

Party had weakened.

(3a) (3b)

The people dared voice their opinions (Pecóri Circle) at the Party meeting in July 1956, of the ~~Small~~ ^{Dej} boat factory, Rakosi was publicly criticised; ^{at the} annual general assembly of the Writers Union ⁱⁿ September 1956.

(3c)

This is difficult to explain. The AVH's attitude—by opening fire on the ~~peaceful demonstrators~~ peaceful demonstrators incited the crowd which became more and more courageous.

(4a)

The general goal was the liberation of the nation, although there were also elements ^{who} fought for individual-careerist goals and, of course, there were "built-in" AVHs who tried to cause disintegration.

(4c)

Naturally.

(4d)

It varied. Freedom fighters acted on the basis of ideological motives while the AVH acted on the basis of received orders.

(4e)

Unrestrained terror, low standard of living and the fact that Hungary was a satellite country.

(4f)

They were for an independent free democratically governed Hungary.

(4g)

Respondent does not think that the question is well worded,-- he would say "What were" instead of "What would have been" because at that time if in Hungary there was complete freedom of expression.

"Russians Go Home"

"Free Elections"

"Democratic ^FForm of Government"

(4h)

A ~~the~~ neutral/~~countries~~ ^{country,} led by a government elected through democratic procedures, and striving for the economic prosperity.

(4i)

Definitely, 99 percent.

(4j)

Those Communists who joined/^{had} adhered to the Communistic form of government solely for financial benefits and not for ideological reasons.

- (4l) The crowd would have been more divided. The brutality of the Soviet troops created the homogeneous, uniform national resistance.
- (4m) No.
- (4n) ~~Some~~ Careerist individuals, and "built-in" ~~the~~ AVOs who, after the Revolution had been suppressed, were legally recompensed for their betrayal.
- (4o) ~~→~~ Those who, after ^{defeating} ~~beating~~ the Revolution, received abundant financial rewards (AVOs).
- ii Faithful Communists (they were in a very small number ~~because~~ ⁱⁿ the Party, ~~because~~ ^{stressing} of their ~~adherence~~ ^{to} the Marxist-Leninist principles, ~~they~~ ^{they} were not tolerated by ~~the~~ ^{those} Bolsheviks who were turning according to the momentary situation of world politics--see the 1918 Hungarian Communists).
- iii Those who had acquired jobs which surpassed their qualification, skill and talent and thus had the advantage of a material remuneration which they could not have gotten in any other form of government but in the so-called People's Democracy.
- (5a) Yes.
- (6a) On October 22, he took part at the university of Veszprem (heavy industrial chemical university) ^{at} the founding of the MEFESZ. On October 23, they ~~had~~ printed leaflets and distributed them to the neighboring industrial areas. There was an armed brawl with the AVH guard at the ammunition factory of ~~the~~ Balatonfüzö. On October 24, they set up the University's ~~own~~ two-way radio station. The disarming and the liquidation of the regional AVH major department took place on the same day, also.
- October 25--the organization within the University of the national guard and the founding of the ~~the~~ Revolutionary Council.
- October 26--the capturing ~~of~~ ^{by a} group of 30 freedom fighters of the AVH, ^{hiding} in the woods around Zirc.

October 27, 28, 29--the escorting of a food and drug supply to Budapest.

October 29--small armed clash with the guard ^{at} an armored car accompanying a Soviet food supply convoy of trucks. Allegedly Major General Zuckov, ~~administrative~~ commander of the Soviet military bases at Hajmanker, died in this clash.

October 30-November 3-- ~~that~~ the taking over of the press and all other communications.

November 4, 5--he fought in the town of Veszprez.

(6b) Partly due to his conviction, ^{and} partly acting ^{upon} the orders of the NEFEZSZ Committee (referring to his services rendered at the press and communications system).

(6c) Through the NEFEZSZ.

(6d) He did not think of consequences.

(6e) He does not think that any disadvantage might have issued from not taking part.

(6f) See (6a).

(7) Not applicable.

(8a) He belonged to a university group.

(8b) The group was formed under the guidance of the officers teaching ^M military art at the University (his rank was that of a lieutenant, ~~colonel~~ but his assignment was that of a ~~major~~ major; the system does not have the required number of officers with the appropriate rank so they assigned the duties of a major or colonel to ~~various~~ second lieutenants, lieutenants or, in the ^{best} ~~last~~ case, ^{to} captains. A ~~queer~~ queer situation ensued out of this, also as far as salaries ^{were} ~~was~~ concerned).

(8c) Everybody was assigned to a certain post and this assignment could be changed later only through receiving orders from headquarters.

