

(1) Three great problem areas.

~~One~~ 1. Events - on a certain level, they have been completely exhausted as too many bad publications have appeared.

Future duties toward the Hungarian events: historians will have to get hold of them. Respondent does ~~not~~ believe that this task could be done any other place but in Hungary.

Artistic "arrangement"- this is maturing in the souls of people - those who stayed home had equal chances, as far as this point is concerned, with the refugees (the question of publication is another problem.)

It is respondent's feeling that the emotional material released by the Revolution will eventually enrich the world's literature.

2. Conclusions - this is being done under the form of articles or official reports. The conclusion one generally arrives at is that the ~~xxxx~~ ideological level of the Hungarian Revolution may be placed ~~some~~^{where} between the two opposed worlds of our epoch - it was not fought for the proletariat and did not aim to restore capitalism either.

What is that inner content waiting yet for its definition which burned in the hearts of the Revolutionists? The historians will have to define its political and soci^ological traits - try to discern the germs of the sociological concepts of the future.

The Hungarian Revolution was not only reaction to action,

or, using the Marxist terminology, antithesis to thesis, but also synthesis, in which the principles of advancing one step have their part. ^[thing?] One's new - on the level of ideas - broad force?

The disappointment, the tragedies of individuals and of social strata form only the background, merely constitute the fire but it is the smelters who forms it. The task of scientific studies should be whether the smelters and apprentice smelters knew what they wanted to form from the molten iron.

I'm not thinking only about the Hungarian nation finding itself, but about the fact that the domestic events might have shown social directives to the whole world. I'm primarily thinking about that ~~xxx~~ statement which "startle^d slightly" the West: We don't restore land and factories to their former owners. "Beyond Socialism" - means adhering to some socialistic achievements and yet also striving toward an almost completely individualistic life, and a strong desire of liberation from the phalanstère and the kader system.

The factors which produced the Hungarian Revolution cannot be searched exclusively in the history of the last year - they have to be tied ^{to} ~~with~~ the nation's tissue of traditions, the fibers of which will also have to be pulled out and looked at closely.

- (2) a) The Revolution itself - in the ordinary sense of the word - started on the 23rd of October. The fermentation period stretches

back to Stalin's death, and, from certain viewpoints, the antecedents go as far back as 1949.

^b
(2x) Undoubtedly all. (see "checklist" in Interview Guide.)

(2c) For years there was no doubt about the fact that the system (régime) had lost the game, but the realization of this did not coincide with its overthrow - the system was agonizing for years. But the determination to overthrow it, at any cost, was not present yet in the afternoon of the 23rd of October. It was during a span of a couple of hours, condensed in a second, after Gerő's speech and with shootings at the Radio that the realization came: it has to be swept aside, it's unbearable, there is no other remedy.

The crisis of the Stalinist system - a turning point in the wider sense of the word - became apparent at the death of Stalin.

(2e,f,g) The Irodalmi Ujsag was the periodical which, starting from 1954, fought deliberately and consistently for a change; it was the only paper which, during the ^{premiership} ~~presidency~~ of Imre Nagy, did not give in to the pressure of the clique of Rakosi, and after the restoration ^{of} the latter, was sole to hold out along the democratic lines; only after the 20th Congress can we assert that the whole press tuned in at the same wave ~~length~~ lengths. He does not want to assert that prior to '56, there would not have appeared articles which ^{were} ~~would not have been~~ read with exploding joy by the public (articles of such nature

did appear even in the Szabad Nép and in the Béke és Szabadság^{ad,},
 But in the Irodalmi Ujsag their appearance was ^{constant.} ~~consistent.~~

(Respondent is writing a ~~xxx~~ study for the project about the history of the Irodalmi Ujsag. He has been its editor from 1950 to March 1955. The points he would like to emphasize are the following: The beginnings of the paper and its first years under the aegis of the cultural politics of ^{Zh}danov. The formation of the writers' ~~xxx~~ resistance under Imre Nagy. The paper becomes the organ of the new resistance. Internal fights. Conflicts with the Rakosi party leadership. The restoration of Rakosi. The attitude of the writers toward the new peril. The memorandum affair and its consequences. The revival of and broadening of the writers resistance, after the twentieth congress. The part played by the writers and the papers in the overthrow of Rakosi. The part of the Irodalmi Ujsag in the direct preparation of the October events. The paper and the 'Writers' Union during the revolution. Unsuccessful attempts to start the newspaper's publication again, after the Soviet intervention.)

In connection with the writers' revolt, he wants to mention that in ~~1957~~ 1957 several voices made themselves heard which claimed that the writers fought for reforms, without ever mentioning the word "revolution." This accusation is and is ~~x~~ not true; if one looks back at the great revolutions of humanity, one has to realize that the part played by writers was always a spiritual preparation,

they never told the people: grab arms and fight to overthrow the existing order. Two analogies come to his mind: the preparation of the French Revolution by the Encyclopedists (Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Montesquieu) and the preparation of the war of independence of 1848 by Berzsenyi, Kazinczy, and Vörösmarty.

He would like to talk about characteristic ~~uses~~^{traits} of the spiritual preparation of the revolution of October, 1956. In a certain sense, it was starting in 1949 - after the seizure of power by the Communists, the writers did try to ~~take~~^{take} steps toward some independence. This first phase was stopped short.

In ¹⁹⁵¹~~fifty-one~~, when the five year plan was changed, the writers again tried to voice their intense wish to freely express their opinions.

The third memorable phase was June 1953. It dominated the cultural scene in Hungary. It was an open, and an organized revolution of some of the country's leading literary figures - Communist ~~and~~ as well as non-Communist, against the accusations of not injecting enough socialist content into their writings, of neglecting to strengthen the tie with ^{the} masses, against the maintenance of party control over literary activity. This fight more and more accentuated after the ~~xxx~~ twentieth congress and was carried on also against the maintenance of party control over life itself.

The interior fight against Communism does not choose, in the beginning, political issues as main targets, and as its weapon it

uses the trait inherent in ~~Marx~~ Marxism and Leninism, namely the possibility to combat the system from within. The opposition, using Leninism against Stalinism, could attack "legally". This attack was carried out by Communists as well as non-Communist writers; to what degree could the formerly more "orthodox" writers be called Communists in 1954, and to what degree could one affix to them this label today, ^{if} ~~in~~ this type of categorization would be warranted, is another question he would like to talk about.

Another factor which should be taken into consideration, in this same line of thought, is that many so-called Communist writers have not been convinced Communists to start out with - under normal political circumstances, thus under a multiple party system, they would not have been forced to enter the one and only party of satellite Hungary - no Unitarian ^[?] Communist Party exists, for that matter, in any Peoples' Democracy. The reason ^{why} honest intellectuals entered it, nevertheless, - we are excluding, at this point, the careerists - was the fact that they generally agreed with its policies and the detail differences of opinion did not seem insurmountable at the time. And even when these differences became sharpened instead of subsiding, many, by now opponents of the system, still remained Party members, as it was the only way to take part in the political life, as the condition of ^{every} ~~each~~ fight is a common arena.

The Communist strategy had two objectives - isolate the satellites from the rest ^{of the world,} ~~of the world,~~ and induce belief in the superiority of

Soviet culture. The instillation of this anti-Western, pro-Soviet line became the goal of the writers. The regime proclaimed its ~~policy~~ policy of establishing "proletarian hegemony" in culture and proceeded to enforce it ^{at} ~~in~~ an even more ~~accelerated~~ ^{accelerated} ~~speeded~~ pace than the Communization of the Hungarian economy.

A period of debates followed ~~on~~ ~~what~~ ~~was~~ subject a good Communist writer should write about and how he should deal with them, according to Socialist realism.

After Stalin's death, the "new course" was also inaugurated in Hungary. Demands for a "new spirit" in literature were voiced loudly. Another symptom ~~of the latter~~ was the emergence of non-Communist and even anti-Communist writers.

In '54, the Szabad Nep laid down a long list of rules according to which the literary figures must remain subservient to the Party, instead of trying to shake off its influence.

At the end of ~~the~~ 1955, a resolution adopted by the Communist Party was published, which disclosed that writers ~~like~~ ^{among others} Tibor Déry, Zoltán Zelk, Gyula Háry, Tamás Aczél, Tibor Méray, had put forward a joint memorandum protesting against political and cultural measures taken by the Party.

But after Khrushchev's "demasking" speech of February of 1956, and the rehabilitation of Rajk, the fight broke out again and nobody could stop the writers anymore.

Sándor Lukácsy stamped Rákosi as "Judas", and in the spring, Gyula ~~Háry~~ Háry celebrated that Congress of the Party which had

condemned Stalin's methods as the victory of human dignity. In June of 1956, it was ~~alleged~~^{asked} in the Petöfi Circle what would happen to Petöfi if he tried today to fight for the freedom of the press.

At the Congress of the Writers' Union the aspirations of the writers were summarized: we are fighting for the right to tell the truth. We believed, at one time, that one can serve a just cause without humanitarianism and moral principles and with the exclusion of national interests. Today we do know that this cannot be done.

Inutile to say that the personal parts played were most varied. The leading parts were played by Benjamin and Déry, due partly to the fact that from that particular writers' group they are the most gifted and due partly to their passionate, intransigent nature.

At this point, he would like to bring up an example of Déry's greatness: when in prison, his mother was not told about it and Déry wrote his mother regularly from his cell letters, ^{purporting} that he was on a Mediterranean cruise, and he did have the strength to describe the sea, the different ports, his joy in seeing all these different beauties. The idea itself was most beautiful and its carrying out most touching.

Respondent himself had been a Communist - until he believed ~~essed~~ in it. He did not spare himself to oppose the regime, when he realized in what blind alleys it had taken him. This

realization and the turning against the regime was true as far as 90% of the Communist writers were concerned. Their conscience ~~led~~ led them to the Party and their conscience turned their steps away from it.

Of course, within the Party the human differences are great. In the case of Tamás Aczél, self-interest and exhibitionism are to be taken into consideration and yet it is nevertheless true that, during the last three - four years, his attitude was extremely courageous. In November of 1955, he had the lion's share to collect the autograph of the 58 writers who signed the memorandum, it took place during a terror system, at the peak of its terroristic tendencies.

Within this circle of ex-Communist writers, main parts were played by Zelk, Hay, Sándor Erdélyi, Tardos,

Among the non-Communist writers, the standard bearers were:
László,
Illyes, Nemeth, Áron Tamási.

And there were some like Sándor Lukácsy and György Litván who ~~had~~ ^{made} short but extremely effective appearances. The latter was the one who, during a public meeting, demanded Rakosi's resignation. It was a workers' meeting, at Angyalföld, and Rakosi was present.

About respondent's conflict with Rakosi he is going to write within the frames ^{work} of his study, about the history of the ~~the~~ Irodalmi Ujsag.

(3a) The ~~symptoms~~ ^{symptoms} of the crisis became apparent at the death of

Stalin. According to his opinion, in Hungary Stalinism reached its lowest point in 1952. That's when one realized that the situation was beyond^d repair.

In a semi-agricultural country which was at one time famous for its agricultural products, the peasants were completely exploited - "padlaskisopres" (sweeping the attic).

Catastrophic symptoms became apparent also in industry - production of inferior quality goods, lack of raw materials, unsuccessful investments.

