

(1) First: it occurred without any organization, spontaneously, and when word got around about the armed intervention, it spread to the rural areas, too. Lack of organization is supported by the fact that, for instance, two neighboring villages did not know about each other's actions.

The significance of the Revolution: it was primarily made by workers and started by the university students.

Main points: It demanded the departure of the Soviet troops, the dissolution of collective farms, the setting up of Workers' and Councils in every town/or factory and that the leadership should be taken over by the latter.

The overwhelming desire of the whole country was to get rid of the Russians.

(2a) Yes.

Respondent found out about the Revolution at dawn of the 24th of October; prior to this date, the Ministry of Agriculture did not issue instructions pertaining to agricultural production. No diesel oil came from Kaposvár.

Two days prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, the president of the regional council of Siklós made a visit and ~~was~~ asked the individuals, who had an intelligentsia background and those who belonged to the old intelligentsia, just what type of wrongs they had suffered during the defunct Rákosi era.

Respondent's complaints: his father was a teacher and his two brothers had to bear the consequences of this. One of his brothers

had a law degree but, due to his intelligentsia background, he was unable to get a job, so he became a cantor, on account of this, he was drafted into a labor camp; furthermore, he had to deny the existence of his other brother who had escaped to Austria in '48; his sister was not accepted at the college of Foreign Languages (Idegennyelvű Főiskola) ~~there~~ she ~~graduated~~ graduated from Teachers' College (Pedagógiai Főiskola), where she specialized in the Russian language - everybody was accepted there; his father was continually transferred from one school to the other.

- (2b) I, II. There is no doubt about - as a result Imre Nagy became Prime Minister.
- VI, VII. It gave courage - a right to open^{ly}/criticize was granted.
- (2c) He believed that the turning point started the 23rd of October - alas, it only lasted to the 4th of November.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) The writers sided with the Revolution which at that time was already called a Free Press, they advocated a clear cut program: their main subject was Hungary's freedom.
- (2f) Even in the Szabad Nép about the bloody terror of Rákosi, in connection with the funeral of Rajk. The rest of the press took over these articles.
- (3a) The helplessness and indecisive attitude of the government was felt. The outbreak was provoked by Gerő's speech.
- (3b) There were such efficient controls, but even in the highest Party

circles, complete dissatisfaction and continuous divergence of opinions existed.

After ¹Rakosi's replacement, people started to talk about this more and more freely.

In the spring of 1956, an agricultural delegation visited the Agricultural Fair in Moscow - it consisted of sixty-seventy Party functionaries and these people openly heaped insults on the system on the train.

Due to the fact that even in the leadership controlling functions were performed for money, it is quite evident that it could not be a properly executed function from the point of view of the Party - that, too, was just a business.

And after a substantial part of the army and of the police sided with the Revolution, it became evident that the system collapsed.

In view of the fact that the Revolution was spontaneous, those few people who were the adherents of the Soviet system became completely helpless - the greater part of the Party functionaries also sided with the Revolution.

One of them was the Director of the County of Baranya - of course he had also been a Party functionary - who transmitted the decisions of the Workers' Councils to the Ministry of Agriculture.

Respondent was friendly with the secretary of the regional Party committee - the latter recalled that once a functionary of the Party headquarters was expected, whereupon an armed man entered the secretary's room for the purpose of checking him. This

incident clearly showed that mistrust reigned even among Party members. When the spontaneous insurgen^{ce}~~ts~~ took place, there were not enough people to check everybody.

- (3c) ~~Ref~~ See question (1).
- (3d) The army units which were sent out to maintain order had guns, but no ammunition. This Respondent heard in Budapest from a reliable source.
- (3e) After three days, fifteen different parties were organized.
- (3f) Respondent is unable to answer this question.
- (3g) Most of the Party functionaries assumed a neutral attitude and, during the first two days, the peasants, too.
- (3h) "Ruski's Go Home", "Give Power To The Workers' Councils."
- (3i) Mixed.

