at all; the Western people fool themselves - they hear only what they want to hear - their diplomats report what they are expected to report.

A committee established by the United Nations had 110 people testify during the course of six months (Respondent was one of those who did testify); what a three-ring circus! The Committee functioned on the basis of a pre-conceived pattern. <sup>R</sup> ~~A~~ recent ~~was~~ refugees should have been included in the questioning board - the military expert was familiar with Greek military affairs and didn't have the slightest notion even about Russian military problems.

The serious problems are the determinations ~~and~~ of the real causes of the Hungarian Revolution and the conclusions thereof. - One should try to determine what are the problems public opinion should be made aware of. Slogans will never constitute a real protection against Communism - the fact should be pointed out by lectures.

In connection with the elections of Indonesia Respondent states that Mr. Dulles has every reason to tear his hair - he can't be satisfied by stopping Communism to spread within the United States - the real problem of American policy should be the spreading of Communism in the other parts of the globe.

2. The events of Poznan and the recent Hungarian Revolution did

not seriously damage world Communism.

The Kádár regime applies Hitler methods in distorting the Revolution. According to Life magazine, too, the Revolutionary Hungarians displayed inhuman attitudes and actions. This, according to Respondent, is not true. It is not true that at the headquarters of the Party Committee of Budapest, located at the Lóistársaság Square, members of the AVH were murdered. Two of the allegedly dead people are now celebrated in Moscow as heroes. At Magyaróvár, a few people were torn to pieces but the Kádár regime can "boast" with only four ~~szokásos~~ "martyrs". On the 4th of November, all over the country, the AVH people were released - the decision to do so was arrived at by a majority of votes.

(We arrived in Dübendorf. And before we started the "A" Interview, we had dinner en famille. Respondent has three children, a girl of 14 and two boys, one 10, and one 5 years old. The older boy casually started to relate about a trip he had made by bike to a neighboring village. His father stopped him in the middle of each of his sentences: "How did you know where you were at one given moment?" The child had to reconstruct his trip and retrospectively he was made aware of so many signs which would have been an indication of his whereabouts at each given moment. At the end of the discussion, I was exhausted. But the method of observation taught was indeed extremely interesting. During

the dinner, the smaller boy asked for the salt shaker. He shook it with such vigor that all of its contents landed in his plate. He was not given another plate and was told: "Either you eat it as you prepared it for yourself, or you won't have any supper." He went without supper. At the end of this pedagogic feast, some chocolate was distributed, the girl asked for more. She should have known better. I asked for more. I should have known better. Indeed complete equality reigned in that household. When we finally started the interview, I was a little bit afraid, but during the subsequent dinners I had with Respondent, my fear dissipated - he became human he even had, occasionally, a twinkle in his eyes.

And now, let's start:)

#### SECTION R

- (1) After those who served Moscow without any hesitation came to power in Hungary, the structure of the state started to undergo gradual changes. They started to systematically destroy the bourgeois opposition, introduce the systems of the secret police and of the build-in informers, <sup>they</sup> highly centralized all activities - thus dictatorship began. A tyrannical, political system of the above sort is usually run by a single person or by a clique. This is true for the Soviet Union and for any other country where the idea of Communism is put into practice by the rulers of Moscow. Such is the situation of Hungary.

It is a natural consequence of this political system that, among the subjugated nations, resentment starts to develop which reaches a level at which people start to deliberate: how could one overthrow this tyranny?

The high degree of centralization and of controls created a situation without exception in any country under Communist rule in which, <sup>in order</sup> to overthrow the regime it becomes necessary that the country be involved in a war or the regime be toppled from power from within by the reformist opposition within the Communist Party itself.

In Respondent's opinion, in the field of practical politics it would be a misjudgment of facts to believe that within one country, ruled by Moscow's servants, the role ~~is~~ played by the so-called anti-Communist forces could be significant enough ~~on~~ <sup>for</sup> the outside world ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> pin its hopes for the bringing about of the desired change.

(2a) The actual outbreak of the Revolution was preceded by a slow, gradually mounting political and economic dissatisfaction and, in Respondent's opinion, it is safe to assume that June ~~is~~ 1953<sup>+</sup> was the starting date on which initial symptoms of resentment could be felt for the first time.

From an historical point of view, it would be wrong to tie the Revolution to any one event. A whole row of events steered people's sentiments which culminated in the outbreak of the Revolution. Some appeared to play a decisive role, but, in Respondent's mind, the

concomitant symptoms were of equal importance. He concedes, however, that Stalin's death, the 20th Congress, the replacement of Rakosi not only exercised a great influence but actually hastened the process.

In Respondent's view, the basic factor for the birth of a process of dissatisfaction, culminating in open revolt, is the discrepancy between the advocating of policies and the way they shape up in their practical application. Not even all the propaganda, lies and promises, not even the fact that part of the ~~many~~ measures carried out by the regime proved to be right were able to prevent the various strata of the society under this system to lose faith in Communism; in this respect, the differences between the various social strata lie only in the time factor: a question to be asked was: when did a particular stratum turn against Communism, when did the point of saturation come for the different social groups?

- (2c) Respondent was many times in the belief that the turning point had come: June of 1953, October of 1954, March, April, 1955, July 18, 1956. Respondent felt especially so on the 18th of July because he noticed that within the Party the reformist opposition scored one success after the other.
- (2e) The writers played a decisive role in the reformist movement. In support of this statement, Respondent points out the increase in the circulation of the Irodalmi Ujsag. The whole movement was started by the intelligentsia, led by the writers, while ~~she~~<sup>it</sup> was

the youth which actually launched the armed uprising when it actually "blew up", the writers moved out of the limelight to a certain degree and when ~~the~~ the whole country became engulfed in the Revolution, the workers took over the leading role and carried the brunt of the fight.

(2f) Yes, there was. This could be felt since June of 1953.

Respondent points to the article written by Imre Nagy in the Szabad Nep October, 1954.