Fact is that the failure of the so-called socialism in Eastern Europe became apparent at the death of Stalin. Why then? Because for Stalinism Stalin is necessary, just like for Bonapartism Napoleon was necessary until the maestro dictatorship exists, the machinery will function. With the disappearance of Stalin, the situation became unbearable. If he had lived ^{longer} ~~more~~, then also a crisis would have broken out, but ^{in a} ~~under~~ different form. Respondent's feeling is that Krushev and Malenkov ^{thought:} ~~thought:~~ they are in the big mess, why not shift responsibility; thus the crisis became public^{ly} known, but they got a breather; at the same time, of course, the legend was dissipated. Stalin's last will might have been: "Boys, blame everything on me."

In order for a crisis to reach its peak, a certain timetable is necessary: '53-'56. The "boys" had a ^{trump} ~~lead~~: "we are going to do it differently" - and even for the ears of the most skeptic person, the words have a certain resonance.

In Hungary there was the experiment of Imre Nagy - the living conditions improved, passports were issued, people would dare voice their opinions. The Gomulka avenue lured.

At the beginning of '55, Khrushchev changed the policy and Rakosi's terror was again installed. The main concern in Hungary was: save from the "June policy" as much as possible.

At the Twentieth Congress, with the so-called Leninist principles, the ~~xxx~~ brakes were released - speed in the direction of reforms was picked up.

The speeding vehicle was swiftly brought to another road in Poland; in Hungary an open fight broke out between the representatives of Stalinism and the forces which desired change.

Thus the two reasons for the outbreak of the Revolution were: 1) The crisis the Stalinist system had gotten into; 2) The strong desire for independence.

The small and big claims of the nation had at their basis the desire of the Hungarians that Hungary should belong to them. The Kossuth coat of arms, the problem of the uranium (not solely an economic question), the "falling of the stars" (Soviet emblems), the detail questions around the uniforms of the army and the police, the burning down of the bookshop Horizont was not directed against Tolstoi but against Stalin. These were the points where all the social strata met, including the ex-Communists, not only the writers but also the workers, these

points were the ones which gave the unity of the Revolution.

People also knew that the choice by the Soviet authorities as to which Hungarian Communist should be in a leading position was not done arbitrarily. Why did the one time so unpopular name of Rajk become the standard bearer of those who were demonstrating against Stalinism? Under the aegis of the martyrdom of Rajk, Sándor Szék Zöldi, György Pálffy, László Solyom people protested against Communism. The above had been Communists, for sure, but there was an essential difference between them and the clique of Rakosi -- the former had been at the same time patriots. This was proven again after November, 1956 -- the former colleagues of Rajk: Lorincz, Haraszt, Ujhelyi are again imprisoned just like after the Rajk affair. They are patriots and inutile to add that if Rajk were living, he would be imprisoned again just like Mrs. Rajk is today.

"Bagatelles" also had an important part in fortifying the national defiance. If Vladislav Nimenovics figured out that cows should be milked five times per day, then woe to the poor Hungarian cows. The learning of the Russian language was another sore everybody felt daily.

Respondent himself belongs to the main criminals as one of the greatest propagators of Soviet culture. Soviet books were edited in numbers ^{surpassing} ~~surpassing~~ ten thousand copies -- for instance, the Mongolian writer named Burjat -- (let's not forget that Rakosi's wife is Mongolian) while no more than three

thousand copies were issued, if the author happened to be a young Hungarian novelist, while poetical works by Hungarian authors were issued in five hundred copies. It was no secret that there was no paper for Hungarian authors while "culture" books were printed in astronomic numbers. Let's get one thing straight: Csehov, Tolstoj, even Mamin Szibirian, Szaltikov Segedrin are just as dear to him as Balsac or Stendhal, but there is a strange disproportion between finding the formers' works in ten thousand copies and not finding the latter's. In other words, whatever was Russian, was privileged also in the cultural field.

The direct Soviet intervention in Hungarian cultural ~~was~~ matters was revolting. One example among the hundreds: whether The Tragedy of Man should be played in Budapest was an affair in which the correspondent of the Pravda had his say. The idiot - Respondent knew him personally - wrote an article in which he claimed that Madach should not be played in Budapest! What would the Soviet literary circles have said, if he had gone to Moscow and protested through articles written for Budapest papers against their playing Gogol? The Russians behaved in Hungary like the white sahibs did in India! Already in 1955, Rakosi was an extremely hated, unofficially deposed man; the Congress was held in February, thus he should have given his resignation in March, but this only happened in July. On April the 4th, Moscow sent him a special telegram of congratulations: Long live the Hungarian Peoples' democracy

who have such an outstanding leader as Rakosi! ^{caused Hittler} This was/his deposition became impossible to carry out. One or two months later, ~~as~~ the leader of a Moscow parliamentary delegation sang a hymn in the honor of Rakosi. ~~It~~ did the same thing, while visiting a collective farm (Barcsi Vörös Csillag Termelő Szövetkezet). In other words, Rakosi was ~~condemned~~ within the Party and yet Moscow was the one which held him in power. As a conclusion, the Hungarians had every reason to make the national independence the question of questions ().

Economic demands. If in spite of Sovietization, the people would have bathed in milk and butter, there still would have been a revolution in Hungary. And if the Revolution had been victorious and Hungary become independent, people would have gladly ~~supported~~ ^{endured} a very difficult economic situation.

The problem of the Stalinist system. Among the principles of Marxism, there are many which are democratic on paper. According to Marxism, the socialist system is the one which puts into effect the equality of nations. This claim plays a tremendous part in the Soviet propaganda. And this is one of the reasons the Soviet Union has such a tremendous influence among Arabian countries - they know the Soviet theory, Hungary knows the practice. Lenin had even talked about the right of the Soviet republics to detach themselves - Hungary is not a

Soviet republic and yet in ~~practice~~ ^{practice} she does not have this right!

The example of Yugoslavia and Poland. During the Imre Nagy period (1953-54-55), the Yugoslav influence was greater. The Rajk affair ~~had~~ ^{acknowledgement of} Yugoslav implications and the/new road furnished arms: why isn't there a Hungarian new road, if the ~~direction~~ ^{is} taken by Tito is not anti-Communist; why is Imre Nagy's fight labeled as anti-party? The Yugoslavs also served the Hungarian cause by attacking Rakosi. And finally, ~~inasmuch~~ as the rehabilitation of Tito by the Soviet leaders was a direct slap at Rakosi who ~~was~~ ^{had been} the main criminal in the anti-Tito campaign. György Non, acting minister of the Peoples' Culture, declared that the Hungarian writers were Yugoslav agents - ^{accused} the/writers made a terrific scandal about this (it was a case of a semi-artificial anger); "how can one slander Yugoslavia, the friend of the powerful Soviet Union?!" The means to fight Rakosi and his clique were quite complicated, at times. ~~★~~ The Yugoslavs did help the opposition but they became afraid during the October events and acknowledged the justification of the second Soviet intervention.

The Polish influence comprised a smaller sphere, which increased in 1956. On the outbreak of the Revolution it had a direct effect: the demonstration in front of the statue of Bem.

(3b) The control system was also in a crisis - it was rotten - the period following Stalin's death coincides with the weakening^e

of the control system.

Let's take the part played by each separately:

1) The AVH. Not even the AVH held out for Stalinism completely. An official communique acknowledged that one of the executed people in the Oboresovsky affair was an AVH officer.

2) The army sided almost completely with the Revolution. The explanation lies in the fact that the officers had either a workers' or a peasant background, and when they went back into their old milieu, they were spit on. This type of slappings received during the past years definitely had a great influence in their siding with the Revolution.

3) The police - the situation was very similar to that of the army and the policemen themselves were afraid of their "colleagues" in the AVH.

At this point he is not going to talk about the youth movements, it is a known fact that the writers had the greatest influence on the youth.

Party - one of the most complicated problems - it is a fact that without the internal disintegration of the party the power would not have fallen out ~~from~~^{of} the hands of the Communists - neither the police nor the army could accomplish that particular function which was carried out by the Party - the keeping together of the whole system. The Party was omnipresent - there the fact that ~~there~~ were about 800,000 Party members meant that

in Hungary there was no family which would not have been ~~not~~ affected - everybody had some type of connection with the Communist Party - the system of built-in informers was extremely powerful. ~~But~~ Despite this, the Party did collapse. How? This ~~is~~ is a concrete exciting question (Respondent will write a study about this problem).

One should visualize the Party as the ^I/₂ inferno or ^P/₂ purgatorium of Dante, that is, one should visualize it in circles. The disintegration itself was a stratified process. The premise which has to be clarified in this line of thought is that the "proletarian dictatorship" does not mean that the workers' class is the one which ^{exercises} ~~exercises~~ the power.

The nucleus of the Party consisted for years of four men: Rákosi, Farkas, Gerő, Révai (a négyes fogat). Close to them ^s in privileged were the highly paid government functionaries: ministers, acting ministers, members of political committees, executives of trust companies, district Party secretaries. They were attached to the regime through their participation in power and through the extraordinary financial advantages they were receiving. (^U/₂ unlimited bank account, luxurious quarters in restricted areas, even in vacation spots they had villas which were not permitted to be seen by ordinary humans, special food and clothing shops.)

This circle was followed by that of the middle kader consisting of functionaries in middle leading positions - small party

functionaries, referees of ministries, journalists, chief engineers, district employees. The members of this particular circle lived better than the average citizens did.

The majority were convinced Communists (some old, some new).

The next circle was formed of those individuals who entered the Party in order not to be bothered.

And finally there were the ~~xxxxxx~~ careerists - even if the number of the latter was great, they still did not play a leading part.

The disintegration of the Party did not start with the circle of the "neutral" (those who had entered the Party not to be bothered) but with those who felt that they had been cheated. These were the people who were appalled when the crimes of the regime were uncovered. During the Imre Nagy regime many people, Communists among them, were released from prisons and concentration camps and many of them were rehabilitated. Their stories created a tremendous moral indignation especially throughout the circle of the honest people who had believed sincerely in the world-saving ideas of Communism. Many of them had nervous breakdowns and arrived at a widening of their intellectual horizons. Suddenly the decent people realized that things could be done differently. The ^{realization} consciousness of the Machiavel^{like} ~~crimes~~ / of Rakosi and Stalin ~~xxxxxx~~ started the disintegration process. The part played by the intelligentsia should be studied apart - the intelligentsia was ~~the~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ had the biggest influence on the middle

kader strat^gem of the Party. In 1953, sharp fights were going on in the Writers' Union, and these fights echoed in all the Party organizations. The latter kept a watchful eye on the meetings of the Writers' Union. A fact to be noted though

is that these discussions did not have any echo in the Party organizations of the factories - the workers were so numb and disappointed that they simply did not believe that results could be obtained. When they suddenly realized that Rakosi had lost the battle, this neutrality turned into enthusiasm.

Thus, the years '51-52 could be called the years of the disappointments and the years '53 and '54 the years of the big uncoveries.

Thus, the tone was given by the writers. It was taken over by the other intellectual ~~organizations~~ ~~and~~ spread also in factories in '56. Thus, '56 was the year when the whole Party was in movement with the exception of the small circle of the chief leaders/

Two factors have to be outlined in this connection. One could state that the one Party was actually composed of two parties. The majority of the Party members formed the opposition and there was the small group of those who had the power in their hands. The second factor is the part played by Imre Nagy. Respondent is acquainted with it.

Coming back to the way the question is worded: "It collapsed

from one minute to the other" is not true. It took years to collapse.

