

opened a valve. It is more of the fact that they are going to
 produce a breach of the dyke. The process was the same everywhere,
 not only in Hungary but also in the group found a compromising solution. Mainly
 because the Hungarian Revolution did take place. If it hadn't, then
 a Polish revolution would have ~~occurred~~ ^{occurred}. But they saw that the
 Hungarians were not helped by anybody, so they arrived at a compromise

(2 c) During the Kádár government, the Hungarians suddenly were struck
 by the realization that the number of the real Communists was
 very small. ~~They did not~~ ^{They did} speak, during his government and ~~at that time~~ ^{at that time},
 the respondent ~~did not~~ ^{did} say that the long-range goal was simply that the Russians
 should leave, but they did not care to voice their desire.

(2 d) ~~There was no~~ ^{There was} any relationship.

(2 e) The Hungarian Revolution was the consequence of the non-Soviet policies
 which were publicly announced that they wanted to make things
 more democratic. The best consequence was that the "Western"
 countries were generally the reactionaries and the reactionaries
 were the ones who were in power. This happened in every field.
 In the case of the Hungarian Supreme Court, which was an official
 institution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
 and which had to be ~~reformed~~ ^{reformed} at the level of the state legal system.
 At the time, the Supreme Court was vehemently against
 the revolution. It objected against the lack of judicial
 independence. The party did not care in the passing of all
 legislation, not in the political sense. Its influence
 was ~~very small~~ ^{very small} in 1960. Hungary

~~The situation was not as simple as it seemed.~~ The judges had to be objective, but leaning toward the Party. If one understands this slogan, one can easily become a Party ideologist in Hungary, he says. Actually, the lack of objectivity started with the ^{taking} ~~inception~~ of the personal case. That's when one found out how reliable politically the accused was. And if he was not suitable from the viewpoint of the Party, then the one who was against him was necessarily right. In connection with the changing of the ideology of the Communist Party, the respondent could not help bringing up the example of how difficult it was in Hungary to get hold of old copies of the Irada Mag. One could read them only with special permission. They were absolutely inaccessible to the general public and the person who asked for a 1947 copy was in danger of being accused as the enemy of the system, the accusation being: he wants to disprove us with our own words.

- (2 f) In connection. It was a parallel string of events, but psychological it did not influence the Hungarians. All they learned was what they knew already, namely that the Polish people, too, hate the Russians.
- (2 g) It was a sign of the turning to the Right. No, the respondent does not see Tito's influence in it, ~~because~~ it was only ~~when~~ secondary. ~~It would have taken place~~ It would have taken place also without Tito.
- (2 h) Yes. When the Petöfi Circle -- the company of the writers -- in September publicly announced that they opposed the Party, the article official record of the annual general assembly appeared in the Irada Mag. (Literary News.), for the copy of which people would offer half an hour after its appearance 20-25-30-50 forints

(the original price being one forin). After this appeared the Hitler Weekly at the beginning of October, (the copies of which were sold for 50 forins half an hour after its appearance, but you had to be a pretty good wrestler to get hold of a copy), then the founding of the VEFUS in Szeged on October 15. This was the point when four thousand members of an official Communist organization (OSZ) founded VEFUS a new organization and summoned the university students of the whole country to do similarly (they called up all the universities by telephone). At this point, the Russians mobilized. So not only this respondent thinks that this was a turning point, but also the Russians thought so, too.

- (B 1) Categorically yes. In every domain of public life, people rose in protest against the Party and against the Russians. They publicly demanded that Rakosi and his group be punished.
- (B 2, b) The completely hopeless economic situation, the minimal status of the Soviet regime and Russians and the feeling that ^{A.} ~~the~~ ^{the} Party were a visible part of the infernal ~~system~~. The Party was completely powerless against the writers. After it had excluded them, those who had not been excluded declared that they completely agreed with the excluded ones.
- (B c) It is extremely difficult to answer this question. That's when the demonstrations were made possible. That's when the crowd could voice its complaints, its grievances, and the brutal intervention of the Party involved it into a revolution.
- (B d) The Russian World War. After that we do what we want to do. There was no talk about distant goals during the Revolution.

- (4 a) Respondent thinks that the long-range goals differed according to the political convictions of the participants, but the short-range goal was the same.
- (4 d) Whether a person joined sooner or later, the first goal of everybody was the leaving of the Russians.
- (4 e) The people revolted against the Communist system and against the Russian people.
- (4 f) Free Hungary and that they should be able to direct their own affairs.
- (4 g) Worded this way, he does not understand the question.
- (4 h) Democratically elected sovereign government.
- (4 i) Yes, one hundred per cent.
- (4 j) Real Communists did not join the Revolution—but, of course, there is a difference between Party members and Communist. The minute a Communist joins the Revolution, based on a change in his ideology, he is no longer a Communist. Many Party members joined who had never been Communists.
- (4 l) According to his firm belief, the order would have been restored in maximum a couple of months. Free elections would have taken place. A government, strongly anti-Communist, would have been elected (not Rightist?). But this democratic government would not have joined the Western bloc: partly because it did not help, so the nation was and is deeply disappointed in the Western powers, and partly because it feels that the West is impotent, which was also manifested during the Revolution. I don't know if this is very clear, but what he wants to say is that because of the impotency of the Western world, the Hungarians would not have joined it whether it would have helped them or not. Of course, if they had effectively helped, they would have proven they weren't as impotent as many of

(CONT.)



the satellite countries think that they are, and, in that case, they might have joined. Necessarily, atrocities would have been committed, but they would not have meant anti-Semitism, only anti-Communism. People: they might have beaten to death AVO officers, but the fact that many of the AVO officers were Jews was not what really mattered. What mattered was that they were AVOs, not that they were Jews.

(4 a) No, not, again, he feels that the Revolution was necessary somewhere else ~~because~~ ^{because} that the other nations should see that revolutions cannot be made. Poland is in a transitory state which is not going to last, under this form, for a long time.

(4 a) He feels that participants, whether they were leaders or anonymous, were individual goals. Among the leaders, though, he thinks there were many who were personally greedy, who wanted to become rich or powerful. This applies mainly to the so-called big leaders, like Wladyslaw Gombor, for instance. But the small leaders became leaders that the Revolution should benefit from their personal ambitions. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

(4 a) Only Russia, I am -- only the Communists.

223 (5 a) No.

(5 a) He has a fairly informal idea of what was happening where, mainly through telephone conversations or through oral communication.

Question: Was he not confident to this respondent, at least he says ... that he would be in cooperation with because, I am sorry ... with the ... week. I don't think that the two-year stay ... XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX ...

it comes to atrocities, to fights, to blood, he prefers not to think about them. I repeat, he was most cooperative in the other fields.