When all is said and done, the number one spot goes to the Irodalmi Ujsag which was way out front advocating reformist views, trying to educate its readers in the spirit in which it carried on its extensive campaign. The Irodalmi Ujsag maintained this line unbroken even at the time when Rakosi was restored. It is not accidental that all its editors were discharged, one after the other.

(2g) Respondent was particularly impressed by the press debate conducted in the Petofi Circle. From among newspaper articles, Respondent selects Imre Nagy's article written in October of 1954 as the outstanding one. In the field of poetry, the most impressive ones were Benjamin's works.

(3) Respondent believes that the attitude of Gerö and that of Russians turned the demonstrations into a Revolution. He would not affirm ~~it~~ with a hundred percent certainty that they wanted to provoke a Revolution of this nature, however, he is firmly con-

vinced that they did provoke it. In support of this statement, Respondent points out various factors which he groups into three parts:

1) The absence from the country of the top leaders of the Party; This, in Respondent's opinion is a manifestation of the loosening of the reins which took place after the 18th of July, 1956. Kádár went to ~~the~~ China; Gerő to the Soviet Union; at the end of August and during the beginning of September István Kovács was left in charge of the whole country. When, during the month of October, the roaring noise of rising dissatisfaction could be heard more and more, when it became evident that the country was proceeding with increasing speed toward total confusion, then everybody left for Yugoslavia and Nagy was left in charge in Hungary.

2) Another inciting factor was the tone of Gerő's speech.

(3a) 3) Orders to shoot at the insurgents were given to the AVH.

(3b) The situation deteriorated from within, it was like ~~when~~ termites destroy<sup>ing</sup> the foundation of a house built of wood. The dissatisfaction which manifested itself in defiance and in fury engulfed the whole nation within twenty-four hours - this was so powerful that had the Party been stronger than it actually was, still it could not have resisted the wrath of the people under any condition.

Another indirect factor for the Revolution to get into full swing was the demonstrated inability of the Russian armed forces, stationed in Hungary, to cope with it.



(3c) The people did not want consciously to bring about a Revolution or give voice to their anti-Communist sentiments - they intended to put the system's foreign and domestic policies on a sounder footing. Respondent makes reference to the famous sixteen points - these were the demands of a social stratum but, at the same time, they most faithfully reflected the demands of the nation, as a whole.

The psychological momentum, as a result of which violent demonstrations erupted, was the fact ~~that~~ that the AVH opened fire, at the Radio. Crowds totaling 100,000 started shouting: "Down with Gerö."

Had the demonstrations taken place at 10:00 in the morning, in broad daylight, the chain of events would have taken a different course. However, it was dark, it was night and this factor contributed to the: "now or never" attitude. And Stalin's statue was pulled down.

Nobody told anybody to go out and fight but people did; they took up arms and it felt good to have a loaded gun in one's hands.

Although the lack of preliminary planning was clearly evident, not a single voice of dissent could be heard except that of the mothers: "Come on son, take a bath, and forget about it."

(3e) On the 23rd of October, everyone had one common aim: "Down with Gerö, down with the AVH", plus: "Long live Imre Nagy". No other sentiment was openly expressed.

On the 2nd of November different opinions could be heard - here the Radio Free Europe has an active role.

The impact of the first week left the AVH down and out, its members unable to comprehend just what had happened, frightened and in despair - and the so-called reactionary forces found themselves exactly in the same situation. The only difference was that the AVH people tried to escape.

(3f) Nobody.

However, from the first day on, so-called "sober" elements could be heard saying that it could not last forever and we shall have to foot the bill. There were people who were afraid of atrocities, of the besmirching of the Revolution, and there were elements among these who even after three days <sup>were</sup> unable to comprehend that a Revolution was taking place. The future military leaders of the Revolution (Kop<sup>á</sup>csy, Mal<sup>é</sup>ter) were part of this group of people.

(3g) Respondent did not encounter neutral people.

(3h) "Down with Gerö"; "down with the AVH"; "Long live Imre Nagy" .

On the second day: "Ruskies, go home!" was added to the previous ones.

At the end of the first week the rep<sup>x</sup>ertoire increased: "Free elections, neutrality".

Once in <sup>a</sup>while, it crept up: "Mindszenty for prime minister", and also statements requiring the restoration of the Horthy-regime and some anti-semitic ones were heard. However, none of these became slogans adopted by the masses.

Radio Free Europe enticed against Imre Nagy, stating that he

was a Communist and that he would have to go - these statements were disregarded, they never became slogans; and it is safe to say that the masses turned a deaf ear to this type of talk.

(31) Yes and no.

The Revolution was anti-Communist in the sense that it was against Moscow, against the Red Star and against the flag of the Soviet Union and it did not intend to simply correct the errors - the revolt wanted to change the regime, it wanted to introduce the multi-party system and declare Hungary's neutrality.

On the other hand, it was not anti-Communist in the sense that it wanted to retain a number of achievements which were attained under the Party's leadership. The revolt did not intend to hold people ~~XXXXX~~ responsible for having been Communists and the Revolutionary masses had more confidence in the Communist Imre Nagy than in those non-Communist elements who had collaborated with Rákosi.

(3k) Viewing the question from this point of view, it is understandable that not only did Communists participate in the Revolution, but also that they played the dominant roles, particularly during the first week.

(31) In case reactionaries are considered those who want to restore the Horthy-regime, then Respondent has to state that their number participating in the Revolution was insignificant.

In case this description applies to those outspoken anti-Communists who had been tortured by the Rákosi regime, whether they

belonged to any party or not, then the number of these was more substantial. Nevertheless, they still constituted a minority.

- (3m) The Revolution would have been followed by an extremely short period of consolidation which in turn would have ~~been followed by~~ <sup>been followed by</sup> a socialistic experiment of inestimable significance. A securely established socialistic trend in Hungary would have meant mortal danger to the West and to Russia alike. Therefore, the failure of the Revolution was practically inevitable.

Returning to the first part of the answer, Respondent points out that during the initial short period of consolidation, atrocities would have had their victims, but 95 percent of them, according to Respondent, would have been actual criminals who would have received what they deserved, though not as a ~~xxx~~ result of being convicted by ~~xxxxx~~ courts.