(3c2h) The demonstrators wanted the implementation of basic changes without the outbreak of a civil war. The slogans of the Revolution show this clearly. "Independence," "Revision of commercial treaties," etc. There was a certain realism in these demands - they did not step beyond a certain limit - the claims were such that ^{government} they should be able to fulfill them without blood shed.

A popular slogan was the "Polish Hungarian" ^{and} friendship - which also had deeper meaning - a dream was at the basis of it - the dream that without blood sacrifice one should form a group of countries which would not depend from the Soviet Union.

(3d) (Remembering Professor Zinner's interest in this particular question, I asked Respondent to be as ~~an~~ accurate as possible to enable us to draw conclusions about the psychology of a crowd.)

After 11:00 people were fighting in many places and before 6:00 no firing took place. - Thus in three hours a whole empire of ~~the~~ possibilities collapsed. The one ~~empire~~ empire of the possibilities: one should change the situation without bloodshed. It is known to be true that people are satisfied with less in order not to grab arms - this is acceptable from a ~~an~~ psychological viewpoint. Let's think of the Spanish example where they gave up fighting because everybody was fed up with the civil war. No matter how desperate ^{they} are, they only kill

and risk their lives if there is no other way out. If only half of the demands had been fulfilled, the people would have been deeply satisfied and October 23rd become a holiday of joy. This of course would not have meant that the people would have been completely satisfied, but it would have kept them going for another two or three or maybe five years. But in that particular historical moment of the night of October 23, it would have been enough.

Respondent was on the streets from morning till late at night. He felt the psychology of the crowds through his nerves more than his brains. The crowd said: We put certain questions to those who are in power and we are waiting for the answers. This waiting was in the air. Never in Hungarian history had the lines of Petöfi:

"Még kér a nép, most adjatok neki!
Vagy nem tudjátok, mily szörnyű a nép,
Ha fölkel, és nem kér, de vesz, ragad?
Nem hallottátok az Dézsa György hírét?"

Izzó vastrónon ők elégetétek,
De szellemet a tűz nem égete meg,
Mert az maga tűz: úgy vigyázzatok:
Ismét pusztíthat e láng rajtatok.

- been so true.

The capital was a sign of interrogation and of exclamation.

Pest - Petöfi Square - Statue of Bem - Buda - Parliament.

The crowds waited with an infinite patience, waited for an affirmative answer.

Evening 8:00 - the speech of Gerö - this was the turning point - the Kádár regime says that ^{the} a majority of the crowd did

not hear the speech - another lie: five minutes after it was broadcast, each inhabitant of Budapest knew it by heart whether he had a radio or not. Respondent heard it and he felt the blood leave his face and said: "Tonight blood is going to run in Budapest." And yet he hoped against hope in those few minutes after the speech and before the first firing that a miracle could ~~help~~ help: maybe Geró will resign, maybe they are going to call a Council of Ministers, maybe they are going to fulfill the part of the claims. But the miracle did not come. The oral provocation was followed by an armed prov^oca-tion.

Respondent went up to the offices of the Szabad Nép. Around^d 10:00, delegations came saying that the unarmed people are being shot at in the Sándor street. He offered to go and report to the Szabad Nép.

It was true. The AVO's did shoot at the unarmed students and workers - ~~these~~^{their} only "arms" was ~~in~~ to throw stones at lamps in order to make darkⁿness. Within half an hour, four wounded were taken away by ambulances. Then arrived a police car at the corner of the Pál Gyulai street - the students and workers ran to it and the policemen gave them arms - no words were exchanged and - the Revolution began.

- (3e) Of course - there were common aims and besides, there were hundreds of different plans, ~~stark~~ desires, dreams, tensions, etc.
- (3f) A narrow nucleus of the political leadership.

If by this question one understands "armed fight", then of course there are many people who are not overjoyed by armed intervention.

(3g) He has no idea.

(3h) Between October 23 and November 4, a smttk multitude of new slogans were born. On October 26, he saw on the Stalin statue a slogan: "We want Christian National government." An hour later he went by again and at that time the Christian was erased and National was underlined - it meant for the first time in years, that democratic discussions could take place on Hungarian soil.

The main slogan was: "Russians go home!"

Some slogans were addressed against Imre Nagy.

And there were also some denunciations, like: Vigyázat, frissor mázolta: Major Tamás, Gábor Miklós, Mezős Agi!
[wet paint]
(Attention, newly painted: Major Tamás, Gábor Miklós, Mezős Agi.) He was afraid of the ~~last~~ latter

(3i,j,k) If Communism is equated with what had developed in Eastern Europe, thus, if it is equated with reality, then Communism means Stalinism. In this sense the Revolution was anti-Communist, anti-terror.

The Revolution was also anti-Communist if one takes as basis some problems of Marxism and Leninism, thus, the Revolution was anti-Communist also from a political view-point. Leninism is built [†] on one-party system and ^{the cessation of} this one-party system was one of the main goals of the Revolution.

But beyond the above points, one should not talk about general anti-Communist feelings - especially not if one ~~has~~ takes the economic side into consideration. It is Respondent's opinion, conviction, that the people wanted to keep certain economic achievements.

It is a different problem again whether the system which the Revolutionists had in mind could still be ^{labelled} ~~called~~ Communism^{m.} According to Respondent's opinion, it could not be labelled as such in the ^{everyday} ~~normal~~ use of the word (Communism is equated with the Soviet regime) ~~but and either~~ ^{not} in the ^{re,} theoretical meaning of the word; maybe it could be called Socialism, and Communists took part in this revolt because in the everyday sense of the word, they could not be called Communists anymore.

No, it was not anti-Communist in the sense Western propaganda uses the word. In the name of this primitive concept, Western powers can only say that they are going to liberate the satellite countries and restore previous conditions. No Western country^{yes} has yet ~~drawn~~ drawn the conclusions of the Hungarian Revolution. Politicians do not want to take into consideration that the Revolutionists did not want to restore land or factories. If they ^{did,} ~~did,~~ they would be scared and say, well, there would not have been any difference between the regime they fought and the one they wanted to restore. The Westerners has^{ve} yet to learn a great lesson: they have to respect in the Hungarian Revolution what it actually was and not what they wanted ~~to~~ it to be or what would be comfortable for them if it had been. Western~~ers~~

powers should acknowledge that at a given moment the Hungarian, the Polish, the Russian nations will want to ^{depose} ~~seize~~ the present ⁿ regime, but they are not going to install in its place what the West would like them to - the new system will have socialist traits, socialist coloring. It definitely is a third ^{road} ~~way~~ ^{and the new} ~~the~~ world is going to embark on.

(31) ^{There} They were. Dudás was one of them, - ~~with~~ Fascist dictatorial tendencies, reactionary and adventurer.

The reactionaries could be divided into two groups:

Group number one: the Fascist type - a specialty of Hungary. A Christian national aspiration, chauvinism which leads to totalitarianism.

Group number two: those who did not want to keep the ^{Cardinal} Socialist attainments: Mindszenty was one of them; in his broadcast he advocated the return of land to the former owners. On the other ^{hand} ~~side~~, he agitated against the Imre Nagy government, which was a very serious political mistake - Mindszenty could be labelled as the heir of a long ago disappeared political system.

(3m) As long as nobody will ever know, it is safe to say what people would have liked to happen.

1) The ~~socialist~~ ^{order} order would have been restored - from an administrative point of view.

2) The Communist Party would not have been victorious, to say the least. According to his opinion, the Party of Mindszenty would have gotten the majority of votes. The Smallholders' Party

and the Social Democratic Party would have given it, though a close race; the Socialist Party under the guidance of Imre Nagy would have also had great chances.

As a conclusion, a democratic coalition could have resulted, which might have been able to ^{realize} ~~materialise~~ ~~the~~ that certain "third road" respondent was talking about previously.

(4&5) On October 23, he was in the offices of the Writers' Union and waited ^{ing for} ~~that~~ the delegations, ^{which} ~~who were~~ meeting with ~~some~~ government officials about the problem of the permission to demonstrate, ^{to} ~~should~~ come back. These delegations were composed of journalists and ~~the~~ university students - they talked to József Révai who made it known several times during the meeting that in case some unrest would be noticeable: "we are going to shoot." Kádár, who also took part, was equally aggressive.

The demonstration was planned for the 23rd of October, delegations were to crown the statue of Bem. When this plan was originally proposed, the students of the Academy of Art started to make it known among the students of different other faculties and schools; so it was decided by the students that ^{not} only delegations but whole schools should take part in the planned demonstration - this plan coincided with the one of the MEFES. Students ^{unanimously} /decided that they ~~are going to~~ ^{will} go in front of the Writers' Union building and continue the demonstration with the writers leading it. Some misunderstandings had happened. It was generally understood that the demonstration

was proposed by the Writers' Union, actually it was Respondent's idea and a delegation of the Writers' Union would have been only part of it. The delegations talked to writers Kuczka and Mathe and the latter made it public^{ly} known that he is against any type of demonstration - this was an individual ^{opinion} and did not have the stamp of approval of the Writers' Union as a whole.

After many pros and cons the demonstration was approved by the Ministry of the Interior. This was the first victory.

A greater part of the crowd was assembling on the Petöfi Square; a smaller part came in front of the Writers' Union and then, together with a writers' delegation, also went to the Petöfi Square. Between 1:00 and 2:00 the writers, among them Háry, Örkényi, Lajos Tamási, Péter Veress met on the Vörösmarty Square, around ~~1000~~ ten thousand to fifteen thousand people were there. Péter Veress read in front of the Petöfi statue the Declaration of the Writers, but the effect was rather weak - then already the crowd was ahead of the writers; Péter Veress read the same declaration in front of the Bem statue also.

Respondent ^{went,} together with Tibor Tardos ^{and} ~~went, together with~~ the students of the Polytechnical school, in front of the Parliament and stayed there until 8:00. He wanted to listen to Gerö's speech at home. Hearing it, he suddenly realized that Budapest ^{was} ~~is~~ going to become a bath of blood (many things

had tied him to the regime - a great part of his life was associated with it, although, during the last years, he had been in opposition). After hearing Gerő's speech, he couldn't stay^{at} home and went to the offices of the Szabad Nép. A great crowd surrounded the building and asked the printing office to print leaflets. Telephones^{calls} were constantly going on between the editorial staff and the government representatives. The journalists had more sense. They saw that everything in the old sense of the word, was lost. While the government officials could not visualize any means to remedy it but terror. When the crowd penetrated into the building, he wasn't there any more. Révai was ~~xxxx~~ smuggled out somehow, his policy was unchanged: "wild terror". But even his closest associates left him at that point. Many of them not due to cowardice, simply due to clear thinking.

On the 24th great firing was going on. ~~His~~ His steps would invariably take him to different offices of newspapers: Magyar Nemzet, Szabad Nép. Every minute convinced him more and more that this was not a counter^orevolution. It became clear as daylight, when an old lady stopped him and asked: "How are our boys faring?" Respondent stayed practically all day in Kopácsi's office at the police headquarters - as Kopácsi is imprisoned by the Kadar regime, he does not think that he should relate his activities in detail. All he can say is that he did his utmost to stop the atrocities against the

Revolutionists.

On the days of the 25th, 26th and 27th, there were discussions with his journalist colleagues over what type of events were going on. His opinion was that the Revolution ~~was~~ ^{was} invincible, from a moral viewpoint anyhow, and the only way to avoid a civil war ~~was~~ ^{was} to fulfill the demands of the crowds. He and his friends tried to persuade Márton Horváth, the chief editor of the Szabad Nép, to demand ~~the~~ ~~resignation~~ Gero's resignation. Horváth refused, so they decided to go to another newspaper and organize this action.

