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(See also Interview No. 223, pp. 58-62)

Nos. 220, 221, 222, 223, 224

"A" INTERVIEW

p. 1a

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- (1) The fact that the youth was the initiator and the executor of the Revolution and that the Russians lack any type of Humanitarianism.
- A marginal question about the situation of the agricultural workers might be worthwhile mentioning. He personally was acquainted with the functioning of two collective farms, formed in 1950. In 1954, one was dissolved and, after the Revolution, the second one was also dissolved. With this example, respondent wants to illustrate that even the ex-farmhands, the so called agricultural proletarians who were the members of these collective farms, were not satisfied with the situation.
- (2) viii During recent times, the Hungarian Government started to make some concessions. In 1950, in the village of Perenye (in the county of Vas), which has a population of about 800 and is 6 kilometers from the Austrian border, two hectares of his father's land were declared as being part of the frontier zone. At the end of 1954, the same amount and quality of land was restituted. With this, respondent wants to ~~xxx~~ prove that the suppression and injustice committed previously were partly repaired in 1954. The small industrialists were also given some concessions - tax exemptions and possibilities to hire secondary school graduates - not to actually help this stratum but to deter it from turning more and more against the regime.
- (2b) Rakosi's power contributed to a large extent to the despair and bitterness of the population - the establishment

of collective farms and state farms, the mining of the border zone, the fact that people were labeled unreliable. Starting from 1955, the system did make concessions not to effectively help the people but to create itself favorable propaganda.

(2bi) During Stalin's life, Hungarian school children had to learn by heart prising poems about him; after his death, people started to talk about his executing his enemies, and at the end he was simply branded as a powerful dictator. In other words, the Hungarian youth was "hungry" to know him better because they suspected human greatness and when his fallibility came to daylight, the disappointment followed by hatred, was so much greater.

(biii  
VI) Rakosi was replaced - not due to parliamentary demands, thus to the rightful claims of the Hungarian interest, but exclusively to the desire of the Kremlin that the satellite countries should approach Tito.

(2c) Yes and no.  
The replacement of Rakosi put people to think. They suddenly realized that trouble was growing also within the party. Around 1955, some mines and some barbed wire were removed from the border zone - but this also was propaganda because it did not mean that the road was free - people who took this "free road" were simply shot on the spot; and yet in spite of everything, some hope was awakened, some feeling that something is being prepared, that within the party something is definitely wrong.

(2e) The MEFESZ was founded, the leaders of which were not concerned whether the respective member was of peasant or



worker descent but with what value he individually represented. The Petöfi circle was based on the principles of the War of Independence of 1848 and, thus had a great part in the development of the general anti-government public opinion.

- (2f g) The respondent read lots of articles from the Irodalmi Ujsag (he read much more regularly the Szabad Nep). He does not remember specific ones, but he ~~is~~ definitely remembers the atmosphere created; covertly in the beginning, and more and more overtly later, it was stated that the faults of the regime will have to be examined - one has to find out who is responsible for the deportations and if, in connection with these, great mistakes have been made in the past, they will have to be repaired in the present. Then articles were written about Rajk - but not in the sense that it is a pity for him (according to respondent, Rajk had been the same type of gangster as the rest of the leading members of the Communist Party, he had struck the same cords), but that the sins of the regime should be put in relief. Through the events around Rajk, one could get an insight into the violations against human rights by the regime (the prison, the torturing system, etc.).

- (3) The drafting of the points in each individual corner of the country (local demand; the pupils of the ex-Premontrei gymnasium, now Nagy Lajos gymnasium demanded that, after the ~~the~~ termination of their studies, they ~~should~~ be allowed to take jobs according to their qualifications and not be somehow forced to enter the collective farm); claims which arrived by the dozens and hundreds in the capital and which, thus had

a tremendous impact - they clearly showed that the whole country was uniformly dissatisfied and that it was preparing something.

- (3b) The Russian officers and their families got ~~acquainted~~ <sup>acquainted</sup> with the Hungarian living conditions and thus they understood more clearly the demonstrations - they sympathized with those whom they had seen stand in line for meat, butter, flour, etc. The respondent knew a Russian major, who had regularly helped financially the Hungarian family he was living with. The Russian children played with the Hungarian children - thus the two nations lived in "human proximity" and it is no wonder that the Russians, stationed in Hungary, felt closer to the Hungarian people than they did to their own regime.
- (3c) The norm system should be abolished, freedom of speech (especially for the university youth) be granted and study trips abroad be made available. In other words, it was demanded that the government widen the already accorded concessions.
- (3f) Those to whom the system has given material advantages - the AVH.
- (3g) One part of the halfway convinced Communist stratum and those who, due to the fact that they have been given material advantages, could not momentarily see clearly. - did not want to see clearly.
- (3h) The Neutrality of Hungary, Freedom of Religion, Down with the Communist Leaders, Russians go Home! Thus, truths clad humoristically.
- (3i) It was halfway anti-Communist - ~~NA~~ Communism has, theoretically, also democratic principles; free elections, for instance, but they ~~never~~ were never put into practice.

The Revolution emphasized democratic principles which have been dormant in Communism but have never become a reality.

- (4) A gun does not make a man. It was not his belief that he should fight with arms (he could not do it anyhow: he has a physical handicap, due to a childhood accident - he and other children were playing in an abandoned German airplane and an explosion occurred - three fingers of his right hand are missing and his left leg is damaged.) Furthermore, in the ~~XXXXXX~~ provinces, there were no possibilities to fight with arms.
- On October 24th, students studying at the Universities of Budapest came to Szombathely and gave a description of the situation in the capital, addressed mainly to the youth (worker and student) of Szombathely. The local youth, with the help of the one from the capital, drew up the general claims of the population - multiplied them with stencil machines - and distributed them in the neighboring villages (Gencsapáti, Herény, Perenye,) and in the district capital - Kőszeg.
- On October 26th, the National Revolutionary Youth Council of the County of Vas was founded, and respondent was entrusted with the propaganda section. He connected the twelve speakers and four tone amplifiers of the Film Enterprise of the County of Vas - The Vasmegyei Moziüzemi Vállalat - a technical and economical enterprise, to the headquarters of the "ex Hungarian Soviet Society" occupied by the Revolutionary Youth Council. As the tone amplifiers were universal, one could relay the domestic and the foreign radio news. Further-

more, with the help of microphones, one could relay speeches and appeals and broadcast records )the Rakocsy March, etc.). This "establishment" functioned regularly until the 4th of November. Respondent left Szombathely on the 5th of November. For a few days, he stayed with his relatives who were living extremely close to the border and on November 9th he crossed the border. For two days, November 2, 3 - he worked as a helper at the Gyöngyös - Herman radio (the Free Radio of Szombathely).

(4a) The AVO organization of Szombathely was the strongest provincial AVO organization - it employed about 1600 people. At the outbreak of the Revolution, these were called to Budapest to guard the bridges. But the AVO of the Bajcsi - Zsilinsky street, which also housed a political prison, had serious fights with the civilian population. Respondent was not there personally, but, it is a known fact that the AVOs and left their headquarters that the political prisoners were freed.

(4b) Many soldiers left their units in Szombathely and boys from Szombathely, stationed at other provincial or Budapest units, left them. Among these, was a personal friend of respondent: he came home from the II Rakoczi Ferenc Military Secondary School from Budapest.

Other: On November 4th, Russian units (Mongolian troops) shot without any apparent reason about eight employees of the railroad from Szombathely.

(5a) The respondent took part in the demonstrations staged by

the Studying Youth (Tanuló Ifjuság). The serious demonstrations were staged by the workers of the Szombathelyi Máv Jarműjavító Üzem (the Mav Vehicle Repair Enterprise of Szombathely), separately and together with the workers of the Mezőgazdasági Gépgyár (Agricultural Machine Factory), and Bőr- és Cipőgyár (Leather and Shoe Factory). These workers destroyed every single paper found in the Building of the Party Education, rather Indoctrination.