- (3n) Respondent is firmly convinced that the events in Hungary even coupled with those of the Suez Canal, would not have led to a new World War.

He recommends <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ careful study of this statement issued by the Soviet on the 30th of October!

- (4) He organized.

He was outraged at the thought that everybody was afraid of everybody else - that's why he organized the Committee in Charge of Affairs involving armed force during the Revolution.

Respondent kept urging Kopácsy and his co-workers to establish patrols, to organize the traffic police, and to set up the defense

of their own buildings - they did nothing (fifteen-seventeen year old youngsters acted as traffic policemen).

Respondent advocated that the civilian Freedom Fighters and those army units which sided with the Revolution be brought together; also that part of the Hungarian army which did not revolt together with the police be organized and a protective force, including the above mentioned elements, be set up.

Respondent advocated that streets be patrolled by armed groups consisting of one civilian, one policeman, and one soldier - he pointed out that in such case nobody will mistrust them.

On the 29th of October, Respondent held a conference with Maléter and Kopácsy and on the 30th of October he brought together the generals, the Corvin command, Maléter and Kopácsy.

After this meeting took place, Respondent became chief organizer of a committee of nine members which made Imre Nagy sign the founding document which established the Revolutionary Committee in Charge of Problems Involving Force of Arms. It was Respondent, together with Béla Király, who worded the aforementioned document.

The representatives of all the army units met at the Kilian barracks; the Committee consisted of 50 civilian and 50 military people - Béla Király was elected leader. Today the members of this committee are either in jail or have left Hungary.

During the first days of the Revolution, Respondent organized strikes (the traffic of Budapest) and from the 1st of November on

he was active in breaking up the strikes. For a few days Respondent was liason man between Maléter and Kopáscy.

Usually he would leave Soroksár at dawn and cover Budapest as far as the insane asylum of Lipótmező; he and his co-workers carried about 500-800 liters of milk with which they supplied the following organizations: the Writers' Union, the Polish and the Chinese Legations, the police headquarters of Budapest, the Corvin, Kilian barracks, the Freedom Fighters from the Tüzoltó Street and the Folkloric Institute.

(4a) They took two Polish correspondents with them everywhere - they were radio news correspondents and the correspondents of the Polish Szabad Nép: Tribuna Ludu (one of these is in Paris at the moment).

Respondent entered the Corvin barracks with these people where 30 AVH and Russian officers were kept as prisoners; the newspaper men interviewed 40 Freedom Fighters (Respondent did the interpreting); one of them, was a young girl whose major field at the university was history. She said: "Now I'm making history instead of studying it."

Respondent took Tibor Déry and a Polish newspaper man to become acquainted with Maléter.

(4b) The army group at Kecskemét was an exception; it was under the command of Major General Gyurkó, a Moscovite.

(4c) No, he didn't see anything of the sort. And he states that no mob violence would have taken place, if he had been there.

Yet, he laughingly added that on the 25th of October it was almost he who was executed. After the bloodshed at the Parliament, he was on his way to the Szabadság Square. A Freedom Fighter grabbed him and wanted to shoot him. Respondent made the following remark: "You idiot, does an AVH man wear the type of boots that I have on?" Everybody burst out laughing. In situations of this sort, a clear conscience makes one say and do the right things. The importance of this was noted when the Russians liberated Hungary. They either had a good time with the populations or shot some of them - the inner feelings invariably come to the surface, under similar circumstances: invariably one reveals one's soul.

(5a) Yes.

(5b) Yes. At the farm of Soroksár, he gave orders to start the strike - of course, the animals had to be fed and the cows had to be milked.

(5c) Yes.

(5d) No.

(5e) Yes.

(5f) Yes - he was a member of the executive Committee of the Revolutionary Council of the intelligentsia, until the 15th of December when it was dissolved; its president was KK Kodály.

Together with Dzsó [redacted] and György [redacted], Respondent was a member of that illegal delegation which conducted discussions with Menon with the aim of having Nehru intervene with Bulganin for the settlement of the Hungarian problem. (Respondent talked

alot about the suggestions made by this delegation to Nehru with the intermediary of Meason in order for Bulganin to have a clear picture of the Hungarian situation and present to him the type of relationship Hungary<sup>y</sup> was willing at the time to accept. He asked me, though, not to put these in the interview.)

(7a) There was no conflict. About some civilian Freedom Fighters, some military leaders had the feeling that they were merely a mob. This misunderstanding was clarified when ~~them~~ they fought the Russians together.

(7b) Well.

(7d) On November 2nd, Respondent was accord<sup>ed</sup> an audience by Cardinal Mindszenty. He waited for a whole hour. Many careerists, opportunists, mostly elderly people were there - waiting for the Cardinal. Everybody wanted to get a job. That's where Respondent saw the reactionary elements - Szimnyi Nerse for instance, but he and the rest of those waiting in the antichamber of the Cardinal did not take part in the Revolution.

Also present were some members of the so-called young x Revolutionary party - these never went close to a place where a shot was fired.

Respondent saw Mindszenty's attitude while he was being ~~photograph~~ photographed - he is stubborn, narrow-minded, senile. Respondent feels that the Pope should demand that Cardinal Mindszenty leave the American Legation.

The only stratum Respondent did not get in contact with during



the Revolution was the peasantry.

- (8) Respondent had talked about this previously.
- (8b) There were no Russian students in Budapest.
- (8c) The Greek students were on the side of the AVH, while the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean students sided with the Revolution.
- (8d)x They picked up all their belongings and left (on the Danube, by ship, or by plane).
- (8d) Respondent knows of several cases in which Russian armed units moved away from the scene of battle, but he states that no Russian armed unit sided with the Revolution and no individual Russian soldiers did so either, except a few Subcarpathian ones, of Hungarian descent.
- (8f) After the 4th of November, Soviet authorities were in full and exclusive charge of the capital; - there was a Russian commander in charge of it - Budapest was occupied.

Between October 23 and November 4, Soviet authorities exerted no influence whatsoever.

