

NO. 551 "A" FACESHEET AND RATING

JLB

p. 1

August, 1957  
Paris

1. [REDACTED]
2. [REDACTED]
3. 3 Rue Balzac, Paris
4. 39
5. M
6. Hungarian
7. Reformed
8. Reformed
9. Divorced
10. 2
11. 11, 9
12. Economist
13. Middle class
14. [REDACTED]
15. '42-'44 - reserve ensign
16. Austria ('34, '36); Italy ('36, '38)
17. No
18. Organized the Smallholders' Party
19. PHD in Economics - Budapest
20. Budapest
21. Budapest
22. County of Szilagy
23. Cannot define it
24. November 20, 1956
25. Austria (3 days), Paris
26. Sooner or later (rather sooner)
27. [REDACTED]
28. NO
29. [REDACTED]
31. "10"
32. "10"
33. "10"
34. "10"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2c) The Rajk affair.

(2d) See above.

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

Two elements can be detected in the part the writers played:

1) The revolt of the artist against the spiritual suppressor,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He emphasizes though that this unanimity is not a positive

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

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

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

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

(3i) No. There had already been one in Hungary and now the revolt was against those who served the Soviet Union. He thinks that the Western viewpoint concerning Communism is very peculiar, he



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

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

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

Everyone recognized that Communism is hogwash.

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

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

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

(9a) He read whatever was published.

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

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

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

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

(10a) None of them remained intact - however, he did not believe in a complete collapse either.

(10b) With the exception of the headquarters from the Akadémia Street, the Party ceased to exist. Its officials disappeared. The premises were taken over by the ex-internment camp prisoners, by the various democratic organizations, by the various Party organizations, and by various groups the members of which used to be



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Due to the fact, that this <sup>a</sup> high <sup>is</sup> authority had been duly fortified by the regime, their employees were loyal to the Party, only a general work stoppage was prevalent. Revolutionary Councils were set up, <sup>but</sup> ~~and some had no success~~ that their activity was of a

formal nature only.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If one considers that the most Stalinist and the most unpopular of the leaders of the satellite countries was Rakosi<sup>1</sup>, who managed to hold onto his position ~~up~~ even after the breach with Tito was healed, one understands why, due to his Stalinist methods, there was no drainage for the accumulated tension in Hungary -



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

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

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

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

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

interesting one.

The Revolution did not produce outstanding individuals.

Due to some peculiar reason, outside of Maléter and Béla Király, it is hard to find in the Revolution outstanding individualities. It should also be noted that Király became popular only after he escaped to the West and, <sup>was,</sup> so to speak, "popularized."

For the lack of personalities, two reasons may be brought up: the spontaneity of the Revolution in which no such elements participated which could have grown to become great leaders - they gained experience in matters of organization only during the Revolution; the Revolution broke out on a large scale, on a large territory almost in the whole country at the same time. It took only a few hours, but a few days at the most, for the Revolution to spread all over the country. During the Revolutionary fights, there were many, many small groups which ~~acted~~ ~~on~~ acted on their own initiative and were forced to take individual actions as no centralized upper leadership was in existence. ~~Statistical information gained from that~~  
~~the refugees~~ It is also a fact ~~and~~ the composition of the refugees serves as a statistical proof that those elements which had previously played an important political and social part, compared to the masses, took part in the Revolution to a very small degree.

The Hungarian Revolution was expropriated by the people of the street - in this respect, it is ~~strikingly~~ strikingly similar to ~~the~~ 14 Juillet. This indeed was the Revolution of the sans-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AVH

From 1948-50 he was ~~held~~ held in the/basement ~~part~~ of 60 Andrassy ut (this lasted for half a year), then in the internment camp of Budadél, this was followed by a special confinement in the Internment Camp of Kistarcsa, and from 1950-1953 he was in the Forced Labor Camp of Recsk.

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

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

- (1) Economist - prior to 1948, he was chief of the Statistical Division of the Office of Price Administration; since the spring of 1954, jack-of-all-trades at the Tokod glass factory. Between the two above-mentioned occupations, he has been woodchopper, stonecrusher, carpenter, road builder, and in additionak, jail fodder.
- (2) 1936-1941 - bank employee at the Central Branch of the Credit Bank (Hitelbank).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the work system of other glass factories.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So what could he do? He left.

....In a few days, he received employment - stevedore work - at the ~~A~~ Csepel docks. The bag toting lasted for only three days because he was again called into the office and asked to leave.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4f)

During these times, the Trade Union operated only nominally and



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

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

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

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

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

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

with seven acres of land. Father was a "knight", <sup>(vitéz)</sup> a pet of the Horthy regime. While gently grafting grapevines, <sup>he</sup> welcomed this with a peaceful resignation. His attitude toward the regime was one of acceptance; he had nationalistic tendencies, but, on the other hand, condemned anti-Semitism, as an attitude incompatible with decency. He was, in general, angry with every nation, except the Hungarian, which he deeply liked; yet, many times, he reminisced about the good old times under the monarchy, when he had dinner for two <sup>t</sup> krajcárs at the Burgvárt, during the period of his military service - he was extremely proud that, during his hitch in the army, he <sup>had</sup> guarded ~~Francis Joseph (Ferenc Jóska)~~ <sup>the emperor Franz Joseph (Ferenc Jóska)</sup>. <sup>(take part in the reoccupation of)</sup> In 1940, at the age of 64, he was permitted to "occupy" <sup>where he</sup> Transylvania where he was born and lived until 1919, when he had to flee because of his participation in the Székely army division.

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

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

fire to his apartment.

- (5k) Hurt him, but the AVH made him <sup>feel</sup> this only due to his political viewpoint; between 1945 and 1948, his ancestry was still forgiven.
- (6) Was married until 1948, then imprisoned. <sup>Since</sup> ~~After~~ 1954, he has been relatively happy as a divorcee.
- (6c) Two.
- (6d) Eleven, <sup>nine</sup>.
- (7) In spite of the divorce - according to others - on "unbelievably" good terms.
- (8) Unfortunately - yes.
- (9) Yes.
- (9b) Not on this subject; "Let them fraternize with everyone", he and his ex-wife figured.
- (9c) At first, yes, then they learned what to believe and what to say (we are talking about children six to ten years old!).
- (10) Yes, with hardly any success; the older boy when nine years old, was a "culture - trustee" and, from time to time, with a hypoc-  
<sup>is</sup>  
~~cracy~~ which would have shamed mature politicians defended his "position" with the following slogan: "Father, it is still better if I do it!" Poor children!
- (11) Pretty well.
- (12) Yes.
- (13b) No - even his father was a democrat in this respect.
- (13c) Yes, he could not make his father understand him and many times he would hear: "You are crazy, my son."

- (14) He lived a very limited family life. The hermetically<sup>e</sup> sealed years he spent in prison made him numb and thus<sup>le</sup> felt only his responsibility or duty toward his family, although he strived to do it in an acceptable manner. Occasionally, he remembered that he also was human, but then quickly returned to his hardened self".
- (14b) It was not typical.
- (14c) When he had free time - did he? - he would go into the mountains with his sons; on one occasion, after seeing hikers with heavy knapsacks on their back, panting and sweating, climbing a steep hill, his seven year-old son asked: "Father, do the tourists earn a big salary?"

Respondent was obliged to admit that only children had sense.

- (14f) Respondent did not have spare time; however, if he wanted to go anywhere, no one hindered it. The AVO had his home under constant surveillance for many years: who <sup>came</sup> ~~was~~ ~~there~~, etc. However, the janitor said only what respondent told him to.
- (15) They have loosened, to a great extent.
- (15) Yes, as a result of the occupation of the parents, cooperative day nurseries, and the general misery.
- (16) Yes, they became more closely related, even in the negative aspects of the evaluation.
- (16b) c) Yes, they did, they became lax; ~~the~~ courtships and marriages <sup>were</sup> given less consideration, and <sup>were</sup> occurring with inadequate responsibility or thought of consequences. The parents' absence,



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

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

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

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

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

(21) Doctor.

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

(22) The best groups:

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

Worst groups:

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

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

- (22b) He was quite satisfied with his lot; he had no particular desire to belong to a better group. He was not starving, nor was he in rags and he was actually quite happy to be an "outcast."
- (23) He denies that there are social classes in Hungary and he objects that the questions are simplified to this extent. Those groups, which had been developed to the extent to fit this characterization in Hungary, are not social groups; but may become such in due time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (23b) He did not feel any barriers.
- (23e) Less.
- (23g) More direct, but at the same time less courteous, a certain

ugly, uncouth mannerism was rapidly gaining ground;

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

"Öreglány" (Old gal)

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

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

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

(24) Yes, at one time, the Yugoslavs (Croations, Serbians, Catholic Serbians - horvát, szerb, bunyevác) minority groups.

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

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

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

(25) Unfortunately, he had answered it above.

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

was entirely identical with his. They opposed it.