(5b) Of course, the enterprise he worked at, Moziüzemi Vállalat (Film Enterprise), like every other enterprise, stopped work.

(5c) As a member of the National Revolutionary Youth Council of the county of Vas responsible for propaganda.

(5d) See a).

(5e) See number 4.)

(5f) See number 4. Yes.

(7) The most serious and respected groups in Szombathely were the ones of the Tanuló Ifjuság (The Studying Youth) and of the Máv Jarműjavító Üzem (Mav Vehicle Repair Enterprise). The members of both of these groups were authorized to wear arms. In Budapest, according to respondent's knowledge, the groups which had the most authority were those fighting at the Corvin theater, at the Killian headquarters, and those of the Polytechnical and different other universities, partly connected with the Killian headquarters.

(7a) No, they had common guiding principles.

(8a) Four representatives of the Revolutionary Youth Council went

to the headquarters of the Russian command and presented their claims. The answer received was; the Russians do not intend to intervene in the internal affairs of the Hungarians. They asked the Revolutionary Council to respect the members of their families, to assure their security and not damage the monument erected in the honor of the Russian Soldier. Bad points; they requisitioned from the Máv Járnyavító sets of carriages in order to protect the peaceful leaving of their families. The soldiers got drunk and were shooting around aimlessly. The "tilalmi idő" was taken so seriously by the Russian guards that they would beat almost to death the people they would find in the streets, after 8 o'clock in the evening.

(8e) A Russian lieutenant, from the Széll János street, left his unit and departed by car with his family.

(9) The AVH had a two way -R-5 radio set which was taken over by the Freedom Fighters - that way they were informed of movements in an area of a 50 kilometer diameter. The Radio of Győr asked the Radio of Szombathely whether it would collaborate in broadcasting; the Radio of Szombathely accepted with the condition that two hours should be assured for exclusive news service for the county of VAS. This condition was accepted by the Radio of Győr and, on the basis of this agreement, the radios of the two counties were connected.



In the interval of the aforementioned hours, there was a program of about 3-4 hour reserved for appeals to the youth; ten minutes were taken up with appeals of general interest, and the second hour was reserved to the description of the functioning of the District Revolutionary Council and the organized help.

(9b) From the balcony of the building of the ~~COUNTRYXXCOUN~~ County Council, a speaker would talk through microphone to the assembled crowd and make known the daily program of the Revolutionary Council.

(9c) See 9.)

(10) The secretary of the County Party Committee and a propagandist of the County Party Education (indoctrination) left their places.

The County Council was automatically dissolved, and its place was taken over by the Revolutionary Council of the County of Vas, brought about by public elections. This council functioned, with small changes, till the suppression of the Revolution.

(10a) In essence, none of the functioning institutions remained intact because, the minute they would not be functioning, some changes, slight or great, would go into effect. The party was completely dissolved, but already on the 3rd day of the Revolution, the Independent Small-Holders Party, the Sovial Democratic Party, the Intellectual Workers' Party, the Cultural Worker's Party, the Workers' Party etc. were organized.

- (10c) Some of them resigned, some of them simulated a siding with the Revolution and the majority embraced wholeheartedly the goals of the Revolution. They took off the Communistic emblems from their uniforms (those who didn't, did not dare show up publicly) and, after the Russian intervention, reported at the Police Militia.
- The personnel of the AVO headquarters of the Söptei Street was ordered to Budapest; after the victory of the Revolution, their leaders crossed the border at Sopron and Köszeg. This fact was witnessed by a personal friend of respondent - István Szekszer, now in England. From these AVOs, many (circa 150 - 200) were taken to America. (The name István Szekszer was given to me as a personal favor with the explicit demand not to put it on paper. Respondent does not want to get involved in any action connected with the AVO. He intends to finish his studies in Germany peacefully).
- (10f) See c.
- (10h) See 10.
- (10i) The Revolutionary Youth Council's and the District Council's demands in connection with religion (freedom of practicing religion, the introduction of obligatory teaching of religion in schools, the examination of the siding of the peace priests, the determination of religious holidays, etc.) were taken up to Sándor Kovacs, Catholic bishop. The bishop signed these demands on October 1st, and although he was in a very weak physical condition he celebrated Holy Mass the same day; the mass was tape recorded, and the next day broadcast by the Radio of Szombathely.



- (10j) They took the radio, trucks, main economical equipment, and arms from the MÖHOSZ (Magyar Önkéntes Honvédelmi Szövetség)
- (10k) See b.
- (10l) Their goals were; abolish the norm system, discuss the salaries, and last but not least <sup>analyze</sup> ~~examine~~ the quality, the usefulness of the workers and their racial origin- whether they are "pure" Hungarians or not.

(At the mentioning of the racial origin, respondent asked me what my opinion on this subject was. I answered that I very much appreciate his telling the facts, because a research organization like Columbia University is interested in the facts. He then asked me to erase "racial origin" and completely forget about it, I promised it).

- (10m) From a political view point, a democratic form of government - with no rightist inclinations - would have resulted. (Respondent emphasized "no rightist inclination," in order to make me forget the previous remark). From an economical view point, Hungary could not have subsisted for a longer period of time without Western help. Respondent thinks that a relationship between Hungary and the USA similar to that between Germany and the U.S.A. would have developed.

- (11) "Even his soul shivered" at the thought that all hope is lost. According to respondent's firm belief, the Russians will not leave Hungary unless a serious European or world crisis will occur.

- (11a) Hundred per cent - it surprised the Soviet Block and the whole world. Hungary showed no matter ~~no matter~~ how small

a nation is the desire for freedom can burst with an amazing intensity. (I am sorry that I cannot translate the flowery expressions used by respondent, whenever the patriotic theme comes up. For some strange reason, it gives me an ill feeling. It seems to me, that the use of this "poetic" language is mainly due to the fact that respondent is semi-cultured, and partly due to a nebulous feeling of racial superiority. The phrases used, the fiery expressions are "déjà entendu" and "déjà vu" - during Nazi times.)

(11 b c) If the United Nations was capable of stopping the English and French intervention at Suez, then it could have intervened authoritatively also in Hungary.

(At this point, respondent asked me to stop writing, and, the moment my pencil was laid down, he substituted United Nations with United States and hatred burst out - to use his own expressions. He swore that never in his life is he going to forgive the United States for their not intervening in the Hungarian Revolution. He emphasized that he does not hate as much the Communist regime, the AVO who had put his brother in jail, Kadar who had forced him to leave his beloved country, as he does hate the United States. He might go to the United States, though, because he intends to become an engineer and he knows that the United States does need engineers, but ... He continued: "I leave it up to your imagination to finish the sentence."

(11e) One could not have expected anything great from him, but, at the starting out of a new system, he would have been the perfect man.

(11f) About Dudás, Imre Kovács, Maleter he does not know much.

(11g) V, I - equally well.

III

II (along economical lines), IV

VI - he does not quite understand why irresponsible elements form a separate category. Irresponsible elements were mixed in all groups of people.

(12) Crossed the border on November 9th.

(12a) The salary was pretty good (1600 - 1700 forints) - so, along the economical line, he was not dissatisfied although he did feel exploited just like everybody else did; another reason for his leaving Hungary was his participation in the Revolution - then he had clearly shown what he thought of the regime.

(1a) An electro-technician at the Film Enterprise of the County of Vas (Vas megyei Moziüzemi Vállalat).

(2) Held no other job.

He started his job as an electro-technician on the 12th of November 1955.

(2a b) He was a projectionist and a film repairman - worked in a regional repair shop.

(2d c) see subquestion a and b.

(2 e f) It was a film enterprise - it showed foreign and ~~xxx~~ domestic films and newsreels.

There were about 180 employees. The enterprise worked with a considerable deficit; for instance, the monthly income of a small movie-theater was about 800 forints and the cost of running it was about 1200 forints.

(2g) see 1a.

(3a b) Yes, in spite of the fact that he worked ~~xx~~ constantly, without any rest (with the exception of his vacation, there was no day, during the year, that he would not have worked)! He liked his job from a technical view point, although in that field, too, there were annoyances like his superiors asking good work while the machines at his disposal were old and bad.