Prior to the 23rd of October, the Soviet Union did not directly interfere in Hungarian affairs. However, decisions in connection with top echelon personnel and also the determination of top political and economic problems came from Moscow.

It should also be noted that military airfields, military objectives and the uranium mines around Pecs were under Soviet control.

- (9) During the Revolution, Respondent took automobile rides constantly all over Budapest; no newspapers were published during the first

days; however, just as soon as papers appeared, Respondent got hold of them (his collection is almost complete). He daily visited the police headquarters, the Writers' Union, and the Corvin and Kilian barracks.

During the first part of the Revolution, Respondent listened to radio broadcasts only once, namely when Imre Nagy declared Hungary's neutrality and the ~~was~~ abandonment of the Warsaw Pact and, of course, he did listen to Geró's speech. While Respondent was away, his fifteen year old daughter made notes of who called Respondent on the telephone and prepared excerpts from the radio news bulletins.

Respondent prevented the disconnection of his telephone and also that of Lócsey's, Méray's, and Sándor Fekete's.

As for the reliability of the news sources, Respondent gives credence to what he saw himself and to what he was able to ascertain through cross-questioning.

- (10) The whole party and state apparatus collapsed. It started to function only after complete personnel changes had been made. (armed forces, ministry of agriculture, ministry of foreign affairs and partly ministry of the interior).
- (10b) It completely fell apart, except for those few spots, where at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution, the leadership was in the hands of such people who were outspoken anti-Rákosi elements. As an example, Respondent points to the Party Committee of the county of Borsod, led by the first secretary, Rudolf Földvári; his

group broadcast its own news on its own radio station and its influence was definitely considerable - the greatest industrial combines (Miskolc, Ózd, Diósgyőr) are located in that area.

- (10c) Due to its hatred toward the AVH, the police rendered its arms to the students and the workers and sided completely with the Revolution; as far as this particular group was concerned, its main assistance consisted in its <sup>S</sup>passivity.
- (10d) Its resistance became weaker and weaker and after three days some of them left for Moscow and the bulk for the West.

The ones left in Hungary changed into civilian clothes and were hiding in basements and in attics.

- (10e) Nothing of particular importance happened in this field. The newly formed Revolutionary Councils did not include former members of the courts; they didn't hunt for them, though.

- (10f) The Defense Ministry was originally on Rákosi's side; but after the officers who had sided with Rákosi were ousted, it became neutral; siding with the Revolution would have meant opposing the Red Army.

Individually some members of the armed forces and some units did side with the Revolution in its fight against the Soviet army, and/or the AVH.

It should be noted that these elements were primarily the students of military academies and also some armoured units.

<sup>a</sup>  
The Transdanubian army forces sided with the Revolution in full.

- (10g) <sup>sh</sup> The newspapers should be read on this score.

(10i) <sup>ch</sup> The churches, including the Roman Catholic, did not do anything at all. Mindszenty started to mill, but his buzzing had no ~~size~~ significance.

(10j) The TEFU was the only group the rebels could count upon.

(10k) ~~Start~~ Starting from the 1st of November, parties were being organized (social democratic, ~~small~~ Smallholder's, Petöfi Party).

Former political prisoners of Recsk and of other internment camps, started political organizations of their own.

The Revolutionary party of the youth (Forradalmi Ifjusági Párt) was a Catholic organization which had not much to do with the youth nor with the Revolution, for that matter.

(10l) The ~~the~~ Workers' Councils came into existence spontaneously within twenty-four hours; for a historical background, the existence of the National Committees of 1945 can be pointed to.

(10m) In Respondent's opinion, the coalition government of November 4th would have stayed in power. Bibó, Béla Kovács were decent people with a wide intellectual horizon<sup>on</sup>.

(11a) Yes. Definitely.

(11b) The Revolution was victorious. After its victory, it was destroyed by the Soviet imperialist intervention.

(11c) The cables sent by Imre Nagy and by his government to the United Nations and to the Western world should be consulted on this score. Political and diplomatic help was expected. On what basis? The Project should look up the Constitution of the United Nations. The answer is there.

Respondent states further that it was not armed assistance, nor the United Nations police which was needed in Hungary, but a group of official United Nations observ<sup>er's</sup> should have been sent to Budapest on a jet plane on the 21st of November!

- (11e) Imre Nagy is a decent, honest, clever man; however, it is a pity that he is ~~an~~<sup>a</sup> scientist and not a politician. Respondent likes and respects him.
- (11f) Imre Mező is considered by the Kádár regime as <sup>or</sup> martyr; however, he was one of those who actively participated in the preparation of the Revolution.

In July of 1956, the most important role was played by a teacher of Angyalföld, called Litván. During a meeting of the Communist Party of the Thirteenth Precinct he told the ~~man~~ then present Rákosi: "You are guilty, you should resign."

For three days, a certain Gergely Boros from Sarkad played an important part (he was the president of the MEDOSZ). He visited Imre Nagy on his birthday: July 7, 1956.

In November of 1955, Aczél played an extremely important part - he was the one who organized the Memorandum of the Writers. In the Revolution itself, Aczél did not play any part.

Dudás played an important part ~~at~~ only after his death - both the Kádár regime and Western circles ~~are~~ strived to prove that the Hungarian Revolution was a right<sup>i</sup>st movement.

Tibor Déry played a significant role when, in the presence of Márton Horváth, during the course of a press discussion, he

attacked Rákosi and asserted that the problem was not constituted by the faults made by the latter but by the nature of the system which will have to undergo basic changes.

In the armed Revolution, Gergely Pongrácz played a more important part than Maléter, but it was Maléter who became a legend.

From the 30th of October, Tildy played an important part - he was together with Imre Nagy day and night; Tildy is a shrewd politician and he was the one who conducted negotiations and edited ~~various~~ various memoranda. While on <sup>the</sup> one hand, <sup>Nagy</sup> negotiated with the Russians, on the other hand Tildy took care of internal affairs. Tildy was calmer than Nagy and he convinced - a little late, though - Kova's and Anna Kéthly to join the government.