The greater part of the workers did not openly advocate opposition to Communism, maybe they wanted National Communism. (the existence of the Workers' Councils' is a proof of this.) The greater part of the peasantry was anti-Communist - for them Communism meant collective farms - during the Revolution, 90 percent of these collective farms were prepared to be dissolved.

The majority of the intelligentsia was also anti-Communist.

- (3j) This includes the Soviet type Communism and the system of National Communism as well.
- (3k) The Revolution was not 100 percent anti-Communist.
- (3l) The number of the reactionary elements who participated in the Revolution was negligible. The central problem was the departure of the Russians.

The following people are considered reactionary by Respondent: the leading elements of the old system, such as the big ~~and~~ landowners; he is inclined to include in this group the intelligentsia which adopted the way of thinking of the old regime and all those whose mentality was anti-Communist.

- (3m) For a long time, ~~there~~ complete anarchy would have prevailed, fights among the parties; if Western help had been given, then, of course, the shift would have been toward the West; otherwise, the workers would have turned toward some form of National Communism, while the peasantry would have demanded the return of the lands into its own hands. The ultimate result of the development would have been a socialistic - that is a democratic form of state with a multi-party system in existence.
- (4) Respondent listened to the radio and procured food which, at one time, he personally delivered to Budapest with a convoy.
- (4a) Yes, between lurking AVH officers and Freedom Fighters. From a safe distance, Respondent saw the fight against the Russians at Pécs, in the Mecsek area.
- (4b) The country was full of loafing soldiers. A unit of twenty soldiers, which protected Respondent's convoy, found its way to Budapest, never returned to its base.
- (4c) Not directly, but he saw a hanged man in Budapest.
- (5b) They were in a so-called forced strike for six weeks (no diesel oil was available).
- (5c) Respondent supplied them with food.
- (5d) No. He prevented the tractors from driving over the graves.

- (5e) No.
- (5f) In a workers' council.
- (6) Not applicable.
- (7) The workers' councils and in cooperation with these groups the university student councils.
- (8) They occupied the village (Harkányfűrdő), blocked the roads; after the 4th of November, they behaved rather quietly and opened fire only when attacked - in this case, they were brutal.
- (8e) Only from hearsay.
- (9) Radio and news obtained by word of mouth.
- (9a) The Radio news was taken over by the newspapers and published ~~and~~ approximately two hours later - so it was not interesting any more.
- ~~(9b) Yes.~~
- (9c) Respondent listened to both: foreign and domestic radio news stations.

Radio Free Europe did an awful lot of harm. It gave military advice, it is stained by blood. The English and American ^[VOA] broadcasts were much more disciplined, while the Yugoslav ~~was~~ was ambiguous.

- (10) The regional and country organizations broke up during the first few days, ^{afterwards} ~~after that~~ they ~~withdrew~~ withdrew to perform underground work.

It is Respondent's feeling that the Party functionaries maintained contact with the Russians - after the second Russian intervention, they returned immediately. Arrests were started already ^{on} of the 4th of November, primarily upon orders given by

Hungarian civilian Party functionaries.

- (10a) The Central Committee of the Party, the AVH, the police, and the armed forces were dissolved.

In Respondent's opinion, no institution connected with the regime remained intact.

- (10b) Those Party functionaries who had many enemies were put in jail. No atrocities happened at Pécs.

(10c) The bulk of the police sided with the Revolution.

(10d) It was dissolved.

(10e) Respondent does not know.

(10f) The bulk of the army sided with the Revolution.

(10g) Respondent does not have concrete information pertaining to this question.

(10h) Temporary management of affairs was taken over by the newly formed workers' councils. The members of the local councils participated in the work of the newly formed Workers' Councils - practically all of them, except a few Communist leaders.

(10j) Respondent is unable to name anyone of the pre-Revolutionary organizations.

(10k) Scores of political parties, also many types of councils, such as: county, city, regional, village.

(10l) Index-number one: Within the plant.