(3e) The working conditions were bad, due mainly to negligence and indifference: there was no rubber rug in front of the wall where the equipment was installed!

(3f) Ten hours.

(3g) Seven days.

(3h) Constantly

(3i) No.

(3j) Yes, he had eight days yearly.

(3 m n) Not applicable.

(3o) He would not have had to pay to see films, if he had "eyes left" to see them (he had chronic conjunctivitis).

(4a) The director of the enterprise was Otto Eisenberg, now in America. His salary was around six thousand - seven thousand forints - four thousand forints was his basic salary; respondent found this out from a good friend of his, the payroll clerk. The inspector was an AVO employee who had been "detailed" to the enterprise as a precision tool maker. The chief of the technical division used to have a radio ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ repair shop and was an extremely well qualified person for the job. He was around 45 - 50 years of age.

(4b) There were three groups.

Group No. 1. The lowest group was composed of char women, janitors.

Group No. 2. This was the middle group which comprised the technicians.

Group No. 3. This was the upper group - the director, the accountant and the propagandist, and, of course, it goes without saying, the inspector.

Group number 1 and 2 felt that they belong together. Group number 3 did not mix socially with groups ~~XX~~ 1 and 2.

(4c) Yes, with the technical workers.

(4e) The chief projectionist was the shop steward, but he was a pure, good hearted man; the chief of the technical division

was not a party member but they kept him because he was irreplaceable. Respondent knows that in Czelldömölk the chief of the technical division was a woman who had no idea what was going on, from a technical view point, but was a very active Party member. In other words, the situation, from this point of view, varied from enterprise to enterprise.

(4f) The Trade Union did not defend the interests of the workers; it arranged some excursions - they were taken for two days to the Lake Balaton - that was all the Trade Union in this particular enterprise, did.

(4i) Does not know about it.

(4l) The director was a political official and, although he did not understand anything about technical matters, he still would give instructions also along those lines.

(4 n) In making up a kader file, the main consideration was the previous working place. In his own case, as he came directly from school, and had "no butter on his head", he did not ~~XXXX~~ attract specific attention.

(4p) There was no performance at which an AVO would not be present - the AVOs had free entry in any moviehouse and they did use it. They would watch the public, and they would watch the technical personnel. The cashier was the known informer of the AVOs but she was so dumb that everybody found out about this extra little income she had.

(5) None, His field was overcrowded, so he was happy to stay where he was.

(5b) He would have loved to become a pilot but, due to his



childhood accident he was not eligible for it. He would like to become an airforce engineer and continue his studies in Germany.

(5e)

He would love to have a wife, many children, a family house, and a car in which he would take his family on trips.

He would love to buy technical books.

(Respondent seems to be very fond of children. When he heard a baby cry, he said that ~~is~~ the only good thing about Haus Seeblick is the presence of children. It shows that the Americans are not quite as bad as they actually are. In other words, there is one good streak in them; their love for children.)

(5g)

Under Hungarian conditions, he could not even think of getting married, let alone of ~~children~~ having children.

(6)

They could have lived well - they even had a vineyard on their eight hectares, if the compulsory delivery had not existed. But, this way, they had to deliver yearly; 40 quintals of wheat, a 130 kilogram pig, and 150 liters of wine from their 1400 ~~liters.~~ ~~the vineyard produced~~ In addition to these, they had to produce sugar beets. Minor compulsory deliveries were ~~xxx~~ 25 kilograms of poultry and 300 eggs yearly.

They lived well till 1947-48, but since ~~then~~ their financial situation did deteriorate gradually.

(7a) iii. His basic salary was 600 forints, but the constant overtime, without any leave, raised it to 1600 - 1800.

- (7a) His parents (his older brother was imprisoned for the last four years because he did not denounce a cousin of theirs, who came back from Austria, and who when caught, was accused of being a spy) His younger brother is 14 years of age.
- (8b) See 7a.
- (8c) See 7a.
- (8d) 50 forints for Trade Union Membership. Yearly 400 forints for peace loans and he does not remember how much more was deducted for "ordinary" taxes. Generally speaking, monthly 200 - 250 forints were deducted.
- (9a c) He paid 600 forints for housing and food - he lived with relatives.
- (9b) He rented a room - the apartment was also rented - four people lived in two rooms.
- (9d) He would spend around 650 forints for a pair of shoes and 1800 forints for a suit.
- (9e) See d and c.
- (9f) Around 50 forints.
- (9g) For the last three years, he had been taking evening courses at the Technicum and had been paying 50 forints per month. He was an average student. If he had been an excellent student, he would have been exempt of tuition.
- (9h) He did not spend anything on entertainment because he was constantly "entertained" at his job and he had absolutely no time to persue any sport.
- (9j) Around 80 forints. He was a subscriber to Radiotechnika and



Filmtechnika (magazines).

(9k) He was a member of the SZTK.

(9l) Not too much. The enterprise had a motorcycle he could use, although it definitely was a "common horse".

(9m) See 8d.

(10) Collective farms were deadly and, if they had built Szalin-város closer to Yugoslavia, it might have worked out better economically (this was not done because of Tito), but the very best solution could have been if they had not built it at all.

(10c) Doesn't know about it.

(10d) Some type of automatic development takes place in each country, but, in spite of this, the economical life definitely deteriorated, especially after 48, due to the exaggerated industrialization and nationalization.

(10f) See section R, number 2.

(10g) The situation was better than the previous years, due to concessions in each field, including the economical.

)11a) Everything was much too expensive, especially the technical articles (drilling machines, files, small motors) and not everything was available (food or ~~MINIMA~~ industrial articles). He was very much concerned about the situation, from his own view point and from the view point of everybody else.

(11c) The workers, furthermore the small industrialists and small industrial unions suffered because of the lack of food and the lack and the expensiveness of industrial articles.

- (1d) He had 8 general classes - he was a mediocre student and attended the Technikum for one year, then took a job as a projectionist and, while working, took evening classes at the same school for two years. He would have graduated this year.
- (1e) He loves the technical field.
- (2a) Definitely not. He would have loved to finish the Technikum but his parents were forced by financial circumstances to stop his schooling and send him to work. After having finished the Technikum, he dreamed about finishing engineering school.
- (2b) Because he is in love with the engineering career.
- (2e) His mother comes from the workers' class, his father from the peasant class, thus his kader was reasonably good; his possibilities to study further were extremely limited though because, from a financial view point, he was strapped and because he had no connections.
- (3b) Principles of Constitutional Law, Marxism, Leninism, Russian language (he did learn how to read and write). These subjects were taught starting from the 8th class of the general school he attended, and from Marxism and Leninism he had grade 5 (the best) because he did not have to study them at all, he just a "hasára ütött és ment", he knew how to throw the baloney. To this, respondent wants to add that if a pupil was good in any of the above enumerated subjects, this weighed more than if he had been good in any other scholastic fields, like

geography, for instance.

{4)

The books favored the system - this was the means. The goal was to incorporate the studying youth into the system, enlarging by this maneuver the role of its followers.

The main sin consisted in the fact that the teaching of the compulsory subjects took up a terrific amount of time, thus one could not study what one really would have liked to.

At a very receptive age, children and adolescents were ~~obliged~~<sup>onliged</sup> to study subjects they somehow instinctively were not interested in.

((4b)

The Revolution clearly showed how deeply the youth did not believe in what it was told to believe in. He himself would not be here, if he had believed what he was taught.

(4i)

Up to the age of 14, children learn without using their non-existent judgement. For instance, he is Roman Catholic and, up till the age of 14, he blindly believed in what he was taught; but, later doubts followed and he started to examine the dogmas asking himself whether they were true or not. This psychological process is similar, maybe identical for everybody - thus the attitude toward Communism also necessarily must have changed at this age. (At this point, I had to ask respondent how he explained that children below 14 took part in the Revolution). Sometimes a certain atmosphere can give such a psychological strength that spontaneous, not thought out decisions and actions are born. For instance, the flowing of the precious Hungarian blood (at this point, I had the strange feeling that respondent does not believe that other people also have

blood in their veins; and if he did believe in others also being human, the quality ~~they~~ are made of is definitely much inferior to that of the Hungarians) awoke also in children the urge for action. And if the AVOs had not shot at the innocent crowds, then maybe the Revolution would not have taken the proportions it did.