(10 a) The newspapers had an encouraging, inspiring part in the Revolution, besides their practical part of spreading the news about the happenings. He personally read every one. Igassor, Szabadnas, Democrazia Romaniana, Kommunist, Wredner, Magyar Honved, Magyar Nemzet, Wladawa, Wawarabadsas, Nas Ulas.

(10 b) They were bought up, *snatched*, by finally not Communist papers, which gave expression to the voice of the people and gave the news more or less objectively. Meanwhile planes, taking off from Soviet airfields would throw down Communist newspapers, which, this way, could not be burned or destroyed, only illegitimately.

(10 c) He didn't understand the question. He did not want to understand the question. He is against the matter even in human relations. He is not interested in being cooperative. It is just a question of principle with him. He believes in questions which can be answered with a yes. That's why he said that he didn't understand Question 4.

(10 d) Yes, domestic and also foreign. Radio Free Europe, BBC, Vienna, London. He was interested in the echo the Revolution produced abroad. He was informed of internal events by his friends.

(10 e) He said that he didn't know anything about what happened in Hungary & about the telephone.

(10 f) He thought the witness's reliable and his communication was the most credible. *related*

... whether they were Party members or not, had been ... (He thinks that many ... judges as public prosecutors who had been Party members ... but served the cause of the regime.

(That's why the Party membership in itself does not mean anything.)

(11) ... A considerable ... A considerable ... He had ... connected with the Army.

(12) ... they have lost their ... completely.

(13) ... the public ...

(14) ... indicated until ...

stands of the workers. Three: organized and conducted the strikes
 four:
 and, ~~which~~ in most places also organized armed units. In essence,
 during the Revolution this was the solely functioning administrative
 organ. These workers' councils functioned without central guidance,
 although a central, municipal, revolutionary workers' council did
 exist and it was composed of the delegates of different workers'
 councils functioning in plants. These workers councils changed their
 name in the first days of the Revolution to "revolutionary workers'
 councils" and parallel ~~with~~ revolutionary councils were being organized
 within the Army, within the Police, ~~etc.~~ etc., etc. The
 democratic system would have kept many of the Communist organizations,
 namely ~~the~~ ~~system~~ of houses and flats allocation (in Hungary,
 during the last years, one could not rent an apartment or
 move only to those who had justified claims for living quarters.)
 The factories and the great estates would not have been given back
 to the previous owners. But the kulaks and the smallholders would
 have received their land back and the small industrialists could have
 worked freely.

(12) 21 They had no idea whatsoever why they were doing what
 they were doing. From this viewpoint, there was a sharp difference
 between the occupational and the reinforcement troops. The occupa-
 tional troops sympathized with the Revolution, generally speaking.
 They were at least passive, but the reinforcement troops carried
 out their duties mechanically, but nevertheless carried out the
 tasks assigned. The small group of Hungarians were looking for
 a ~~system~~ and the reason ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~system~~ ~~was~~ the fear. They were

extremely afraid of everybody, and for good reasons. ~~the~~ ^{wanted to make clear} the informant ~~had~~ ^{had} talked to ten to twelve Russians and they all ~~expressed~~ ^{thought that they were} ~~believed~~ that they had received orders and that they ~~were~~ ^{were} fighting the Americans. They actually looked in the Janos Hospital, for instance, for American soldiers. But, in all fairness, the informant ~~did~~ ^{did} say that neither of these troops treated the population in a hostile way.

(12 b) The old troops were shooting at the AVG in front of the Parliament; in other words, they did side with the Freedom Fighters.

(12 c) He had a strange admonition that in case of war the Russian soldiers ~~will not~~ ^{would not} ~~fight~~ ^{fight} very enthusiastically.

(12 d) He doesn't know about it. He suspects, rather, he knows that they ~~must~~ ^{must} have been in a considerable number in Hungary, but he did not hear about their functioning either before or after the Revolution.

(12 e) Not applicable in view of above.

(12 f) According to his belief, no. Moscow had lost its head also and, if it had had a line of direction, necessarily the Communist Party would have had it too. Before October 23, the Soviet Union held in its ~~hands~~ ^{as} the Party, but ~~since~~ ^{as} the power ~~slipped~~ ^{was} out from the hands of the Party, naturally the Soviet Union's influence was ~~considerably~~ ^{considerably} ~~completely~~ ^{completely} ~~diminished~~ ^{was}. During the Revolution, the Soviet Union had no influence ~~whatsoever~~ ^{whatsoever}, due to the fact that all the Hungarian organizations had been dissolved. After November 4, they held again the country ~~completely~~ ^{completely} in their hands.

(12 g) The form of the checking system consisted in the Communists spreading the belief that among the Hungarian people there are Communists.

Nobody knew who was Communist, ^{but} everybody was afraid of everybody. But, during the course of the ^{war} war, the writers and private people and officials started to talk more and more courageously and it slowly became apparent that there are hardly any Communists in the country. That's why the demonstration/ ^{could} started on October 23, when, from ^{the} 5000 crowd of ten thousand people, in a couple of hours, hundred thousand emerged and there, from the slogans colored communistically, in a couple of hours, anti-Bolshevik slogans were ^{made} made. And when policemen and soldiers joined the crowd, it was apparent that the whole country had one desire. At this moment it became clear as daylight that only the AVGs ^{will} were the enemy, and that's when the fight erupted. After the Revolution, the terror was restored. But it is now built on a different basis. Today we know, the ^{unofficial} official way, that the only enemy is the Soviet empire of two ^{hundred} hundred million people and we cannot fight them because, we now ^{know} know for sure, that the West will not help.

- (12) a) ... the best circumstances, he would have to go back to ... the witness had been conditional and during the Revolution ... judge in the Supreme Court.
- (13) b) ... his parents and a brother.
- (14) c) ... the circumstances. He was afraid, but lucky. He was not captured.
- (15) d) ... ^{the study of} pursuing economics or ~~philosophy~~ ^{philosophy} ... he changed his plans because ... to be a doctor or an engineer ... besides this fact, there are ... ^{it} ~~the~~ already rather well.

(13 e) He, he didn't think of anything else, but going back to prison.

He was not in good terms with the AVH because he was personally responsible for the liquidation of an AVO major. This happened in the "good old times," meaning before the Revolution. Through different manipulations, he made the major's situation untenable. He has worked in a garage as a repairman and he might have been lucky and been accepted by his former employer again. So, no matter how ~~much~~ ~~difficult~~ ~~his~~ ~~future~~ ~~would~~ ~~be~~ ~~in~~ ~~Hungary~~ he looked at ^{it} his future would ~~be~~ have been "rosy" in Hungary.