~~(S1) (S2) (S3)~~

The university student body was divided in ^{to} (1) ^{an} adequate number (around 200) of people to take care of the main regional functions, namely the food supply and the management of the telegraph and telephone services, ~~and~~ the settling of matters pertaining to the police and ~~(2)~~ to the revolutionary council. (2) There were ^{two} ~~three~~ ^{groups of 30-40 people fighters} ~~the so-called storming companies~~ ^{whose} purpose was to restore order and ~~to~~ take care of matters which needed immediate armed attention. (3) ¹ In addition to numbers ~~one~~ and ² ~~two~~, there were about 200 people who had the task of organizing the regional national guard.

(8d)

As far as he knows, many of them left the country. One of the storming companies was, at the moment of the second Russian attack (November 4), in the mountains of Bakony and ~~they~~ joined later the guerrilla fighters of ^{that} ~~the Bakony~~ region.

(8e)

Number 1 and 3 had individually one revolver. Number 2, the ~~main~~ storming companies, had for each group two to three heavy machine guns; individually, one machine pistol, one gun with attached field glass, enough ammunition for an extended siege; two trucks plus one personal car for the commander; 4-5 light machine guns; individually, one to two empty tank grenades, adequate quantity of hand grenades, field glasses, maps; 10 rocket pistols and one two-way radio set. All these supplies were given to the university youth by military units from their arsenals. At the university, they had mine-throwers and flame-throwers. The members of the storming companies had been ~~selected~~ ~~the best~~ ~~students~~ the best students during the summer military training period and proved to be 100 percent for the cause of the Revolution. They were excellent soldiers and enthusiastic freedom fighters, at the same time, because they managed to hold the fortress of Veszprem for four days against 600 Soviet soldiers and 10 armored cars!

- (8f) It was a military organization. The joining of it was voluntary and a strict discipline prevailed.
- (8g) Yes, the above, - He was an officer, he came from a peasant family, was 100 percent for the cause of the Revolution and had four years of ^M military ^A academy. He was elected by the university students.
- (8h) Those who had received the necessary military training, and did not look at the Revolution from the viewpoint of ~~mere~~ material gain, but ardently desired the creation of a democratic Hungary.
- (8i) On the basis of the order of the leaders.
- (8j) They were well informed through the communications system set up by the regional ^Revolutionary Councils.
- (8k) Through telephone, ~~and~~ radio and, through messengers ~~and~~ ~~communication~~
 for small distances ~~was used~~.
- (8l) Exclusively with higher military headquarters and with the ^Revolutionary Council.
- (8m) Within the university, yes.
- (8n) One cannot talk about the "absolute authority" because the Revolution ~~was~~ stood on the basis of complete democracy.
- (8o) Not in Veszprem.
- (8p) ~~Because~~ They were in the greatest harmony because the workers always accepted the decisions thought out by the students, decisions which served the interests of the whole nation.
- (8q) Yes, it was a KEFESZ group in close contact with the regional ^Revolutionary Councils.
- (9) Not applicable.
- (10a) The importance of the newspapers was great, but they gave news about military events only to the population which kept itself aside from military actions. The fighters had knowledge of military events

through their individual news sources.

- (10b) After a ~~published~~ ten year period of Communistic press, the public received the newspapers with bursting exuberance and joy.
- (10c) He heard about everything, practically everything, ^{also} ~~although~~ orally. Unfortunately, the news received this way was biased and exaggerated.
- (10d) ^{As} it was his official duty to listen to the radio, the "employees" of the news gathering service would listen to the most important foreign and domestic radio stations, ^{would} and compare the news and group ^{them} ~~to~~ according to the subjects they dealt with.
- (10e) Yes, almost everything about events going on in the immediate neighborhood. In connection with this question, respondent wishes to add that the Hungarian ^Post ^{al Service} employees were on duty day and night, even at the smallest stations, ^{this} ~~that~~ helped the cause of the Revolution, considerably.
- (10f) ~~When the news was received through messengers, telephone, eye witnesses;~~ ^{orally} The news received news which was reliable ~~and~~ ^{when it} ~~that~~ came from reliable people and the orally received was most unreliable if it came from unreliable people.
- (10g) The local news was received through messengers, telephone, eye witnesses; the news from remote parts of the country was received through two-way radio sets.
- (11a) They ~~surrendered~~ ^{announced} their dissolution and their buildings were occupied by the new organizations.
- (11b) After the removal of elements generally known as ~~undesirable~~, ^{undesirable} they/continued to function.
- (11c) It ~~ceased~~ ^{ceased} to function; its/dispersed members ~~surrendered~~ were either carrying on more or less individual guerrilla fights, or had died ~~conspicuously~~.
- (11d) After the removal of undesirable elements, the courts suspended temporarily their functioning.
- (11e) The majority aided with the Revolution and ~~founded~~ founded their

revolutionary organizations.