- (5e) His father who is a farmer had a family house (two rooms, one kitchen) plus 8 hectares of land, plus the necessary agricultural equipment and 4 cows.
- (5f) They had about as much as others in their category had.
- (5g h) ~~THEYXXXXXX~~ His older brother and younger brother are at home. His older brother is a farmer and his younger brother will probably go to a technical school. When he talked about his mother, father and two brothers, suddenly tears came into his eyes and he said again and again that he will never forgive America for having separated him from his family. he loves so much. Then he went further and said that as long as America committed the unforgiveable sin of not having helped Hungary, at least it should now try to make good - by opening its doors to all the refugees and thus give prestige to the Hungarian cause. Another action America should have taken immediately was to stop the functioning of Radio Free Europe. Instead of financing RFE, the American government would do much better if it gave the money to the Hungarian, Polish, and Czech students spread all over the world, and who, if given the necessary scholarships, thus the necessary training, would be much

better propaganda for the American cause than RFE is.

(5i) With nobody. The family house and the land was in the village of Perenye and he himself lived in Szombathely.

(5k) He had advantages compared with the sons of the kulaks who were not accepted in schools, but the disadvantage of this descent was the extreme poverty which came with it.

(6) He is single.

(11) The relationship between him and his brothers could not have been better.

(12) Of course, for long hours.

(12a) His parents would state that, during the Horthy regime, they were much better off financially. The children would reply that although they do not doubt it, it is nevertheless that life now is much more colorful (there are many more entertainment possibilities and some type of social development is definitely noticeable; books, at present, are much easier accessible because they are much cheaper than they used to be" although it is unquestionably true that one could not get hold of the books one really wanted to - in his case, technical books, foreign technical books - about television for instance.

(12b) Finally some kind of compromise was reached. Children and parents agreed along a democratic line which consisted in

their wanting exactly the contrary of the "achievements" of the Communist system; <sup>included</sup> ~~which also~~ ~~the good~~ sides of the Horthy regime (housing loans and the fact that the taxes did not burden as much the peasantry as they did during the Communist system). What was particularly sad in the Communist system was the fact that while the peasantry was burdened with taxes the workers did not suffer less. Common suffering though did not approach the two classes.- they definitely were opposed politically, due to economical reasons. The workers were obliged to patronize the collective farms because they could not buy from the individual peasant; <sup>if</sup> the peasant <sup>had</sup> ~~had~~ <sup>over</sup> ~~something was~~ left after the compulsory deliveries, <sup>he</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~did~~ <sup>the surplus</sup> ~~throw~~ on the market ~~the surplus~~ but put it aside for the seven meager years which were lurking in the not too far away future; and if, sometimes, commercial transactions were made, they did not happen between workers and peasants but exclusively between peasant and peasant. <sup>happened</sup> ~~For instance~~, it has ~~been~~ during the last two, three years that his parents, with his financial help (around <sup>2000</sup> ~~2000~~ to 3000 forints) would buy wheat of an inferior quality and <sup>hand it in as compulsory delivery</sup> ~~give it in as compulsory delivery~~ and ~~would~~ keep their own - superior quality - for their own use.

13d  
(XXX)

Yes, at the beginning he accepted their ~~teachings~~ teachings, later on doubts arose and finally, at the age of 18, from this point of view, there was a direct opposition between him and his parents, although the love remained the same. As said, the opposition was mainly on religious grounds;



in his eyes, the fact that the Jewish people (the way the word "Jewish" was pronounced, made me realize that respondent is a "Jew-hater") rejected the <sup>principles</sup> ~~principles~~ of Christianity although it was the chosen people of God, was a real problem for him, the weight of which was not realized by his parents; as far as his own - the Catholic religion was concerned - he would discuss the dogmas, which were not based on facts, <sup>for instance,</sup> ~~for instance,~~ the resurrection. Many heated discussions ~~and~~ ensued ~~from them~~ and he enjoyed them thoroughly because his viewpoint is that the more you believe in something the more you like to discuss it the more you thirst to be contradicted in order to <sup>prove</sup> ~~prove~~ your own truth. Another serious problem for him - problem he also discussed with ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> priest was how ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the African population will manage to arrive into the realm of God. By the way, the priest himself could not give satisfactory answers to this question.

(13a) He would have loved to become a pilot, his parents understood this, but they were helpless, financially.

(13b e) His parents did not intervene in these questions, they trusted his judgement.

(14) The relationship was extremely close. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ He left his motorcycle, for which he had recently paid 8000 forints, to his two brothers and, ~~AM~~ thinking of it, it gives him a real pleasure to know that they enjoy it.

(14b) It was not typical at all because, due to the terrific <sup>poverty</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, serious antagonism arose between parents and

children, between married people and, maybe, the same cause was partly responsible for the ease with which young girls would "tie" <sup>sexual</sup> ~~sexual~~ relationships, which were "untied" the next day. This used to shock him more than anything else, but the shocks ~~received~~ <sup>ones</sup> in Hungary were mild compared to the ~~shocks he~~ received in Germany, from this point of view.

- (14c) He ~~XXXX~~ attended masses, read, and enjoyed discussions in his circle of friends.
- (14g) Absolutely not, he worked very hard. It happened often that, during Sundays, he would work from 8 in the morning till 1 o'clock at night (there were nine films shown), with a half an hour lunch period.
- (15) Starting from 1945, the family ties did loosen. Concrete <sup>a</sup> example; married couple in Szombathely sent two ~~XXX~~ of their nine children out in the wild open world, at the age of 14 and 16. The 16 years old went to a mining school and the 14 years old was taken over by the state. All this, which used to be unheard of in Hungary before, was due to the excessive poverty.
- (15a) The fact that girls from ~~the same married~~ <sup>one</sup> family married into different strata of economical welfare made them envy each other. The marriages, by the way, were "tied" at an early age and "untied" just as early.
- (15e) The explanation of this deplorable situation lies in the fact that the compulsory religious teaching was abolished in school. Of course, at home parents tried to make up for it but it was extremely difficult because they did not have at their



disposal the necessary tools (religious books). The last edition of school books was in 1952 but this also was so distorted that it was not accepted by church authorities.

(15f) The churches were frequented more this was partly due to religious convictions and more to a in spite of attitude, so typically Hungarian.

(16) Yes, definitely. Immorality reigned (compared to German conditions, the relationships in Hungary from this point of view were pure).

(16a) Marriage ceased to be a sacrament. It was not taken seriously anymore, thus people did get married young because they figured they divorce if it did not work out. Another factor is the relative young age at which people would acquire leading positions. For instance if somebody was reliable from a kader viewpoint then she would be promoted to chief engineer, for instance at an age of 23.

(16b) The tempo was considerably ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ accelerated - this can be explained by ~~XXXX~~ the rapidity with which people seized each other up they definitely became more alert.

(16d) Yes, and this is the sin of the system because it did not provide the necessary moral support. In addition, the deviations were used by the system from a political viewpoint because it was always emphasized that the previous regime is responsible for the faults committed at present.

(16e) It did exist. The Roman Catholic Church did fight it (in May 1956 ~~XXX~~ circular letters were sent out on this subject) but the system had serious financial advantages from letting

this "industry" blossom.

(16f)

Only orally, because, in reality, they <sup>used it</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ as a propaganda for their own purposes by falsely explaining the cause of the ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>general</sup> depravity. See question 2).

(16h)

The following were written in big letters at ~~E~~ gynecological clinics in Szombathely and Budapest (respondent was often in Budapest, sent out by the enterprise); "Nálunk szocialista rend folyik: ~~KÁNYA~~ Lánynak szülni dicsőség, asszonynak kötelesség" (We have a socialistic system to give birth is a girl's glory and a wife's duty.).