(14 a) Yes, it was useful from a national viewpoint. It awoke a world-wide sympathy toward the Hungarians and in case of peace talks after the Third World War, Hungary will be in a better position than if ~~it~~ ~~had~~ ~~not~~ ~~made~~ ~~this~~ ~~Revolution~~. The consequence of this Revolution is that the Soviet system cannot be taken from inside. For two reasons: First, in Europe itself the peaceful evolution which ^{has} started in Hungary ^(which has the advantage of being peaceful) is being brutally stopped now, and the leaders are ~~being~~ ~~terrorizing~~ ~~the~~ ~~terror~~—In other words, the Stalin-system. Two: all the suppressed nations, including the nations in the Soviet Union ~~are~~ ~~realize~~ ~~now~~ ~~that~~ ~~even~~ ~~the~~ ~~attempt~~ ~~to~~ ~~shake~~ ~~off~~ ~~Communism~~ ~~is~~ ~~completely~~ ~~hopeless~~. The useful side of the Revolution consists in the ~~fact~~ ~~that~~ ~~anti-Communist~~ ~~propaganda~~ ~~for~~ ~~Hungary~~ ~~it~~ ~~made~~ ~~possible~~ ~~for~~ ~~a~~ ~~very~~ ~~small~~ ~~subset~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~ (compared to the whole of Europe) ^{to} be able to leave.

(14 b) ²² The leaders of the Western world would not have publicly denied ~~it~~ ~~to~~ ~~help~~ ~~the~~ ~~Hungarian~~ ~~people~~ ~~and~~ ~~if~~ ~~they~~ ~~had~~ ~~threatened~~, ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~so~~ ~~openly~~, but if they had threatened the Soviet Union, the ~~situation~~ ~~is~~ ~~sure~~ ~~that~~ ~~Russia~~ ~~would~~ ~~not~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~intervened~~, because

It is more afraid of a world war than of anything else. But the minute she will feel that she is stronger just ~~XXXX~~ ^{by} a shade than the Western world, she will definitely immediately start a world war. In connection with the Western leaders, the respondent mentioned Eisenhower's speech. Apparently it did make a great negative impression in Hungary, because I have heard it mentioned many many times ~~and~~ ^{It is felt} ~~that~~ that the speech could not have been more inadequate under the circumstances.

(14 a) After East Germany and Czechoslovakia, Hungary is the most cultured satellite, in which the standard of living was the lowest, compared to the two mentioned before. With the exception of maybe East Germany and Poland, the terror was the strongest, the most intensive, ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ Hungary and, at the same time, the Russian hatred was the strongest in Hungary. Khrushchev had trampled into the mud the nation's ~~conscience~~ ^{instilled, in it, many} consciences and ~~distributed~~ ^{instilled} the hatred for the Soviet Union. While the revolutionary fermentation started first in Poland and while in Poland, with the ascendancy of Gomulka, a relatively acceptable solution was found, in Hungary Khrushchev and Gero opposed to the will of the people. And in Hungary the ~~outcast~~ ^{outcast} ~~number~~ ^{number} of Gomulka -- Imre Nagy -- was pushed into the background. In addition to all the factors mentioned, Hungary had a direct border line with the free world, and this. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

(14 b) ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~more~~ ^{more} liberal than Rakosi and HGO had ~~emerged~~ ^{emerged} ~~also~~ ^{also} with the Hungarian nation. The respondent believed that the first Soviet intervention is connected with the name of Imre Nagy and ~~after~~ ^{after} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~national~~ ^{national} ~~feelings~~ ^{feelings} got the best of it and that's when he gave

that memorable proclamation which rehabilitated him completely. ~~33~~

- (14 f) ~~significance~~. During the Revolution, soldiers like Maleter, Bela Kiraly, Jozsef Dudas, etc. Politicians had not much to do with the Revolution. The only man who might have had the trust of the nation was seriously ill at the time -- Bela Kovacs. As far as the human personality of the military leaders is concerned, the opinion of this respondent is not too flattering, but as soldiers they behaved admirably. ^{Cardinal} Mindszenty was extremely popular, but the informant does not think that he helped the cause of the Revolution with his speech.
- (14 g) ~~the~~ fifteen-year-old children. But Imre Nagy has the respect of the informant for his declaration of independence.
- (14 h) The writers, the intelligentsia, and the students were responsible for the breaking out. The unskilled, skilled workers, and the soldiers ~~and~~ its being carried out. The peasants, whether collectivized or not, ~~had~~ supported the Revolution, and the white-collar people were sympathetic to it.
- (14 i) ~~The~~ youth, whether students or workers, ^{had shown} ~~had~~ with their revolutionary attitude how much they hated the system. The prisons were full with young people and within the prisons, they were the ~~where~~ the most resistance toward the guards, the officials of the system in other words.
- (14 j) ~~the~~. ~~At~~ the demonstration, he clearly saw the outline of their future action.
- (14 k) ~~the~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~initiators~~ ~~were~~ ~~played~~ ~~by~~ ~~them~~, ~~even~~ ~~within~~ ~~the~~ ~~Petofi~~ ~~Circle~~. ~~XXX~~

(14 1) They enthusiastically supported the Revolution, but they did not
^{perform} ~~take~~ independent actions, at least ^{to} ~~be~~ his knowledge.



(1 a) Lawyer. Secretary at Supreme Court, then prisoner, then unskilled worker and during the Revolution was invited to be judge at the Supreme Court.

(1 b) Financial counsellor.

(2 a) From 1950 - 53 at the District Court of Kispest.

(2 b) Assistant Clerk

(2 c) Help the judge.

(2 d) Three and a half years.

(2 e) A tremendous concern. And it was very successful, thank you. It was the state.

(2 f) Numerous.

From May 1953 to May 1954, a ^{secretary at} ~~secretary at~~ the Supreme Court, one year. From 1954 to 1958, prisoner. (c) ~~Some~~ ^{the} concern was extremely successful. (f) It was really, stinking as a matter of fact, and most uncomfortable.

(3) Supreme Court Secretariat. It was ^{a very} ~~extremely~~ comfortable job, easy little work, but ^{highly} ~~highly~~ interesting, occasionally very ~~extreme~~, sometimes extremely revolting judgments. The relationship between him and his colleagues was ^{excellent} ~~very good~~. ~~His~~ ^{His} standard of living, while he had this job, was good, due to the fact that he lived with his parents.

(4) In 1950, his salary was 600 forints per month. In 1954, his salary was 1,500 forints ^{per} month. Eight percent ^D deduction for health insurance fee, plus tax on childlessness, plus old age ^{fund}. If these put together constituted about 8 percent of the total salary. ~~Some~~ ^{Occasionally} he received premiums, not significant amounts.