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

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

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

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



(1) Pretty much.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (2i) They meant a "rather" great help in keeping people in line.
- (3af) He had to get up daily at 4:30 in the morning and he loved to sleep - this he can never forgive. He can truthfully say that he has always been against Communism, and he can also truthfully state that his feelings were never as intensive as during those moments ~~when~~ when the alarm clock would ring. Every minute was carefully figured out - he put his milk to be heated, simultaneously ran down to awaken the janitor, ran back, drank his milk, and ran down the stairs again to be there when the janitor would open the door and let him out amidst their both ~~curse~~ <sup>cursing</sup> the regime.
- (3a) XII - their presence was a yardstick by which he could measure his own misery.
- VI - he had good reasons for this.
- XI - he could have done something worthwhile and was not allowed to. ("Igen, mert mindig széklábat csináltam. És azt is a leghitványabb alakra" - Respondent made allusion to the Phalanstère scene of The Tragedy of Man, where Michelangelo is forced to do factory work.)
- (3b) XIV, - I, - III.
- (3c) IV, VI, V, III, - even the intellectuals would have like to ~~max~~ eat and have some type of shelter.
- (3d) XIV, IV, II, - this does not apply to certain regions, the Protestant peasantry of the Dunántúl, Vas megye, Hajduság, Biharmegye, does not give a damn about its priests. (Fütyül a papjaira.)
- (3e) XV, III, V.

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

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

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

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

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

(7e) He ~~gained~~<sup>stuck</sup> in the stamp.

(7g) The members were rather disgusted, it was thought of as being a branch of the Party. Of course those who were organizing it had slightly different opinions and if one looked very hard one could always find a couple of idiots who believed in it.

(7l) They executed the orders of the Party - they gave it a basis.

(7m) For some time they protested among themselves, then they accepted their existence.

(8) Very few - but this number varied during the last decade.

(9) The youth became aware of the inhuman traits inherent in Communism; it had to realize that the possibilities/<sup>for a decent living</sup>were always being narrowed and that not only did it not have any proper chances to finish its studies but not even ~~work~~ adequate work was assured. Of course, factors like "desire for freedom", "uncompromising attitude", "not being tied by family life" must also be taken into ~~account~~ consideration.

(10) It was organized according to Soviet models. Its duty was the fulfillment of the will of the Party.

(10e) By application and by enlistment. Besides, some "trustworthy" elements from the army and police were being transferred by the most varied means to the AVH. Till 1950 there was rivalry; after that the police were subordinated, but even in the period of dependence, there was a latent hostility.

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

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

- (11g) Yes.

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

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



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

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

Hol zsarnokság van,  
ott zsarnokság van,  
nemcsak a puskacsőben  
nemcsak a börtönökben

nemcsak a vallató szobákban,  
nemcsak az éjszakában  
kiálto ör szavában,  
ott ~~x~~ zsarnokság van

nemcsak a füst-sötéten  
lobogó vádbeszédben,  
beismerésben,  
rabok fal-morse-jében,

nemcsak a bíró hűvös ítéletében: bűnös!

...

hol zsarnokság van, ott van  
jelenvalóan  
mindenekben,  
ahogy rég istened sem;

(16) Openly under no circumstances.

(16c) This changed according to the <sup>ctw</sup> fluctuations of terror. According to the latter, the circle of those one could talk to either increased or decreased.

(16d) Economic problems - but even he had ~~xx~~ enough sense to lock his mouth when it came to political matters.

(17) Of course.

Clever people always have answers to everything - but I'm not one of them, as you may have noticed.

(18) The reign of terror, the complete financial dependence of the citizens (everybody was vulnerable from this point of view).

The weak points were the obvious contradictions, the repeated corrections which made the previously faithful unfaithful and which gave hope to those who desired the disappearance of the regime.

- (19) Till 1947, there had been political groups which opposed the regime, <sup>as</sup> ~~like~~ in the frames of the Smallholder's Party, and in those of the Social Democratic Party; <sup>v</sup> after the elections of '47 the so-called Activity Parties (tevékenységi pártok); but after the Mindszenty and Rajk trials, and maybe even before, this ~~of~~ type of opposition was not possible anymore.

After this period, only the so-called Conspiracy of Decent People existed, which embraced a great sphere of people but which only existed through manifestation of antipathy toward the regime; but even under this form, it had a good influence on those people who were ready to give up hope.

- (19b) The non-compromising, rather ousted elements of the ex-middle class were hostile to the regime, it was very apparent that they knew that their liquidation was only a matter of time.

The aristocracy cannot be grouped among the opposing elements, because after '45 this class did not represent a <sup>factor</sup> ~~strength~~ to be taken into consideration.

The peasantry showed an unrelenting opposition from the very beginning; this was facilitated by the fact that the regime could not transform the peasants into wage-earning workers.

The opposition of the workers was not significant after '48. And yet the workers were unanimously united in fighting the regime during October, 1956! This fact reveals that the opposition was potentially living also in those strata which could not give voice to it.

- (19c) The Party and the groups formed around the state machinery (az államhatalom körül kialakult csoportok). The reason is obvious.
- (191) It can be assumed that the Party leadership, after the 20th Congress, wanted to provide a means to vent the internal tensions.

Continued.

(1) He read - from A to Z the Szabad Nép daily. According to the opinion of some of his friends, Respondent was one of the three or four people who did this. Of course this was exaggerated, but the exaggeration was typical, as far as the Szabad Nép was concerned.

He also listened, periodically, to foreign radio broadcasts, but since he does not speak any other language, only ~~occasionally~~ <sup>like</sup> understood ~~some~~, he was able to evaluate the information only in a mosaic fashion.

He also read foreign newspapers. L'Humanité, <sup>Frank</sup> Franfurter Zeitung (Oder). He was able to obtain these due to the nasty comments some of his friends made about him spending money on Communist papers. So what could he do? He wrote to the above newspapers that he was poor, had no money to spend on foreign newspapers, couldn't they send these to him free? They sent them. In this way, his friends couldn't accuse him of assisting the Communist press. Unfortunately, he could not fool the Szabad Nép in this manner, and had to buy it.

"It should serve my salvation that in France I have not purchased a single issue of L'Humanité, but tomorrow out of sheer reverence, I will buy one. But don't squeal on me!"

He listened to Free Europe and to the Ankara and French Radio, too. Not much though, because occasionally he would rave about their naiveté <sup>e</sup>, and other times about their foolishness. On these occasions, Respondent said: "Is that old brokendown, hand cranked phonograph resurrected from the attic speaking again?" ...

- (1a) Since it was a matter of saving his skin, the news source of the Szabad Nep.
- (2) Being aware of this being a sad fact, he must, nevertheless, admit that he did read a lot. Assuredly, it was all a waste. He should have rather milked goats in the Durance valley.
- (2g) "I already confessed above that I did, as a matter of fact, I stumbled across <sup>non</sup> ~~numb~~-Communist papers, too."
- (3) He ~~did~~ did not attend the movies because he was always very sleepy and would much rather sleep. "Don't tell anybody, but from 1945 to the Revolution, I saw only about ten movies. Save my soul if I didn't bawl during the American movie, There Were Five."



"Won't they take me to America because of this? Honestly, I really cried."

(3b) What should I tell you about the type of film ~~for~~ for example ~~the~~ the above one was - entertaining, or political? I tried to see good films.

(3c) See above.

(3e) ~~He~~ Attended only once in twelve years; he is crazy about Cyrano - just could not restrain himself - he asks to be forgiven<sup>V</sup> for this, too - that he dared to go - and for that it only happened once. Life is tough!

(4) He belongs to that legion of men who reads. He believes that he has read two or three books per month - occasionally even more. Sometimes he would read at work, too.

(4e) He liked M<sup>1</sup>óricz, Bab<sup>1</sup>ts, Ady, Shakespeare, Balzac, Voltaire, Thomas Mann, Illy<sup>1</sup>és; Ibsen was also one of his favorite retreats.

There is trouble with his desire to read, he reads ~~xxx~~ everything; at the plant where he worked - he alone read the Communist pamphlets!

Respondent knows that he will be despised for it - but he read "there" too - and often his sister had to tear down the door to get him out.

(5) He listened to it.

(6) He listened to those, too.

(6d) The news was reliable, the propaganda silly.

(7) He gave up this type of information. In some cases, he interrogated

people arriving from abroad - but this was seldom possible.

(8) If you had lived with us, you would not ask this type of question. The lies stank from a mile. Lying people, lame dog....

(8f) Yes, often.

(8g) Yes - daily - what kind of opinion could one have about the Szabad Nép!

(8h) Rarely - he had the feeling that it was some new kind of baloney.

(9) Very few.

(10abcdefg) He believes that he knew the truth about all of them.

(10h) (As Respondent is the head of the Revolutionary Council in Paris, the answer given by him to this question is "slightly" longer than answers given by other Respondents. Some of the views expressed are contained, with additional details, in an article written by Respondent in the October issue of the periodical Március és Október (October, 1957, issue). )

On the highway of peoples in Hungary, there have always been those who were being chased and also a good number of those who did the chasing. The waves of refugees follow one upon the other. No political change of <sup>any</sup> ~~some~~ significance took place in our country without forcing some of our countrymen into exile.