- (11f) The old ones were dissolved and the new ones existed only nominally.
- (11g) Resigned or ^{were} forced to resign and their part was taken over by revolutionary councils.
- (11h) Respondent does not know in detail about the events ^{which took} place in Budapest.
- (11i) Everybody--who had time--could ^{freely} practice his or her religion.
- (11j) Each organization of the old system was dissolved and instead ~~of~~ the most necessary ^{new ones} were ~~it~~ created,-- sometimes even more than necessary ^{until} November 2, 1956, twelve political parties have sprung into existence.
- (11k) Revolutionary ^{Councils} ~~and~~ and ^{their} ~~the~~ top organizations ~~are~~ (regional, Transdanubian variants).
- (11.1) Too many parties, ~~are~~ revolutionary councils, workers' and students' councils.
- (11n) The principle of self-government was ^{at} ~~the~~ basis. They were run by the elected leaders. ~~and~~ The primary organizations ~~handled~~ handled the problems of a plant or factory; on a higher level, they coordinated their ^{the} work with that of revolutionary councils ^S comprising a municipal or industrial area.
- (11n) The government corresponding to the peoples' will, which meant, according to respondent, a democratic government.
- (12) Yes.
- (12a) Yes.
- (12b) The old troops, meaning those troops which were stationed in Hungary, were ^{not} enthusiastic, and the reinforcement troops were looking for Fascists.
- (12c) He was surprised to see that during a period of ten years the Soviet army could be tamed only to this extent.
- (12d) They had disappeared from the neighborhood of ^{Verzpan} ~~Budapest~~.

- (12e) He does not know about ~~some~~ civilians who had defected.
- (12f) In view of the fact that the situation was changing, so to speak every minute, he thinks it was utterly impossible ^{for} ~~to~~ the Kremlin to give directives.
- (12g) ~~He~~ Before October 23rd, they were the masters of the situation. During the Revolution they felt ~~more~~ secure ^{only in} ~~and~~ strongly fortified buildings (in the Russian Embassy and the "Hungarian" Defense Ministry). After November 4th, they again became the masters of the situation but were constantly annoyed by guerrilla actions directed ~~against them~~ against them.
- (12h) Their system could be compared to a complicated automaton which, in case of a slight defect, becomes completely useless. The basis of the system is ^{the} ~~in~~ instilling fear and on October 23rd nobody in Hungary was afraid of them.
- (13a) He was forced to leave his country because ^{he} ~~he~~ took part in the armed fighting.
- (13b) ^{with} ~~with~~ his parents who came with him and one friend who also came with them.
- (13c) A ^{heap} ~~chain~~ of lies was accumulated in his head to be used according to circumstances.
- (13d) He didn't give it any thought.
- (13e) One thing is sure, he would ~~be~~ not have stayed in Hungary.
- (14) Naturally, and mainly from two viewpoints, one being the tremendous blunders committed by the Western world; he gave to this much thought, and cannot help remembering Eisenhower's speech when ^{he} ~~he~~ declared that ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~prayed that~~ ^{the latter} ~~the~~ achievements of the Revolution ~~should stay~~ ^{be permanently kept} ~~he~~ ^{he} knew ^{R.} that, the minute Eisenhower was praying, the Revolution was lost. He himself is religious, but he feels that the mentioning of God in that particular situation was not "diplomatic." (He wants to be polite in using this word instead of another) Then, secondly, he looked ^s at each building,
 > from the viewpoint of

- how it could be occupied or ~~how it could be~~ defended. He figured out, for instance, that the Library of Congress could be excellently defended.
- (14a) It was useful, it did have meaning but, ~~unfortunately~~, unfortunately, the losses were too great.
- (14b) Yes, with effective support which would have resulted in ~~prevention~~ the protraction of the fight and thus its flaring up and spreading all over the East European bloc.
- (14c) ~~Martial law should take care of the AVO and of all the double dealing elements.~~ Martial law should take care of the AVO and of all the double dealing elements.
- (14d) Within the East European bloc, the lowering of the living standard was the greatest in Hungary and, of course, ^{Hungarian} the national character contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution. The hatred of the Russians provoked by the events of 1848, 1919, and the recent Soviet occupation.
- (14e) According to his opinion, Imre Nagy is a man who has adopted the good side of Communism (general social insurance^s, National Health Service^l, the relatively just division of goods, expedient and controlled development of the industry, the emergence of critical mentality) and who, in the midst of the revolutionary atmosphere, being in possession of the confidence of the nation, tried to help his country in an extremely difficult situation.
- (14f) During the Revolution, he did not think of personalities. The only problem was the removal of the overt enemy. And this was not done by heroes but by one hero, *the people*.
- (14g) It was the armed nation (~~the~~ "history is not directed by personalities, but by ^{the} people" ~~is~~ ~~from~~ Lenin).
- (14h) In the effective fighting, - meaning the armed fighting - (1) students, (2) unskilled and skilled workers, then ^{the} ~~others~~ ^{least} lead the peasant;