- (4 g) No.
- (4 h) It was rather low, yet one degree higher than the average salary of the intelligentsia.
- (4 i) ~~XXXXXX~~ Identical.
- (5) ~~XX~~ Eight hours
- (5 a) From 8.30 to 5.
- (5 b) Six.
- (5 c) No.
- (5 d) Yes, there were holidays, ~~XXX~~ all the Communist holidays, and he had 18 working days vacation.
- (5 e) 18 working days vacation.
- (5 f) They didn't take it seriously.
- (5 g) No.
- (5 H) No.
- (5 i) There was no norm system.
- (5 k) —
- (5 l) —
- (6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13) Doesn't apply.
- (7 a) Between 50 and 80. Doctors in law. Their economic and social status was very good.
- (7 b) Extremely confidential and friendly.
- (7 c) Of course.
- (7 d) They weren't.
- (7 e) Of course. (There were 18.)
- (7 f) No.

- (7 g) Yes, with many of them.
- (7 h) Of course, the party organization was very powerful. It did not interfere directly in the work, but through the chief justice it directed the way of passing judgments.
- (7 i) The chief justice had to be a member of the party. Otherwise there were no differences made between party and non-party members.
- (7 j-k) Does not apply.
- (7 l) In practice, it did not function.
- (7 m) Doesn't know.
- (7 n) Yes, in theory; no, in practice.
- (7 o) Yes, in theory; no, in practice.
- (7 p) It's humorous, but the answer is yes. Dr. Laszlo Pal and Dr. Gyula Szepes were known reactionaries.
- (7 q) Nothing.
- (7 r) To a lesser degree in the beginning, but starting from 1954 it was very pronouncedly so.
- (7 s) See (r).
- (7 t) See above (r). *Kadar But, to his knowledge, no informers.*
- (7 u,v) See above (r).
- (8) He was sentenced and has always arrested. Before his arrest, though, it was all arranged that he should take a job in the Defense Ministry as a legal advisor.
- (8 a) There were very slight chances of changing jobs because the Minister of Justice did not accept anybody's resignation, generally.
- (8 b) Lawyer.

18202

(8 c)

He likes his "trade".

(8 d)

He loves to see at work the legal mentality, plus financial reasons.

(8e)

No.

(8 f)

Definitely, in case of a regime change.

(8 g)

Of course,

(8 h)

Because the human nature wants to come out victorious in the struggle for survival.

(8i)

He'd like to live comfortably, read, listen to music, and travel.

(8 j)

No.

(8 k)

Of course, he wouldn't have wanted his children to do what he did. He would want them to be free and do whatever they please.

(9) (a)

Three members were working. They needed the money. The fourth member didn't work because he was too old and sometimes he would be getting his pension and sometimes, he wouldn't.

(9) (b)

His standard of living deteriorated as a consequence of the general deterioration.

(9) (c)

He could buy the prime necessities, to a less degree luxury articles, but he still could afford entertainment, *(theater, opera, etc.)*

(9) (d)

1. 5 1934 forints.

2. None.

3. About 150 forints.

4. 1000 forints.

(9) (e)

Nothing. He lived with his parents.

(9) (f)

It was a comfortable family house in Budapest *room!* His brother with his family lived there too.

(9) (g)

- (e g) About 400 forints His mother used to shop.
- (e h) About 300 forints
- (e i) Everything in state⁷ shops.
- (e j) Nothing.
- (e k) There were stoves^d stillsⁱⁿ and the gas and electricity services,^{to} and the procurement of fuel^{system} presented problems.
- (e l) He received medical care through the ~~State~~. S₂TK.
- (e m) Six days of special leave, due to the fact that he was doing intensive intellectual work.
- (e n) About 250 forints
- (e o) Nothing.
- (10) Relatively speaking, definitely yes.
- (a) Yes.
- (b) Extremely so.
- (c) The Soviet Regime.
- (d) In the course of time, the salaries decreased and the tempo of the work^{was} accelerated.
- (e) Excess Blackmail.
- (f) Robbery.
- (g) Yes, there were seminars held at the Supreme Court.
- (11) (a) No
- (b) Yes.
- (c) The overemphasis put on the heavy industry, the collectivization and the exaggerated^b Bureaucracy.
- (d) Didn't know about it.
- (e) The situation improved till 1948. It started to develop in a healthy way, but when the Communists took matters over, then it deteriorated.

- (f) Didn't know too much about it.
- (g) Thought that they'll never finish it, and that they'll never be able to fulfill it, and he was right. ~~is the latter part~~
- (h) It was healthier than the previous economic line and more popular.
- (i) Yes, the newspapers did ~~not~~ write about it.
- (j) It was better, due to the fact that ^{the} Communist party wanted to become more popular/~~because of the fact that the Communist party wanted to become more popular~~ ~~as the consequence of the program~~
- (12) (a) Extremely great.
- (b) Presence of the Russians, but in the final analysis the ^{material} consequences of this presence.
- (c) The workers and peasants.
- (d) No.
- (e) Elected the regime among themselves.
- (f) They fought admirably well.

- (1) Many. In essence, the whole system. But he would not want to go back to the Horthy-regime.— That's for sure.— ~~Some~~ many things ~~are~~ were not up-to-date. # Let's start with the reforms now. On the political level, introduce a democratic system. In consequence, ~~XXXXXX~~
~~XX~~
 wipe out the bureaucracy of any party which would direct or influence the state machinery. On economic level, dissolve the state-directed collectivist economy. Cease the state capitalism (that the enterprises factories and ~~XXXXXX~~ farms should ^{not} be in the hands of the state). Give ground to individual initiative. Make the trade unions independent of political viewpoints. Achieve the separation of the judiciary, executive, and *legislative branches*; ... Create the independent courts and revise the international relations. As well before, he is definitely for ceasing the state economy, but one who to determine what factories and estates should be given back to the original owners. He feels that, in connection with the great number, one should institute the cooperative system where the ^{affairs} ~~affairs~~ themselves attend to their ~~task~~ ^{affairs} through experts, but this is an important point — without the intervention of the state. The cooperatives should handle ^{their} ~~their~~ goods, ~~meaning that~~ ^{meaning that} they should be responsible for the selling, too. He would definitely institute the estates below 100 hectares; but definitely not those ^{determine the just} ~~determine the just~~ above 1000. One should ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{XXXXXX} limit between the two ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{XXXXXX} systems. As far as the factories are concerned, the two systems should be between 50 and 500 workers. In theory, he is not ~~for~~ all the many of ~~the~~ great estates or great factories, as far as ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} they have no economic drawbacks whatsoever. But in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} East and Europe, and especially in Hungary, politically and

psychologically it is unimaginable that a short man with a cigar should come back to the factory of Ceepel and declare that he is the owner. As stated before, this refusal of letting the capitalists occupy his plush armchair is for the public feeling's sake. Along these lines, ~~XX~~ he wants to emphasize that the new state will have to impose great taxes because it will have tremendous social burdens. But the respondent does not ~~think~~ that these taxes can be collected, because Hungary has many resources. For instance, at the present moment, it exports without any countervalue tremendous quantities of goods ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~, and not only doesn't ~~XXX~~ ^{it} get countervalue for its export trade, but it has to do it with a definite deficit. The dollars are needed ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{in order to be} ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{the present price} able to buy from Sweden and Germany basic materials for its war industry. So, coming back to the original point: ~~if~~ ^{thus} the great taxes, it is a fact that great incomes could be realized in Hungary, ~~XXX~~ one could raise the ~~standard of living~~ and people would be able to bear the heavy taxes.