One or two eminent persons among those who went into exile following the fall of the short-lived Communist regime of 1919, found refuge in the West; but during World War II, already a greater number of our countrymen turn up here and participate successfully in the task of defending human rights. ~~The~~

(10h)

The next important wave of refugees starts at the end of World War II. Some blame the Nazi occupation, others fled the Soviet occupation. But all of them leave their Fatherland to embark upon insecurity. This wave is made up of soldiers and of the Hungarian middle class which, in turn, sweeps along with it also a significant part of the aristocracy. Very soon, there is a ~~skavage~~ cleavage in this group: the greater part returns to Hungary. Among the politically-minded, naturally, mostly the right<sup>est</sup> elements stay abroad. This group already begins to organize itself. The soldiers remain soldiers, they organize in the military way; they want to make use of military means in setting about their tasks. ~~They~~<sup>We</sup> could hardly have expected anything else from them.

<sup>servant</sup> civil/middle class makes up the rest of this group: the class dependent on the regime which happens to be in power, ~~accepting~~<sup>accepting</sup> its political principles; the class which, even after a decade spent in exile, has been unable to separate itself emotionally from the system which had assured its existence.

Around 1947~~3~~-'48, in consequence of the marked Communist advance, the movement at our Western frontiers is again increasing. The process of Bolshevization of the country has become evident; there are those who flee from immediate danger, others because of the hopelessness of the political and economic situation. Without being made up exclusively of political refugees, this group shows ~~mx~~ most markedly a political coloring. With this wave come

(10h) out most of the politicians who held important political positions at home. Despite the fact that all of them fled the Communist terror, their political beliefs are fairly diverse. On the other hand, almost without exception, they think that their exile will be of short duration, convinced that, after their return home, they will be able to resume their political activity where they had left ~~it~~ off. Relying ~~on~~ especially on their views formed before the Revolution (of October-November 1956), they considered ~~as~~ having the <sup>greatest</sup> ~~most~~ chance to do so, because they were in no way connected with the Communist era.

The great political <sup>activity</sup> ~~activity~~ of this group was to create, with the financial aid put at its disposal, the "official" Hungarian emigré organization, the Hungarian National <sup>Council</sup> ~~Committee~~.

The fact is that the Hungarian National <sup>Council</sup> ~~Committee~~ was unable to build up its organization in such a way as to satisfy either representative, or democratic, or practical needs.

As to the question why the Hungarian National <sup>Council</sup> ~~Committee~~ proved to be inefficient and became completely disorganized at the time of the Revolution, others, better qualified than I, have already given the answer, including prominent members of the <sup>Council</sup> ~~Committee~~ <sup>i</sup> itself.

As a consequence of the second Soviet intervention on the 4th of November, 1956, approximately 200,000 Hungarians ~~have~~ left their country after the Revolution. If we study the structure of this group of refugees, the first thing that ~~strikes~~ strikes us is the fact that the great majority ~~is~~ consists of young people.

~~NOTE~~

This should not be surprising; the Hungarian Revolution was the revolution of the Hungarian youth. They were driven ~~most~~ to flee, but at the same time, they found it easiest to accept the risks connected with flight. It would be bold to assert that all of these young men were Freedom Fighters; there are among them also those who did not participate in the fights, but <sup>who</sup> for various reasons did not want to accept life at home any longer. However, just as we find among the "authentic" Freedom Fighters weaker elements, similarly, very useful ones can be found in the other group. Hence, our countrymen who came out after the Revolution are also creating a mixed impression.

This youth shows great independence with respect to political questions. In the same way as they showed themselves capable of formulating their political demands in the first hours of the Revolution, so now they state clearly what they wanted and what they want. They are distrustful. Also, they have every reason to be so. For years, they witnessed that those who were leading them, or pretended to, were not serving their welfare, or that of Hungary. The distrust of the youth is only aggravated by the spectacle of splits dividing ~~max~~ our life in exile, of the strife among organizations and groups facing each other in sharp antagonism. For years, they were fed lies about democracy; here in the free world, they want to get true democracy.

What we thought at home about the emigré policy in the West:

Possibly people with an excessive interest of political issues

~~and~~ heard, once in awhile, of our emigré politicians living in the West. At any rate, very little. In general, however, we did not reckon with them at home. In summing them up there was, if anything, a bad after-taste. At home we could see the truth ~~best~~ of the statement emphasized by the ~~more~~ sober<sup>er</sup> group of emigré politicians: "The <sup>n</sup>m~~a~~ndate expires at Hegyeshalom". Well, it has expired!

This was our opinion in general: "It is easy<sup>to</sup> clamor out there in security, and to count on coming home when it will be safe to do so, to take over the leadership."

What was the opinion about the emigré policy of the emigré masses living in the West?

If we believe in the idea of unity of the Hungarians, we have to raise this question, too. Alas, the answer there too is a sad one. It is an almost unanimous answer: the official emigré politicians lived in such an aloofness from the emigré masses that they had hardly any connection with them. Their activity did not include efforts to establishing direct contacts with them.

And what ~~for~~ do the emigré politicians say?

Their opinion of themselves is the most appalling of all. ~~Thus~~

Thus we reach the conclusion that the emigré policy was not good, whether we consider it from the point of view of those at home, or that of the emigré masses, or that of the emigré politicians themselves.

Are emigré political organizations and politicians necessary?

Nations whose sons are forced in great number to chose the road of exile, cannot, in general, give free expression to their



(10h) ideas and to their will. That is the very reason why so many of their sons are driven into exile. The true feelings and intentions of ~~such~~ peoples<sup>s</sup> forced into silence ought to be made known to the world at every possible occasion and by every decent means. Of necessity, the exiled sons of these oppressed nations, who have escaped into the free world, take it upon themselves, individually or grouped in organizations, to inform the world about the will of their peoples. Usually, they are the same persons who undertake the social and political organization of their fellow-refugees.

We can hardly find any evidence of success ~~in~~ either in the earlier, or the more <sup>recent,</sup> ~~recent,~~ history of the Hungarian emigrés; nevertheless, we should take courage from the fact that Czechoslovakia, which emerged after the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, was to a great extent, the result of the work of politicians in exile.

Who can represent in ~~the~~ exile ~~the~~ the Hungarian People?

In the first place, one point has to be made clear: the Hungarian people has never given, and will never give, to anybody authority or official mandate to represent it in exile.

The mandates with which the people invested its representatives at ~~at~~ home, become void in the exile.

It would be wasting our time to try to find constitutional basis or any other pretexts for such official representation, they would be no more than fictitious theories without any justification.

Consequently, this is not the direction in which to look for establishing the right to representation.

(10h) Hardly anybody would want to contest the assertion that, in exile, each and everyone represents his country. And one does it, whether one likes it or not. If we encounter a man, away from his country, we form after him our opinion of the nation to which he belongs, from him we ask, and get, our information about his people.

Hence, representing our nation is the right and, at the same time, the duty of all of us.

This basic consideration should guide us also when trying to define who is qualified to be active in the "official" emigré organizations. In the final analysis, I am inclined to support the thesis, considered by some naively idealistic, that emigré political tasks, also within the "official" organizations, have to be dealt with by those best qualified for them, and no prerogatives can come into consideration. Best qualified, because they possess the best expert knowledge in the field with ~~ex~~ which they are to be entrusted, and also ~~x~~ are willing to use this knowledge to help our silenced nation, within the given possibilities of life in exile. In view of the political nature of the work ~~to~~ to be performed, it is equally important that no objection <sup>should</sup> ~~can~~ be raised against such persons from the point of view of their attitude, both while at home and in exile. In my opinion, any further requirement can only be of secondary importance.

I am convinced that, if we set about this task in good conscience and with responsibility, we shall be able to select the

(10h) best qualified persons from among the many hundreds of thousands of our Hungarian compatriots, who were forced into exile earlier, or after the crushing of the Revolution.

A few words about the financial needs of emigré policy.

Every organization needs having financial means at its disposal in order to be able to exert with success emigré political activity. We have to provide, in one way or another, for the living expenses of persons active in the organization, especially if thereby they are prevented from performing other work for personal income. Financial means are also needed to cover material expenditures. Though it cannot be taken for granted that the ~~more~~ success of emigré political activity increases in direct ratio to the amount of financial resources at its disposal, nonetheless it is a fact that without such resources it would be difficult to count on any result at all.

It is no secret that the emigré organizations of the European nations are receiving financial aid from the Free Europe Committee, in the form of sums which, while not a personal sacrifice on the part of the American taxpayers, since they can deduct such contributions from their income taxes, nevertheless, constitute an actual loss for the U.S. Treasury. It is no secret either that, for this reason, these emigré organizations are often under attack.

Opinions are divided as to whether this state of affairs results in complete dependency, or only limited influence. I feel that those who speak of complete dependency are wrong, but I'm inclined to suppose the possibility, and even the existence, of a

(10h) certain amount of influence. This follows from the very nature of the situation, denying it and thereby mislead ourselves would only be another foolishness.

The question arises: can we accept such financial aid? Without hesitation, my answer is yes. But only out of the necessity inherent to our situation, ~~and~~ And we have to be constantly on our guard so that under no circumstance may the existing or foreseeable influence run counter to the interests of our nation. To forestall such danger is purely a matter of intelligence and of conscience. No support of such nature could be forced upon anyone, and it is my belief that no one would want to do it, therefore there is always a possibility of refusing it, if need there be. The Hungarian Revolution passes judgment on the emigré organizations and the emigré politicians.