At the quarters of the Irodalmi Ujság he proposed to make an issue - several manuscripts were gathered - Aczél wrote the editorial and many poems written for the occasion were assembled. Finally, that particular issue came out on the 2nd of November, but he was not the editor of it.

During the next days - October 29th and 30th, he was not so active; up till that period he was not interested ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ his own individual fate, but suddenly it dawned on him: a new world is in the making, am I going to have a place in it? He felt that morally he was entitled to a place, he had given three years to bring this new world forth, but as an ex-Communist, nevertheless, he had reasons to be concerned; after all, he had ~~been a~~ ^{been a} ~~was the~~ ^{was the} publicist for five years for the regime, the downfall of which he so ardently desired now.

The sight of the streets was not very cheerful - his subjective feeling was that up till then those were in the streets who fought for the Hungarian democracy but the terrain was taken over by political extremists and gangsters.

On November 1 and 2, he saw some of the frightful faces disappear, that's when he decided to go into Parliament and play a part in the government. He was not allowed to enter. This depressed him deeply. Nevertheless, he did enter and asked for Losonczy and also talked to József Szilágyi and Jenő Széll (the secretaries of Imre Nagy). * Originally he planned * on speaking to Imre Nagy, but then he decided against it. After all, he had ^{been} his friend in the past, why couldn't Imre Nagy call him now? There must have been a duality in Nagy - all his life he had been associated with the Communist movement and as an honest man he certainly drew the conclusions of this long attachment; and one of the basic principles of the Communist Party is the so-called loyalty to it, the discipline, the ^{avoidance} ~~evasion~~ of fractions; he did like his followers, and respondent is ^{sure,} ~~sure,~~ was simultaneously afraid of them that they would take him further than he originally intended to go. This actually happened. Miklós Gimes, László Benjamin, Géza Losonczy, Tibor Déry did not mince words in telling him what their opinion was about the mistakes of the first days. Nagy actually did quarrel with Losonczy, Donat, Gimes, ^{S,} ~~S,~~ Sándor

Erdelyi, Zeik.

The days were filled with interⁱⁿmittable discussions - Szilard Ujhelyi (now imprisoned with Nagy) was of the opinion that the reaction is going to win: "The step beyondnd the healthy boundaries." Many of those who had opposed the Communist system during the last years felt that a tragedy had happened. They were of the opinion that Socialism came to an end and, maybe this was Imre Nagy's feeling, too. The ~~contradictory~~ ^{antagonistic} feelings going on in Imre Nagy must have been stupendous indeed; he personally regained his popularity, but at the same time he knew that the Communist movement to which he had belonged for the last thirty-five years, had lost the battle. [Respondent's]

And again his individual fate came up - is he going to be allowed to write in this new world for which he had fought?! Are his friends right: Are the Revolutionists overstepping the boundaries which should not be overstepped?

He was overjoyed by Mindszenty's speech - from practical points of view - he was aware of the fact that Mindszenty was cutting the tree beneath himself and yet it did not instigate anarchy; what was wrong in it politically was wrong primarily for Mindszenty himself, it definitely lowered his chances. The fact that he talked about the peasant losing his land eventually ~~will prevent his being~~ ^{will} ~~make him cease to be~~ ^{looked upon} by the peasants as a martyr. He definitely had hoped that democracy ^{was} ~~is~~ going to win.

His wife, as an interpreter^e of Maleter, ~~had taken~~^{took} part in all his meetings with the ~~Rx~~ Russian delegation. Istvan Kovacs, a member of the group of Maleter, told his wife that he would pick her up at 10:00 in the evening. The car did not come... (I have talked to Mrs. Molnar, who is the daughter of Mihaly Rudas, a well known Muscovite, her story would be the subject of another interview.) Unfortunately, I do not have time to go into ~~it~~^{details} at the moment. The same applies to the lack of observations as far as the psychology of my respondent is concerned. I do have some of the components of the psychological makeup of my respondent, and hope to write about them one day.)

- (5f) He was in the revolutionary~~council~~ council of the journalists' union and in the revolutionarily council of the Hungarian intelligentsia.
- (7) According to him, the Kilian and ~~the~~ Corvin groups. H
- (8) He could only repeat things commonly known.
- (8e) Only by heresay.
- (9) He relied upon his senses - he looked at events and he heard about them; later, he was in direct contact with the government authorities.
- (9c) During the nights he listened to the broadcasts of Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Paris and London (the latter were good).
- (9d) He cannot make ~~any~~^{any} distinction - as a journalist, he was equally

interested in everything.

- (10) Many of the sub-questions were answered under question (3) and many will be answered by him in the two studies he is preparing for the Project.
- (11a) Yes, in spite of its failure. The significance^f of a historical event is not measured by its success. As far as the future of the Hungarian nation is concerned, the significance of the October Revolution is tremendous.
- (11b) If the external conditions had been shaped differently, if there had not been an intervention in Suez, if the Western powers had favored a moderate solution, if they had not wanted to overstep the government of Imre Nagy and intervened in this sense.
- (11c) Not armed help, but they did expect help. His private opinion: the Western powers should have exercised a direct and not a propagandistic pressure on the Soviet Union.
- (11d) In Rumania the conditions are too primitive - the Rumanian nation ~~is~~^{has} not in it that accomplishments of the stature of the Hungarian Revolution could be expected from it.

In Bulgaria almost the same situation prevails, plus the roots of the Bulgarian Communist system are deeper than they are in any other satellite; the friendship with the Russians is sincere, the Russians were the ones who in 1870, liberated the Bulgarians from the Turks.

In Czechoslovakia the living standards were much higher

than in any other satellite country, this accounts for the optimistic view of the population.

In Poland and in Hungary the events matured at the same pace - almost parallel events were taking place - but in Poland Gomulka succeeded in diverting the tensions and ~~in~~ an internal change took place instead of a revolution. This was partly due to the failure of the Hungarian Revolution - the Hungarian events, as far as the Polish people ^{was} ~~were~~ concerned, had a double effect: enticing and quieting.

And last but not least, let's take into account the Hungarian tradition - the Hungarian nation did fight for four hundred years for its independence.

(11e) His answer is very subjective because he knows him very well and likes him very much. Although he did not agree with him on many questions, he, respondent, still believed that the political line of Imre Nagy could have created in Hungary a relatively good life and a relatively good system.

What happened to Imre Nagy should be described by a great writer. He got into a situation where ^{a conflict between} the Hungarian and the Communist in him ^{became inevitable.} ~~had to conflict~~. The way he fought this internal fight is from a human viewpoint much to be admired. He did not want to take advantage of the Revolution (nem akarta meglovagolni est a forradalmat). This human quality was a political weakness though. The fact is that few politicians took the power into their hands at such difficult moments: he

was the bridge which united and divided at the same time. He was aware of Hungary's not being able to vanquish the Russians, but he hoped that the nation would be able to create a situation in which the justification of some of the claims would be acknowledged by the Russians. Imre Nagy did want to become a bridge: offer something which, as a minimum, would have been acceptable ^{to} ~~by~~ the nation and at the same time also ^{to} ~~by~~ the Russians.

- (11g) In the armed fight: V, I, IV.
- (11h) He was convinced of it.
- (12a) Arrests within his closest circle of friends and the transitional hopelessness of future actions.
- (12b) With some of his friends (some left Hungary and some stayed behind) and with his wife, naturally. His thought of retiring in a little village in Transdanubia. Actually he was ^{at} ~~on~~ the Balaton for a couple of days. During one night, his wife who had lived in Russia for twenty years, and who had been quite used to cars coming and arresting her father or some of her close friends, woke him up and said: "The car is here." They both looked out ^{through} the window. Yes, it was there, with its red lights. He lived through the whole process of being arrested and taken away for who knows how long, in a couple of seconds. The door bell did not ~~rk~~ ring. What happened? The car with the red lights was not a police car, it was simply a car which had backed into the street their house

was on. They mistook the stop light for the front lights. This incident decided their fate. The next day they packed and left.

- (1)a) Journalist, writer. The editor of the Irodalmi Ujság, and theater critic for the Szabad Nép. He wrote a study ~~mf~~ about József Katona and in 1954, a travel diary about France, and hundreds of articles.
- (2) He had also been a theatrical dramaturgist in 1945, (Magyar Színház) and since the age of 19, he has been a journalist. He started to write at the Reggel in 1937, and then at the Nemzet (the paper of Desso Sulyos^h).
- (2a) He is writing a study about the Irodalmi Ujság.
He had not been at the Szabad Nép at the period of crisis, he had been fired in 1950.
In theory he accepted ~~szocialista~~ social realism but he did not like some of the social realist plays and wrote about this. Actually, he wrote bad reviews about Hétköznapi hősei (Eva Mándi), Idézetes bűnügyben (Klára Fehér), and Mélyszántás (Mihály Földes) and the movie Szabóné. He simply wrote that they were very bad. This attitude was considered ~~anti~~ anti-Party and Rakosi called him up and gave him hell and told him that he is going to have to answer for his grave mistakes in front of the Central Control Committee (Központi Ellenőrző Bizottság). He had to write an article in which he acknowledged that, due to his bourgeois background, he made serious mistakes in judging this "beautiful socialist works." And yet he was fired from the Szabad Nép!
- (3) He was extremely fond of everyone.
- (3a) He felt that he was working for a just cause.

- (3b) He always had to fight to write his sincere opinions - sometimes he succeeded and mostly he did not, one triumph was in connection with Sziminov's "Orosz kérdés" (Russian ^{problem} ~~question~~) he wrote a bad critique and did not take it back, although Revai demanded it personally.
- (3d) Inhuman. A work load of 12-14-16 hours; for years he had been a night editor which meant that he had to read corrections - his eyesight deteriorated ^{by} with 3½ ~~dioptries~~ during one single year!
- (3e) On bus one hour a day.
- (3g) Six.
- (3h) Every~~y~~day. He was not paid for it.
- (3o) Less than it was commonly believed. Of course the situation of a Party journalist was completely different from that of a Party ^cfunctionary. The only privilege he could think of was the fact that around two or three o'clock in the morning he was taken home by a car. He had a month's vacation coming but could not take more than two weeks.
- (4) He will answer this in detail in his study about the Irodalmi Ujság.
- (4a,b) The relationship was most varied, some were bosom friends and some were mortal enemies although the fights were rarely brought out ^{to} in the open. An interesting phenomenon was the groups which had been formed - looking back, he realizes that people were grouping themselves, ~~in~~ according to the attitude they

were to take at a later stage of their lives. The most hated man was Oszkár Betlen. His personal friends were Gimes, Miklós Vásárhelyi, Méray, Peter Kende. These friendships stayed intact during the years.

Méray, the chief editor, thought that he was the most clever man in the whole world.

(4c,d) They didn't talk about anything else but politics.

(4e) Everyone was a Party member.

(5c) He had been successful.

(5d) This is an important question as far as the future is concerned.

One has to realize that the political systems don't collapse easily ^{due} ~~due~~ to the fact that people make compromises for rather small advantages. Everybody wants to get ahead. If one does not realize the seriousness of this drive, then a falsely heroic picture is being formed.

(5e) He would create a cultural milieu - he'd buy many records and even more books. In his free time he would travel a lot.