- (14i) Knowing the mood of the Hungarian youth, yes.
- (14j) The Hungarian youth was that group which saw clearly the impossibility of the Soviet system--they were obliged to study the twisted Communist history and politics at school.
- (14k) The speeches ~~voiced~~ ^{Circle} voiced in the Petöfi had an indirect part. They were the ones which made possible the dismembering of the Party into sections. That's why it was not able to stop the preparations for the Revolution. The members of the Petöfi Circle were Communists and they did not want ^a Revolution, but they wanted to change the despotism, introduced by Stalin, into a form of government based on the principles of Marx and Lenin.
- (14l) The Hungarian peasantry did not yet get rid ^{of} of receding mentality, anxious for private ownership,--that's why it did not step into action overtly and only figured as a fifth column, ~~from the interest of the~~ ~~Revolution.~~

(1) (a)

had been

Since 1954, he has been a chemical engineering student. Before ~~that~~^{his}, he was a secondary school student in a ~~gymnasium~~^{gymnasium}, and ~~was~~ until now ~~has~~ he has held jobs only during summer vacations. He did some laboratory work and was ~~an~~^{employed as} an electrician and ~~repair man~~^{as a} in a garage.

(1b)

His father ~~was~~^{is} a mining engineer and ~~he~~ was employed in the Central ~~Transdanubian~~^D Transdanubian Coal Mining Trust in the ~~Map~~^D division.

2-8

(9) (a)

~~Not applicable.~~ *were*
His father and he ~~are~~ working to make a livelihood. They

(9b)

(9c)

~~a/strongly deteriorated.~~ *#* They could afford to buy the food but for everything else they had to economize hard or do some extra work.

(9d) (1)

His father's salary was 2650 forints, ~~and~~ (their family ~~was~~^{is} composed of three members. — He is the only child.) ~~#~~ Other sources of income would be the premia^{was} his father would occasionally receive. They consisted in 30%—40% of the salary, depending upon the production realized above 100%.

Deduction, taxes, compulsory loan, insurance would be 260—300 forints. ~~The~~^{the} Peace Loan would ~~be~~^{constitute} a great part of this expenditure. ~~It~~^{they} would be deducted ten months per year; and one can count ~~50~~^{about} forints for dues paid to the trade union and for different other forced expenditures. ~~was~~^{Sufficient}

~~was~~^{was} 2220 forints. ~~Room~~^{Housing was} 65 forints per month, due to the fact that they had official quarters. It was a comfortable three room apartment. ~~Qohgwas~~^{were not provided}, ~~meeting~~^{if you had not} official quarters, only through the paying of a big lump sum, called ~~key~~^k money, could one acquire a comfortable apartment. The furniture was very

expensive in Hungary. ^f One room furniture would cost 6000-15000 forints. Rents were generally low but there were no apartments to rent. ^f There was no crowding and the plumbing was adequate.

(g) They spend ^t about 400-450 ^{forints} per person per month; so, generally, they would spend for a three member family ^{about} 1000-1200-1500 forints. There was not ^{always} ^{queuing} ~~always~~ in Hungary.

(h) Usually each member of the family could buy, during the period of one year, one ^{rather two dresses for his mother} suit, one pair of shoes, two shirts, ~~two dresses~~, and one member would buy one top coat.

(i) His mother did the shopping. He didn't know anything about it. Electricity was around 40-50 forints per month. Gas about 30-40 forints per month. Fuel was about 400-500 forints per year. They received it from the mine, ^{at} ~~the~~ cost prices. ^(f)

(k) Seldom they ^{would} ~~are~~ have difficulties with the procurement of the fuel, in case of snow storms. They received medical care ~~through health insurance~~

(l) They received medical care through social insurance.

(m) Medical care.

(n) ~~On the basis of~~ ^{his} one family; on radio 10 forints per month, on movies 10-20 forints per month, on cigarettes 80-100 ^f per month, on drinking 40-50 forints per month, on newspaper 12 forints per month, vacations about 1000-1500 ^f per year. For their vacation, they went to the Lake Balaton or they spent money on the building of a family house at the Balaton.

- (10) (a) Yes.
- (b) ^eCategorically ~~yes~~.
- (c) ~~Yes, the~~ ^{The} Soviet State Capitalism.
- (d) It was ameliorated till 1949 and in 1956 it sunk to the level before 1938.
- (e) It was a brutal way of getting money for the state.
- (f) ^uHungary had paid the reparation payments at least ten times.
- (g) Yes, at the University. "History of the ^party, Marxism, Leninism."
- (11) (a) Yes, for the benefit of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union did ruin the economic life of Hungary.
- (b) Yes, the fact that the country was not developed according to its natural endowments.
- (c) They emphasized the part the war-industry played.
- (d) (e) Unfortunately he did not know the economy of the peace years, so he cannot compare what ^{had} happened before 1944 to what ~~was~~ happened after 1944.
- (f) It was set up for the economic rehabilitation of the country, and it did achieve its goal.
- (g) It was a badly prepared plan which surpassed ^{the} ~~the~~ economic strength of the country.
- (h) He tried to remedy the agricultural backwardness of the country but he had made also serious mistakes, ^tor instance, by simply stopping big investments which were already well underway.
- (i) Yes.
- (j) From some viewpoints it ameliorated, but from some viewpoints it deteriorated. The economic line in Hungary was a wavy line, just ^{like} the ideological one. ~~the ecological line, etc.~~

- (12) & (a) Each man takes into consideration material advantages.
- (b) Irrational armament and merciless exploitation and suppression.
- (c) Generally, the living standard of the whole country had been lowered, but maybe the workers were the ones who could afford the least, ^{barely even} ~~just~~ the basic things.
- (d) He doesn't know about it.
- (e) He doesn't know anything concrete.
- (f) They supported the Revolution 100%.