With a year gone by, we can make the statement that, contrary to earlier opinions, the Hungarian Revolution did not bring about political changes of world significance. But ~~inasmuch~~ as an historical fact, its universal significance will never be contested.

One of its consequences is both unusual and interesting. Instead of some of the protagonists of the Hungarian emigrés, of those at least who had counted with such an eventuality, returning home to resume their political role and call to account for the ten years<sup>of</sup> "failings" (those who have stayed at home), the Hungarian people made itself heard and passed judgment on those who, invoking their ~~as~~ "mandates", represented it in the exile.

The "official" emigré organization~~was~~ was weighed and found ~~was~~

(10h) <sup>wanting</sup>  
~~light~~. Plans, desires, dreams, constitutional and non-constitu-  
tional theories of representation have been reduced to nothing.  
And, <sup>actually</sup> ~~in the face~~, the "official" Hungarian ~~emigre~~ emigré organiza-  
tion has virtually come to naught.

The Hungarian emigré politicians had to awaken to the realiza-  
tion of the following:

- a) Only the Hungarian people had legal continuity, and it  
will always find a way to assert it.
- b) They had to realize that in the course of the years in  
exile, only in them has become congealed the assessment of the  
political situation, such as they had salvaged ~~it~~ and carried <sup>it</sup> with  
them into the exile.
- c) Whereas, at home, time has progressed, life has not stopped;  
new political movements have started.
- d) As year went after year, they have lost touch with the  
Hungarian people.
- e) In consequence thereof, they have misjudged the political  
powers of the Hungarian people.
- f) And with all this, they had to realize that if somebody is  
forced into exile, he can hardly expect to <sup>eventually</sup> resume his political  
role where he had left it off. The passing time inexorably leaves  
behind those who do not <sup>take part</sup> ~~live through~~ with their people <sup>in</sup> the ordeals,  
the sufferings, and <sup>also in</sup> the political movements. They had to realize  
that these movements create their own leaders and never come to  
borrow from the past.

We have to try to find the answer why the official Hungarian

(10h) emigré organization, set up by eminent Hungarian politicians, provided with sufficient financial resources, has proved a failure.

The emigré politician lives in a fictitious world.

In exile, nearly everything is to some extent conjecture, to some extent fiction. Why should we restrain our imagination? Who is there to calm our fictitious desires, or oppose our statements?

In exile, the composition of the air is different, in exile even the law of gravitation is different. Consequently, the exile is a fictitious world.

For this reason, I cannot agree with those who are inclined to condemn in haste the attitude of our emigrés.

In my opinion, we should rather endeavor to find the causes of the mistakes and the ways of eliminating them lest they continue to mislead us. Of course, it would be helpful in this task, if those who committed the earlier mistakes, would be willing to heed the warnings, the well-meaning warnings.

The political convictions which the emigré politicians has brought with him from home, become congealed in him.

The emigré politician leaves his country because of his political convictions, of his political principles. Sometimes he does so voluntarily, sometimes under pressure. It appears to be only natural that he will stick to these same political principles. These convictions constitute all his moral capital.



(10h) If we study these phenomena from the psychological point of view, ~~their~~ their occurrence has to be regarded ~~as~~ in conformity with the laws of psychology. The emigré politician is handicapped by the lack of the people and of the possibility of check provided by the democratic system.

Those at home, on the other hand, are not much inclined to meditate on the fact that we have been forced into exile. The people go on living even in misery, even under the bloodiest terror. It keeps moving, it progresses, it declines. But it is constantly in movement. Amidst changing possibilities, changing conditions. Meanwhile, in the knapsack of the emigré politician, slowly but inevitably, his spiritual "provisions for the journey" become congealed like frozen lava.

The conclusion seems to be inevitable that while we at home have been endeavoring to lay down the plans of a democratic state capable of a correct application of socialism, and, subsequently, to put them into practice with the aid of the Revolution, ~~the~~ the official emigré politicians had been going somewhat backwards. If I want<sup>ed</sup> to be kind, I could explain this backward movement only by assuming that the members of the Hungarian National <sup>Council</sup> ~~Committee~~ have been unable to select from among the post-1945 political, social, and economic changes those which the people have been genuinely willing to endorse. Did the members of our emigré organization perhaps think that everything was more or less to be accounted for by~~x~~ the Soviet occupation? Or was it their intention to make a friendly

(10h) gesture toward the Western states, in the first place the U.S.A., which in fact can point to greater achievements under entirely different economic and social conditions and the capitalistic system?

Indeed, at such moments I feel how important it is to breathe in a rhythm with our people at home, and to stand by it in all circumstances, resisting every temptation.

Emigré policy and the political parties.

I am in favor of the party system. Of the multi-party system, of course. Of the system which was clearly stated in its political program by the Hungarian people during the Revolution. The freedom to organize political parties and their free ~~functioning~~ functioning follow from the human rights.

In a given case, I can even admit that political parties, organized ~~freely~~ <sup>↑</sup>freely also in exile. This follows not only from our fight to organize, but from the definite claim made to it by some persons who could hardly envisage their political activity otherwise than within the framework of <sup>a</sup>the political party. Furthermore, I maintain that the parties can perform in exile very useful tasks. In this connection I think, in the first place, of keeping in touch with the fraternal parties in the West, of establishing connections.

Yes, the parties should organize also in exile. They have every right to it.

But they have no right to monopolize, so to speak, the emigré policy.

(10h) The role of non-party organizations.

This problem has taken <sup>on</sup> a great significance, particularly in the post-Revolution period. It is a matter of common knowledge that during the years ~~proceeding~~ preceding the Revolution, there was no party activity in Hungary. The role played by the Communist party could hardly be called by that name. Under those circumstances it was only natural that the rank and file of the parties had dwindled away and could not be replenished with fresh elements. The groups which prepared the Revolution were without party character, though among the participants of the Revolution elements of ~~at~~ all the various parties could be found, and owing to the particular nature of the situation, a great number of Communist Party members, both members out of conviction and those who had become members for a variety of reasons. The Revolutionary Committees were free from any party influence, in fact, their attitude could be characterized rather as anti-party, which, at that time, was the only correct attitude.

The fact that these organizations joined in ~~demand~~ demanding the multi-party system and the reorganization of the various democratic parties, only proves the point that the true factors of power of the Hungarian Revolution were serious in their efforts to establish a parliamentary system based on the multi-party principle. But their support in this direction did not mean that the members of the Revolutionary organizations left in person the committees and councils of non-party character. The tasks which they had set

(10h) to themselves, at the time were still unfinished, therefore they remained on <sup>their</sup> ~~these~~ posts.

It is justified to suppose that a part of the members of these Revolutionary organizations would have, eventually, found its place in one or another of the democratic parties; however, due to the infamous intervention of the Soviet, this could not come to pass.

Thus were forced into exile many of our compatriots with a broad political outlook, who can, in a great many cases, be more qualified to deal with emigré political tasks than exiled politicians whose sole qualification is a party mandate.

Some of our party politicians would put forward the objections that it is very difficult to draw into emigré politics such groups and the members thereof, because of their lack of organization. In my opinion, this argument cannot be defended. The right to participate cannot be determined on the basis of whether or not the person exiled is a member of some organization.

The above mentioned objection has, unfortunately, a disheartening explanation. The fact is that the field of emigré politics is being dominated by exceedingly small groups as compared to the rather large masses of refugees. Many a member of these groups is guarding jealously against <sup>those</sup> who have not, heretofore, presented <sup>ed</sup> ~~ing~~ their claim to participation, wishing they would continue to stay away.

I think that all my compatriots with a sober and conscientious

(10h) outlook will concur in my opinion that we have to select the persons most qualified to deal with our tasks, from the widest circles possible. I'm also convinced that service in the interest of our people has to prevail over group-interest.

It would be just as futile to entrust somebody ~~with the task~~ solely on the basis of his possible outstanding accomplishments during the Revolution <sup>with</sup> ~~with~~ a task form which another or others would be much more qualified. The merit by itself does not enable a person to deal with every problem successfully in the best interest of our people.

The same remark applies to the exaggerated claims which can be heard occasionally from fellow-refugees who suffered persecution, imprisonment, or forced labor during the ~~exposed~~ period of Communist terror. The work in exile means the service of our people and not a possibility of compensation for personal grievances, deeply as they may sympathized with the merits of our compatriots in this particular category.

The relationship between the "old" and "new" refugees.

In the first place, let us state the incontestable fact that differences do exist between the old and new refugees, in other words, refugees who had left Hungary prior to, or after the Revolution. The fact remains, even though certain exceptions can be made. The reasons therefore are obvious; the main reason follows from the fact that everyone is prejudiced in favor of the respective attitude and stand which are, so to speak, contemporary

(10h) to the beginning of one's exile. And yet, a decade can bring extraordinary changes, as in fact it did.