Index-number two: On the basis of general secret balloting.

Index-number three: The Workers' Councils' leadership was headed by a president; their sphere of activities, purposes were: strikes, the discussion of wages, the management of the plant together

with the director - the latter one had to give ^{an} account ^f on his activities. No director could become a member of the Workers' councils. The rules were copied from those of the Yugoslav Workers' Councils.

- (10m) Temporarily the Workers' Councils would have taken over the running of the affairs, but this would not have been a viable solution.
- (11) It was not in vain and it was not aimless - it demonstrated the unanimous desire of the Hungarian people: break away from the Russians.
- (11b) If the Russians had not intervened, but from strategic viewpoints, they could not have permitted the Revolution to be victorious.
- (11c) Yes. United Nations troops and guaranteed free elections.
- (11e) In the beginning, Imre Nagy was only a figurehead and was forced to become a minister; his thinking was sound, he was a good economist but very weak. This weakness was a contributing factor to the emergence of certain parties and to the chaos which reigned during the first days of the Revolution. If he had been a better politician, he would have been able to unify the armed uprising - the fights could have been continued much longer - and so the Western world would have been obligated to intervene.
- (11f) None.
- (11g) I, V, IV, III, II (Their problems were to take from the collective farms their belongings and, if possible, also those of their neighbors.) VI, VII.
- (12) After the second Russian intervention.

(12a) The bitter situation, the hopeless future, the fear of joblessness.

(12b) With the family.

- (1) Chief engineer of an agricultural tractor station.
- (1a) Mechanical engineer specialized in the field of agricultural machinery.
- (2)a) The direction of the technical work of the tractor station (administration, driving the people to make sure that they produce and not only steal - sometimes, at 9:00 a.m. they ~~just~~ said: "I worked enough for my daily wage - I am finished for today.")
- 2b) See question(1a).
- (2c) For one year.
- (2d) He was promoted - he started out at the same tractor station, as an engineer, in a minor position.
- (2ef) It was an agricultural machine shop; the region to which this tractor station was assigned comprised twenty-five villages. In this area, a station had to perform the mechanized work for collective farms and individual peasants as well. Generally, the station directed the performance of various agricultural works. It was considered a medium size enterprise (approximately 180 employees), but, from an agricultural point of view, it was considered a large outfit. In the last year, that is in 1955, the station managed to break even (this was a result of juggling accounting-wise damages done deliberately or unvoluntarily to machinery, and the ruined machines were not charged against the station's budget), generally, the deficit amounted to 200,000 - 300,000 forints.
- (3a) Respondent liked the various agricultural works and also the

directing of activities within the shop - the latter activity was considered to be more or less free.

(3b) Respondent disliked the overall direction and control which could be felt at every step - it interfered with the work, the over-administration, the execution of various tasks relating to the peasantry which were considered necessary and at the same time, in many instances, were unfair.

(3d) The technical level was very low and the equipment of the shop was extremely primitive. It was hard to find technicians because of the pitiful pay. The tractors and other agricultural machineries were unsuited to the Hungarian agricultural requirements - due to their construction, their maintenance and operating expenses were extremely high.

Health protection was completely inadequate. Most of the people assigned to the tractors worked outdoors even during the wintertime when they were busy with the overhauling of the machinery. (The space available within the shop was extremely limited.)

The main problem, continuously discussed in the Trade Unions, was health protection. Countless meetings were held dealing with the afore-mentioned problem, but no action was taken. For instance, the tractor station in question had been in operation for six years - and although the work to be done there was dirty, the employees were not given the most essential sanitary facilities.

No drinking water was available at the tractor station; there was no bathroom and only three-four basins were available. Everything was overcrowded.

The agricultural machinery in use today was patterned and built after Soviet models. These machines were suited for operation in large shops which, under Hungarian conditions, were uneconomical.

The ~~spk~~ quality of the machinery was below standard and, for instance, the one which was produced in series did not have interchangeable parts ~~mf~~ or only a few of the parts were interchangeable.