(1 e)

1. definitely keep the SZEK (Szakmunkások Társadalombiztosító Központja - Center of the Trade Unions' Social Insurance). Then he would keep, under some form, ^{arrangement} that ~~XXXX~~ ^{under which} the employees cannot be ~~dismissed~~ ^{easily}. In Hungary, at the moment, one can appeal to a state organization. ~~Another~~ ^{type of} solution should be found. Even so, it would give self-assurance and a feeling of security to the workers. The third institution he would keep is ~~XXXX~~ ^{the} university system, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ ^{the fact} meaning that the university students are receiving scholarships without any exception. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ The bad part, under the present system, is that they are chosen according to "kader"-considerations.

This of course should be wiped out? But, as said, the fact that students should receive scholarships should be kept plus, compared to the present situation, he would want to add a point. Namely, that those who want and who can afford it financially, should be able to attend the courses at the university and pay for them. And a fourth point, which has to be borne in mind is that, in a transitory way, many many things will have to be kept. For instance, the rent restrictions should prevail for a long time, because there is a very small availability of apartments and houses in Hungary. The rent is small, but there ~~is a~~ ^{is a terrific housing shortage}. So, until the situation will be remedied, the present decrees governing the apartment allocations should be kept.

(2 a) Definitely. This is the most basic right -- ~~to~~ ^{to express} ~~one's~~ ^{one's} opinion and the fact that those who agree should be ~~able~~ ^{allowed} to join under organized circumstances.

(3 a) ~~Y~~ ^Y ~~is~~ ^{is} a difficult question. Yes, and no exception. From a political viewpoint the reason being that the people are extremely relieved if they can talk themselves out. And the discussions this ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~to~~ ^{to} be dangerous to a government which has a minimum of freedom.

(3 b) No. Not what is harmful to the present government, but what would be harmful, without any considerations for a party system, to the stability of the state apparatus. The state is the sum total of the ~~rights~~ ^{rights} citizens and against this concept one cannot do anything ~~more~~. Why should one be able to talk against it?

(4) Yes.

(4 a) Even then.

(4 b,c) If an individual has the right to voice his opinion against the government, and he does have this right, why wouldn't he have the right to express it en bloc? And the politics of any government can only be healthy if it is constantly informed ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ of the reactionary opinion and one of the ways of getting this type of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ through the granting of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ visual/information is ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ permission ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the functioning of reactionary assemblies.

(4d) In case of war, yes.

(4 e) If a government is democratically elected, then under no circumstances would an uprising be justified.

(5) Generally, no. But it is possible that, ^{mainly} along lines of heavy industry

(5 a) this type of an "exposition of the facts" ^{could be} necessary. The state, by its very nature, is that organ which has the broadest view and that the information, gotten through its organization, would be to the advantage of the whole community. This is especially true ^{if applicable}

^{due to} the so-called heavy industry, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{due to} the heavy investments, and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{namely its lack of} very nature, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{even} flexibility. This type of government information is prevalent, if not in an organized way, ~~at~~ industry state, not excluding their most liberal, namely, the U.S.

(5 b) The question sounds like: "What is the difference between a house of cards and a castle?" Well, if you will think hard, you will find some similarity. There is a lot of difference, in other words. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In state ownership, the state disposes of the income ~~of~~ of the corpus of the factories, plants, etc., while in a state ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ XXXXXXXXXXXX itself to giving directives as to the functioning of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ XXXXXXXXXXXX different factories, plants, etc. But the income and the

property do not belong to it.

(5 c) He is in favor of it.

(5 d) No. ~~State~~ ^{the} instigates people to undertakings and, without private profit, the economic life ~~is~~ becomes bureaucratized. If ~~the~~ private profit does not exist, then the leader of a concern, let's say a mine, is only interested to the extent which permits him to keep his position and maybe receive an occasional premium. In practice, this necessarily leads to ruthless exploitation, to a wasteful management of the resources. Example: ~~many mines~~ in Hungary, ~~where~~ coal has been mined from places where it should not have been mined, ^{in order} ~~just~~ to keep up the production and ~~show~~ show achievement.

(6) No.

(6 a) ~~Because~~ The light industry does not have key importance in the economy of a country. It accommodates itself easily and that's why the government does not see the necessity of the slightest state intervention.

(6 b) ~~The state~~ ^{did} ~~is not~~ ^{as} ~~intends~~ ^{decided against} to take economic, ~~but~~ ~~now~~ ~~he~~ ~~cannot~~ taking it, ~~so~~ ^{it is not possible to} ~~contact~~ distinguish between different forms of control.

(6 c) It proposes private management.

(7) No.

(7 a) ^A ~~Remove~~ ^{Remove} monopoly exclusion free ~~the~~ competition and there is no reason to do this. If the state needs income, it should get it from taxes. See America.

(7 c) Every one.

(8) ~~XX~~
 YKXHXIXYHXXHXKXHX

(8 a, b) He does not approve of it. But it is necessary in a certain form, ^{merely} maybe as an indication of the right way to take. Maybe only ^{function} in ~~statistical~~ statistical data. The government planning leads to ~~the~~ ^{it} becoming more and more involved in the economic life ^{in a typical} and ^{in order to prevent} ~~to~~ organize it. ~~It~~ it should click as the mechanism of a watch. This is beautiful in theory, but in practice it never, never works out, because, if a slight mistake slips in, ~~then~~ the whole mechanism stops or rattles. For instance, if somebody has forgotten to take care of the manufacturing of horseshoe nails, then, when this is being discovered, one has to use precision machines to manufacture ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ *them*.

(8 c) A common denominator: it did not succeed. Those countries produce less than they might have produced ~~XXXXXX~~ in a ^{system} ~~system~~ without a ^{fear} planned economy. In the ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{XXXXXX} of overproducing, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX} shortages ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ occurred.

(8 d) Not applicable.

(8 e) He has said as much as he knew.

(9) He approved it.

(10 a) ~~because~~ Transportation and communication are such essential and vital services that their guaranteed functioning is a matter of general interest, ~~and~~ ^{and} that private companies cannot be trusted to render them. From this point of view, the question sounds like: "Are you in favor of organizing the police as a private ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ enterprise?" This, in practice, would work out in the following way: If he has a ticket which shows that he has paid ten forints for

the services of the police, then, in case his mother-in-law might be murdered, he could run and ask for help. But ~~he~~^{if} he had not paid his dues, then his poor mother-in-law would stay murdered and nobody would bother ~~about~~^{to} finding out who the original ~~was~~^{has been}.