(1)

1) Democratic government.

2) ~~Economic and political reforms~~ ^{Policy} Reforms in the field of Economy

3) Experts in leading positions.

(1) (a)

In ^{agru} ~~economic~~ culture he would keep collectivist farming, but it should not be state owned. ~~It should be~~ ^{but} done like in Denmark, and he would keep plants, big concerns, and banks state controlled. The smaller ones, meaning, the ones employing less than 150 people, should be given ^{back} ~~back~~ to their previous owners. Coming back to the big concerns and the banks which should be state controlled, ^{they} ~~he~~ would ^{insist} ~~insist~~ the remuneration of employees according to their suggestions, and according to the profit realized from the accepted suggestion. This, according to ^{interview} ~~interview~~, is an important economic and psychological factor. One has to develop the employees' keen interest in the production. Another thing he would definitely keep under the new régime, would be social insurance.

(2)

Yes, within the limits of rationality.

(2) (a)

Because it is in the interest of the freedom of thought and actions.

(b)

In the fight of two parties, the bad sides come into evidence and one should always notice these bad sides.

(c)

No. Including the Communist party, keeping, of course, the legal frames (nobody is free to pursue activities the goals of which would be the overthrowing of the government), but, if a party overthrows a democratic form of government, ~~and~~ then the people have the right to restore it.

- (3) Yes.
- (3) (a) In the interest of the assertion of the democratic spirit.
(b) No. A government elected by the people democratically will not ~~be~~ be judged by the majority of the population.
- (4) ^eCategorically, yes.
- (4) (a) Then too. See above (3) (a) and (3) (b)
- (4) (c) It does have a great importance because people should see ~~that they are not living~~ that they are ~~not~~ living in a ^{real} democracy.
- (d) If a minority group wants to prohibit ^{armed terror} ~~without~~ the assertion of the will of the majority group.
- (e) If the government, misusing its powers, acts for ^a long time ~~against the interests of the population~~ in ~~its~~ its own interest or in that of foreign power, instead of acting in the best interest of the people the government of which it is supposed to be.
- (5) Yes
- (5) (a) The development of small countries, ^{which} ~~who~~ have at their disposal ^{small} quantities of raw materials, demand that these industries be under a uniform guidance.
- (b) There is a great difference between state ownership ~~between~~ ~~state ownership~~ and state guidance and periodically there is a need for each of them.
- (5) (d) Private ~~property~~ profit is good, ^{and is} ~~it~~ absolutely necessary to increase production.
- (6) (a) Yes, if ~~these industries are great industries~~ the above mentioned light industries are great industries, meaning that if they function in factories or plants employing more than 150 workers.

- (6) (b) One form of control is the one used by the state capitalistic system. See ~~Russia~~ ^{the} Soviet Union. Another form of control is the rational development of the national economy. See India or ~~the~~ national socialistic countries ~~such~~ (Germany and Italy).
- (7) (a) (b) Yes, especially ^{the} small countries where they might form the basis of the economic capital (in America it's collected under the heading ~~of~~ "Taxes")
- (8) (c) If the competition would cease completely, then ~~there would be~~ ^{might result} deterioration of the quality ~~of the product~~.
- (8) (a) He is all for it, within the frames of rationality, and it is necessary to a lesser ~~or~~ ^{or} greater degree in each country.
- (b) Rational plans can be carried out in practice.
- (c) ~~Due to~~ ^{Due to} the fact that in ~~some~~ ^{those} countries ~~and~~ it was overstrained, thus unfeasible, it resulted in the lowering of the standard of living of the population.
- ~~He is all for it, within the frames used by the Soviet Union, the answer is yes.~~
- (d) *If carried out* ^{within} the frames used by the Soviet Union, the answer ^{is} is yes.
- (9) (a) He is all for it. One just has to find the right way to make the employees--workers and ~~executives~~ ^{executives} alike--interested.
- (b) They're equally important.
- (c) No exceptions.
- (10) (a) Yes. He approves of it.
- (b) No danger whatsoever, in case of adequate reserves.
- (c) He does not understand how one could convert ^{into money} the decent living ~~into~~ ^{into} ~~price~~.
- (11) (a) Yes, because the lack of competition bears the danger of quality deterioration.
- (b) Small trade (hotel, and catering) ^{and} ~~the~~ small industry.