The agricultural machinery produced in Hungary contained several innovations - but the finished products were sent to various stations without first undergoing thorough checkups. It did not take long to find out that they were unoperational.

As an example, Respondent points to the mechanized corn snapper by the name of "KUN", to the seeding machines which were put up in 1956 (operated by wire control), and the ~~mk~~ cotten ~~mm~~ seeding and planting machine.

Until 1954, the state farm of Puszta-Szabolcs was assigned to the growing of cotton and rubber puffballs. Until 1954, they tried to produce cotton, however, in the same year it was found ~~est~~ that this was the wrong thing to do - so, the growing of cotton was abandoned. However, the seed grain, ordered in 1954, from Russia, had to be taken over. Due to the fact that it couldn't be used for anything else, it was ~~fm~~ fed to the fish.

Workers operating the tractors were supposed to observe norms, so their wages were dependent on their production~~x~~. As a con-

sequence of this, cheatings were in order - in order to reach the norms which were very high. For instance, when a peasant ordered a deep plowing, he was given a shallow one.

- (3f)h) Working time for the physical laborers was eight hours during the winter, and ten during the summer - during the harvest seasons, the officially prescribed work time was twelve hours per day.

The managers of the tractor station did not have to observe an officially prescribed working time. The reason: during high season, the manager of the tractor station, the chief agronomist and the technical director had to be on duty all the time, as the machinery was operated twentyfour hours per day. During harvest, the usual work time was fourteen hours per day. No overtime was paid. However, in the case of technicians, sometimes overtime was paid.

- (3g) Respondent's work week consisted of seven days during summertime, and of six days during the winter.

- (3j) Yes. Twenty-four days.

- (3l) Not in his case. However, the tractor's workers were supposed to be punished but, due to the large amount of overtime with-remuneration, out ~~remuneration~~ the punishments were usually disregarded.

- (3m) The norm system underwent changes every single year. They were set higher and higher. The time allotted for certain jobs became shorter and shorter.

- (3n) Yes. Each worker used to receive a detailed plan pertaining to

the whole year which in turn was broken up into months, weeks and days. This way, everybody was forced to carry out the plan assigned to the tractor station.

- (3o) None at all.
- (4a) The workers had an awful lot of common sense - generally, they were "half-peasants" (they cultivated whatever small land they owned and, in addition to this, took a job at a tractor station).
- (4b) Within the trade, the relationship between subordinate and superior was fairly good. In the case of leading personalities, mainly Party functionaries, the relationship consisted only of the discussion of pertinent problems.
- (4d) Constantly.
- (4e) The Party members were treated more leniently, of course, and the possibility for them to enjoy good working conditions was ~~greater~~ greater. "He works well, because he is a Party member."
- (4f) Not at all ~~in~~ in practice.
People did not attend meetings usually, except if it served their interest - their lands should not be confiscated, they should not be classified as kulaks, they shouldn't lose their jobs, etc.
- (4g) Not in practice.
- (4h) In case the director was well thought of along Party lines, the mediation committees could do very little against him.
- (4i) Yes, we'd operated in the way it was guided by the Party secretary and the director.

- (4j) During the last two years, yes.
- (4k) Of course.
- (4l) Yes, in many cases. If the director's thinking was basically healthy, then he was the one who had the last word.
- (4m) And how!
- Until 1953, the Party organization^N of a county or a region could interfere with practically everything. Starting from 1954, their function became merely advisory.
- (4n0) If his background was that of a peasant, or of a ~~work~~ worker, if he was indifferent toward religion, or if he was active as an informer.
- (4p) Not within the tractor station. However, through the Party secretary, in each shop there was an informer who was responsible to the Party and to the AVH.
- (5) In the field of agriculture, it was very hard to change jobs-- this was valid in the case of high officials as well as subordinates.
- When it came to an ordinary worker, the director plainly refused to accept the "resignation" because it was very hard to find good workers; in case a worker left his ~~work~~ employment without the approval of his superiors, then for the next six months he was allowed to work only at places designated by the official employment agency. (Such places of employment were mines or agricultural tractor stations.) It ~~is~~ also happened that the respective worker was transferred to the very same shop he ~~is~~ had left - there he was assigned to repair work for

six months with reduced salary but, after the elapse of the six months period, he was entitled to leave for good.