Sándor Szilágyi's part should not be neglected; he used to be in charge of the Secretariat of the Communist Party and he was ousted ~~from~~ from the Party in 1951 because he publicly declared that the Communists were murderers.

During the discussion of subquestion (f), it was pointed out that there were many many people who had their moment in the preparation of the Revolution. However, ~~due~~ due to the <sup>spontaneity</sup> ~~spontaneity~~ ~~of~~ and to the lack of organization of the Revolution itself, there were no individuals whose part was extremely important during the two-three weeks in question. Then it was indeed the crowd which took over.

(11g) It was started by the intelligentsia, led by newspapermen and writers.

The tense situation blew up and became an open revolt when the students started ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> fight the AVH and the Russians with arms.

The brunt of the fight was later taken over by the workers.

The peasantry also participated in the Revolution with a very significant passive attitude.

There was also a great number of irresponsible elements.

(11h) Of course he expected the students to behave like they did.

Youth, by definition, is a revolutionary element.

(12) On the 14th of December,

(12a) Respondent's co-workers were arrested one after the other; after the dissolution of the Revolutionary Council of the intelligentsia, Respondent was unable to work even illegally; a warrant for his arrest was issued and his brother-in-law, Miklos Gimes, was arrested; Respondent's friends and mother-in-law demanded that he leave. Respondent's family and that of his brother-in-law were taken by him to Austria on the 23rd of November.

(12c) As long as he stayed in Hungary, he was active illegally against the Russians and against the Kádár regime.

- (1a) 1919-35.
- (1b) Public ~~xf~~ schools.
- (1c) Respondent attended college, but not after '45.
- (1d) Yes. In 1938, Respondent took courses at the Technological Institute of Budapest in the handling and maintenance of tractors and agricultural machinery; in addition, he registered for a specialized courses given by the Teachers' College of the University of Technological Sciences; he did not complete these studies because in the meantime he was drafted.
- (1e) Originally, Respondent wanted to become a physician, but in 1932, his father was already under extreme financial strain because three of his children were in college. Besides, from Respondent's early childhood, he used to work in summer in a tree nursery - he liked horticulture.
- (4) The policy advocated by the Communist regime was not of a resolute nature, consequently it could not succeed.

Its main objectives (their sequence and degree of importance depended on how far the teachers staff in each school went):

- 1) Disengaging of religious education (clericalism was eliminated - this, in Respondent's mind, is a positive result).
- 2) The creation of a collective, co-operative spirit (the elimination of individualism - according to Respondent's view - this feature is not necessarily bad. The collective spirit should be developed).
- 3) The discrediting of capitalism as a social system - the children



should have absolutely no respect for wealth and only individuals who work well should be respected. (The Communist system tried to make fun of capitalism in many ways - the members of the aristocracy and the former capitalists were pictured as ridiculous characters - these were the lines the Communist system followed when it tried to give a picture of former social conditions; the effort of the system in this field had a damaging effect - abroad where Hungarian children are viewed as Communist devils.

The Communist system's positive approach in the field of education was the emphasis which was laid ~~on~~<sup>on</sup> social justice, Communist ideals which, in essence, do not differ from the moral ideals advocated by various religions. Furthermore, the system did not instigate against national minorities. Brotherly feelings toward neighboring nationalities were stressed.

The negative side of Communist education: everything was invented by the Russians (the cure for cancer, the telephone, planets) - this was not digested by the children. On <sup>the</sup> one hand, they were taught disrespect toward any type of authorities, on the other hand, at home the parents' opinion about the overwhelming Russian genius, the sole ~~an~~ inventor of all types of things, was slightly different. The children did not accept as true the official teaching about the leading role of the Party. )

(4g) They are better. They are less cynical. (Much more willing to assume idealistic attitudes); they are more independent - they were forced to grow up faster (this is not necessarily a positive)

result) and they are, of course, more arrogant.

Respondent liked the youth - even during pre-Revolutionary times. Maybe he's leniently optimistic - he can't help it.

- (5) He was a pediatrician and so was his great-grandfather; his wife's parents are also physicians.
- (5a) No. He was a private physician during his whole life.
- (5d) His parents always had a charwoman and until '36 - '37 they had steady help.
- (5e) No.
- (5f) Better off.
- (5g) Six members - four children.
- (5h) Respondent's parents are in Budapest, an elder brother is in Australia, an elder sister in the U.S., another elder brother died at the hands of the Arrow Cross Party. (He was an engineer and had leftist sympathies.)
- (5i) He lived with his wife, three children and mother-in-law.
- (5k) It did not influence his career one way or the other.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) She was a librarian and worked in the Budapesti ~~Rax~~ Fővárosi Library. Péter Erdős used to work there and also Julia Rajk - it was a "criminals' hangout".
- (6b) Since 1941.
- (6c) Three.
- (6d) Thirteen.
- (7) His children attended the Rakosi Kindergarten - it was considered

the elite school of the Communist high society; his daughter attended the Gorkij school - three years ago, Respondent took his daughter out of the school because even mathematics and physics were taught in Russian. In addition, there was an avant-garde spirit prevalent in the ~~man~~<sup>bad</sup> sense of the word - his daughter started to act like a princess. But six months later she was happy that she was sent to the public school of the Vörös Hadsereg Street. Respondent didn't even register his elder son at the Gorkij School.

- (8) During political discussions<sup>she</sup> and his wife had, the children were allowed to be present. "Why isn't Mother working anymore in the Party school, why isn't she working anymore<sup>in</sup> the offices of the Szikra?", were questions their children asked. And by God, they were told the reasons.
- (9) Respondent was compelled to take his daughter out of secondary school.
- (9d) Fundamentally, neither Respondent nor his wife are religious. His own parents and his wife's parents left the decision to them in this score; however, they thought that their children should attend religious classes. At the age of fifteen, Respondent wanted to become a priest; at the age of seventeen, the problem of predestination became a major issue in his ~~life~~ life. The extent of the anger Respondent displayed toward religion was similar to the one he felt toward Communism.
- (10) Along these lines, Respondent has no personal experiences. How-

ever, he does not doubt that other authorities did exert influence on his children.