But these differences <sup>have</sup> ~~are~~ yet another important <sup>t</sup> ~~reason~~ reason. It is almost unthinkable that two large groups of refugees of the same national origin, in the given case, the earlier and the Revolutionary groups, could establish parallelly their representative organizations. The possibility for this does not exist. Consequently, the positions, with their responsibilities, have to be shared. That is, such ought to be the course of action. But who is to give up voluntarily a position which has become established or won, ~~more~~ merited or unmerited, in the course of ~~the~~ life in exile? Doing this for the sole reason of making room for the newcomers? It would be difficult to find such a person amidst our compatriots. <sup>as</sup> ~~also~~, it is only human that this would be so.

The unified emigré organization and the emigré policy.

The admirable unity of spirit of the Hungarian Revolution, and other practical considerations, soon turned the attention of our emigrés toward the creation of a unified representative organization of the Hungarians in exile. The first step in this direction was taken by the representatives of the Revolutionary refugees, when, at the time of setting up their organization, they ~~have~~ recognized the importance of this question and declared themselves willing to cooperate with a group of emigré politicians who, after having left the bankrupt Hungarian National Committee, offered their help and previously established connections. The Hungarian



(10h)

Revolutionary Council set up by the Revolutionary refugees was far from being truly representative. At the time of its establishment it could not ~~be~~ possibly have been so, since in the first days of 1957, it was still unable to include in its organization all those who deserved having a place in it. Fully aware of this situation, it stipulated in its statutes that the participants of the statutory ~~congress~~<sup>Congress</sup> were to submit to a screening procedure, and also that the door be left open to others, not present at the Congress.

It can be said that since the coming into existence of this organization up till today, unfortunate skirmishes have been going on with <sup>the</sup> alleged purpose of creating the unified Hungarian emigré organization.

The Hungarian Revolutionary Council had hardly been able to realize any of the goals it had set to itself. There are two causes of this failure. One is the lack of financial resources; the other the necessity of ~~spending~~<sup>f</sup>ending off attacks which have continuously been directed against the Council.

I do not think that, under these circumstances, we should be surprised that the creation of unity <sup>e</sup>meets with difficulties. We have only to remember that the very same persons destined to bring about this unity are also the attackers and the attacked.

Bearing all this in mind, it is difficult to hope for a successful cooperation, despite the fact that a unified representative organization has been established in substance. There are seemingly

(10h) inseparable rifts between the groups sharply divided: on the one hand, a new younger set fully supporting the aspirations of the Revolution, and, <sup>on the</sup> other, a group of politicians who ~~have~~ have lost touch with the spirit of the homeland and insist on congealed principles. All this tends to paralyze almost all the efforts for work to be accomplished in the interests of those at home.

For a satisfactory solution, I can see only one way: ways and means have to be found to make ~~those~~ see reason and accept unconditionally the will and objectives of the Hungarian people as ~~manifest~~ manifested during the Revolution, <sup>those</sup> who today ~~are~~ accept ~~ing~~ only out of necessity, or in fact refuse to accept, these manifestations of will, sealed with the blood of tens of thousands.

On the other hand, we have to make it clearly understood that what we need is not unity at any price, but rather that <sup>this unity should</sup> ~~be~~ be born in the spirit of the Revolution.

- (1) Respondent would make sure that contrary to the conditions prevalent today, Hungary's independence be guaranteed; it should become neutral and a government responsible to a Parliament be installed as a result of free elections.
- (1a) Nothing. Hungary's present structural setup is geared to the <sup>tioned</sup> presently ruling system which does not contain the aforementioned ~~three~~ three factors. Although according to the general opinion there are organizations which appear to be adequate, maybe even superior to similar organizations during the Horthy regime, nevertheless, in the course of general changes, in a new setup evidently all organizations ~~which~~ will have to undergo changes.

Viewing the problem from this point of view, Respondent would implicitly approve of the land reforms, with certain revisions. He would try to draw the proper line between the public<sup>ally</sup> owned enterprises (mines, great industrial plants, financial institutions) and the private ones. When drawing the projected line, the country's social ~~and~~ endowments and the individual interests of the population should be satisfied.

- (2) Yes. <sup>As</sup> ~~At~~ the forming ~~ex~~ ~~ent~~ of a parliamentary government is necessary, thus the answer to question (2) is yes.
- (2a) <sup>x</sup> Definitely.
- (2b) Respondent would make no exceptions.

If a country deserves an Arrow Cross Party, an Arrow Cross Party should exist and if a country deserves Communists, Communists should exist.

The fact that it is possible to form in any one country an Arrow Cross Party is the guilt of the whole society and of the other parties as well - the same goes for the existence of a Communist Party.

Democracy cannot be weighed on a scale, because then one would arrive at a semi-democracy and this means exactly semi-dictatorship.

But, considering that in Hungary during the last two decades the political trends went to the extremes (national socialism - communism), it would be hard to grant such rights without danger and some solution should be found which would define as to how far the groupings of political views could go.

- (3) Manifestations which might be harmful to the best interests of a state should be forbidden.
- (3b) Constitutionally brought laws should define which are those manifestations which would hurt the interests of the state - <sup>thus</sup> as, constitutional law should define it and not orders, and not a clown.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes.
- (4b) In case the attitude of the government were proved to be contrary to the interests of the nation; an armed ~~war~~ uprising would be justified even if only a minority group started it, but if it were a matter of common knowledge that the attitude of the government was contrary to the interests of the nation.
- (5) Complete elimination of the state capitalistic economic principles <sup>le.</sup> ~~pr~~

To <sup>gn</sup>  
~~be~~ realizing heavy industry by first taking in<sup>to</sup> consideration the stockpile on hand and the supply of raw materials, the needs of the consumers and the possibilities ~~of~~ the foreign trade.

To transfer back to the field of small industry the handling of goods produced by small industry.

To revise the foreign trade agreements by considering the interests of the country.

In the field of agriculture, the type of economic policy should be introduced which will induce the small farms operated by the peasantry to produce goods on a healthy basis, taking into consideration the possibilities of export trade.

In reference to the wage system, ~~x~~ Respondent would eliminate the so-called norms and leave them only in the fields where neither the quality of the product nor the interests of the workers would be hurt.

- (6) Yes. In Hungary, the production possibilities of the various coal mines are extremely different. It is a known fact that in Hungary the quality of the coal varies according to regions - at some places, coal is mined the calory value of which is about 2,000, and in some places it goes up from ~~six~~<sup>a</sup> to seven thousand calories. Besides this, the methods of coal mining vary with the thickness of the seam and with the distances the coal has to travel to where it will be used up. Hungary's coal reserves are insufficient, therefore the observance of economy measures will render the production of coal insufficient to cope with <sup>consumption.</sup> ~~consumption~~ As a result, the state will have to take over those coal mines the operation

of which by private capital is ~~an~~ uneconomical. It follows that today in Hungary the coal mines could be left in private ownership only if : a) mines the operation of which is <sup>w-</sup>economical would be shut down, b) although certain mines would be kept open, it would seriously affect the earning capacity of the workers employed there.

All these factors indicate that: to keep all the mines open would be possible within the framework which also would make it possible to maintain a more or less even wage level in all mines. Essentially, this situation would be hardly different ~~than~~ if all the mines were owned by the state.

These statements are ~~valid~~ <sup>valid</sup> only in case the question of who owns the mines is disregarded.

- (6abc) Respondent would choose two different roads to arrive at the solution: a) when danger signals indicate that enterprises operated by private capital fail to satisfy the socialistic needs of the people; b) when it becomes apparent that likewise the publically owned enterprises will fail to fulfill the ~~xxx~~ social requirements of the people because the stimulating power of private initiative has been excluded.
- (6d) In view of the circumstances prevalent in Hungary, Respondent stands up for the principal <sup>le</sup> of state-owned banks.
- (6e) State monopolies should be permitted to exist only in fields where the interests of the people necessitates them (alcohol affects health, ammunition affects security).



Respondent disapproves of state monopolies other than indicated above.

(6g) He has the worst opinion about them.

As an example, he cites the field of paper supply. The glass factory at Csepel also manufactured wrapping paper on the basis of a pre-conceived ~~plan~~ plan. This factory had the exclusive right to put its products on the market. So, here is what happened: the Csepel glass factory delivered wrapping paper to the so-called <sup>P</sup>aper <sup>S</sup>upply Company. The latter determined a profit ratio which was added to the price of the wrapping paper. The next recipient of this merchandise was the company Construction Materials Supply. Only after having increased the price by an average of twenty percent did this outfit deliver the wrapping paper to the other glass works where it was used for the wrapping of glassware. But the wrapping paper did not satisfy the requirements of the recipient because the quality was poor and the measurements were different than the ones prescribed in the order. By utilizing such inferior ~~wrapping~~ wrapping paper the recipient glass factory suffered 60 percent loss in relation to the price quoted to the consumer, and the price difference which was the result of two faulty organizations coming into the picture before the wrapping paper arrived at its final destination, amounted to ~~some~~ 70 percent.

The glass factory of Csepel operated under monopolistic circumstances and having been lost in the labyrinth <sup>of</sup> planned economy, it was unable to take into consideration the needs of the consuming factory. Nothing and nobody could change this typical economic

impossibility.