Respondent wanted to leave twice, but his resignation was not accepted.

- (5b) He would have loved to go to an industrial plant, because the salary would have been much better and the working conditions much more convenient.
- (5e) He would like to have a family and he would love to travel.
- (5g) Never. They should become either physicians, electrical engineers, or Party secretaries.
- (6a) His post-war living conditions were very bad. (At Pécs) The house and land of his parents were taken ^{away} by the state and his relatives were deported.
- Until 1954, Respondent was a student, during vacations he did physical work, just like his father.
- (6c) According to Respondent's feelings, no; but, taking into consideration the domestic conditions, yes.
- (6d) Yes. By the state. The financial reward was meager compared to the work rendered and to the responsibility^{ies} he had to assume.
- (7a) III - 1800 forints [1955]
- (7d) His parents -- his father worked as a teacher, he was a war veteran with a 75 percent invalidity; his mother worked since 1954, at an incubator station; his grandmother at ~~xxx~~ ^{the} age of 64 became a charwomen, (His grandfather was glued to his bed.); his sister worked as a teacher and his elder brother also had a teaching job.

- (8a) 1800 forints.
- (8b) ~~xxx~~ Approximately 1550 forints.
- (8c) A piece of land (roughly equivalent to 1.42 acres), from this he realized an annual income of 4,000 forints; besides this, he received premiums amounting to 300 forints in ~~1954~~ 1955 and to about 4,000 forints in 1956.
- (8d) 250-300 forints.
- (8e) No.
- (9a) ~~He~~ He did not spend anything on housing he ~~xxxx~~ received a room; if he had been married, he would have received an apartment.
- (9c) It varied, on an average about 600 forints. Articles produced by light industry were scarce (soap, tooth-brushes, etc.).
- (9d) Until 1955, about 2,000 forints per year. In 1956 he spent 6,000 forints - he acquired a more or less complete wardrobe.
- (9e) Personally nothing, his parents about 2,000 forints.
- (9f) Nothing on alcoholic drinks, 200 forints on tobacco.
- (9h) Respondent doesn't know.
- (9j) 1,000 forints.
- (9k) Nothing.
- (9l) Nothing.
- (m) There ~~xxx~~ weren't any.
- (10abcde) From an economic point of view, Hungary was bankrupt. This statement is valid for industrial and agricultural plants as well. Hardly any enterprise could be found which did not operate with

a loss. It was a great mistake to try to develop Hungary into an industrial country, because Hungary was and should be primarily an ~~an~~ agricultural state. Overemphasized centralization completely destroyed Hungary's agriculture, the quality and the quantity of the livestock was made miserable and the average yields became very low. For instance, in the Siklos region the cultivated land covered an area of approximately 17,000 acres, less than that of pre-war times. Practically everybody wanted to get rid of his land. A member of a collective farm used to spend about 80 percent of his working time taking care of his own chores around his house, while within the collective farms, he only took care of the jobs which were absolutely necessary to be performed. This explains the poor state of the livestock and also the way-below-average results of land cultivation. The actual purpose of the mechanization in Hungary was, ^{t.} try to overcome the extreme shortages in the number of agricultural workers. Because, ~~during~~ during the course of the last decade, the agricultural labor pool was systematically drained in order to obtain workers for the purpose of industrialization.

(10g) In 1955 - '56 the situation improved, there was chance to work, there were job openings, people were not tossed around so much, so that they were able to actually save some money.