(5f) The intelligentsia couldn't even dream ^{it} about until 1953, but after '53, the desire became more and more strong, desire which was transformed into a demand. ~~And~~ ^{And} this demand became universal: everybody thought ~~x~~ that it was within his human rights to live a human life.

After the replacement of Rakosi in '56, the system did make concessions in this direction (boats would go from Budapest to Vienna).

- (5g) Three times no. At home, this was a constant topic of discussion between him and his wife. They wanted to orient their children toward the sciences and not let them "touch" politics or humanitarian sciences, for that matter.
- (6a) Deteriorated compared to the old ones and especially if one looked at it from the relativity point of view: at the age of 19, as a beginner he earned 150-200 pengos which corresponds approximately to 2,000 forints; if he multiplied this with age and with his increased professional knowledge then he should have earned at least 8,000 forints; actually, he only made about half of the above sum.
- (6b,c,d) He earned an average salary of about 3,500 forints; this, compared to others' salaries, was extremely high, but compared to the workload and the responsibility, extremely low. Of course, one should add to this that as a journalist he had extra expenses - in Western countries, ^{only about half of the} ~~the~~ journalists' earnings are taxed. Coming back to the domestic situation, although he and his wife had pretty high salaries, they had financial problems constantly.
- (9) They had a beautiful apartment, in Budapest, ^{beautiful} ~~the~~ apartments existed, too.
- (10,11) Will be covered in detail by him in his studies.

- (1) University graduate - majored in literature. I received all my schooling in Budapest - in ~~xxxx~~ state schools. I began at the university in 1936, right after graduation, but could not finish. I completed university studies fifteen years later, and as a result of my further studies, I became a candidate for advanced degree. My objective was to write my doctoral ~~and~~ dissertation about Madach and, if possible, to remain in the academic field.

Besides my literary studies, I participated in Communist Party indoctrination and attended, for two years a so-called highest level course in philosophy at the Lenin Institute. II. There is a lot of worthwhile information I could say about this course, but the limitations of the interview do not make this opportune. However, the contents of these courses are really the most interesting. For example: what ~~was~~ they teach about the Greek, Middle Ages, the Humanist philosophy. What they taught about the French Encyclopedists, or about the English from Bacon to Hume, Hobbes to Locke; what they taught about Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, about the Russians (Csernisevsky, Dobrolubov) and, ^{finally} ~~at last~~, about the Marxist philosophy.

- (2&3) These questions, at my age, do not constitute a problem any more.

- (4) The students and teachers know more about this. I'm not familiar anymore with the inner life of the schools, not even through my children who are still very young - in grammar school.

The power of the Communist teachings? Observe the Revolution in which the youth was the ~~initiator~~ ^{initiator} and played the main part. What is interesting is that the Communist teaching did have an ~~effort~~ effect. They talked so much to the youth about the heroes of the Revolution and so much about their deeds, about freedom and independence, social justice, patriotism, until the youth itself realized that it must fight for these ideals.

- (5) He was a lawyer - but lived among artists all his life - his occupation also tied him to the theater. He did very well until 1936, and we lived rather well; after that, he was ill for a long time. He had no ~~fx~~ fortune, but we did have a beautifully furnished large apartment with paintings, rugs, immense library. There were three children - I was the youngest. My brother was an engineer and in January 1945, was in hiding as in AWOL from military service. The Russians caught him and as a result of illness he died in the prisoner of war hospital of Debrecen. My sister married, her husband died in 1949, and she became a typist. She is now living with my father who is 78 years old.

[background]
My ancestry_A was to my detriment and everyone was suspicious of me, which, for a long time, bothered me.

- (6) I am married. My wife was a reader in a publishing house. We have two children, eight and ten years old.

- (7)-(15) I will not answer~~these~~ these questions, although I understand your interest. I do not like to discuss intimate

family matters. (Having met his wife and his children, I could answer some of the questions. I will not do it, though. As I said before, Respondent's wife, who had lived for twenty years in Russia, ^{as} ~~is~~ the daughter of a famous Hungarian Muscovite, would be an extremely interesting subject to discuss.)

- (16) I just don't know the answer to this. Unfortunately, I have aged beyond this kind of question. What I am familiar with, is already common knowledge. ~~The number of~~ ^E early marriages, entered into without sufficient seriousness ~~insufficiently considered~~ ^, are too numerous.

As far as the morals are concerned, ~~the~~ officially the Communists were very strict, but those who preached morality did not hold these restrictions applicable to themselves. As a result: the effect of these restrictions was weak. According to my knowledge ^{the morals} of the youth was uninhibited.

The situation with regard to illegitimate children ~~was~~ ^{has} improved, ^{as} ~~when~~ compared to the past; the handicaps of these ^{or} are not, ~~not~~ hardly ~~not~~ felt.

The status of women? It's true, this has ~~it~~ changed. There is an increase in the number of employed women, many fields ~~of~~ ~~employment~~ have been opened to them and the pay rates have been equalized with those of men. This is what is good. But one must also consider that the women were forced to go to work, due to the very low standard of living, and due to their jobs, have neglected their families.

- (17) I don't know. I mentioned that the newsmen were not even

informed about the crime situation. The statistics on crime were kept secret. These facts prove that incidence of crime did not drop - on the contrary, ^{it} ~~they~~ must have increased. [Stealing] Robberies were frequent - for example, stealing in factories. It ^{is} worthwhile reading, in this connection, Tibor Dery's short story in the Irodalmi Ujsag. Because ^{of} ~~corruption~~ ^{poverty} too was very widespread. This was especially true in commerce or business, in the procurement of materials, foreign trade, etc. The corruption did not seem as great in official functions, because there was fear that the rivalry would end in denunciations. The really big crooks were mostly protected by influential friends, relatives, as for example in the case of V. J. Haly brother-in-law. The latter embezzled hundreds of thousands from the firm he headed. A newsman discovered this and wrote about it, but the article never appeared in the newspaper - caught wind of it and not his brother-in-law but the reporter was punished.

- (18) Most of my friends are writers or reporters. Today they are either living abroad or suffering at home - in jails. Among my old friends, there was only one who, during most recent times, supported the Stalinist line. Our friendship broke off and for years I didn't even hear from him, but in the fall of 1956, he again sought to renew the acquaintance. The rest of my friends and I discussed politics because of the particular interest of our group. The past themes of our youth,

that is our private lives, loves, art had been forced into the background and only during the last six months (before October) did the friendships^{ly} contacts and discussions begin to occupy a normal spot in our lives again. I have mentioned earlier that this circle of friends had been formed when we were unaware of the political conflicts occurring within the Party. Then - the mutual tastes, interests, past and educational background, etc. bound us together. Later, these very factors took most of us into one camp - that of the opposition.

- (19)
(a-b) My parents are Protestants. My father and sister are religious to a limited degree. Religion played an unimportant part in my life and I'm not religious now.
- (20)b) The Communist regime wants to discontinue religion - the theory as well as the practice shows this. For a time (and in many respects - anew) they tried to practice just this - quickly and forcefully. When experience showed that the opposite effect was being achieved, then more patient periods followed.
- (20c) The "peace priests", especially the Catholics, were very unpopular. But ~~in~~^{on} this question, others are more qualified than I am.
- (21) Engineer, technician, doctor. In other words, some politically exempt field.
- (21a) Because there is always a need for them and they ~~are~~^{are} free from

the waves ~~and~~^{of} politics and ideology and thus are able to guard their personal independence.

- (22) The upper, ruling group lived best, while a narrow segment of artists, scholars, intelligentsia (professors of higher education, in medical fields, etc.) lived ~~a~~ very well. Perhaps on the same level were the second rank functionaries (district secretaries, deputy ministers, etc.)

Under these people, was a blank area - in other words, between the monthly income of 7,000 to 10,000 forints and the 3,000 to 4,000 forints income group, there was no passage-way upward. The latter group is a somewhat broader one: very many of the intelligentsia belong to the 3,000 to 4,000 category - quite a lot of state and Party functionaries, officers, writers, artists and a small number of workers, too.

The 2,000 forint group was still a small one, when compared to the total population; intellectuals, high earning skilled workers, state, industry and ^acommercial establishments middle group personnel belonged to this.

The large part of the laborers and clerks were able to earn as much as ~~as~~ 1,000 forints most recently.

Below this, there was still a very great segment earning 700-800 forints (unskilled laborers, typists, women street-car conductors, etc.).

The group with the lower income (mostly 500 forints) is a very narrow one - example - charwomen.

- (22c) The athletes received a lot. Some among the artists made out very well (5,000 - 15,000 forints - while, lesser name musicians, painters, actors made 1,500 to 2,000 forints).
- (23) Workers, peasants and middle class and that segment of the population which Djilas in his recent book so aptly called "the new class". In my opinion, the monied citizen and, naturally, the land owner of the past social strata do not exist any more. Those, still remaining in the country, have assimilated into the middle class (for example: the ex-merchants were recruited into the very ^{extended} ~~large~~ government commerce department, domestic and foreign) or many are earning their bread as workers. Of course, this characterization of strata, as is the case in all class categories, is very crude because within these groups are many sub-groups and because some can be listed in one group or another.

Let us take, for example, the officials. It ^{is} hard to establish the boundary between the officials of the middle class and the new upper ~~level~~ bureaucracy officials. Is a "referee" ^[junior official] of a ministry still in the middle class? What about the deputy division director? Is he already a member of the "new class"? This sometimes changes ~~the~~ according to the individual. Or: the university instructor belongs to the middle class intelligentsia, when considered according to his income or occupation, but I could list many professors who,

according to ~~the~~ public opinion, belonged to the representatives of the upper bureaucracy. The boundaries overlap in many other instances, or even disappear.

(23b,d,g) It cannot be denied that the structure of the society has measurably changed during the past decade. It also is undeniable that the demise of the privileged classes of the past has been favorably accepted by most of the people. The calling to account of the landed class, or the system of large estates, has been particularly overdue.

What I cannot accept today, ~~is~~ as a matter of fact, even in the past did not consider humane, ^{is} ~~was~~ the persecution of individuals belonging to past classes. I cannot accept that the regime has robbed of the possibility of an equal opportunity to exist, even on a modest basis, that, by police means, persecuted the one-time financiers and land owners, that they denied ~~them~~ pensions to helpless, old people who had committed no anti-social or other type of offenses in the past (that is - were not war criminals); that the regime deported them from Budapest, did not accept their children in universities, etc.

I personally witnessed once that someone intervened with a Communist Party leader to have the pension of an old school teacher restored. The request ~~was~~ was turned down in a very nasty way and, ^{the person who made it} was accused of complicity in the old person's "crimes". These horrible, repulsive injustices and inhumane

actions were responsible for the deserved build-up of hatred against the regime.

Note: I will write about sub-question (d) anyhow because this is very much a part of my study on the disintegration of the Party.

- (23e) The answer is difficult. The upper leadership segment is probably larger than previously and, in any event, the entire hatred directed against it is more concentrated. Of course, Gula Gömbös and the farm hand from Békéscsaba were not exactly bosom friends (puzipajtások) and Alfonse Weisz did not eat cherries from the same bowl with the laborer from Csepel. It is difficult to make you realize what has changed. Perhaps the barrier did not become higher, but tougher, harder, more irritating. An analogy may illustrate this: the past "wall" was like a wrought iron fence around a castle. The present ~~present~~ "wall" is somewhat like barb wire. Behind the previous wall, in the castle's park, ~~ferocious~~ ferocious dogs lay in waiting. In front of the present wall, the ferocious dogs are out front, ~~with~~ visibly guarding it. Uninvited guests did not get by either wall. But at least these old wrought iron fences remained as beautiful monuments of art. You can't do much more with the barb wire than cut it up and dump it on the scrap iron heap.