Children could actually be sold to the state for about 3000 - 6000 forints.

(16i)

Seemingly they did receive advantages but this was also a chess movement of the regime because, under the pretext of equal rights, they received ~~SÜKH~~ positions for which they were unfitted organically (they worked in mines, in foundries, and on tractors).

(17a b)

There was an apparent rise, due to fear that the culprits would be ostracized socially, if caught. So they were particularly careful about appearances but, behind them, terrific stealings were going on and, once more, nobody felt guilty, from a moral point of view, because the economic situation, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ forced everybody to do this.

Respondent himself sold a few amplifiers, transformers radio tubes, and other electro technic<sup>al</sup> equipment to a small industrialist, or used them privately (he would use the enterprise's <sup>own</sup> wheels of the ~~motorcycle~~ on his ~~motorcycle~~ and he would use the gasoline tickets for his own purposes; this way, one

liter ~~XXXXXX~~ cost ~~XXXX~~ 60 fillar and for a ~~100~~ 125 ~~XXXX~~ motor cubiccentimeter  
 he received 40 liters monthly in tickets - without tickets  
 one could not buy gasoline but, of course, one could buy  
 tickets on the black market - from the garage man, for instance.  
 The technical personnel knew ~~XXX~~ about each other's manipu-  
 lations but they did not know anything about the ways of  
 stealing of the upper stratum; they were sure, though, that  
 the director, chief accountant, propagandist also ~~XXXX~~ found ways  
 to steal - they were the followers of the regime only "exter-  
 nally" ~~XXX~~ "internally" they were dissatisfied.

- (18) He met his best friend at the enterprise, around the middle of the year in 1955.
- (18a) He was an electrical technician and radio repairman who used to work at the radio station ~~ME~~ of Gyöngyös - Herman, but together with <sup>was</sup> six others, was discharged because a joke about Rakosi slipped into the program.
- (18b) His friend was one year older than he was.
- (18c d) They would talk ~~EE~~ <sup>in</sup> three - the third being the fiancée of his friend - about politics, family affairs and, at this point respondent wanted to say "hatred of the Jews," I could swear to it, but then stopped and ~~EM~~ said; "That's it", although
- (18f) The friendship lasts ~~EME~~ momentarily they lost each other - the friend also left Hungary but ~~EME~~ respondent does not know whether he is in Austria, America or England.
- (18g) This is a serious beautiful question. They help each other financially and they understood each other's faults.
- (18i) He did have a circle of friends, composed of university

students, secondary school students, workers like mechanics, and some were employed as clerks in different offices.

As far as descent goes, KM he was the only peasant but this was no problem. He KM did not deny it, on the contrary he would take his friends out to his parents' house and they would have a good time drinking wine - especially during vintage time - and eating fruit.

(18k) One of the university students was a candidate, otherwise he could not have gone to the university. Generally, nobody despised the party members, they understood the <sup>reason of their joining</sup> ~~Maybe~~ some of them had to join but, nevertheless, <sup>he and his friends</sup> ~~they~~ did not accept them in their intimate circle ~~with their friends~~ - this was the "pride" which the respective party candidate or member had to pay for economical or other advantages - in other words, he lost just as much in weight in his circle of friends. ~~and~~ as he gained on other territories. This was an emotional attitude. It was not talked over but, somehow, everybody reacted instinctively the same way.

(19a) Roman Catholic.

(19b) See question 13d).

(20) Without any doubts, the essence of Communism brings that with it.

(20a) It <sup>the latter</sup> mainly hit the Catholic religion, because ~~XXX~~ is the most rigorous, thus, is more opposed than any other to the doctrine of Communism.

(20b) They wanted to get hold of religious minds, deter them from their own religion, and <sup>make them</sup> ~~adopt~~ Communism as <sup>another</sup> ~~their~~ religion.

- (20c) It is regrettable that they did exist. There were some ~~many~~ <sup>who</sup> became "peace priests", due to their convictions. Nevertheless, it is true that they established a spy-like relation between the church <sup>and</sup> the state. It can be explained by the fact that priests also are only human, thus ~~fallible~~ fallible.
- (20f) There were some who could not go to church because of the positions they occupied, like in his circle of acquaintances the president of the District Council who, by the way, was a very moral and pure man but ~~was afraid of losing his job~~ <sup>losing</sup> (he had a large family). ~~XXXXXX~~ Otherwise see question 15f.
- (20i) Peasants would go more to church ~~and~~ than workers would.
- (20k) Generally speaking, religion means more to the present generation than it meant to the previous ones. Young people of today are more cultured than the <sup>ir</sup> parents were and thus are more interested in deep subjects, in subjects ~~which~~ which deserve meditation ~~and reflection~~ <sup>XXXXXXXXXXXX</sup>.
- (20l) The church acted within its circle but it could not oppose ~~the~~ the regime publicly because the one who has the money has the power and the church was poor ~~(because its land had been taken away)~~ away; from an economical viewpoint, it ~~was~~ could only rely upon the help of its followers and its followers <sup>being</sup> poor, ~~the~~ the church was necessarily poor, and an economically weak factor is never a powerful factor.
- (21) The field adopted should be scientific or technical. A person who chooses a political <sup>career</sup> ~~career~~ in Hungary is bound to <sup>lose</sup> slip, is bound to ~~lose~~ sooner or later. (rather sooner).

- (21b) He should acquire a good circle of friends (by "good" respondent means that he should keep up friendly relations with his teachers, respect them) and not venture on the field of politics; not oppose openly the system, on the contrary, praise it outwardly - these are the conditions to get ahead in Hungary.
- (22) The political elite was composed of the good kader material of the peasantry and of the workers. But within the workers and the peasantry the real favored were the ex-agricultural proletarians - the children of these ex-farm-hands had <sup>and</sup> definitely advantages in attending schools/in getting good jobs. The merchants, small industrialists, middle class and kulaks were the following group.
- (22a) He belonged in the peasant group, in the so called "middle peasant" group.
- (22b) There is no question about him not having wanted to live better, but this did not mean that he desired to "depart" from the group he belonged to.
- (23) The political elite was composed of the new intelligentsia, the sons of workers and peasants. The people of the old regime were considered unreliable and, together with the kulaks, merchants, small industrialists, were in a sad economical situation. Everybody's economical situation was sad, but the one of the above mentioned groups ~~XXXX~~ was worse.
- (23c) Barriers did exist - for instance, although the workers and



peasants were always mentioned together, they did not feel belonging together.

The middle class intelligentsia was somehow pending in the air because it had no connections whatsoever with the peasants and workers intelligentsia.

(23e) That he does not know.

(23g) People are polite but this does not mean anything; he personally feels that the relationships <sup>among beings</sup> ~~between~~ human is far from being ~~satisfactory~~ satisfactory.

(At this point, I asked respondent whether "human <sup>being</sup> applied to Hungarians or <sup>also to</sup> ~~Hungarians~~ and Slovaks, ~~or~~ Rumanians, ~~etc.~~ <sup>etc.</sup> ~~and~~ Jews. He thought for a minute and then said, and I know it was a lie and he knew that I knew but nevertheless he said that, as far as he is concerned, there is no difference whatsoever between people of different races and religions).

(24) Those who were labelled unreliable politically because, for instance, they would have relatives in America.

Respondent had a personal acquaintance whose son was in America, in Detroit, ~~was~~ an auto engineer. This poor old man lost his job because of the above mentioned circumstance (he used to be a skilled textile worker and had to take a job as an unskilled worker in a construction enterprise.)

(24a) It was a generally known fact that the party members and the AVH had more advantages than anybody else.

(25) The government itself was not anti-semitic but antisemitism did live in people, regardless of the social classes they

belonged to.

(25c) Otto Eisenberg, his director, who behaved decently with him. Eisenberg was a graduate of the Kossuth/<sup>Academy</sup> (a Party school) that's how he got the leading position he held.