The ministries, exercising supervisory rights over certain branches of industry, the trading organizations and the manufacturing plants enter into a contractual engagement with each other, which shows the road the merchandise has to travel from the manufacturing plant to its point of ultimate destination.

For instance, one ministry orders a certain factory to surrender one hundred tons of scrap iron to one of the trading organizations on a certain date. This ministry will immediately negotiate and sign a contract with the respective recipient organization, without consulting the factory which has received the order.

The plant registers a complaint with the Ministry, stating that, although it has been<sup>1</sup> instructed to deliver the one hundred tons of scrap iron within three months, under the given circumstances, it would be able to collect the ~~xxx~~ required quantity only within four years. This objection elicits no reaction from the ministry - in the meantime, the factory manages to collect three tons of scrap iron which it delivers; due to the fact that this quantity is insufficient, the collecting factory is penalized. In this case, on the basis of a subsequent court order, the factory had to pay 24,000 forints and the court order pointed out that the ministry judged correctly<sup>1</sup> the capacity of the factory to collect the required scrap iron.

- (7) Respondent is not in favor of it.
- (8) There is practically no country in the world which would not ~~Pa~~

indulge, in one way or another, in government planning. This was not invented by the Communists. But, that form of government planning could be brought up against the Communists which produced an economic bankruptcy in Hungary and which type of planning has to undergo continuous correction even within the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

If the purpose of the question was to find out Respondent's opinion about the above mentioned planned economy, then he is definitely against it.

(8)b) It did not work out at all.

(8c) Yes, but only in the field of guiding principles which have to be worked out along general lines and only after having taken into consideration the circumstances under which the country produces, consumes, and trades.

Except for a limited number of fields, the markets should be the determining factor in bringing about conditions which influence production and prices. This statement should be valid even in ~~the cases of~~ such fields where the observance of some useful elements of planned economy can be detected.

(9) Yes. Religious life, for instance.

(10) Of course. Many.

(10a) There are two considerations which determine the extent of the amount of taxes to be paid: 1) the needs of the state, 2) the extent of the citizens' taxpaying abilities.

(10b) Under the present climatic and historic x conditions, it is every

citizen's duty.

- (10c) The constitutionally brought laws and orders should be observed by every citizen.

It may occur that ~~however~~ some of the former become obsolete - in this case, the objection to such orders and laws on the part of the citizens is justified.

- (10e) Yes, on the basis of the principle of reciprocity.

- (11) This is a complex problem. It did not improve, it became more general, more widespread. One can state that today in Hungary, except ~~for~~ for some isolated groups of the peasantry, medical treatment is available to everybody. So, in comparison with the past, there is an improvement in this direction.

- (11c) Private physicians are the ones who serve their patients, while physicians associated with the state health service just discharge their official duties.

- (11d) Generally speaking, they are good, but they offer an enticing opportunity to <sup>a</sup> tamper with <sup>dis</sup> ~~their~~ ability allowances. They also create the possibility, ~~and~~ in the interest of maintaining certain statistical rates, <sup>of treating</sup> ~~indexes~~ certain workers ~~be treated~~ unfavorably.

- (11e) Yes. Respondent used to have ulcers - one day, he had a stomach ache which caused him to worry whether or not it meant a recurrence. He decided to have his stomach x-rayed. He went to see the doctor in the evening. The doctor was unknown to him. He entered the office but nobody received him. A lady assistant who was in

the office did not return his greetings. She asked him rudely: "What do you want?" - "I would like to have an x-ray examination." - "What for, why?" - "I believe that my stomach needs a checkup." - "Do you have a file card?" - "I do not have one." - "Then why do you have a stomach condition?" - "I really couldn't answer this."

The assistant took Respondent to the doctor. He asked Respondent: "What's the trouble?" - "I would like to have an X-ray examination." - "He has ulcers," added the assistant. - "Do you have a filing card?" - "No." - "Then how do you know?" - "I have symptoms similar to the ones I had six months ago when the x-ray examination showed that I did have ulcers." - "Come now, everybody can say this." And the doctor turned to the assistant: "Give him an appointment, but after working hours." Respondent left the office but this time it was he who did not say goodbye.

(12) Yes.

(12a) No.

(12b) They do - they even fight for tickets.

(12c) The <sup>i</sup>agricultural population has less opportunities.

(12de) Not only don't they have time, but they don't have money <sup>e</sup>with.

(13) Generally, no. However, an improvement is noticeable in the case of the agrarian proletarians. However, the new social stratum came into existence which has no chance to obtain the necessary nourishment. Some elements of the former middle class are the members of this group - pensioners; their misery is fairly great

although it ~~is~~ does not approach the situation of those who lived under similar conditions ~~is~~ during pre-war times.

(13a) Better.

(13b) Respondent is unable to answer this question. (He was imprisoned at the time.)

(13c) Yes. A replacement of the privileged classes occurred.

(14) No.

(14a) Better.

(14b) See answers to questions (13b).

(14c) The differences are substantial.

(15) Yes.

(15a) The increase in industrial production in Hungary is influenced ~~very~~ by the lines along which industry, during the course of history, developed and also by the Soviet Union's forcing this increase and emphasizing the utilization of the available cheap labor pool.

(16) According to the way the workers conceived it, Before the economy was put under state control. The idea being that true and freely elected representatives of the workers be delegated into the leadership of the plants. The purpose: the workers' interests should be represented.

(16a) The protection of the workers' interests.

(16b) Completely.

(16c) It should be entirely voluntary.

(16d) The factories should be run by those who are primarily interested



in the result of the production - the owners. Should the ownership of a plant belong to a private capitalist or to some type of community, under all conditions one should take into consideration Hungary's social and economic endowments and thus the representatives of the workers should be included in the management of the factory, if necessary even through the system of workers' councils.

Through some type of ~~an~~ solution, an emphasis should be placed on the fact that the delegates of the workers in the management represent the social interests of the workers and not serve any political purpose - for instance, the purposes of party politics.

- (16e) The management of the factory should have a dual responsibility - it should be responsible to the owners, be they capitalists or community, and to the workers, rather to a body elected by the workers - for instance, a workers' council.
- (17a) Some are good - for instance, those which were formed voluntarily.
- (17b) He approves only of such state-farms which were set up in the interest of ~~the~~ agriculture and which truly serve such interests advantageously.
- (17c) Let the members decide by voting.
- (17d) Exclusively the members.
- (17e) Yes, but in such a way that conditions for the economical operations of the farms be prevalent.
- (17f) Yes. This should vary according to the location of the farm and according to the product involved, but the ~~ceiling~~ <sup>ceiling</sup>, generally

speaking, should not be more than 140 acres, even if extensive farming is planned.

- (17g) Not all the land should be returned to private ownership. Public ownership should be maintained in the case of special \* model farms, and such cooperative real estate which was created voluntarily.
- (17h) Generally speaking, yes, provided that the size of such land would not exceed the above mentioned <sup>cell</sup> ~~cell~~ing. Restrictions should be applied to a certain extent in cases where, for instance, the owner would be unable to cultivate his land.
- (17i) No.
- (17j) All the assets should be divided among the members; those which cannot be divided (buildings) should be used efficiently.
- (17k) Voluntary collective farms are justified. Generally, collective farms should be viewed from an economic point of view and not a political one.
- (17l) Yes. Extension of credit, allocation of <sup>seeds</sup> ~~seeds~~ for sowing, breeding stock, chemical fertilizers.
- (17mn) Respondent would consider to leave machine tractor stations in collective or state ownership only in regions where it would be decidedly advantageous.
- (17op) Respondent would sell them to one or another farm, depending upon their needs.
- (17q) Yes, to a large degree.
- (18a) Yes.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) Yes. In a number of cases, churches used to own land and it is

not likely that they'll ever get it back. Thus, necessarily, they will be left without any type of financial support - therefore, an assistance on the part of the state seems to be absolutely necessary. However, in such case, the observance of <sup>a</sup>certain type of guarantee should render it possible that the church should not become dependent upon the state.

- (18d) Yes. The churches should have a voice in public education - in view of the fact that the moral teachings of ~~the~~ religion should become part of the education - but only in such a way that representatives of churches be included in those committees <sup>whose</sup> ~~the~~ task ~~of~~ would be the formulation of educational policies.
- (18e) No. But, at the same time, Respondent deems it advisable that in this particular field churches possess unlimited freedom.
- (18f) Respondent would not base his decision on whether ~~one~~ <sup>a</sup> school ~~is~~ is public or denominational - his only consideration would be the quality of the respective school. He would send his children ~~in~~ <sup>to</sup> either, dependent on which offers the best educational ~~pr~~ possibilities. A public school can give a first class education while a denominational school in itself is no guarantee that the education offered there would be first class.
- (18g) Lands formerly owned by churches should be left in the hands of small peasants. As far as the denominational schools are concerned, they should be given back to the churches and to the respective religious orders, provided they would come up to the required standards discussed before.