(11) Generally speaking, yes. However, of all children, he was the one who was on the worst terms with his parents. He wanted to become independent and at the age of twenty, he left home.

(12) They are too old for that - his father is 81 years old, his mother 76.

They went along with the events of 1945-47. Their lower standard of living ~~was~~<sup>was</sup> considered as their share of participation in the fate of the Hungarian people.

In 1955, his mother remarked: "A real bad sign is the poor quality of the potatoes."

(13) He is grateful to his parents for the education he received - from the character-forming viewpoint and for the cultural degree he was able to attain.

(14) The time Respondent and his wife were able to spend with their children was very limited; the children were first in nurseries then in Kindergartens.

During the first years, they both worked enthusiastically for what they thought was right, after that enthusiastically against what they thought was wrong.

In 1945, Respondent's wife was busy in the MNDSZ, she assisted in the distribution of potatoes; she was a very good organizer. She was nominated a Party worker in the educational department of the district Party organization, where she was responsible for educational affairs; later she became district propagandist and

district Party secretary; later she worked in the central office of the Party of Greater Budapest where she became secretary of the women's department; later she was assigned a position of assistant leader of the National Secretariat for Women's Affairs; during the summer of 1948, she attended the Party school; in 1949 she became a professor at the college of Party affairs where she headed the faculty of journalism. In 1952, she was discharged from this position on account of "political indecisiveness"; she became associated with the publishing firm of Szikra - she was editor of educational material. There she had a series of troubles because her editorial activities were based on principles and not on tactical considerations - she was attacked for it and although she won out in June of '53, she was fired in the fall of '54. For a couple of months she had no job and in the beginning of 1955, she was hired by the Fővárosi Library.

- (15) A serious trend ~~was~~ regarding ~~marriages~~ marriages during the last decade was the complete elimination of the economic factor. There was no such a thing as a good financial match. (jó párti). Love did become a decisive factor. A question of "good match" came up in the first place when it was to be determined whether the respective party was a good stahanovist and in most cases the decisive factor was to what type of kader the respective individual belonged.

In pre-war times, for an aristocrat to marry someone with a middle class background was considered a mésalliance; ~~and~~ marriage

between a Christian and a Jew was also considered a problem. During the last decade, one's record was "stained" if one had a bourgeois or a kulak káder. This was the source of a considerable number of divorces - the dissolution of marriages concluded in pre-war times was due mainly to economic factors.

The Party also interfered with marriages. The spouse of a person who had escaped to the West, or who had been imprisoned was induced by the Party to ask for a divorce. In the case of Party functionaries, for instance, the Party wanted its members to institute divorce action if ~~his~~<sup>the</sup> wife ~~had~~ happened to be the daughter of a merchant.

In principle, the Bolshevist system supports to the greatest extent the family. The practice showed a different picture. This different picture came into being not for technical reasons or for the purpose of serving the Party's interests, but because of the reduced standard of living and because of the lack of manpower. As a result, the wives started to work. The equality of the sexes meant that women were supposed to have the same rights in every field as ~~men~~ men did. For a wife to be compelled by her husband to stay home and be nothing more than a housewife would have meant degradation. The wives attended universities, worked, and at home performed their household chores. The emancipation of women, approved in theory, had an adverse effect in practice - it did disrupt family life.

The organization and setting up of day nurseries and kindergartens

was a result of necessity - they were not set up to kidnap the children from their ~~kk~~ homes.

No fundamental changes took place in the family life of the peasantry.

(15e) Yes. The changes have been tremendous and of a positive nature.

The slogan: "The child is a great treasure" became well-known all over the country. There were thousands ~~in~~ and thousands of parents who, up till now, could not even conceive that their children should have shoes and be dressed properly. Actually competitions were going on in dressing children neatly.

In the field of education, great changes took place, also.

The proletarian parents learned that the child is a world in itself which has to be respected. In 1954, only 10 percent of the children suffered ~~corporal~~ <sup>corporal</sup> punishment as against 1944. In schools, corporal <sup>e</sup>punishments ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> eliminated almost entirely - a teacher who dared pull one of his pupil's ears became the talking matter of the whole district.

It became a general habit with parents of workers' and peasants' background to have a physician examine their sick children. When a peasant's progeny started to work, he was given a piece of land by the state - the parent did not have to give him his own. There was a tax on "absence of issue" which amounted to 4 percent of the ~~parent's~~ <sup>couple</sup>'s income. After the birth of the first child, the parents were exempted <sup>from</sup> ~~of~~ the payment of this tax. After

the birth of the second child, the parents received a family allowance; this allowance was progressive, and in the case of six-seven children, the amount of it was equivalent to the earnings of an adult bread winner. The layette was donated by the state (400 forints), this was received by every women, whether married or not.

- (16) There was no substantial change in the field of relations between boys and girls.

The system did strive to establish complete equality between sexes. This campaign had necessarily an effect also on girls - the boys were no more considered "the ~~xxxx~~ crown of the creation" and the rebuffs suffered by the boys from girls became more extensive.

- (16b) The consideration of economic factors was completely eliminated. Those who wanted to make a good match only considered whether the respective party had a good kader.

- (16d) Generally, the sexual behavior did not become more loose than it used to be.

However, there <sup>were</sup> certain changes which Respondent does not object to. He states that today only bigoted clerical circles assert that the girl be a virgin, at the time of marriage. He states that the youth should find out whether they suit each other sexually as a very large percentage of women is not satisfied sexually by normal men, a sexual tryout preceding marriage should be imperative. This is what he teaches to his fourteen



year old daughter.

In a way sexual behavior did become looser - from the ~~point~~ point of view of morals, Respondent states that the sexual attitude of the rich middle class people and of the aristocracy before World War II was comparable to that of the leading circles of the Communist regime. While they advocated puritanism, they themselves participated in orgies. It was common knowledge and even the radio reported it that Major Kálmán Pongrácz did participate in orgies.