(25d) There were Jews who behaved beautifully and there were Hungarians who behaved ~~XXXXXX~~ atrociously. <sup>again</sup> He ~~XXXXXXXX~~ emphasized that there was no anti-semitism during the Revolution.

(At this point, I reminded him that the Revolutionary Council in Szombathely had as a goal the checking of the workers from a racial viewpoint. Respondent answered that this was a regrettable fact which he deeply ~~XX~~ rejects).

(25e) As a small child, he had a companion who was, from a racial standpoint, Jewish ~~XXX~~, but, from a religious standpoint, Catholic; the Nazi system forced this little boy to put on a yellow star and he was deported together with his whole family. His father did return and whenever he saw respondent he could not help crying, because he always saw in him the childhood ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ companion of his murdered son.

It is natural, respondent added to this, that a man like the one described above would hate since then the Hungarians.

(25g) Anti-semitism was at its peak during the reign of Hitler and now, according to the instructions of the regime, has subsided <sup>the political</sup>

(25h) It is a known fact that they are in/foreground ~~XXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ - respondent does not approve of it, but cannot figure out what the consequences will be.

When he said he cannot figure out the consequences, I looked at him and smiled. At this, thinking that I am



smilingly approving ~~of~~<sup>XX</sup> the pogroms he had in his eyes, he burst out and said: I hate their guts.

- (1) Newsreels from abroad (for instance, the conference of Geneva); he had a good radio and could listen to the broadcasts of BBC, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Paris, Italy, Israel and so forth; unfortunately he could only read the domestic newspapers. He was deeply interested in whatever was happening in this whole large world.
- (1a b) BBC and Voice of America were the most reliable relatively speaking because there is no radio which would not represent the interest of its own form of government but, as said, these two radio stations gave the relatively "purest" news.
- (2) There was no day that he should not have read newspapers or magazines.
- (2a b) Szabad Ifjúság (daily), Nepsport (weekly), Mozi (weekly), Technical magazines Ifjú Technikus, Rádiótechnika (the magazine of MOHOSZ), Autó és Motor.
- (2c) He wanted to be informed - generally and technically.
- (2e f) Yes, it gave news of the enterprise, it gave the dates of the trade unions and Party meetings, furthermore it published the prescribed and the attained norms, in other words, it was clearly propaganda publication.
- (2d) No.
- (3a b c) He lived ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ in movies, due to his profession. (At this point, I asked him whether he could give me a breakdown of the percentage of films during the last years in Hungary) More than 50 per cent were Russian, 30 per cent.

Western  
were/foreign films, 1. French, 2. Italian, 3. English, 3. German and 4. Swedish. (English and German were/ <sup>in</sup> about the same proportion) ~~XXX~~ 20 per cent were Hungarian.

Movies exempt of politics: Mágnas Miska, Liliomfi, Gabor diák, Kétszer kettő néha öt, Gyöngyvirágtól lombhullásig.

Historical movies: Feltámadt a tenger (1888)  
Rákóczi hadjárata

Movies in which politics is mixed with love: Egy pikoló világos, Allami Aratóház, Hinton járó ~~XXXXXXXX~~ szerelem

The program of the two great movietheaters - "Sabaria" and "Beke" - of Szombathely during an interval of four months (April 5 - August 5, 1956) : \*\* see page 48a

(3e f) He saw on tour the <sup>Falu Színház</sup> Village Theater~~s~~ which played the "Hamilton Family" and on tour again in Szombathely the "Fővárosi Operette Színház". In Budapest, he saw at the National Theater Madách's "Az ember tragédiája" and <sup>at</sup> ~~again~~ the Operette Theater "Csárdáskirálynő" and "Valahol délen."

(4) Yes.

(4a) About 15.

(4b) Sholokhov: Far away from Moscow. This book was obligatory reading in school but it interested him nevertheless. He read many of Verne's novels, and he adored pilot stories with many adventures. His favorite Hungarian writers are Mikszáth and Gárdonyi and his favorite technical book is István Makkai's "Az elektrotechnika fejlődése napjainkig," (the development to our <sup>the</sup> days of ~~A~~ Electro Technique.)

(5) Yes.

(5b) Four plus two - audio

Szombathely 2 nagy Filmszínházának Műsorát  
ismertetem. A. Sabaria (s) Z. Beke. (B)

1956 Április 5 - Augusztus 5 ig.

- B. Csillagos Szarnyak, Soviet
- S. Harom Testőr, French
- S. Öten a Barska utcából, Polish
- B. Bécsi Komédiások, Austrian
- S. Nagy Nepek Baratsága. Bulganyin és Kruscsov in  
India (pol.)
- B. Döntő Pillanat, Yugoslav
- S. Első szerelem, French film & Italian production
- S. Hűség Próbája, Soviet (pol.)
- B. Buksi megkerül, Czech
- S. Csavargó, Indian
- S. Bátrak Csapata, Italian (pol.)
- S. Zsurbin család, Soviet (pol.)
- B. Argentínától-Mexicoig, Czech
- B. Angyallal a hegyekben, Czech
- S. Gábor Diák, Hungarian
- S. Viharban, Nötek fel., Soviet (pol.)
- B. Partizánlány, Chinese (pol.)
- S. Alli Baba, French
- S. Rómeo és Julia, Soviet
- B. Janika, Hungarian (pol.)
- B. Ördögi kör, East German (pol.)
- S. Eltűnnek a kísértetek, Soviet

- S. Egy pikolo vilagos, Hungarian
- B. Aki szereti a feleségét, East German
- B. Paris es Tavasz, French
- B. Különös ismertetőjel, Hungarian (pol.)
- B. Három jóbarat
- S. Matroz (pol.)
- B. Zsongó melódiák, Austrian
- S. Hütlen asszonyok, Italian
- B. I. Számu közellenség, French
- S. Koncert, Soviet
- S. Öt barát, French
- B. Allami Aruház, Hungarian (pol.)
- B. Dármai kolostor II, French
- S. Kiraly lány a feleségem, French-Italian
- B. Eladó kísértet, English
- B. Páncélos Dandár, (pol.)
- S. Riadó a cerkuszban, West German
- B. Vörös és Fekete, French
- S. Eltűnt kapitány, (pol.)
- S. Csingtevő
- S. Ütközet békeben, Hungarian
- S. Holnap már késő
- S. Bell ami, French
- B. Varazsduda
- S. Ivan menj Haza, Polish
- B. Őrs a Hegyekben, (pol.)
- B. Esküvő akadályokkal
- S. Északi Robinsonok

S. Dollárpapa, Hungarian (pol.)

B. Elveszet Melódiák, Austrian



- (5d) Music - operettas.
- (5f) At home and sometimes during work.
- (6) Yes, see number 1.
- (7) Yes.
- (7a b) Political news from French.
- (7c) It depended from whom he would receive it. His friends ~~were~~  
<sup>of</sup> not ~~the~~ the type who would gab. They carefully considered  
the news they spread.
- (8a b) He did not even look at political news because in Hungary  
there was no opposition.  
The scientific news ~~which~~ were generally reliable - for in-  
stance, the building of television in Hungary, except if they  
were in connection with events in the Soviet Union.
- (8d) He would compare the Hungarian news sources with the foreign  
ones - although the latter <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ not always reliable either  
(for instance he never believed ~~it~~ for a minute that Eden  
was really sick he knew that he was politically sick and  
that he was drowned in the Suez Canal) and ~~using his~~ using  
his <sup>sixth</sup> sense which coincided generally with the ~~sixth~~ <sup>sixth</sup> sense of  
his circle of friends, he would unveil the truth.  
Broadcast of <sup>advice</sup> Scientific lectures ~~XXXXXXXX~~ (economical ~~advice~~).
- (8e) <sup>advice</sup> Scientific lectures ~~XXXXXXXX~~ (economical ~~advice~~).
- (8f) Once or twice
- (8g) Yes, at the enterprise. It was more <sup>of</sup> a show everybody put on.
- (8h) No, ~~he~~ <sup>it</sup> did not have as good a reputation as ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
Irodalmi Ujság had.