- (19) Party membership in itself should not be a determining factor, a dividing line. Respondent personally knows many party members who, at all times, without fail had the interests of the Hungarian people ~~in~~<sup>at</sup> heart. And he knows many individuals who did not belong to any party and who, at times, outdid the most extreme Party members, displaying attitudes that were against the people and against human dignity.
- (19a) It is quite evident that Party members should not be treated alike.
- (19b) An independent Hungarian court should call upon the leaders to give an account for their activities.
- (19c) Whether someone was a leader or a petty official should in itself not be considered - individuals should be judged on the basis of their behavior, independently of their past ranks.
- <sup>d</sup>  
(19ef) See subquestion (b).
- In addition Respondent states that a third system would also make use of internment camps: "I don't believe in redemption."
- (19h) They should be judged on the basis of their former attitudes. These should bring about either complete acquittal or furnish extenuating circumstances. And, if possible, it should be determined whether opportunism or sincere convictions led them to side with the Revolution.
- (20) St. Stephen recognized the fact that only through the adoption of Christianity would it be possible to intergrate the Hungarian people into the cultural circle of the West. And Hungary became the stronghold of the Western world - this assertion seems to be

supported by the fights with the invading Tartars and by the victory of Nándorfehérvár. These events either reduced the power of the onslaught to which the Western world was exposed, or ~~re~~ repelled <sup>it</sup> to a large extent. Hungarian Renaissance started with the Anjou~~s~~ dynasty and reached its pinnacle during the reign of Mat<sup>y</sup>ás. The Hungarian Renaissance certainly rendered substantial contributions to Western culture~~s~~.

A scrutiny of the Hungarian question as it stands today appears to lend support to the content<sup>tion</sup>~~ion~~ that the recent Hungarian Revolution is not significant from the point of view of world history. This statement is contrary to belief which ~~was~~ was formulated during and immediately after the Revolution.

The public opinion of the world should not be mistaken for *the view* ~~the~~ the various governments of the world, not even ~~as~~ <sup>if</sup> these came to power as the result of free, democratic elections. Therefore, it would appear desirable to examine the structure of the Western democracies with the purpose of finding out why, with regard to certain questions, the position taken by the people differs from the attitude of their respective government, although the moral <sup>guiding the people</sup> factors/and the government appear to be identical. What then is democracy?

(21) Yes.

(21abc) Yes, it does.

(21d) Yes, it did.

Ordeals usually have a maturing influence on the individual, therefore, they have the same effect on peoples, as well as societies



The violent fluctuations caused by the profound changes in the political and economic systems in Hungary caused the people there to adopt a realistic view, which even the oppressing Soviet system could hardly influence; at the same time, this statement is valid in the case of the former ruling strata<sup>also,</sup> which did nothing to help the Hungarian people develop a realistic attitude toward events.

- (2lef) With regard to relationships of the social<sup>classes</sup> to each other, one has to ~~xx~~ state that peculiar changes took place. There are<sup>those</sup> - and among these Respondent includes himself - who state that these changes rate as the most positive phenomena of the past decade.

The various social groups which used to thrive under the former half ~~feudal~~ feudal system have disappeared ( let us not look for the reasons now.) ; it should only be stated that, within the framework of the Hungarian society, they do not exist anymore.

The above fact cannot be seriously challenged by pointing out that the new system, as any other political clique system, has created certain groups, because these groups cannot be classified by the greatest stretch of the imagination, as social groups. To do so would be a great mistake. For a group to be rated as a social one, it has to exist for a long period, while the above mentioned groups live as long as the system is in power and, when it's gone these groups disappear together with it. (Respondent is going to write a study about the changes social groups underwent in Hungary for the Project.)



- (22) The government headed by Istvan Bethlen. The latter stands head and shoulders above the others, in spite of the fact that Respondent maintains the accusation that even under ~~his~~ this particular government the semi-feudal system existed. The fact in itself <sup>that</sup> ~~the~~ Istvan Bethlen's government was in power for a very long time in the 20th Century created the possibility of an evaluation of such nature.

Respondent rates Pál Teleki very highly and the latter's tragedy ~~was~~ does not throw an unfavorable light on his abilities as a statesman, but is a clearcut indication that in the given situation there was no other way out for Hungary.

- (22a) This problem is extremely complex. People frequently <sup>y</sup> judge erroneously certain historical periods because they fail to examine them according to the conditions then in existence. This shortcoming <sup>is used</sup> by the Communist ideologists as a propaganda trick. They induce people to judge the past on the basis of today's viewpoints.

It cannot be questioned that during the monarchy, Austrian people or the Czechs for that matter, were in a better position than the Hungarians were. It is safe to say that the governments of the monarchy did not have at heart the political, economic interests of the Hungarian people. It can be stated with absolute certainty that politically and economically Hungary fell behind the other Central European countries <sup>by</sup> ~~was~~ about fifty years. In this respect, the monarchy is guilty. But it would be unfair to state that the burden rests exclusively with it. Due to the attitude of the ruling dynasty and the statesmen around it, the

leaders of the monarchy failed to recognize the enormous possibility that from confederation of the member-countries a very healthy political and economic unity could have been created; this is a tremendous loss for the peoples of the Danube Basin. The before-mentioned statesmen did not have the capability to give priority to the interests of the peoples of the Danube Basin, so, for this reason, it is evident that they cannot be held responsible.

(22b) It is Respondent's conviction that the reason for the emigration lies in the unhealthy policy of those in charge of agricultural programs, (lack of distribution of land); on the other hand, the pace of industrialization fell way behind the rapid increase of the population. The political and economic conditions then prevalent in America played <sup>the</sup> a part of a vacuum which attracts.

(22c) There was a semi-feudal system in existence till 1945.

(22d) Bad.

(22e) 1) It is Respondent's conviction that it could have been a nucleus of a parliamentary government which would have been able to fit itself ~~ix~~ into a social and democratic European structure. But, the prerequisite to this would have been to accomplish, somehow, the elimination of the ~~x~~ "protective" and "guiding" influence of the Soviet Union.

2) Its effects were damaging because it was unable to topple the semi-feudal social system and through its inability it allowed the neo-baroque Horthy system to regress along the lines of social improvement; this unhealthy situation laid the grounds for the flare-up of nationalism and also to a certain degree ~~was~~ <sup>became</sup> responsible for the influence of the Soviet Union.


- (22f) The social and economic inequality in Hungary before ~~1945~~ 1945, was extremely great.
- (22g) His opinion is extremely unfavorable.
- (22h) No. And yet it is very hard to judge even today whether in the given situation Hungary had a chance to remain neutral or oppose the surrounding Nazi aspirations.
- (22i) Some features of the period in question were indicative of Hungary's second trial to establish a democratic life and, in this respect, this period differs from the preceding one and from the one which followed it. Today we can see that ~~this~~ <sup>this</sup> ~~periods~~ of transition was only preparatory for Hungary to fall in its entirety into the Soviet sphere of interest, with the assistance of the great powers.
- (23) Respondent is a great believer in the confederation of the peoples of the Danube Basin - he views the whole group of questions from this angle.

A világ vagyok - minden, ami volt, van:  
 a sok nemzetek, mely egymásra tör.  
 A honfoglalók győznek velem hitán  
 a s, meghódoltak kinja meggyötör.  
 Árpád és Zala, Werbőczy és Dózsa -  
 török, tatár, tót, román kavarog  
 e szivben, mely e multnak már adósa  
 szelid jövővel - mai magyarok!

...En dolgozni akarok. Elegendő  
 harc, hogy a multat be kell vallani.  
 A Dunának, mely mult, jelen s jövő, jelen  
 egymást ölelik lágy hullámai.  
 A harcot, amelyet őseink vívtak,  
 bekevé oldja az emlékezés  
 s rendezni vegre közös dolgaikat  
 ez a mi munkánk; és nem is keves. ~~fax~~ (Attila József)

Why does it sound so true when he says something? I often

heard the poems he would occasionally quote, but they never rang so true. This man, whether an economist or not, for five years did not have anything else to live for ~~any~~ but the poems he had learned by heart. He kept repeating them to himself; he must have told them to himself even when, once, he was on the verge of going blind. (While cutting stone, a piece went into his eye, and no doctor was called to remove it -- one eye or so less, who cared?) In connection with this, let me tell you what the components of a Recsk friendship were. While he was lying in the barracks, wondering what hurts more, the actual physical pain or the fact that there were "good" chances of going blind, György Faludy decided to stay with him -- in order to be "excused" from work, he ate half



a pound of salt, which produced the "desired" effect - his ankles did swell up to the degree that no shoe could have been pulled on them, that he couldn't walk, with or without shoes; he was "excused", and he started to talk to his stricken friend about - Tahiti. For the two days, he described the beauty of Tahiti - they both escaped from the unbearable present and took a trip together, they didn't see anything else anymore but a glamorous sea, colors so beautiful that one had to be practically blind to realize their inner glow.

The same Faludy, the translator of Villon, when asked by the AVO officers to amuse them by telling the story of Flora, la belle Romaine, la très-sage Heloise, la reigne Blanche, Berthe au grand pied, etc., replied: "I don't remember." They did try to refresh his memory with the only means known by them to be a cure for everything - but no matter how hard and often he was beaten, he never recited a poem - those valuables were his, what would have become of him, if he had sold his last fortress?