- (12)(a)(b)(c) Yes.
- (d)(e) Yes.
- (12) (f) No; only if the government is elected democratically.
- (13) No.
- (14) (a) Yes.
- (b) Generally, each group can take advantage of it.
- (c) At the clinic, ^{usually} mediocre medical care is being offered ~~and~~
 (it depends entirely upon the doctor's conscience), while in ~~the~~
~~office~~ of a private ^{office} doctor, first class medical care is
 offered in order to increase the reputation of the doctor.
- (d) It is absolutely necessary.
- (e) No.
- (15) Yes.
- (a) Entertainment possibilities are accessible to everybody.
- (b) Before 1944 he was very young. ~~Ever since he grew up,~~
^{Since his early childhood}
~~while in the process of growing up,~~ he did go to theatres,
^{his family and}
 operas, movies as much as he could afford.
- (c) It definitely does. The raising of the cultural ~~level~~ ^{level is} extremely
 important for a nation.
- (d) He had answered (d) under (a) ~~as to~~ when he said that
 entertainment possibilities are open for everybody.
- (e) Yes, for instance ^{at the Opera} ^{of} ^{here} Budapest are about
 1700-2300 candidates, ~~for~~ ^{for} 500 places.
- (f) Everybody who wants to go can go.
- (16) In 1940 he was very young. Compared to 1946, people did eat
 better in 1950. Between 1950 and 1956 he doesn't see any
 difference.
~~Of course,~~ Of course, those who have higher salaries ^{can} afford

better food. Only the latter group can buy chocolates and southern fruit, for instance.

(e) Generally speaking, the food supply is worse in the provinces than ^{it is} in Budapest and in ^{or} greater cities.

(17) (a) ~~He was too young~~ In 1940 ^{he was too young} to observe anything. From this point of view, he doesn't see any difference between 1950 and 56, but 1946 was a low point because of the lack of industrial production.

(d) He bases these assertions on his personal observations.

(e) The workers can spend more on clothing than the peasants, but ~~as a result~~, the peasants eat better, of course.

(18) Yes.

(a) Because it was developed.

(b) Yes, with the exception of the over-emphasized and unnecessary war production.

(c) Definitely. Not the Russians, and not the Communists should have planned it. The industrial profile of Hungary ^Iwould be different today.

(19) (a) Definitely.

(b) No. Those people who want to stay in cooperative, should be able to stay.

(c) The land should be divided justly, ~~is~~ with the exception of some state farms, which ^{shall be} led according to logical plans.


(d) ~~It~~ They should be divided ~~justly~~ according to Justice.

(e) Doesn't know anything about it.

(f) The land should be given back only to those who can farm it profitably ~~meaning~~ it should be given back to small holders

Kulaks
 and ~~collective~~ ~~agricultural~~ ~~production~~ ~~units~~ ~~have~~ ~~not~~ ~~been~~ ~~found~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~profitable~~ ~~and~~ ~~have~~ ~~not~~ ~~been~~ ~~able~~ ~~to~~ ~~maintain~~ ~~themselves~~ ~~as~~ ~~independent~~ ~~units~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~future~~. *has future. As far as*
 only intensive farming on small holding ~~is~~ ~~concerned~~ ~~for~~ ~~big~~ ~~farms~~ ~~are~~ ~~concerned~~, ~~whether~~ ~~these~~ ~~are~~ ~~state~~ ~~controlled~~ ~~farms~~ ~~or~~ ~~co-~~ ~~operatives~~ ~~led~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~peasants~~, ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~up~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~agriculturalists~~ ~~to~~ ~~decide~~. *should be*
 This is a problem he doesn't know too much about. *would be*

- (g) He has answered this already. Yes.
- (h) Very ~~possibly~~ possibly yes, but, at present, nobody has any advantage of the collective farming. It is a deficit to the state and it is a compulsion for the members.
- (i) Who should benefit from collective farms--those who work on it.
- (20) (a) No.
- (b) They should be ~~just~~ ^{trans} formed into private concerns having as goals the loaning of the machines.
- (c) Yes, they only ~~are~~ ^{served} ~~cooperatives~~ ~~or~~ ~~state~~ ~~farms~~, but ~~not~~ ^{was} at the disposal of the peasant who was trying to farm his ten acres.
- (e) He is all for mechanizing everything, including agriculture.
- (21) (a) They should represent the interest of the workers.
- (b) Completely independent.
- (c) It should not be compulsory.
- (d) Today, one has to pay without being offered any advantages ~~as~~.
- (e) ~~During~~ During the last ten years, membership in trade unions was a burden in Hungary.
- (22) (a) Answer for their deeds in front of independent courts.