(9) Yes, this was very much felt and as a result, ~~of it~~ the radio felt compelled to make efforts to embrace larger territories. His own enterprise asked the <sup>re</sup> Film Technika enterprise to give more newsreels.

(10a) He read about it in communistic newspapers but he was not very interested in the theme.

(10b) He does not know it.

(10c) Nonsense.

(10d) Germany has the right to arm <sup>re itself</sup> (Switzerland who had been neutral for a long time is armed, too) like any other nation with the goal of being able to defend itself; but, in the ~~case~~ case of Germany, one should limit the number of its military units that it should not start an offensive war.

(10e) They existed. He himself saw their leaflets but he did not approve of them, ~~On~~ the contrary. All this only enticed the people and RFE ~~wid~~ did not have the right to do this because it did not help the enticed people, thus it did not take the consequences of its irresponsible actions.

(10f) Does not know anything concrete about it.

(10g) He saw it in the ~~newsreels~~ newsreels and it really only meant a personal acquaintance of the four heads of government and nothing more.

(10h) He knows about its activity but is not interested in <sup>it</sup> ~~them~~.

~~112~~

- (1) Everything - everything will have to be changed basically just like when the ~~EEEE~~ DISZ was transformed <sup>and</sup> a completely new organization emerged which was different in its very basic ~~principles~~ principles.
- (1a) The politics toward the minorities (respondent asked me whether America approves of this politics; I answered that I am not a government official).
- (2) A two party system is needed and ~~XXXXX~~ <sup>that's that</sup> (the many parties would weaken also economically any country).
- (3) Yes.
- (3c) No, in case the government is democratic <sup>it necessarily</sup> ~~does~~ represents the will of the majority.
- (4) Yes,
- (4a) Naturally the opposition has its place.
- (4b) If the government does not represent the will of the majority.
- (5) Instead of emphasizing heavy industry he would emphasize light industry and agriculture (instead of the present collective farms new free ~~XXXXX~~ farms should be instituted - like in Denmark - and the membership should not be obligatory.
- (6) Yes.
- (6b) Those factories which employed 50 - 100 workers should be restored.

- (6c) It is good to the extent that it compensates the individual according to his own merits.
- (6e) Yes, because monopolies give an economical basis to otherwise poor countries.
- (7) It would depend on the size of the factory. If it employs no more than 100 workers then it should stay in private ownership.
- (8) Yes, he is in favor of it, if it <sup>allows</sup> ~~gives rise to~~ ~~XXXX~~ modifications, if the situation so demands ~~XX~~.
- (9) Yes, private life. One of the main sins of Communism was its not respecting private life.
- (10) Yes. The concept "citizen" includes duties and rights.
- (10a) Taxation has to be done according to income.
- (10b) Should be voluntary.
- (10e) Yes, the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ concept "state" includes duties and rights.
- (11) Naturally it <sup>did</sup> ~~had~~ improve but not <sup>at a rate</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ it might have happened ~~XXXXXX~~ in a democratic country.
- (11a) The agrarian and working proletarian classes.
- (12) Yes.
- (12b) It is being taken advantage of because the movie is the cheapest entertainment.

- (12d) The Hungarian is created to entertain and be entertained, thus he did use every type of entertainment available, even if ~~MA~~ it had cost much, as it did not, and even if he had <sup>had</sup> not ~~XXXX~~ time, as he did not ~~XXXX~~
- )13) No.
- (13a) Better
- (13b) Better
- (14) Better
- (14a) Better
- (14b) Approximately the same.
- (15) Of course, like in any other country due to the law of progress.
- (15b) Heavy industry was over emphasized and agriculture was neglected.
- (16) Just like Adenauer wants to divide the shares of the Volkswagen factories among the workers, that's the way this ~~XXXXXX~~ should be done at future times in Hungary. In other words, the Hungarian worker will have to be made interested in production.
- (16b) Completely.
- (16c) It should be compulsory because otherwise an unjust <sup>situation</sup> ~~XXXXXXXX~~ <sup>might ensue</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ For instance, if the members of ~~the~~ Trade Union would succeed in getting a raise in wages, this would provoke envy among those who are not members or, if it <sup>would</sup> ~~equally~~

- apply to members and not members then the members might right-fully ask themselves what is the advantage of being a member.
- (16d) Technically well equipped group to which a smaller group of skilled and unskilled workers should be added. The weight of the responsibility should be carried naturally by the skilled groups.
- (17a b c d) He repeatedly had said that the collective and state farms should be dissolved.
- (17 f g I) The upper limits should be 100 hectares. This limits applies to Kulaks and ~~XXXXXX~~ to <sup>Prince</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ Eszterházy who probably had the largest estates in Hungary.
- (17k) Yes, there should be free collective farms just like in Denmark.
- (17l) Yes.
- (17m n) They should be exploded - anybody who knows, the peasant knows that he only respects ~~XXXXXX~~ his ~~XXXX~~ <sup>property that he</sup> / ~~XX~~ does not want to use anything which does not belong to him.
- (17q) Definitely, we are living in the 20th century, aren't we? !
- (18a) They should be independent.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) Yes, but ~~they~~ <sup>it</sup> should not influence the independence of the churches.
- (18e d) Yes. Religion has a great curbing action, from moral viewpoints.
- (18f) Denominational schools, by all means. He himself went to one and he knows, from his own example, that it builds, <sup>at</sup> ~~XX~~ a very



susceptible age ~~is~~ such a moral basis which, even when later the faith is shaken, ~~XX~~ still has a great part in the life of the individual and thus the society.

(19) He would not punish the ~~XX~~ <sup>convinced</sup> communists by the way, these do not have high functions in the present system.

(19a b e They should be given individual examination.

f g )

(19h) This is part of history now.

(Respondent is rushing through section "I", because of the conversation he intends to have with me after having finished the interview)

(20) It is a generally known fact that the Hungarians were the ones who stopped the Turks, thus defended the Western civilization. Another step forward in world history is the War of Independence in 1848, and the Hungarian Revolution <sup>of</sup> October 1956.

(21) Yes, it differs from the one of every other nation.

(21e f) Yes, there always will be until social classes will exist.

(22) He ~~XXXXX~~ could not ~~say~~ honestly answer this.

(22b) ~~XX~~ Economical reasons and desire for adventures were at the basis of the emigrations

(22c) Yes, it was significant and this, as a matter of fact, ~~is~~ was always brought up by the Communist system and ~~XX~~ was a pretty powerful weapon to "conquer the souls" of the ~~XX~~ newer generations.

(22i) A healthy development was started and cut short in 1948.

(23) Yes.

(23b) Yes, Transylvania and the neighborhood of Pozsony and Kassa.

(23d h) Yes, the Yugoslavs hate the Hungarian people.

(23f) No conflicts between Hungarians and Rumanians.

(I looked up at this answer, and he asked me whether I like the Rumanians, as I am more indicated to answer the question, as a Transylvanian. I said that I did not care for them - at this minute, not even letting me finish the sentence, he said that they are despicable people. So the answer to question 23f is: "Hungarians hate Rumanians").

(23g) There is no conflict between Hungarians Austrians.

(24) He does not think it would be a good solution. The solution of Hungary is neutrality.

(25) After 1945, two Ukrainians stayed in his village - they very decent people, got even married (they married old maids though, because young women probably would not have married them, although they themselves were young); looking at the question through these two Ukrainians, he cannot hate the Russians.

(25a b) The Mongolians are animals, there are absolutely no good ones among them.

(22) At the time it was "given birth to," it corresponded to the historical situation. Today/<sup>it</sup>is dépassé, although many

truths are deposited in it.

(26g)

~~(26g)~~

There are common points but they differ in essence because democracy proclaims the freedom of the individual.

(26j)

~~(26j)~~

(j) Tito is just as far away from Marxism as are the rulers of the Kremlin.

(26

~~(26)~~

(h) Democracy means <sup>ethymologically the</sup> ~~a~~ government of people.

(26

~~(26)~~

(i) Never and there never'll be a pure democracy.