The opposition among the other strata definitely became less than in the past. The national unity demonstrated be-

fore and during the Revolution is a proof of this. It is true primarily that the hatred against the Soviet occupation and Stalinist regime created this unison, however, an important consideration is the fact that such a great hatred cannot be created among worker, peasant, and middle class as for ~~an~~ example, between peasant and land owner, or worker and factory owner.

(24) From the above it is obvious that such groups existed.

If the question, however, applies to the nationalities, then, in my opinion, they shared in the same treatment except for the handling of the Svabians in the early days.

(25) I don't believe that the regime itself would have affected the fate of the Jews because of their being Jews.

(25a) Their fate and attitude by class and individually was quite varied. In 1945, with the destruction of ~~fac~~^scism, naturally the liberation gave a great feeling to those who had been persecuted because of religion or race, ~~and~~^{but,} during the period of real Party domination, a different opinion came to the foreground.

There is a very small segment, even today, which supports the regime, or shall we say, does not oppose the regime, because it cannot free itself of the fear that a change in regime would bring ~~Fa~~^scism or some milder form of it.

The world outlook, upbringing, financial situation of the majority of the Jews, ~~is~~^{are} much the same as ^{those of} the other citizens and they accommodate accordingly in the social structure.

(25b) The regime itself gave no advantage to the Jews, on the contrary, in certain respects, pushed them into the background. The reason for this was that the upper leadership of the government and the Party had many Jews (Rákosi, Gerö, Révai, Farkas, Márton Horváth, István Friss, Andor Berež, Károly Kiss, István Kovács, Lajos Ács, Béla Végh, Lajos Bebrics, etc.) and these, ^{where} ~~xxxxx~~ ever possible, did not place Jews in the foreground. This policy could be noted in the awarding of Kossuth prizes or other distribution of awards.

(25e,f,g,h) It is difficult to answer the question of anti-^Semitism within the framework of this interview. I can only touch upon a few principal ^{pal} ~~ten~~ factors. To state that in Hungary there is no anti-^Semitism would sound very nice but would not correspond to the facts. The causes are commonly known: the 25 years of chauvinistic Horthy regime (Fascism did not ~~xxxxx~~ disappear without leaving its traces) and even earlier there had been anti-^Semitism. The Rákosi clique further aggravated this because of its own background. Perhaps it would be best to say that anti-^Semitism was directed and concentrated against a particular group of Jews. However, the ordinary or average Jew shared in the general fate of the people and it can be said that anti-^Semitism, directed ^{against} ~~toward~~ the average person, decreased. Who would ever think of considering Laszlo Benjamin or Tibor Déry as Jews, or those Jewish students or young workers who were our companions during the Revolt?! Really nobody, except, perhaps, an in-

significant small number from the extreme right wing.

Now that I have described this, I find that I have oversimplified the picture. Alas. Anti-Semitism, particularly in central eastern Europe, has been a problem for centuries, one of the most complex. It is still a problem.

As Respondent is writing three studies for the Project in which the majority of the questions in Section G are going to be amply covered, I did not ask him, during the interview, the answers to the questions of Section G. Yet, to throw more light on the total picture, I would like, at this point, to put down the following:

Politics always interested me immensely, but up to 1945, I did not actually participate in it.

Then, in sympathy with the rural research writers (Falúkutatók) during the "March front", I joined the Peasant Party. In 1946, I became a Communist, because I felt that this party was the most appropriate ^{force} strength to create a real democracy and to promulgate a just social system in Hungary. These very same principles turned me against the Party, when I caught on to the real objectives of the C.P.

- (1) Although I was a journalist, nevertheless, most of my sources of information were ~~xxx~~ only from Hungarian and Soviet newspapers.

I seldom listened to the Western broadcasts and often did not believe what they were saying; in part because I was busy, and in part because many of the West's broadcasts were also full of false news. After 1953, this changed.

During the last years, I read Polish and Yugoslav material and an increased amount of Western newspapers.

- (2) Because of my profession, I read almost all newspapers and periodicals. I will return to the whole question - anyway - in my work on the Irodalmi Ujsag.
- (3) I saw many films. There were special showings of films from the West for the benefit of the writers. I was abroad, too, and attended the movies. The new Italian films were shown also to the population with great success.
- (3e) I attended the theater even more frequently, as a theater critic. I did ~~not~~ see practically all the plays.
- (4a) I read about fifty books a year besides this, I also read periodicals, pamphlets and political literature.
- (4b,c) Mostly and by choice - the classics.
- (4d) I had difficulty obtaining literat^ure of the West in spite of being a critic.
- (4e) Arany, Vörösmarty, Attila József, Zsigmond Móricz, Stendhal, Balzac, etc.
- (4f) Of course, a lot of the classics. Among the modern writers

only those acceptable to the regime were published as, ~~xxxxxx~~
Howard Fast, Aragon, Thomas Mann, etc. I read these, too.

(5) Yes.

(5b) I had one. Don't remember the make - an old German machine.

(5d) Music. Occasionally some news, and broadcasts of plays. I did not care for the lectures.

(5e) Very few. At night.

(6) Yes. Infrequently.

(6d) As I have already mentioned: from time to time, unreliable, false news was broadcast. Of course, not always. The BBC was by far the most reliable.

(7) Yes. Among the writers, naturally, one could hear information about the questions currently being privately discussed among the government leaders.

~~(8)~~ Just with the closest family and friends - because of fear.

(7i) No more. The exception perhaps being professional clubs (writers, journalists, artists, engineers).

(8) The Hungarian press lost its credence. Articles unfavorable to the regime were squelched or presented in a distorted version. This went as far as to ^{suppress} ~~xxxxxxx~~ news of even ordinary trials (criminal), let alone political news. The economic reports were lies. The news of world political events were completely one-sided. The journalists protested against this during the past years, but the top leadership was not willing to change it. During the period 1953-55, there were some improvements, but after that a relapse ^{at} set in. During 1955, the journalists' in-

ner sources of news were blocked or dried up by the top leaders.

- (9) There was a great desire, among the people, to be better informed. They had no access to foreign newspaper, they were dependent upon the radio.
- (10a) Inhuman.
- (10b) For a long time, I believed that the South Koreans did. Lately (in the past few years), I believed that the Russians did.
- (10c) As above. For a long time I had believed it, later I did not.
- (10d) I was not ~~amazed~~^{overjoyed} about it. Budapest has seen German troops already...
- (10e) I don't even know today what the truth is.
- (10f) Berlin, Rzeszow, Poznan, Budapest - all over the^{very} same question.
- (10g) While ~~they~~^{it} lasted, I believed that there would be some success. My opinion has changed since that time.
- (10h) Those at home do not need the emigrants. They don't like them. Personally I'm not needed by those in Hungary either. It's sad - but so. Perhaps, I will write in detail, the reasons for this.

About ~~my~~ emigre activities abroad I do not want to talk at the moment.

- (1a-b) People were generally of the opinion that the nationalization of great factories, the land reform, of course, and also the SzTK should be kept. Other positive sides of the regime were the facts that the progeny of workers and peasants could attend universities and that the "culture" (theater, movies, books) was much cheaper than in Western countries.
- (2) From the existence of workers' councils during the Revolution, many people drew the conclusions that it might be better to relegate the power to them than to political parties. Of course this is a knife with two edges.
- (2a) Yes.
- (2b) Respondent would not allow the existence of a Fascist party in Hungary. If under "Communist Party" we mean a party identical with the Russian Communist Party, or that of Rákosi, or Kadar, then he would categorically say no. If we consider Imre Nagy's party as Communist, then he would definitely allow the existence of such a party in Hungary. Also a "Gomulka Party" - although the two latter are not identical.
- (3) Definitely yes.
- (3a) He does not accept limits. He resents even those prevalent in America.
- (3b) He is in complete accord with the ~~constitution~~ ^{constitution} of the United States.
- (3c) If they were, the basis of democracy would get a horrible blow which would lead either to Stalinist Bolshevism or Hitlerist Fascism.

(3d) No.
Getting ^{ed,}
an organization against the state is a completely different question.

(4a) Categorically yes.

(4b) If it is quite apparent that the government's power is not based on the will of the majority of the population but exerts it ^e either with the help of a foreign power or with internal terror organization (Spain), in these cases an armed uprising is 100% justified.

Otherwise, the answer is "no" - thus the party of the workers does not have the right to make an armed uprising, contrary to the teachings of Lenin.

(5) He will try to sketch an ideal plan: great industry should be kept nationalized, the middle and small industry and the commerce should be in ~~XXXX~~ private ownership. The main question would be the factories should be interested to produce more and better (with what could competition ever be replaced?!) The problem of the factories competing with each other, although in state ownership, should be solved - the Yugoslavs are making experiments in this direction, whether successful or not, cannot yet be decided. If the workers shared in the profit, their interest in the production would increase one hundred fold.

The basis in agriculture should ^{be} that one should leave it entirely up to the peasants what to do. Respondent's conviction is that if they had freedom many forms of collective

farming would result.

(6) Yes.

(6b) The small ones. Those who do not go beyond the traditional frames of ~~an~~ small industry. If they were nationalized, the bureaucracy would cost much too much. The same, in increased proportions, applies to small trade.

(6c) Yes, if limited.

The answer would be definitely ~~xxx~~ "no", if unlimited.

(6e) Generally yes.

(6g) He has a bad opinion about them.

(7) The decisive factor is not what is being produced but whether the industry producing it is great or small.

(8) Domestic experience showed that complete government planning was a complete failure; thus, he has to say that the principle is not good. Yet, he feels that government planning to a certain degree is justified - ~~is~~ also in capitalistic countries there were experiments in this direction (see The New Deal). In economic life, the "classic" complete freedom does not lead to good results.

(8c&d) Cannot answer them - they are technical.

(9) There are many, if the state and the law are not identical.

̄ Private life - this cannot be emphasized enough after ten years of bitter experiences when the state intervened in it.

Freedom of speech ~~is~~ and of the press. Certain limits are

necessary, as far as political organizing is concerned. He very much would like to be consistent to those principles in the name of which he opposed Communism. He does not want to live anymore in a system where only the ~~km~~ Communist groups have a so-called freedom, but he equally does not want to live in a system where, based on different forced reasons, other groups of people are being deprived of their freedom. Why should there be any limits?! The only possible justification for the imposition of certain limits would be the prevention of letting a minority group get hold of the power.

(10) Of course.

(10a) Taxing should be progressive.

(10b) He is for it - he is not a pacifist. Although he is getting closer and closer to the point where he hates every type of violence. Today he feels that he personally could not shoot another man.

(The focal point in this Respondent's psychology is the transition between having believed in violence and getting to the point where he is appalled by it. If I were to write his portrait, this is what I would emphasize. It does give the clue to his past and present personality. What is especially interesting is that this transition is visible in his face. The first impression: a hard, intransigent face. The last: the same face had moments of softness which could have been envied by a sixteen year old girl.)

(10c) Where the laws are established through a democratic process, they have to be obeyed - he is no anarchist.

(10e) The government has great - social - duties.

^d
In an ideal state all types of teaching should be given free - even school books should be free.