- (22) (b) See ~~a~~ (a)
- (c) See ~~a~~ (a)
- (d) If they ~~hadn't~~ hadn't committed any crimes against the nation, then nothing.
- (e) See (d).
- (f) See (a).
- (g) The informers.
- (h) Generally, ~~the events~~ the events took place as described above, with the exception of those individuals who were shooting at the ~~times~~ ^{word,} and whom the angry crowds executed on the spot.
- 

- (23a) It is true that the previous system was feudal--Capitalistic, but it tried to offer everybody the best in conformity with the knowledge of the respective individual and the possibility of the country. The present system tries to force everybody down to the level of the minimum living standards established by it, which results in the exploitation of the whole population, with the exception of Party officials.
- (23b) In theory, yes, but with the assertion of Party policy and prevalence of individual favoritism.
- (23c) It is un^{ac}ceptable.
- (23d) The enhancement of general culture is the most important viewpoint. "The strength of the nation is in knowledge."
(Széchenyi)
- (24a) They should be completely independent.
- (24b) According to his opinion, faiths and denominations are equal until one does not try to increase ^{their} influence on ~~the~~ commercial or political fields. The latter should not be allowed.
- (24c) Only if they perform a public function (education) and only in accordance with the work performed, proportionately with the work performed.
- (24d) As private lessons and as a course only if everyone demands it and everyone is of the same denomination, thus, only on a voluntary basis!
- (24e) Only absolute minimum: above it, only on the basis of an agreement with the respective institutions.

- (25) The original settlement, Magyar Conquest of Pannonia in the last years of the 9th century, the battle fought against the Turks, and the War of Independence of 1848.
- (26a) It was good exclusively to those who served the Hapsburgs. The people generally did not live well.
- (26b) Due to the fact that the country's economic situation was hopeless.
- (26c) Yes, colored with the initial forms of capitalism.
- (26d) It was good for the reigning class, not for the people.
- (26e) The more one supports the government, the better one lives. Life was extremely unpleasant for the opposition (Communists). The intellectuals were paid relatively well.
- (26f) Categorically, just like in almost any other country.
- (26g) The government ~~was~~ ^{followed} the best politics under the given circumstances. This way the country was devastated by only one horde.
- (26h) From the abject poverty of the war, following the war, the country tried to evolve toward ~~the~~ democracy. The demolished economic life was trying to stand on its feet again. Those regions which have been spared from the devastation of the Soviet troops lived better than between '42 and '45.
- (27a) Definitely. But the Hungarians certainly cannot claim the best human qualities^{ies} as their own.
- (27b, c) They like to work, which quality necessarily brings results. The Hungarians are not possessed by the ~~laziness~~ ^{laziness} of the Russian and by the love for comforts of the Americans.

- (27d) The love of work was decreased because of the deep interest of the majority in the welfare of the government.
- (27e) Yes.
- (28a) Until a United Europe will be born, borderlines should be established on the basis of historical rights and through plebiscites.
- (28c,d) Yes, for instance, the Csallóköz and the regions around Kassa and Kolozsvár. These regions are definitely Hungarian and definitely belong to the territory of Hungary.
- (28e) According to this knowledge, only the Hungarians themselves.
- (28f) There is no natural conflict, only an instigated ones.
- (28g) Not applicable.
- (28h) Does ^{not} know ~~any~~ about any in the immediate neighborhood of Hungary.
- (28i) In case the Slovaks try to build a common homeland, then they get along fine with the Hungarians, but ~~in case~~ ^{if} they dream about establishing another state, in that case, naturally, they do not get along well. He does not know what the situation is outside the boundary^{ies} of Hungary.
- (28j) Identical with sub-question (i).
- (28k) Very well. The historical grievances of the past century are forgotten and the Austrians behaved in ^avery humanitarian way during the recent revolution.
- (28l) As far as he knows, they seem to have the same goals, but they do get along fine, within Hungary and Yugoslavia.

- (28m) *As long as*
~~When~~ the Jews state that they are Hungarian, and act accordingly, the relationship is very good. The minute the Jews want to act as a separate ethnical group, the relationship is spoiled.
- (28n) Everybody who is born on Hungarian territory is Hungarian, if he claims that he is Hungarian and does this not only with words, but also with actions.
- (29a) ~~These things are good ideas and should be created~~
Respondent feels that this is an excellent idea. There should be a federal government and local government with special Parliamentary groups taking care of the internal affairs of each country.
- (29b) Common prosperity for each country.
- (29c) Hungary should figure as one state among the many, just like ~~the~~ one of the 48 states of the United States of America.
- (29d) This would depend entirely upon the ensuing political situation. ~~Each~~ All three could be carried out separately or combined.
- (30) Yes.
- (30a) They differ according to their ethnical origin.
- (30b) Individually they are extremely humane and well-intentioned. But, due to Communist propaganda, they are unbearable "en masse".
- (30c) Far from it.

(30d)

No.

(30e)

Those who had suffered under Fascists, expected the Russians; as a whole, the Hungarian population behaved neutrally. In later years, only their system and not ~~them~~ ^{they} were ~~was~~ liked by the poorer social classes.