(9 b) No difference. No exceptions.

(10) He doesn't know about such government. In theory ^{the} Bolshevik state guarantees the work possibility but not in fact. In Hungary, for instance, there ~~has~~^s been unemployment. Rather, one could ~~always~~^{always} receive work, but the conditions were unacceptable. That type of working possibility can be gotten everywhere. As a matter of fact, he, as a refugee, is perfectly willing ^{to hire} ~~to employ~~ domestic help ^{to} ~~to~~ shine his shoes, clean his house, launder his shirts, iron them, cook -- even American food -- and he ~~is~~^{would be} willing to pay fifty cents ^{per day for these services}. There were the employment conditions in Hungary.

(10 c) He would be willing to work for a decent standard of living, ~~but~~ R. ^{finds it} the question ^{is} a little bit confusing.

(11) Definitely. The whole private life. (For instance, what he does at home, when ~~when~~ he marries, etc.) Private life -- one had none in Communist countries. ~~Strange~~^{people} would go into people's home and educate them, or check on absentees because of illness, or -- and he couldn't stop enumerating all the people, janitors included, who would ring the bell and one had to sit down and talk about: ~~how~~ ^{How} do you think ~~the~~ Comrade Rakosi's policy is working out? ~~one~~^{one} had to ~~talk~~^{talk} for hours ~~about~~^{about} the beauties of Rakosi's politics. Of course, the ideal situation would be if the state ~~would~~^{had} have a minimum amount of areas ~~in~~^{of} human life into

which it could intrude.

(12) Yes.

(12 b) Yes.

(12 c) Yes.

(12 d) Yes.

(12 e) Yes, because ^{this} ~~it~~ includes b, c, d, ^{etc. etc.} whatever is included in the laws.

(12 f) ^{it} ~~It~~ ~~is~~ is a moral obligation, then, of course, it isn't, included, but if it is a legal obligation, then ^{it is.} ~~it is.~~

(13) No. He left Hungary because he had these opinions long ago.

(14) Yes.

(14 a) He does not think so. Of course, in the absolute meaning of the word, "yes", because new drugs and new curing methods have been invented during the last twenty years, but, in the relative meaning, he feels that the answer has to be "no."

(14 b) Yes. The poor classes, ^{this} ~~it~~ included about everybody in Hungary, and take advantage of medical care because it doesn't cost much. The advantage of this is that one goes to the doctor with a small fee and that one can cure illnesses much more effectively than before. Of course, the ^{rich} ~~poor~~ ~~overprivileged~~ classes had ^{had} ~~much~~ better care before. The ^{sick} ~~poor~~ ^{people} received a reduced salary ~~to~~ ~~which~~ ~~they~~ ~~were~~ ~~entitled~~ ~~to~~ ~~receive~~ ~~it~~ ~~for~~ ~~a~~ ~~determined~~ ~~length~~ ~~of~~ ~~time~~. ^{for a determined length of time} But if the doctor did not give a letter that the respective person was sick, then, of course, he did not receive any salary ^{for a sick} ~~of~~ ~~course~~. ^{Kos, adit} ~~He~~ ~~had~~ ~~said~~ that in any factories the doctor had the responsibility on him and only a certain number of ~~sick~~ ~~people~~ ~~could~~ ~~be~~ ~~issued~~, so, whether a person was sick or not, he had to go back to work, if he happened to go to the ^{had been} ~~factory~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~quota~~ ~~of~~ ~~sick~~ ~~people~~ ~~was~~ ~~filled~~.

But, on the other side, it is ~~XX~~ true that, though ~~X~~ there were many checking ~~XXXX~~, ^{Party Officials,} all in all the situation was not bad. But it should be mentioned that there were ~~XXXX~~ ^{drug} difficulties (~~XXXX~~ one could not get foreign drugs) and, ~~XXXX~~ ^{flat,} as a consequence of the planned economy, if there was an influenza epidemic which was not figured in ~~XXXX~~, then in a couple of days, all the aspirin ~~was~~ ^{would be} snapped up and the country ~~was~~ ^{be} left without one pill of aspirin!

(14 c) If a doctor fulfills his profession, then ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{it makes no difference} ~~XXXX~~ whether he does it in a private office or in a clinic. Of course, a ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{private} physician is more polite, but that does not have much to do with the ~~XXX~~ diagnosis. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{Resident had} ~~XXXX~~ been operated on and ~~was~~ ^{had been} hospitalized and ~~was~~ ^{all these "services"} under dental care and ~~was~~ ^{was} first class ^{here}.

(14 d) It is a healthy thing to have.

(14 e) It's not ~~good~~ ^{pleasant} when you have to pay the dues.

(15) Yes, he thinks so. The movies, theaters, concerts are very cheap.

(15 a) Twenty years ago ^a / ticket ~~X~~ cost about 6 to 8 pengos, now the equivalent ticket costs ^S about 6 to 8 forints, ~~which~~ ^{thus} is very much cheaper. ^{Today} For the price of a dinner ~~XXXX~~, one could buy two to three theater tickets.

(15 b) The so-called middle class, white-collar workers. In the factories, the situation is worse because the salaries of the workers are so low that they have to very carefully consider even small expenses; ~~was~~ another factor of their not attending ^{plays, operas, concerts} as much as they ~~could~~ ^{should} is ~~the~~ ^{their lack of} desire. If they really wanted to, it would not mean a serious financial burden. A good public was frequenting the Opera. (By "good public" he means ^{he} ~~XXXX~~ ^{intellectuals} ~~XXXX~~ ^{isania} ~~XXXX~~ ^{seen} ~~XXXX~~). Of course, the Soviet plays were ~~attended~~ ^{attended} by the

people of the region, mainly that they should be able to talk about ~~it~~ ^{them}

at Party meetings. That's the reason they also read Soviet books.

R. wants to ~~say~~ ^{answer} In connection with this ^{the fact} that the books were very cheap ~~and~~ ^{that} beautiful editions of classical ^{foreign} writers.

(Balzac, Zola, Dickens, Tolstoy, Thomas Mann, Shakespeare), and classical

Hungarian writers (~~like~~ ^{were published} Mikszath, Moricz, Kosztolanyi,

Bubics, Karinthy, Ady, Jozsef.) But the Communist writers, like

Aszel, Zelk, Dery, Hay, ~~and~~ Kalman, were not read whether they

were gifted or not.

(15 e) The capacity of the Opera ~~house~~ ^{proved to be very} small; so, the Opera House and the concert halls were constantly filled, due also to the fact that until recently there were millions of Soviet movies and plays, meaning that there was ~~was~~ a very small amount of "free" entertainment.

(15 f) Anyone dares to take advantage of it can take advantage of it.