And that is the answer to Sztarek's possessions. Omnia mea mecum porto - he's always there 100 percent, always in the heavy armour his past has equipped him with. Poems, prose, philosophy mean more to him than to us, simple intellectuals, who occasionally recognized that there were other things in life besides them, if nothing else, well, then life itself - but for Sztarek and, I assume, for some of his friends of his stature, life at Recsk was equated with the values the AVO's could not touch. That's why there is such an intimacy between him and the writers quoted -

Karinthy, Attila József "& Co." - they were his fellow-inmates at Recsk and the friendships struck there were for keeps.

And, as a logical sequence, one suddenly realizes how little material things/<sup>mean</sup>for people who have ~~h~~ gotten used to living at the spiritual summits of life - if he says that two suits are enough: one for summer and the other for winter and that a third one would only mean a bother, ~~h~~ one believes it, and one believes him that the loss of his wallet around Christmas (1956), which contained all his material possessions (he had written an article on economics, was paid "well" for it and was "relatively rich"), did not affect him at all.

- (24b) <sup>B</sup> The countries of the Danube Basin - Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Poland as well as Bulgaria should be ~~xxx~~ taken into consideration. Respondent thinks that these countries should be united in a confederation. It appears to Respondent that in this confederation Hungary could play a central role, not only due to its geographic location within the confederation, but also due to the fact that <sup>Hungary's</sup> economic situation is situated in the middle (industrialized agriculture, etc.). However,



it would be foolish to think, in this particular case, of a so-called leading role.

(24d) We were talking about a Danubian Confederation, thus Russia could not possibly be figured in; <sup>x</sup> besides, for small countries to enter into a confederation with a great power, especially with Russia, should be viewed as an impossible and unhealthy idea.

(24e) He is not in favor of it. If confederation were the solution, this problem would not come up.

(25) They are people, not bad and not good.

It would be rather hard to classify the population of our earth into categories: a good one and a bad one. This should be left up to God who, <sup>on</sup> ~~at~~ Judgment Day, will seat some people on his right and some on his left. (And maybe even he will be embarrassed).

(25c) If Communism is viewed as a Weltanaschauung, then very few of the Russian people have anything to do with it. But if we view the educational and guiding <sup>e</sup>ffect of the Soviet reign which presents itself in a Communist complexity, then we have to say that this can be found in almost every Russian.

(25d) Yes, and this is the reason why he answered the above the way he did.

(25e) Except for very small groups, they were received with hatred.

(25f) When in group, his opinion about them is bad but individually they are human, like anybody else, with good and bad features.

- (25gh) Although the Hungarian people was aware of the Russians exercising the oppression over Hungary, through their Hungarian stooges, yet, as far as the Russian people itself was concerned, no pronounced antipathy was developed toward it. However, it should be noted that the Russian people displayed unpleasant~~x~~ characteristics, very similar to those of its leaders.
- (26) As an economist, he views Marxism as a ~~critical~~ critical theory in the field of economics. Nothing more and nothing less. That's why he believes that Marxism should be lined up within the framework of economic theories. Marxism was expropriated by the Soviet, and through its mighty influence, by other Communist~~x~~ and some Socialist parties, <sup>to serve as basis to</sup> ~~that~~ these groups ~~be able to lay their~~ ~~ground~~ for the demonstrations of their philosophical, political, economic, and other theoretical positions. Modification is splendidly demonstrated in the Soviet Union where the Marxist theory underwent flexible changes: Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism - and again Marxism. This contention is also supported by the changes which took place within the socialist parties of the Western countries.
- (26a) The parts Respondent likes in Marxism can be found in other philosophical and economic theories as well, that's why he is not willing to credit them to Marxism.
- (26b) Among others, the theory of impoverishment - impoverishment occurred just the same and, at times, even to a larger degree in the socialist states organized on a Marxist basis, as in other countries.
- (26cde) Respondent is unable to judge these statements from this point of

view and he does not believe that Marxism has been characteristic of their activities, at any time.

- (26f) Hungarians Communists never acted on the basis of Marxism, but on the basis of instructions ~~2~~ received from the Soviet Union; if the obsequious execution of Moscow's orders means a good Marxist deed, then the Hungarian leading Communists were ~~EXCEL~~ excellent Marxists.
- (26g) Some could be found among them, but these are not worth more than those Social Democrats who are not Marxists and who are unable to define ~~their~~ their political part and place in Hungary.
- (26h) A great number of varieties is possible, but the putting into practice of Marxism makes it hardly possible for democracy to assert itself.
- (26i) Never. There was a slight chance for it around the 23rd of October.
- (26j) He is absolutely unable to define it. This is not his fault, though - those phenomena should be blamed which do not make it possible for him to form a clear picture about this concept.
- (27) The ability of a one-party system to assert itself - to put into effect political and economic principles - which refuses to accept Moscow's exclusive guidance, that is, it is unwilling to carry out the orders coming from Moscow and in its political and economic structure includes such elements which are representative of the national characteristics of the people.

~~He~~ Ultimately, it is his ~~own~~ belief that National Communism

tries to realize some form of socialism which is independent of Moscow's recipe of "the only one".

At times, it occurs to him whether ~~it~~ or not it would pay to search for some type of relationship between National Communism and National Socialism, although, at the present, Tito does not resort to racial <sup>per</sup>prosecutions, it is still possible to find several very similar characteristic features <sup>in</sup> both systems.

(27a) Yes. By all means.

(27b) Imre Nagy and his followers - among them László Kardos and Antal Gyenes.

~~(27c)~~ No doubt, in the interest~~s~~ of the Hungarian people, they wanted to break off with the former Stalinist line and shake off Moscow's leash.

(27c) Respondent doubts that Gomulka's policy would mean a final solution, but especially now, after having learned a lesson from the Hungarian Revolution, momentarily no better chance is given to Poland.

(27d) Respondent doesn't know whether or not Gomulka is a Communist, but, on the basis of his acts, it might be said that he is one.

(27e) From the way Communism is applied in practice, Respondent cannot imagine that Communism and patriotism would be compatible. However, if Communism is a mere formality - there have been and are several examples to this effect - then it is certainly compatible with patriotism.

(28) Imre Nagy could not have stayed in power after the Revolution.

The dynamic way in which the Hungarian Revolution expressed its desire to break away from Communism was so powerful that it would have been impossible for Imre Nagy, who had accepted Communism, to stay permanently in power.

- (28a) Respondent doubts that Imre Nagy ever had a chance, during the period of the Revolution, to decide what type of system he would have liked to introduce.
- (28b) For a while, yes; but it isn't likely that Imre Nagy who had adopted Communism could have stayed at the head of the government for a longer period of time. Even his popularity could not have saved him.
- (29) The world is composed of categories, as defined by the philosopher ~~of~~ Thales. The most sympathetic system is that of the primitive philosophers: there is no such a thing as a little damp, very green, a wee bit of pink.
- (29abcdefghijklmn) Respondent burst out laughing and was particularly overjoyed when asked whether the kulak or "The Company" <sup>the</sup> ~~of~~ Masaryk and Benes was good or bad.
- (30) Respondent is unable to determine whether the Smallholder's Party or a newly emerging Christian Democratic Party would be victorious after democratic elections.
- (30a) Most likely Mindszenty and Béla Kovács; Imre Nagy would be forgotten<sup>e</sup> within a short time and probably only remembered as the most popular personality of the Revolution.
- (31a) Less.

- (31b) Less.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Less.
- (31e) Less. (The lower categories were "rewarded" much less and the upper categories were rewarded much more.)
- (31f) With the exception of a small ~~category~~ group, this category was rewarded according to its merit.
- (31g) Much more.
- (31h) Essentially such category had not existed in Hungary since 1948.
- (31i) In the case of independent craftsmen, there were many who were rewarded above average, in relation to conditions in Hungary.

In Respondent's opinion, there developed in Hungary a ~~fi~~ communal view - and he approves of it - which, due to the extreme poverty, almost condemned those who were able to satisfy their needs above the average due to the fact that they had a higher income.

When making the above evaluation, the mentioned communal view was observed.

A striking example ~~of~~ was the income of certain doctors. It was way above the average. He had a dentist friend who although used to treat half of his clients without charge, still made around 20,000 forints per month.

- (32) Categories: c,d,f,h,i were better off.
- (32a) Respondent objects to the reduced income of the small landholders; to ~~through~~ the brutality with which the kulaks were treated, while,



under the circumstances in existence, he is inclined to approve of the fact that the income of the intelligentsia, merchants, and craftsmen, was reduced and thus turned out to be more in line with the average income.

- (33a) Conflict.
- (33b) Coincide.
- (33e) Conflict.
- (33g) Conflict. (He is mainly thinking of the leaders of the intelligentsia.)
- (33h) Conflict.
- (33i) Conflict.
- (33j) Conflict.
- (34) When thinking of the United States, <sup>his</sup> ~~he~~ worries encompass uniquely Hungary and not his own person.
- (35) Respondent thinks that only those who fought against the Revolution, that is people who, in case of <sup>a</sup> change, would be unable to save themselves, such as the AVH people and individuals belonging to similar organizations.
- (35a) Everybody with the exception of the previously mentioned ones.
- (36) Respondent is ashamed to say: no.

*Note: There is no Section "X"*