(11) The fact that people had extremely slim possibilities to earn money was extremely depressing. ~~it~~

(11c) In connection ¹with the peasantry, it has to be pointed out that the strong emphasis to group them in collective farms and thus

make them lose their independence was an extremely sore point; the workers^s suffered from the norms, and the intelligentsia from the restrictions of the freedom rights.

- (1) Agricultural mechanical engineering diploma.
- (1ac) '41-'46 he attended a secondary school.
'47-'50 he attended an agricultural secondary school.
'50-'56 he attended the School of Mechanical Engineering.
- (1b) For two years, Respondent attended a denominational secondary school in Pecs.
- (1d) Marxist courses.
- (1e) The love of the straight.
- (2) Yes.
- (2b) He could not have gone very far with a high school education (he could have only become an office clerk.).
Those who finish high school may attend a tractor course. The Trade School for industrial students can be attended exclusively by those who have graduation certificates from a secondary school.
- (2d) Good.
- (2e) He was lucky- in 1950, the slogan was: "Everybody should go to college." (At that time, students were rejected only on political grounds.) Starting from '52, the previous scholastic achievements were also taken into consideration. And when he graduated, half of his class failed to pass. In 1948, Respondent's younger brother was expelled from the university (philosophy faculty), he then left the country.

His sister was accepted at the College of Foreign Languages, but due to the fact that she did not make a secret out of her elder brother's being in Austria, she also was expelled.

(3 b c d)
(28)

Between 1946-1948, Respondent had to take weekly six hours of Marxism or political economics, three hours of military subjects (training of reserve officers), two hours of Russian language, and four hours of business management and business organization.

During four years, the history of the Bolshevist Party was dished out to them four times.

(4) Within the curriculum of the university, in the case of political subjects main emphasis was put on the history of the Communist Party, and detailed information was given about the economic and political structure of the Soviet Union; an equally important subject was the Marxist criticism of capitalism.

Usually young professors would teach Marxism. The courses consisted of reading of ^c excerpts of certain chapters of Lenin's works - these had to be annotated carefully by the students attending the seminar.

(4b) It was not effective. Eloquent support to this statement is given by the Revolution. However, in all fairness, it should be stated that it did leave some marks - so many movies, so many seminars the subjects of which were the exploitation by capitalism, influence^d the so-called average masses, but, undoubtedly, also influenced the thinking of the cultured people.

Hungary used to be a feudal state and the lower social classes had been terribly oppressed. That's why one should not be surprised if practically nobody wants to return land to their former

owners (Respondent's father who could definitely be called a "reactionary" did not yield in this particular field in the favor of the capitalistic outlook and the feeling established by him shrunk from year to year) and practically everybody wants to keep the factories nationalized.

Hungary's former borders do not ~~constitute~~ constitute a problem anymore for the majority of the population - Transylvania is no more a matter of discussion.

During Revolutionary times, the Kossuth emblem was chosen because the same crown represents the unity and indivisibility of the Carpathian basin. The former emigrés carry a badge on which the ^{of Saint's Stephen [first king of Hungary]} ~~same~~ crown appears. The ~~new~~ recent refugees occupy a position somewhat between the former emigrés and the Hungarians who stayed within the boundaries of Hungary. The badge of the new emigrés does not have St. Stephen's crown on it. It lacks the three hills representing the Tátra, Fáttra, and Mátra Mountains and also it lacks the apostolic double-cross.

- (4i) Young children till the age of fourteen are mostly under the influence of their parents. Communist indoctrination is not effective in the case of college students ~~at~~ either - at that age, one's mind is supposed to ~~be~~ be mature.
- (5ac) He was a teacher in Pécs. All the way through.
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) Yes, real estate.
- (5f) Average

- (5g) Six.
- (5h) Three are in Austria, one is at home and does legal work.
- (5i) He lived alone.
- (5k) He personally was lucky, while his sister and brother felt the disadvantages of their social origin.
- (6) No.
- (11) Good. [Yes]
- (12) All the time.
- (12a) With his father, Respondent used to discuss religious questions, political problems. (His father used to state every year: By spring time, we will be free. Western re-armament is going on - this rosy and false picture was painted by Radio Free Europe.)
^{Also}
~~Also~~ see question (13) and (13c).
- (~~12~~12b) During the last years, he gave longer and longer target dates.
- (13) It was continually discussed what the role of the church should be in the state. While Respondent advocated that the church should uniquely spread the gospel, his father's opinion was that the church should play also a political part.