(16) This varies. There is always some serious shortage in something. The supply situation is mixed up. The foods are low in calories.

Generally speaking, ^{the situation} ~~foods~~ deteriorate during the last years.

(16 e) ^{those} ~~those~~ who have better salaries ^{and} ~~are~~ are more ^{well off} ~~well off~~ from the viewpoint of the Party, are better off also from ^{the viewpoint} ~~the viewpoint~~.

The workers are worse off because of their low income. ^{Naturally} ~~Of course~~ there are some types of food accessible only to

the selected ones (import fruit; ~~like~~ oranges, lemons, bananas, and sea fish). Periodically, pork was inaccessible, sometimes beef, and

were almost completely. Sometimes rice and sometimes import condiments ^{used} ~~used~~.

^{used to be tried} ~~There were~~ occasions when import fruit ^{was} ~~were~~ released to the ^{market} ~~market~~, but at such ^{high} ~~high~~ prices that, in practice, it was impossible to

purchase them. People of his income bracket could only buy them as specialties. For instance he remembers his brother buying two

oranges to show ~~him~~ to his children that such a curious fruit does exist outside the boundaries of Hungary and mostly outside of the stomach of those who, like he, could not afford them. The Premier was in the best position to buy ^{all types of} good and rare food and it was most difficult for an unskilled worker who had eight children.

- (17) The clothing is relatively not too expensive, but the quality is very bad. Thousand forints would buy a suit, but after having worn it once, one looks ^{ed} as if one would ~~get~~ ^{have just seen} out of bed. For 2000 forints, though, one could buy a good suit made out of woollen which had some wool in it. 250-300 forints would be the price of a pair of shoes.
- (17 a) He is basing his opinions on facts. KH
- (17 b) Those who had better salaries were able to buy ~~inferior~~ ^{inferior} ~~weaker~~ quality of the export woollens, which were not taken over by foreign countries ~~just~~ because of their inferior quality. Those who were in a higher income bracket could ~~have~~ ^{afford} ~~make~~ occasional trips to Czechoslovakia and buy there relatively cheaply much better quality clothing. A Hungarian worker, though, could ~~hardly~~ hardly afford the worst quality clothing. KH
- (18) Yes.
- (18 a) The industry developed everywhere and the Hungarian government put a big emphasis on its development.
- (18 b) Generally it is good, but ~~was~~ ^{the} forced industrial development ~~was~~ ~~was~~ in Hungary was a little bit top heavy. As Hungary does not possess basic materials for industry, it would have been much smarter to concentrate on the manufacturing of precision equipment, for instance.

- (18 c) Definitely. It should have been done by Hungarians and not Communists and the goal should have been the prosperity of Hungary and not that of Russia.
- (19 a) & b) If the system will change, the cooperatives will automatically disintegrate. The privately owned big estates will not be reinstated, *at least* he does not think so. The smallholdings are more profitable than a big estate. It will become necessary for the peasants to found farmers' cooperatives, *the latter should be* and administered but not owned by the state.
- (19 c) & d) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Cannot answer these, because they are technical questions and they are much too complicated for a lawyer.
- (19 f) He cannot answer *it*
- (19 g) Cannot answer. *it*
- (19 h) He strongly believes that it could.
- (19 i) At present not even the state profits ~~in~~ *the latter* burdens the privately-owned farms with such taxes and compulsory deliveries that, *in this way,* they yield a considerable material advantage to the state. But this situation does not prevail, as far as state farms are concerned. There are being protected by the state. They are being kept up for purely ideological reasons and the only ~~persons~~ persons who profit ~~from~~ are the Party secretaries and the presidents of these cooperatives. ⁰ Otherwise they would be chaumeurs. As the members of the present cooperatives are interested in a very little degree in the production, they loaf.
- (20) All he knows is that the mechanization of agriculture should be done, *and* otherwise subquestions a, b, c, d, e are technical questions.
- (21) ~~It~~ is a purely technical question. How and what factories should manufacture. These problems cannot be decided by plebiscite.

- (21 a) They should defend the workers' interests and be completely independent
& b
~~XXXXX~~ of politics.
- (21 c) The membership should not be obligatory.
- (21 d) One had to pay a membership fee and accept responsibilities together with the totality of the members (strikes, etc.)
- (21 e) It was not a great amount, but the membership had no positive side whatsoever, so actually it was a great amount, because people paid for nothing.
- (22 a) No. The membership in itself did not mean much. Between the years 1945 and 1948, many people were obliged to enter the Party, but could not ~~XX~~ give up membership. The ~~responsibility~~ ^{later} ~~XXXXX~~ should not ~~XXXXX~~ bring any disadvantages (he himself was not a Party member!). Everyone should be judged individually. There were people who were not members of the Party, but behaved more aggressively and worse than the majority of the Party members.
- (22 b) They have to be held responsible through judiciary means for the ~~political~~ law offences committed on the basis of the 7th Article of ~~XXXXX~~ (the Communist ~~XXXXX~~ ^{XXXXX}).
~~XXXXX~~
- (22 c, d) Individual ~~XXXXX~~ ^{judging} by ~~the~~ legal authorities.
- (22 e, f) The same applies to the youth organizations and police. The ~~XXXXX~~ ^{in itself} membership in the AVS/should be punishable.
- (22 g) None.
- (22 h) The ~~XXXXX~~ were hunted. No ~~XXXXX~~ ^{one} else

(23a, b, c)

He does not know the details. He never studied this problem intensively^s. The basic difference consists in the fact that before 1944 everybody who had money could go to school; now only those who are suited for it politically. As a consequence, many talented young people do not have the opportunity to study. But it is good that the studying does not pose any financial problems.

(23d)

Extremely important.

(24a)

Yes.

(24b)

All should be independent.

(24c)

Does not find it necessary.

(24d)

Respondent feels that the teaching of religions is necessary. It is indeed a good thing for everybody to learn about his own religion in order to be able to decide when he is grown up whether he wants to belong to that denomination or to another one. But this problem is extremely difficult from a philosophic point of view.

(24e)

No. But this was covered under (24a).

(25)

The most important phase of the Hungarian history was the fights against the Turks and the Germans. Almost all of Hungary was ~~was~~ destroyed at one time, but, in final analysis, the Hungarians were the ones who stopped the Turks and thus saved Austria and the rest of the Western countries, and the Hungarians were those who stopped ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{entire} ~~the~~ expansion of the Germans toward the Balkans.