- (16e) Substantially it diminished but it did not cease entirely.
- (16f) They were just as strict as the previous regime, in which the influence of the church was more dominant. In this respect, the system as a whole adopted an equally strong position.
- (16g) The position taken by the Party was identical with that of the church - the greatest value was the father of the human being, the child.

And yet various objects the purpose of which was to prevent pregnancy were widely available, except if the scarcity of the materials (rubber) to manufacture such objects became prevalent.

In 1953, many births took place in ambulances, due to the lack of maternity homes.

The performing of abortions was officially permitted. There were two different committees which checked up on each case.

The first one was a so-called Social Committee which determined the number of children in the family, the housing conditions, and the income. The second committee was concerned solely with sanitary problems. It was sufficient though to obtain approval of any of these two committees.

(16h) Yes, fundamentally. Many laws and regulations were brought to assist the unwed mother and the illegitimate child. She was given the right to choose any last name and no document was supposed to divulge the illegitimacy of the child. It did not mean anymore a shame for the mother, and in the case of rural communities, where the grandparents - peasants - chased their daughter out of their house and disowned her, the Party clamped down on them and assured them that the undesired grandchild was a "treasure".

In Hungary, during the pre-war regime, the Roman Catholic church did embrace the illegitimate children and it was the church which helped them attain high positions. The large number of illegitimate children was the increased number of sexual relationships between the higher middle class, aristocracy on one side and peasant girls on the other. This created heterosis in the offspring - they were bulging with vitality. Heterosis manifested itself also in the desire to become outstanding members of the community. ~~When~~ And <sup>is</sup> these type of people had unlimited opportunities for advancement in the Communist regime. The new Party functionaries personally approved of this change given through the illegitimate children - they supported ~~them~~ <sup>them</sup>

100 ~~per~~ percent - that is the reason for the large number of laws and orders protecting them. Various social organizations also assisted in the solution of this type of problem. ~~When~~ it was known that for a man to marry a woman with a child meant very definite economic advancement.

Six hundred people were working in the farm Respondent administered. And he himself was responsible for the marriages between "girls" who had illegitimate children and men who knew that economic and social rewards will be awaiting them.

It seldom happened, though, that Russian soldiers were the fathers of illegitimate children - there was no sexual loosening in Hungary.

- (161) Pregnant women were celebrated - they received all types of assistance - financial assistance from the SZTK and also special financial assistance from the place of employment (300-500 forints) and from the Trade Union to which they belonged. Pregnancy leave, maternity leave, recuperating leave, etc., were also accorded.
- (17) The catastrophic decline of the general state of morals is one of the greatest crimes the Communist system can be charged with. And Respondent cannot even conceive how many decades will have to elapse before this situation will be corrected. The whole Hungarian nation has been corrupted - and this state accounts for the purity of the Revolution which demonstrated that the people were fed up with corruption and longed for purity.

~~17a~~ (17b) This problem created serious worries for Imre Nagy, for instance. Everybody cheated: the factory manager and the unskilled worker as well.

~~And~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~ss~~/whole nation was educated on corruption for boot licking.

If a farmer needed any type of construction material, he also stole. Cheating became a moral act.

In his own case, lying started when he advised two or three of his employees not to admit that they were so-called class aliens. Lying became an every day necessity. The motto of the campaign conducted by the writers was: "Write the truth."

<sup>In</sup> Every public office it happened that during the last ten days of the month, ~~that~~ the administration had to account for twice to three times as many trips than during the first part of the month; per diem was paid and when the employees ran out of money they resorted to trips to get the additional extra income. <sup>re</sup> They were thousands and thousands of people who during weekends made official trips to the Lake Balaton.

When it came to fulfill the prescribed plan, everybody cheated: the plant manager, the chief engineer, the Party <sup>secre-</sup> ~~xxx~~ tary, the workers.

Various plants used to compete with each other on a national basis and everyone cheated.

Once a state farm started to compete with a Russian state farm in milk production. In this particular case, the whole country "pitched in" - they kept changing the cows. Extra feedings took

~~was~~ place and the fodder for this noble purpose was taken away from the allotments of collective farms. During the competition, the quantity of the milk production was determined on the basis of a trial milking which took place ~~x~~ once a month. The result of this was multiplied by 30. Consequently, the actual quantity of the produced milk was never admitted. For instance, no milking took place ~~xxxx~~ Wednesday evenings, ~~xx~~ so that the Thursday morning production be considerably increased.

From the point of view of the state of morals, Hungary, during theorthy regime, was a European country; during the Communist regime, it became an oriental country.

(18b) Yes.

(18d) Yes.

(18e) His group of friends became a circle of conspirators.

(18g) Honesty, the courage to say the truth under any circumstances, and he hates most opportunism, the goal of which is expediency.

(18k) All his friends were Party officials. They started out in  
1) having major jobs and, during the course of time, became minor Party officials; the majority was ousted from the Party and became the most vehement opponents of the Communist regime. Many of them were imprisoned. Similis similibus gaudet.

(18a) Respondent belongs to the Reformed Church. The members of his family have the same attitude: they do not believe in God but, at the same time, they are not against the church.

- (19b) The same is applicable to him (he hates clericalism but thinks that the church is necessary).
- (20a) Equally.
- (20b) They substituted ~~with~~ Marxism and Leninism, as a religion. They do not want competitive religions. However, if any of the religions agreed to serve the Communists' aims it would receive ~~an~~ unlimited support from them.
- (20c) They are careerists, free of any inhibitions. None of them was sincere. Respondent would give credence to the one who would cease to ~~be~~ be a peace priest.
- (20d) The Party ~~move~~<sup>str</sup> to isolate them from the masses - generally it treated them leniently; in '46-'47, the Communists <sup>t</sup> practically courted the clergymen. (A resolution of the Central Committee of the Party supplied funds ~~for~~ for the repair of the churches, the issuance without charge of fabrics for frocks, cassocks, church weddings of Communist Party members and christening<sup>s</sup> of their children). Feri Janossy, a minister of the Reform <sup>A</sup> Church, the son-in-law of Imre Nagy, had a church wedding - the Central Committee of the Party practically forced him to do so - later he was subjected to derogatory criticism for it.