Respondent and his father agreed that the existence of denominational schools should be allowed but that the teaching of religion should not be obligatory - the ~~state's~~ decision should be up to the parents.

Respondent's father's ^fbelief~~xxx~~ in God became stronger as the years went by - this was generally true of elderly people.

The younger generations have no respect for the churches and

for the clergy.

(13c) The youth did not expect help from the West - this would have meant jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

(14a) Good.

(14b) It was good, thus it was typical.

(14c) He went to the theaters, to movies, and swimming.

(14g) No. This was answered already in section W.

(15) They did not loosen.

(15b) Yes.

(15c) Youth is scarce in the villages, they moved to industrial areas. The members of collective farms are mostly composed of elderly people. The young generations were practically ashamed to do peasants' work - their dreams were centered around machines.

(15e) Respondent doesn't know about it.

(15f) Yes, there was a substantial increase in the number of divorces. Reasons: too many teenagers got married and the so-called trial marriages (a woman could take up a man's name temporarily, as long as this was officially announced.)

(16) Yes, see question (15f).

They became more open.

In 1950-'51, co-educational schools and student homes were established - this created a sensation; however, in 1953-'54 the ~~the~~ "old" system was restored.

(16d) People became more direct, woman were less isolated - however, Respondent believes that this was characteristic of post-war years all over the world.

(16e) All the houses of prostitution were closed by official orders, in 1950.

3 Every grown-up had an identification card which, among other pertinent information, shows the~~re~~ place of employment of the respective individual. If, during police raids, women were captured, they were given a two week period to find a job. If they failed to execute the order, the official employment agency assigned ~~them~~ them to certain places of work.

And yet, prostitut^{es}~~es~~ stopped men in certain streets in every town, and in Budapest, in the most lux^uerious hotels, it was possible to order two women (!).

The scum of the people, including prostitutes, used to conglomerate at the following places: (

(16f) [more strict] Yes, if it came to individuals in leading positions. For instance, if a director of an organization decided to leave his job, then all ~~g~~ he had to do was start an affair with one of his subordinates: this resulted in his immediate suspension.

There was interference even with the private lives of the Party members.

(16gh) * To give birth is a woman's duty and a girl's glory. The number of illegitimate children was substantial. Till, '54, abortions were frowned upon. Later on, they were sanctioned. During the last two years, the official attitude was that an unmarried woman should not give birth.

(161) On the basis of the strongly advocated principle of equality of the sexes, women could fill any position.

As a result of the frequent transfers, the women became more and more independent.

Day nurseries were set up in the smallest villages, too.

(17) It deteriorated. People became ruder, however, at times, in crowded street cars, men usually offered their seats to women. If they failed to do so, the conductor strongly suggested that they do so.

(17b) Yes, it is extremely frequent and practically in all social strata.

Typical places where stealing opportunities present themselves: branches of the state cooperatives which can be found in every village and city; also grocery shops and bakeries.

To steal state property was not considered a crime.

The tractor drivers stole tractor parts, tarpaulins, in other words anything that could be moved.

In Respondent's village, in two years time, the co-operative purchasing agency for agricultural products had six accountants. The reasons for these frequent changes were: some were put ^{to} jail for embezzlement, some resigned (if the embezzled sums were not astronomical) and some simply disappeared.

Cheating was common place at the tractor station, when it came to fulfill the prescribed norms. The tractor station received its plan assigned to it by the Ministry of Agriculture through the county. It was hard to fulfill the prescribed hoeing, and seeding.