- (25b) Compared to the number of the Hungarians, respondent feels that they are represented ^{adequately} ~~adequately~~ in the fields of arts and sciences.
- (25a) Respondent believes that there was a great difference ^{as} between social classes, meaning that the upper social strata were well off also from a financial viewpoint, while the lower strata were undoubtedly in great misery. He does not believe that it was a Bolshevik propaganda that the Hungarian class struggle ^{was} extremely acute.
- (26b) It is clear that this happened because of the bad economic conditions.
- (26c) Yes.
- (26d) One cannot persistently fight the spirit of the century. The monarchy was just backward from the point of view from the form of government ^{as} ~~as~~ ^{as} Czarist Russia was. The feudal system cannot exist today, just as the slave system cannot exist (the Soviet government tries to ^{on} camouflage its slave character).
- (26e) There were very great mistakes. Horthy and his men did not get rid of the past, either economically or politically. In essence they wanted to continue more or less the monarchy, but despite everything the country progressed at a great tempo in every field. The standard of living was rising, and from a point of view of politics it did represent a big step ^{to} ~~far~~ in comparison with the monarchy. Of course, one could not restore anything similar to the Horthy regime, because today ^{the} ~~the~~ people are much more mature than they were around the '20s and '30s.

- (25f) Extremely great.
- (26g) Hungary should have stayed neutral, although this would have been extremely difficult to carry out.
- (26h) It was quite confusing. There was a democracy which was ~~was~~ ^{rather a} pseudo-democracy and which basically was camouflaged dictatorship (see the Béla Kovács affair, the ~~question~~ had to play, etc.)
- (27a, b, c) Yes, it ~~can~~ exist and it differs from any other nation's ethnic character.
- (27a, b, c) In what the Hungarian ethos differs would be the subject of a study after a very serious preparation. He could not answer it on the spur of a moment.
- (27d) The character of a nation during one decade does not change. Of course, more modifications might have happened. Some characteristics ~~were~~ became more pronounced, but basically the Hungarian ethos stayed unchanged during the last 1000 years.
- (27e) Of course, every social stratum had its special characteristic.
- (28)(a, b) An ideal situation would occur if the borderline would disappear. It would be ideal if the relationship among countries would be the same as the one existing between the different states of the United States of America. Why? Let's imagine that the 48 states would become independent and one would need a passport from New York to go to New Jersey, and one would be subjected to

(28c,d)

customs. In Europe, this is the situation which prevail~~s~~.
Many Hungarians lived ⁱⁿ ~~under~~ Rumania~~s~~ and Czechoslovakia~~s~~.
~~fact=38~~ If there are, and unfortunately there are,
borderline plebiscites should decide where the territory
in question should belong to. Of course this is a utopia
because not national rights are decisive, only the interests
of the more powerful. Taking this into consideration, ~~it~~
~~is not possible to say that~~ respondent feels that
there is a need for a strong state in the basin of the
Danube. Maybe on a federal basis.

(28e)

No.

(28f)

There are certain conflicts, but according to respondent,
they could be and should be eliminated.

(28g, h, i, j, k, l) In a lot of data, he cannot give an answer. ~~There are~~

(28m)

Undoubtedly ~~exists~~ there are conflicts. The Jews are
extremely gifted generally, and accordingly are very
powerful, but respondent does not feel that the conflicts
are of a tragic ~~scale~~ proportion (for instance, during the
revolution there would have been occasion for pogroms but
there was no question about them.)

(28n)

Not from a racial view point. They cannot assimilate,
basically, only superficially.

(29)

It could be extremely useful. The long-range goal would be
the united Europe.

(29a)

Naturally on the basis of complete equality. Wipe out
the customs and the political borderline. Within the
individual state ^{then} should have internal independence.

- (29b) ^{the} Immediate goal would be the defense of ^{the} interests of the federal ~~states~~ states. There should be a coordination, coordinated finance, and defense, and external affairs ministries.
- (29c) As the most developed among the ^B Balkanic states, ~~and~~ Hungary should ^{be} primus inter pares.
- (29d) Respondent has in mind a Balkan federation. This combination could maintain good relationships with the rest of the Eastern European States.
- (30a) They differ from a racial point of view.
- (30b) Yes, they differ individually, too.
- (30c) Far from it.
- (30d) No.
- (30e) It isn't customary to greet ^{an} inimical army with big ovations, especially if it behaved ^s like the Russians did and does.
- (30f, g) Hungarians always hated them.
- (31) Respondent considers it a simple and primitive theory. The good which was accomplished by the Communists ~~for~~ (Satz) could have been accomplished without Marxism just as well.
- (31b) Basically he feels that each point has a "b" part, but to talk about it would be the subject of a book, or at least the subject of an examination at a university.
- (31c) (d) At the university, Professors [redacted] (1946) and [redacted] (1947) gave courses in Marxism, Both

were anti-Marxists. In 1949, Sándor Szalai held pro-Marxist courses (following his was the Social Democrat).
 In 1953, respondent had compulsory seminar courses (two hours per week) for seven months.

- (31e)f,g,h,i) Marxism is an empty frame filled with explosive phrases and faulty conclusions. This frame--within certain limits--can be filled up by everybody as he wishes.
- (31k) A democrat recognizes ^{that the} ~~the~~ will of the majority ~~is~~ ~~is~~ is the one which should be followed.
- (31l) In essence, never. But, much more during the Horthy Regime than before or ever since (the 1945-46-47 democracy was an illusion).
- (31m) He is a Marxist and is far from being a democrat.
- (32) The national Communists want to carry out Communism by taking into consideration the specific conditions of a certain country. The goal is Communism within the borders of a certain country. Naturally, parallel to this, the increase of the ~~strength~~ external strength of the country. In practice, this means that the clique which ^{has} ~~has~~ grabbed the powers, wants to reign in an absolute way on his own ^{dung-} ~~hill~~ ~~at~~ and wants to become completely independent of the Moscow clique.
- (32a) "National Communism" was only the slogan which prepared the revolution. Nobody took it seriously. Nobody fought for it.

- (32b) Gromulka is a Communist, but would love to become independent.
- (32d) See question (32).
- (32e) The two concepts exclude each other.
- (33) If he had stayed in power, conditions would have improved for a certain period of time. He might have taken the road Gromulka ^{did} ~~is~~, but probably with less success. Gromulka himself is as successful as he is because the Hungarian revolution did take place.
- (34) He does not think that any of the terms mentioned above are especially good.
- (35) He doesn't know because he doesn't have any data. In essence, he feels that the opinion would be similar to his.
- (36) Basically everybody received less because the whole country was exploited by the Soviets, and in addition, the economic system was extremely bad. Only those constituted exceptions who were working "on the slippery field of politics".
- (37) Every group was better off, taken in ^{the} absolute sense of the word. Relatively, there were shifts to the advantage of the artists, scientists, sportsmen, engineers, and doctors. By this respondent means that the living standards of the not mentioned group deteriorated even more than those of the above mentioned categories.
- (38) (c-1) Naturally, each group has specific interests which differs from those of the others. But, of course, there are common interests too.

(39a)

The AVH would fight for the regime. Nobody else.
Everybody else would be against the regime. But,
there is no telling who would fight with arms again.