(30f)

During 1948-53, the belief, based on fact, was strengthened more and more that ~~was~~ state Capitalism, even ~~which~~ ^{when} decked out with Communist colors, can be just as exploiting as Fascism, for instance.

(30g)

The Hungarians looked upon ^{the} Russians as a horde, the leaders of which used Nazi methods; and the world politics events ^{helped} to break the revolution.

(31)

It is a theory which appears to every poor ^{man}, but which could be only partially carried out even in initial stages; due to the fact that it does not take into account the human elements, it failed.

(31a)

Insurance plan and the fact that, through partial ownership, it tries to interest the workers in the production.

(31b)

The putting into application of the theory within the frame of the state, thus the ensuing state Capitalism.

(31c)

There were; Marxism, Leninism were compulsory subjects at the university.

(31d)

Yes, at the University of Veszprém. He studied these subjects two and a half years, and had six hours per week.

- (31e) They used Communism to narrow down the horizon of the people. Under the aegis of class struggle, they liquidated, executed, deported elements which were considered inimical, whether they were guilty or not.
- (31g) Until he taught it, yes, but the minute he had captured power, he realized that it could not be carried out. That's when he immediately started the modification "One step backward, two steps forward!" ~~is~~ is a work he has written in 1924. The psychology behind it is common to all the Communists who see the impossibility of carrying out their theory, yet do not acknowledge this publicly.
- (31h) Stalin was driving toward world power, which he labelled as the "liberation" of the people.
- (31i) According to his opinion, the Social Democrats tried to carry out the good and rational side of Marxism and attained excellent results under certain circumstances (Sweden).
- (31j) It is not possible.
- (31k) It means to labor in the best interests of the people.
- (31 l) Between October 30-November 4, 1956; but, due to the high tensions prevalent, clashes took place.
- (31m) He Tito is striving toward individual power by fighting the Communist principles. In other words, he is made of the stuff dictators are made of.
- (32) "ational Communism means that a small groups using Communist ideology tries to reign, but is satisfied with the reign

within the ~~Soviet~~ boundariesⁿ of one country, in contrast with the international Communism, the leaders of which try to make "happy" the whole world.

- (32a) Definitely. Their part was rather small.
- (32b) He does not know any names, but their goals were identical with the one's of Tito, for instance, related to their own persons.
- (32c) Gpomulka stands between Social Democracy and National Communism and is in a special economic dependency upon the Soviet Union.
- (32d) Definitely.
- (32e) ~~Struggle~~ The patriotic type cannot be brought together with the international Communist type. It's either one or the other.
- (33) Yes.
- (33a) A special form of Democracy. The people would have decided it and not he.
- (34a) Its Soviet form is horrible.
- (34b) It is passé.
- (34c) It only exists when it is instigated and it is being emphasized only in extremist countries.
- (34d) Its Communist form consists in stupefying the people.
- (34e) It is only brought up by Communists as the biggest enemy.
- (34f) It is the camouflageⁿ of plans for world power.
- (34g) It is the best economic system today.
- (34h) It exists everywhere.

- (35) He can only talk for himself, but he had the feeling that his opinion coincides with that of the majority of his countrymen.
- (36a) Less.
- (36b) Less.
- (36c) Less, because of taxes.
- (36d) Less, because of taxes.
- (36e) One part ^{more} ~~was~~ (Party and security organizations). The rest about what they deserve.
- (36f) Were exploited with few exceptions.
- (36g) They could study, but under bad circumstances.
- (36h) Were excellently paid.
- (36i) Fared extremely well.
- (36j) Respondent has no feelings towards them and somehow this neutrality on his part influences his views. He is not aware whether they got more or less.
- (36k) Bad.
- (36l) They were badly off.
- (37) (a) One part of the workers were better off. The artists were definitely better off and so were the Party members. The other categories were worse off.
- (38a) Interests coincide--small differences.
- (38b) Coincide.
- (38c) Conflict.
- (38d) Conflict.
- (38e) There are no others. Every functionary is a government employee.

- (38f) They ~~are~~ are far away from each other.
- (38g) They differ.
- (38h) ~~They differ~~ This changes according to different historical periods.
- (38i) They did not agree.
- (38j) They were too far away to have conflicting interests.
- (38k) Their interests were the same, but ^{for} some small differences in production matters.
- (39) ⁹⁰ ~~82-95%~~ of the population would support the West, ~~but~~ ~~that~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~case~~ ~~because~~ ~~they~~ ~~could~~ ~~do~~ ~~it~~ ~~with~~ ~~them~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~Western~~ ~~powers~~ Hungary would engage in armed fighting only in case she would get armed help from the Western powers. Only the members of the AVH and those ~~members~~ to whom the ^{People's} ~~People's~~ Democracy gave higher positions than they might have gotten under any other regime would support the present regime. By those people who received higher positions than they were qualified for. Respondent means especially the military people (officers) and Party officials.