At times when Rakosi overdid things, anti-clerical campaigns took place which used to assume serious proportions, however short lived they were. Respondent points to the Mindszenty trial in 1948, to the events in 1955, and to those happening now.

- (20e) This depended on the location. The general official attitude was that nobody should suffer for being a practicing layman but no such individual was ever given a high function.

The saying was: "Believer in Catholicism but not practicing it, practicing Communism but not believing in ~~xxx~~ it."

- (20f) Generally the churches were always full.

- (20g) ~~X~~ Yes, this was valid in the cases of those who were afraid of losing their position, due to the fact that their ~~xxxxxxx~~ local party organization was particularly against the church.

The situation is best illustrated by the following event which actually took place: complaints were filed by parents against a high-school teacher who was known to have anti-clerical sentiments; as a ~~xxx~~ result of the complaints, the teacher was transferred, but to a higher position.

- (20h) Respondent used to attend church services only if he felt that he had to set a good example to his children. Now his daughter is particularly interested in religion, it is her favorite subject in school; since they fled Hungary, she made contacts with clergymen - she is of the opinion that if the Gospel is spread by the type of clergymen she came to know and appreciate and whom she considers outstanding individuals, then there must be something to it.

One of the priests told her, and this put Respondent to thinking, that the Communist regime had the 100 percent support of

people to spread its half-truths, while the church in order to have its 100 percent truth spread only had at its disposal individuals of a rather low calibre. This well-placed modesty was liked by his daughter and her reply was: "If your colleagues are like you, Father, then the truth ~~is~~ is spread by people who are 100 percent human."

(20i) More so the elderly generations. (This always used to be the case). And more so peasants (this always used to be the case, too) and more so women than men. (And there was ~~was~~ nothing new to this aspect either.)

(20j) Yes. The Protestant churches got along <sup>better</sup> with the new regime than the other churches did. This flexibility has historical roots. In Hungary, there is a Catholic majority, the state religion is Roman Catholicism. During the times of national insurrections, national freedom fights, Protestantism was equated with the national spirit, while Catholicism was more or less representative of foreign interests. As a result of this, the various Protestant denominations used to strongly compete with the Roman Catholic Church, although the former were in the minority. One outgrowth of this situation was that the various Protestant churches suffered from a steady inferiority complex. Somehow, though, a good Hungarian was always equated with a stubborn Calvinist. It is not accidental that in 1945, the first Constitution Assembly was convened by the Communists and by the Soviet authorities in Debrecen<sup>r</sup> at the Reformed Great



Church (Debrecni Református Nagytemplom). The Reformed Church felt that finally the opportunity to free itself from the long-occupied position of being a minority had arrived.

The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward Communism is based on traditions summed up again and again by its clergy. As a result, the so-called peace priests "sprang up". In the case of the Protestant churches, due to their traditionally more flexible attitude, this was not necessary. To extend this flexibility even more, the Communists removed some of the high officials of the Protestant church - see the case of László Ravasz.

- (20j2) Respondent does not know of any rabbi<sup>b</sup> who would have been arrested. This situation too, has its historical background.
- (20k) It is less important. Generally, religion always meant less to younger generations than it did to elder ones. The youth of today is not familiar with the Bible, it did not attend church services - consequently religion had no significance.
- (20l) During the first five-six years of the last decade the church played a very great role. However, during the last five years, its role was extremely limited. The reason for it lies in the ability<sup>y</sup> of the Party to reduce the influence of the churches; it succeeded in splitting the camp of the faithful through the following means: the presence of the peace priests, the nationalization of the clergy, the arrest of various leaders of various

~~Evangelical~~ churches, etc. So, a peaceful co-existence has developed.

During the Revolution, the Roman Catholic Church had no role at all with the exception of ~~the~~ that played by Cardinal Mindszenty.

The completely unexpected outbreak of the Revolution left all the churches helpless, the clergymen just didn't know what to do.

- (21) In which the respective young person would be the happiest.
- (21a) It is Respondent's strong belief that people should do what they like to do. If one of his boys had wanted to become a clergyman, he would not have opposed that either.
- (21b) He should study as hard as he can.
- (21c) From '45-'49 there was no numerus clausus at universities; in '50-'53 restrictions were introduced (the situation was the worst in '52); in '54, the number of students to register at universities was decreased, especially in the field of technical sciences.
- (22) The group of people who<sup>a</sup> Respondent describes as "a class" can be broken up as follows: the ruling clique and the various Party functionaries whose positions were created to support the power of the aforementioned clique - these positions had nothing to do with production and those who occupied them were parasites.

During the recent Revolution, the class of the workers and the Hungarian nation as a whole fought the aforementioned ruling class and the Soviet colonizing interests. Thus, the oppression

in Hungary was ~~just~~ two fold.

- (22cs) These groups were very well off financially. At the same time, especially the artists, used to fare extremely poorly from an emotional viewpoint, because many times for money they had to do things for the state and for the Party which were in compatible with their conscience. The hardships created by these conditions produced reactions in artists which explain the role they played in the preparation of the Revolution.
- (23) The ruling clique, with the accompanying armed and bureaucratic apparatus, the industrial workers, the so-called déclassé elements (this group consists of former workers who became members of the intelligentsia, the hundreds of thousands with a prison record even if they were rehabilitated in one way or another; also part of the peasantry - the so-called small and medium free peasants - the third rural category is the so-called socialist sector, as against the private sector: employees of the tractor stations, mills, electrical & generating plants, workers of the state farms and those who entered the collective farms voluntarily - those peasants who entered the collective farms because they were forced to are considered by Respondent déclassé elements).
- (23b) And how?
- (23d) The barriers which were created on the basis of class backgrounds collapsed in October, 1956, and nobody will ever be able to put them up again except for the barrier which divided<sup>s</sup> the ruling class from the people - this one will become stronger.