(27)

It is Communism attached to <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ field of interest of one nation with the <sup>leaving</sup> ~~leaving~~ out of the concept of imperialism.

(27e)

Yes, the <sup>convinced</sup> ~~convinced~~ Communist could very well <sup>be</sup> ~~a~~ patriot who foresees the development of his country along Communistic lines.

(28b)

Free elections and respondent doubts very much whether Imre Nagy would have stayed in power.

(29a)

Good.

(29b)

Bad.

(29c)

Bad- that it exists.

(29d)

Nothing.

(29e)

Bad-

(29f)

Bad.

(29g)

Good.

(29i)

The concept is bad in Hungary but this has nothing to do with reality.

(29h)

Good.

(29j)

Is not interested.

- (29k) Not interested
- (29l) Bad.
- (29m) Bad
- (29n) Good
- (30) ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ A Democratic Party.
- (30a) Does'nt know.
- (31) a. were not <sup>"raised"</sup> ~~advanced~~ b. more, c. less, d. less, e. less  
f. were not <sup>"raised"</sup> ~~advanced~~, g. more, h. less, i. less.
- (32) A. less , b. did not exist, c. more, d. more, e. more,  
f. more, g. less, k. more, i. more.
- (33a) In essence, there should not <sup>have been</sup> ~~be~~ any conflicts but there ~~are~~ were  
because of the fact that the workers had food problems.
- (33b) Coincide (they suffered together)
- (33e) Conflict (the provinces live better) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
- (33g) Does not know
- (33i) Does not know
- (34) He was not concerned because nobody forced him to go to America.
- (35) Nobody with the exception of the AVOs
- (35a) Everybody.
- (36) No.

(1a) He hopes that he has "illuminated" according to the best of his knowledge, the situation, mentality, and feelings of the new intelligentsia, <sup>"emerged"</sup> ~~emerged~~ from peasants and workers. Before he answers subquestion c) from number 1 he would like to say, in answer to question 2, that he definitely would like to go back to Hungary, in case ~~if~~ the system <sup>would</sup> collapses but even if ~~not~~ he might just go back to the border and look at their garden. It is so close to the border and yet so far now.

(1c) Americans do not have to be warned they seem to protect ~~themselves well~~. themselves pretty well.

(1)

(I do have many questions to ask you, respondent said. As a matter of fact, I want to warn you - warn you about your colleagues and the outfit you are working with. We believe (I and my colleagues) that you are sincere and naive and have no idea in what company you are.

To start with the beginning, we, the boys of Pasing, were brought out here under false pretences. We were told that there is nice swimming and that English lessons will be given <sup>to us</sup> by an American University. He took out an Hungarian English pocket dictionary and showed it to me. This is what we came out with, I and my colleagues. Instead of swimming and English ~~lessons~~ lessons, you keep asking questions mainly in connection with anti-semitism and we have no doubts were your outfit stands on this score. My colleague yesterday had a very revealing discussion with one of your <sup>it</sup> interviewers. He talked about ~~all~~ night, as a matter of

at

fact, we went to sleep/four o'clock in the morning.

(This statement was in a way <sup>borne out</sup> ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ by Bob Fishelis who practically had to take the boys out of their beds in the morning at 9 o'clock. They were still asleep).

We came to the conclusion that you, Americans, want to draw us out and check how much <sup>ant-</sup>semitism is left in Hungarians. That is the reason you are interested in us. This is what matters in the eyes of America, this is what matters in the eyes of the other Jewish organizations we were interrogated ~~xxx~~ by, Radio Free Europe and IRC. Isn't it strange that after not having helped the Revolution America suddenly gets interested in us? As a matter of fact, they do <sup>spend</sup> ~~pay~~ big amounts of money-also from this point of view, your outfit is the lowest <sup>they</sup> / Pick us up in big American cars (ever since we swore not to put our foot in any of your Chevrolets and want to uncover all types of secrets. We do have the answer to this. Did you see the movie camera and the Leica camera the young actor had? He has bought them with lies - he said that if you want to hear stories about different airfields, about military <sup>and/or illegal</sup> organizations, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ he can supply you with. The kid uses his imagination and thanks to it, he has made 700 Marks and, as long as I am confessing, <sup>now</sup> I ~~might~~ might as well tell you that all of us hate him for it. We hate him for having a richer imagination and being able to make money with it. Morally we would not mind lying either, but we, unfortunately, are not as inventive as he is. American outfits are generally all interested in Hungarians to the extent <sup>to enable them</sup> ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~



to prove that they were right in not assisting us, because we still are a bunch of fascists, a bunch of anti-semitists -- that's why the sugar coated questioning, that's why the false pretences about the lake, about the swimming, that's why <sup>we</sup> were whisked off without giving us proper time to consider your proposal. If you had had decent purposes, why could'nt you send a man ahead of time, give us <sup>a</sup> writing with a letterhead on, and explain black on white what your aims are?! You don't want to leave traces in our hands. But you certainly have traces of our mentality ~~in~~ in your files: "spit it out" now: At least that's what you think but I may ~~XXXXXXX~~ we all decided to lie. As a matter of fact, the actor said that he did not intend to reveal his profession because then he might be suspected of lying. I am ashamed to say that I personally did not keep the agreement among us, because you look so sincere that I could not throw the baloney. We talked <sup>this</sup> ~~XXXX~~ over among ourselves and I was excused for it, because my colleagues agreed that you don't seem to know what this is all about. As a sign of our respect, ~~in~~ we decided to give you a little gift. At this point informant gave me a picture of Jesus ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ praying that God should turn away the bitter cup he is supposed to drink. At the back of the picture is a prayer for Hungary editit cum ~~XXXX~~ approb. eccl. in Madrin in 1956. This picture shows that we do consider you ~~XXXXXX~~ as one of ours. To make sure that we are not mistaken in our judgement, our leader -- the man who came as a sculptor -- decided to case the joint. (Suddenly everything became clear

to me: around three o'clock in the afternoon I heard a very sharp whistle-it was penetrating and it was most unpleasant - the sound of it transported me years back during Nazi times when ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ in the streets, ~~XXX~~ pick up all kinds of signs given by different people, <sup>one would</sup> ~~one~~ did not really understand but ~~XXXX~~ sensed as being ominous. My respondent jumped up and went to the window and made a sign. A sign which somehow belonged to the underworld. I did not see it, I only saw his back and yet I was aware of something ~~XXXXX~~ going on very queer. In a second he turned back. My colleague, the sculptor ~~XXXXXX~~, has finished his interview. As there was some-

thing nasty in his tone, I did not ask: ~~XXX~~ "How come?" ~~HE~~ He only started it a couple of hours ago. Respondent waited a couple of seconds, and then said: He ~~XXX~~ finished your interviewer. I did not react and made believe that I never heard the expression.) Well, he did ease the joint and counted three Jews among the interviewers. But what is more, the spirit <sup>reigning</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ here is Jewish. Two of my other colleagues came to look you over under the pretence of swimming (this is true, two boys did appear in the morning and came back <sup>at noon</sup> and had lunch with all of us). We can outsmart you. Don't forget that we have lived years in a country where the AVO was powerful. We know that you, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ personally, are deeply attached to our country - that's why we ~~XXXX~~ decided to warn ~~you~~ and ~~XX~~ protect you. The dirty ~~XXXX~~ Jews you are ~~XXXXXX~~ surrounded with exploit you, they exploit you, and through you they exploit us, in the sense that they use your <sup>naivité</sup> ~~naivete~~ which you, ~~XX~~ your turn, use on us and ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>thus</sup> make us defenseless.

To finish the conversation on terms Americans will certainly understand. "We accept the money the "University" gives us, but we don't thank you, Americans, for it".

(After a couple of days, I received a letter in which respondent asked me to forgive him for having caused paid, sent more "sacred" and patriotic pictures (portraits of Petöfi and Kossuth) and repeatedly assured me that the boys of Pasing are here to protect me, and he, personally, could tell me many more interesting things, but only in a letter. He would not come out anymore to Feldafing).