Health insurance should be adequately taken care of (Hungarian refugees are extremely disappointed on this score).

In human situations where collective help is needed, (thus in cases of sick - helpless - old people) the state has far-reaching duties.

But the state has cultural duties beyond public schooling - the question is what does state subsidy ^e enhance?! It generally means that the state buys the right to give directives. A way should be found where the state propagates the pleasures of culture without giving directives. Let's start with the museums - they should [?]. In book printing, the works of ^{classic} ~~Gothic~~ writers should be made extremely cheap - there definitely are ways to encourage culture without possessing a cultural monopoly. All theaters should be equally ^b subsidized.

(11) Medical care has improved extensively but ^{not} intensively. The treatment of individual cases is just as bad in the SzTK as it used to be in the OTI. This criticism is not addressed to the doctors. It was a known fact that they were overburdened and yet, at the same time, it is also known that, from a point of view of statistics, Hungary's situation, as far as doctors are concerned, is pretty good. He assumes that the number of

the sick people has increased after the war and especially the number of those who received treatment.

- (11a) More groups of people are insured today.
- (11b) The answer is that there was a pseudo-democratization - the starting point being that a system will have to be devised which would raise living conditions + in Hungary; though, misery was spread equally.
- (11c) The private physician is better, the state physician is cheaper.
- (11d) In spite of the fact that many people are treated superficially, that many drugs are missing, that long queues are being formed in front of the door of physicians, one has the security that one is not going to die unattended.
- (12) Definitely. The aim was propaganda. A system has to give something if not "panem" then "circenses". There is no such system which could permit itself to have the facts contradict 100% its ideology. A system which claims: "We are ignorant giving books into the hands of the ~~ignorants~~", must finally ~~fulfill~~ fulfill its promises.
- (12b) Definitely.
- (12c) Each stratum⁴ had the opportunity to attend movies. Many more peasants and workers attended than previously.
- (13) Generally, no.
- (13a) Before August of 1946, people were starving; after August the situation improved considerably - compared to the period, '56

was worse.

- (13b) 1956 was better than 1950, ('52 was the worst.)
- (14) The problem of the quality has to be considered - the number of people going around in rags decreased, but the number of the shabby ones increased considerably; Hungary was a shabby country.

[in quality]

A deterioration of fifty to one hundred percent was noticeable. For instance, he had bought three shirts in 1948, - those shirts he wore also in '56; but the shirts bought in '52-'53-'54 had to be discarded long ago. As far as children's apparel is concerned, he used to wear his brother's shoes - his younger son can never wear the shoes handed down from his older son - they simply don't exist.

- (14a) Worse than in '46.
- (14b) Better than in '50.
- (14c) It's his feeling that some type of levelling took place - some strata were better dressed, but some were definitely worse (intelligentsia).

The differences between different income groups were considerable. There were plenty of high salaried people in Hungary, but there was hardly anyone who would have had a fortune.

- (15) Obviously.
- (15a&b) The answers are known.
- (15c) The economic structure during the last decade ruined the Hungarian economic life.

The structure of Stalin¹eros; the ore was imported from China and the coal from Poland; thus, by its sheer existence, it depleted the Hungarian taxpayer.

The shipbuilding in Hungary was in constant deficit. Those industries which would have been profitable in Hungary, like electrical, mechanical, chemical, etc., have been neglected.

(16)d) It seemed that the conception along these lines of the Hungarian workers during October could have been worked out - if people so strongly desire something, there is definitely a chance that it might work out - the thousand year traditions of humanity show this clearly.

(At this point, the interview was interrupted - we went out for dinner. The interview was interrupted but the conversation only began: Respondent wanted to prove that whatever good people really strongly desire ~~is going to~~^{will} come true one day; that's how he believes in the future of Hungary, that's how he believed that the Allies would eventually win the war. ^{An} ~~Amixx~~ up till then unsuspected facet of his personality was revealed: his mysticism.)

In Hungary during the Revolution, a complete hierarchical structure of the workers' council was formed - in a way, it was a real democracy, a direct, an immediate one - it showed a spontaneous desire toward direct power - Hungary indeed created the Sovjets.

(17) The Communist Party's contention is that agriculture throughout

the world is developing into large scale farming. For example, United States, England. As there is a grain of truth in it, he does not say that any tendency toward collective farming would be inappropriate. Nevertheless, collective farming as carried out in Hungary and Russia was a complete failure: to start out with, it was done forcefully and this forcefulness persisted. The peasant not only lost his own land, but the peasants lost their land. The peasant sank to the level of a factory worker without having had the advantages of the latter. Furthermore, the brutality of the state destroyed farming also economically. A peasant who had lived in the same county all his life, and whose father and grandfather had lived on the same spot, knows more about that particular earth than the clerk in Budapest does. Respondent, at this point, is not complaining about the advice given to peasants by experts, but about the hundreds of ^{pieces of} ^{from} advice/pseudo-experts. The peasants felt humiliated as a human beings and ~~he was~~ ^{were} destroyed economically. For years, there were editorials in the Szabad Nép: "We have to plan now", "We have to harvest", "We have to plow". A system which has to tell the agricultural population when and what to do, is unquestionably rotten.

Wine production - the former gold of Hungary - has also been completely ruined. In Tokay they quarried stone! Respondent is particularly aware of the situation in Szigliget, where

the Writers' Union has a house. There the vineyard owners were labelled "kulaks" because an acre of vineyard counted as four acres of crop land. The decrees brought against the kulaks were applied to them and they were completely ruined.

The Hungarian wheat was not competitive with the Ukrainian, Canadian or American wheat and yet the cultivation of wheat was enforced - Hungary's road should lead toward intensive farming.

On October 1, 1953, permission was granted that collective farms should be dissolved. He, as a journalist, went to the village Gebe in the county of Szabolcs - that's where he felt on his skin, so to speak, how much hatred was accumulated against the Communist Party. He went home to Budapest completely ~~shattered~~ shattered.

Reality offers tremendously rich material for propaganda purposes. Why not use it?! Why not learn, propagandists of Western countries, that telling the truth would be much more effective than using childish lies?!

(17c,d,e) Conclusion: the solution should be left to the peasants; the result will not be the one desired by the Russians nor the one desired by the opposite camp. Characteristic example: during the Revolution, collective farms stayed intact in many counties, the reasoning being: now we, the peasants, are going to do it and we are going to do it right.

- (17f,g,i) The upper limit should be: generally 100 hectares and in exceptional cases 300.^k
- (17h) The land should be restored to small holders, if they so desire, but not to great land owners.
- (17j) This was an eternal basis for discussion in '53 and '54. They are tremendous problems - ^{al}practical ones - where the answer can only be given by technical people or peasants.
- (17l) The Hungarian budget showed that the state supported agriculture with milliards per year, but the peasants were robbed through the compulsory deliveries. In a normal economy, this would not be necessary.

The duties of the state: ^cconducting of experiments, irrigation, production of agricultural machines - these duties would have been assumed by that semi-Socialist system the Revolution fought for.

(17) Are too technical.
(m,n,o,p)

- (17q) To the highest degree - each modern Western state proves^x it.
- (18a) They should be completely independent.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) No.
- (18d) No. - His opinion did not change on this score.
- (18e) No.
- (18f) There is no doubt about the fact that in Hungary there is no freedom of religion in practice. He is not complaining about the fact that there were agitators against religion (in Switzer-

land he would welcome them) but that behind them was the complete state machinery, openly religious people were not eligible for promotion in their jobs, were not given opportunities for cheap vacations, etc. And what was most unbearable was the quiet pressure which lay behind these punishments.

At home, he insisted that his children get religious education (the knowledge of the bible is imperative to understand literature), in Switzerland he would be happy if he could prevent it, due to the fact that it is obligatory.

(18g) No. Actually, the agreement made in Hungary was loyal: the state agreed to pay the salary of the priests for a decade.

(19a&c) There were around 800,000 Party members - in each second family there was one - it would be an absurdity to have them checked. The guilty ones are known. If somebody was a director of a factory due to his Party membership, then he should be fired. If he had ~~persecuted~~ persecuted innocent people, then he should be held responsible by ~~people's~~ ^{Collective} courts. ~~Such~~ procedure is inhuman.

(19b) The activity of each one would have to be carefully checked.

Rakosi, Gerő, Farkas, Révai and company are enemies of the people and are ripe to be hanged, although he personally is against each type of violence; nevertheless, it is true that this would be the opinion of the majority of the Hungarian nation without any type of thirst for vengeance. The above are criminals - not "only" ^{did} they destroy a whole country, but

they are personally responsible for the execution of thousands of innocent people. Rajk's program, national Communism, would have been more European from the point of view of Rakosi and the Hungarian laws ⁱⁿ enforce at the time, he was innocent, though.

~~(19d)~~

^e
(19d)

The question seems ~~right~~ ridiculous.

(19f)

He is for individual legal proceedings. Great differences between the sphere of activity and the attitude of the personnel will come to life. Nevertheless it is also true that there are thousands of sadists among them.

(19g)

Legal procedure will be necessary in some cases.

(19h)

The Soviet will hold them responsible.

At home, people have forgiven them their old crimes, what is more, they felt a certain respect for those who were strong enough to sever ties. The undestructable popularity of Imre ~~Nagy~~ Nagy and of the writers (Benjamin, Zelk, Déry) clearly shows this. Based on his recent experiences during the months of December and January, he can truthfully say that people trusted the ex-Communists and surrounded them with great love. There was a touching meeting at the journalists' revolutionary council: journalists who had been silenced for years, demanded that the ex-Communists journalists should be treated as equals.

The refugees adopt the Western viewpoint; even in Switzerland he has heard voices which claimed that Communists were Communists whether they had fought against Rakosi and his

regime, was immaterial.

(20) He finds it impossible to answer it within the frames^{work} of an interview.

(21)a,b,c) It is extremely ~~different~~ different.

(21)d) If we look at the national character in the broad sense of the word, then it has certainly changed - the ten years did not go by without ^{leaving} traces. In what direction did it change? The Hungarian nation certainly became wiser and tried to implement on Hungarian soil what ^{is} good and just; on the other hand, they only strengthened that particular additional feeling that this poor country is extremely abandoned - either "the wolves eat it or the bear" (^{is} vagy farkas ess meg, vagy medve), to a certain degree Zrinyi's conception was revived.

(21e&f) If there ^{is} are ~~classes~~ classes, as there are, then certainly some traits must differentiate them - not only the sphere of work and the income, but also the mentality.

The completion of this question would be a more interesting question, namely: "What is your opinion of the class policy of Communism based on the existing social classes?"

Contrary to the teachings of Marxism, his opinion is that the belonging to a social class is not such a strong, defining tie as belief and thought. It is not true that the class consciousness would determine peoples' attitude - it became obvious that the national tie is much stronger than the

social one - that friendship and family ties can obstruct the social ones.

In his particular case, he had to realize that the consciousness of his being a Hungarian was stronger than any other layer in his soul. He is not a nationalist, he is far from being a chauvinist, but he is absolutely incapable to accept something which is disadvantageous ~~with respect to~~ to the Hungarian nation but is advantageous to the international proletarianism. Actually, this is the basic mistake of Marxism, it starts out from the premise: two plus two is five; the history of humanity is also the history of the cooperation of social classes; not accepting the latter means simplifying the history and thus making the followers of these false concepts inhuman and unjust. The class policy of Communism is bad, false, inhuman.

He approves of not giving back to the former factory owners their factories, but, at the same time, he deeply condemns the fact that they were robbed not only of their factories but also of the possibility for a human life; and the most revolting injustice and inhumanity happens when this punishment is being spread to the members of their families - in every direction - when the child of an ex-capitalist cannot be accepted ^{at} in a university or sometimes in high school; he approves of the peasants' and workers' children being accepted at universities but if this had to happen at the price of

excluding the children of the ex-capitalists then this was another numerous classus similar to the one of the Horthy era.

The ^kKader files were based on a social background; if the origin was "mixed", then the unfortunate individual was suspicious for a lifetime - "You did this wrong, because you are a class alien" - this developed the atmosphere of denunciation.

(22) None. Maybe the ^kKárolyi government could have been good, but it was squelched.

He deeply respects Teleki - but he respects him more in his death than he did in his life - his great deed was his tragic suicide - a politician who was able to draw the consequences.

(22a) Hungary flourished from many viewpoints, but one should keep in mind the following:

1) This flourishing did not embrace the whole population - the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia flourished - as a result, ~~the~~ industry, commerce, and culture developed. Due to this, Hungary became more or less a European state, contrary to Yugoslavia and Rumania.

2) At the same time, the broad masses were living in the utmost misery - this is known to be a fact.

3) How much more significant would have been the development, if Hungary had been independent!

4) What made life so glittering was partly & due to the

fact that Hungary ^{accomplished} ~~was~~ in twenty years a development which should have been gradual; the lack of this gradual evolution was due to the suppression following the unsuccessful war of independence [1848-49].

- (22b) The situation of the agricultural workers and of the poor peasants was pitiful.
- (22c) Yes, and stayed feudal until the end of the ^[19th] century; due to industrial development, Hungary became half-feudal till 1945.
- (22d) Good or bad? Of course it was bad, but in history problems do not turn up this way. It had very bad effects because it gave away for the establishment of a Christian system. The success of the Horthy regime was assured to a certain degree by the previous Communist regime. If, in the future, the same process would repeat itself in Hungary, there ^{would} ~~were~~ be no cause for amazement, although the European situation is different today - Fascism did prove to be a failure. In spite of the latter statement, the Kadar regime ^{could} ~~could~~ be followed by a Fascist one; the goal of the October Revolution was different.
- (22g) It was a semi-feudal ^u reactionary system. At the same time, it should be stressed that it had different phases - it was not a Fascist system from the beginning to the end, but the beginning and end definitely were Fascist. The period in between could be labelled as reactionary, conservative.

The symptoms: economically, the upkeep of a semi-feudal system, an anachronism in Europe; socially, the great part

played by the aristocracy in public life; clerically, Christian national ideologies; despite the latter factors, there was a Parliament which, occasionally, was able to obtain some improvements and there ^{was} a relatively great freedom of the press. Politically? The orientation toward totalitarian states.

The Hungarian tragedy could be summarized in one sentence: there has never been a democracy.

(22h) A catastrophe.

Horthy could have adhered to any other political line than he did.

A democratic Hungary could have.

Could Hungary have stayed neutral? This is a part of a world question Respondent considers as basic, as far as ~~xxx~~ politics is concerned, namely: the possibility of small countries to follow contrary policies to that of their neighboring great states.

(22i) This period was relatively the best in ages - the ruins were cleared away, there was a tremendous vitality - undoubtedly though, retrospectively, self-deception had also a great place.

The greatest lesson history should teach: one should not believe /in flourishing if the germs of a clouded future are present. In the Hungarian case, the germs were: Russian occupation, beginnings of Communist ~~xxx~~ maneuvers, the tricky discard of the opposition.

Nevertheless, life was indeed beautiful. The fact that his eyes were opened so late, is due ~~in~~ mainly to the remembering too vividly those most beautiful years. In the editor^{ial} office, he did not realize that life going on in the outside did not have much in common with that dearly remembered period.

Starting from 1949 to '54, he did not travel in Western countries. The visit to Italy in '49, only fortified his feeling of Hungary~~is~~ being much better off. This view changed completely in '54, when he visited France.

(23b) Painful, difficult question.

In theory, they are, in the world in which we are living today. He himself strongly believes that a time will come when the importance of border lines will be erased. But until such time, the Hungarian territorial situation, cannot be accepted. He is primarily thinking of Transylvania and the ~~Upper Northern part of Hungary]~~ Felvidék. The solution, according to him, lies in the creation of ~~an autonomous~~ autonomy. He is dreaming about an autonomous ~~Transylvania~~ Transylvania and Felvidék. No, he does not believe in the a priori national hatred and the instigated one could be dissolved.

(23e,f,g,h) He has no personal experiences. confederation

(24a) The Eastern European ~~an~~ confederation would be the thing - the fact that the Russians are so afraid of its coming true one day shows how good it would be. Due to this specific fear

Stalin had Dimitrov assassinated and the rage against Yugoslavia can be partly explained by this. As far ~~it~~ as Russia is concerned, this is indeed a frightening thought. It would mean that the small states could multiply their strength and thus form a neutral block. As far as he is concerned, this is an appealing thought.

Of course this would not entail the giving up of the national ethos. He ~~xxx~~ cannot answer this question without having made serious studies on the subject. One should investigate the present situation and - Kossuth's conception.

- (24c) Aren't we talking about a confederation? Doesn't that mean that everybody should have an equal part?!
- (24d) It would cease to be a ^{fe}consideration, at that moment, it would be a socialist camp ^{under} ~~through~~ the guidance of the "almighty" Russia.
- (24e) He strongly opposes it - it is heartbreaking. It was a great crime on the part of the Allies and the Hungarians to agree to the Russians transplanting the Swabians.
- (25) He does not make any difference between men and men, the Russian men are not guilty.
- (25a,b) They are very dissimilar - each Freedom Fighter could testify to this.
- (25c) Very few.
- (25d) Not well. He had seen, at close "range", Russian people - mainly professors and writers. The general picture is rather depressing:

professors are ignorant and at the same time arrogant and supercilious (see the Madach affair). The writers are extremely bleak, dismal, cheerless - one definitely has the impression that the certain feeling so necessary to perceive life is completely missing in their outlook. Russian writers could only produce until the '30, until they managed to save their souls.

- (25e) They were liked until seen. There was a sympathetic expectance, followed by a disappointment.
- (26) Will be covered by Respondent in his studies.
- (27) The internal system is similar to the Soviet one, but the country is independent.
- (27a&b) The followers of Imre Nagy took part in it and those of Tito's policy - the two groups are not identical. The latter~~xxxx~~ believe in the Terror System on an independent basis while the followers of Imre Nagy also fought for the basic internal change of the system.
- (27c) The policy of Gomulka ^eproceeds Titoism ^{by}with one step in the direction of democracy. That's why it is more ^tsympakhetic. But the political group to which he belonged would not have been satisfied with this particular policy. They wanted more.
- (27d) Gomulka is Communist/^{also}in the traditional sense of the word, although ~~kk~~ the Communism he represents is a better ~~x~~ edition of the old one.
- (27e) The existant ^eCommunism, that is the Russian type, is not

compatible with patriotism, one of its basic principles being that the interests of the international movement supercede ^s ~~that~~ ^{these} of the nation.

- (28a) Economically, a semi-socialist system; politically, a multiple party system. ^{At} /the very end Imre Nagy wanted this too, although in the beginning he was strongly ^{for} ~~toward~~ conserving the one-party system. (Vehement fights took place between him and his followers and later he asked them to forgive him: "you were right", he said.)
- (28b) The Russians were only one factor, the Western radios were another. If they had not enticed the population against Imre Nagy, he might have stayed in power. It could have been imagined that he would have stayed in power, even if his Party had shrunk to a minimum.
- (29a) There are many types of Socialism: National Socialism, Swedish ~~Swedish~~ Socialism, Labor Party, Social Democracy, Indian-Nep^h~~al~~ type Socialism, etc. The way Respondent interpretes this concept, it is good.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) It should be avoided. ⁱⁿ (At the end, I'll become a follower of Gandhi!)
- (29d) The ones of Thore^s and ^{of} Rakosi were bad. What the Communists mean by it is a bluff, it is nothing more than a means to camo^uflage their party's dictatorship. He personally could visualize also a democratic national popular front.

- (29e) Bad.
- (29f) There are countries where it is successful.
- (29g) If he took the sub-questions of this question seriously, he could only answer by writing dissertations. How could he apply the label "bad or good", to a concept which has been in existence for the last six hundred years?! Bourgeoisie - this gave to the world the modern industry, commerce, sciences, art, civilization. Bourgeoisie - this word also means Dante and Leonardo and electricity and the steam locomotive and this same word also designates the inhuman employer of a Dickens novel or the hypocrite business/^{man}of the Shaw plays. To this word are tied the most beautiful boulevards of modern great cities and also, ^{their} ~~the~~ slums.
- (29h) ~~It~~ An examining committee^s of the Party is liable to put these types of questions...
[Veres]
He^s is past sixty and he has published about ten thousand printed pages. Respondent would gladly write a study about him, if we knew a publisher interested in this "subject"....
- (29j) Doesn't know him, ^[kulak] too well, but is under the impression that in the major issues ~~he~~ it was he who was right and not Lenin and Stalin. To what extent his theory in other configurations^s is acceptable is another question, Respondent couldn't answer at the moment.
- (29k) ^{He} Knows next to nothing about him. Didn't read his writings and does not have a clear picture of the internal happenings in

Czechoslovakia.

- (29l) He is far away..
- (29m) Respects her.
- (29n) Anachronism today. Would have been a courageous fighting Cardinal in Tórnóry's time.
- (30) No party would receive an absolute majority. The Smallholders' Party, the Social Democratic Party and especially the new Socialist Party would have great chances. A Catholic Party would also receive many votes.
- (30a) ~~Mr~~ Imre Nagy.
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) Less.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Less.
- (31e) The high ranking government employee more, the small government employe^e, less.
- (31f) Less.
- (31g) The leaders 1,000 times more. And ~~skxxx~~ also a great part of the smaller functionaries received undeserved advantages, privileges.
- (31h) I cannot sympathize with their pains.
- (31i) Less.
- (32) Almost each strat^uem lived better till 1948, with the exception of a few leaders.
- (33a) Coincide.

(33b) Coincide.

(33c) Coincide.

(33i) Conflict.

(33j) Conflict.

(34) In the U.S.A. I disliked those features which reminded me of the Soviet Union. Namely, the imperialistic tendencies, the exaggerated part of the F.B.I., the impatience toward different world views, the racial distinctions, etc. But let me reword the question: Would I be permitted to enter the U.S.A. without previous humiliating and lengthy interrogation? Could I live there peacefully? I'm afraid if I tried it, I would be very often reminded of the "home" atmosphere.

(35) Nobody.

(35a) The majority of the population.

(36) I couldn't talk of changes but I feel more than previously the one-sidedness and insufficiency of my knowledge.

- (1a) He has a very good opinion about it and feels that the sections of our interview touch the main problems.
- (1c) It is his feeling that the majority of the refugees distort their memories - modify them in the direction of their desires and try to accommodate the West; in other words they say what they think is expected to be heard. This, coupled with the West's distorted view, is not likely to produce ~~an~~ an objective picture.
- (1d) You will.
- (2) Yes, in case the Russians leave the Hungarian territory ~~and~~ and thus the main goals of the Revolution would be fulfilled.
- (3b) I am in the process of writing three or four studies for your project.