So, the tractor driver made a deal with the peasant: it was agreed that the tractor driver will plow the peasant's land, while the peasant verified that the working hours spent by the tractor driver included the hauling of fertilizers and/or hoeing.

This way the peasant benefited by having to pay less and the tractor driver also benefited: this way he could show that he was capable of producing more than his prescribed norm. The peasant had to pay extra for the hauling of fertilizers, however, the rate for this was ~~cheap~~ cheap, while, for the plowing, he had to pay the price stipulated in the norm. The tractor drivers' cheating resulted in ~~major~~ benefits to everybody involved. He received a premium, the tractor station fulfilled the plan and thus the leaders also received premiums.

It was possible for the tractor station to fulfill its quarterly plan in advance - for a performance of this nature, the station received ^{a premium;} the ~~part~~ portion of the work which was above the ~~prescribed~~ prescribed norm and which the tractor station accomplished beforehand, was charged against the work plan of the following quarter. If the details of the plan were also fulfilled, then the station received a full premium. The part of the accomplished work which was above the prescribed norm was used to cover incomplete jobs.

Inspectors used to check on the condition of the machinery - it did happen that some of the machines were not repaired so, for the station to protect itself, these faulty machines were hidden

and another station was contacted for the purpose of borrowing repaired machines. That's how the production of the ^{tractor} machine ~~is~~ station was put in a favorable light. Repaired machines used to be transferred from tractor station to tractor station, preceeding the committee of Inspectors.

It happened that sometimes the water-pipes were not evenly put in the ground, or that the electrical ^{wiring} ~~cords~~ which should have been placed into the walls were hanging on the outside and only a short piece ^{was placed} / where it actually belonged. The electricians too had their norms: they had to install a prescribed number of meters of electrical wiring.

(18) Respondent did not have a bosom friend.

(19a) Roman Catholic.

(19b) His parents are deeply religious, his brothers and sister moderately, and Respondent is the least religious member of the family.

In many cases, the Roman Catholic Church strongly deviated from its widely advocated principles, for instance, it talks about the ^{happiness} : of the poor, while its priests lived very well. If the Church wants to adhere to its principles, then let it be poor; furthermore, for the average people to comprehend its teachings, introduction of certain reforms is warranted. The problem of the Saint Trinity, of Virgin Mary, etc., should be revised. Furthermore, the clergy should try to teach the faithful how to defend their religious viewpoint while, at the same time, accepting scientific truths. (The creation of the world in six days, as taught in the bible, is squarely contra-

dicted by the ^{theses [modern] cosmogony} ~~teachings~~ of ^{biology.} [~~← probably misunderstood by~~ ^{typist!!}]

Mindszenty is not considered by Respondent a national hero since he delivered his famous speech: "I am the same person I used to be. And I wish to continue where I left off." The conclusion at which the peasantry and the worker arrived was that Mindszenty aimed at the return of the lands to its former owners.

(20) Yes.

(20a) As a result of the position taken by the Holy Seat, it was mainly the Catholic religion which was affected.

The Reformed churches concluded an agreement with the state way before.

The Jewish church had no problems whatsoever.

(20b) The ultimate aim of the Communists was to stamp out religion - it was opposed in schools, and if individuals in higher positions attended church service, they were frowned upon. Party members and members of the armed forces were forbidden to attend church services.

(20c) Maybe those clergymen who became the so-called peace priests did so for selfish reasons in order to defend in churches political policies and state decisions.

(20f) No. People were kept ~~it~~ under surveillance.

(20h) Very rarely.

(20i) It is less important for the young generations - the twelve years left their marks on them, from this point of view also.

(20j) Why? There were some priests who from the pulpit, particularly in Mindszenty's time, either openly or in a covert fashion defended

their views. In the past few years, the clergy did nothing.

(21) He should ~~ax~~ chose a technical or medical field.

(21ab) These occupations were excellently rewarded financially.

He should keep his mouth shut, enter the Party - the latter requirement was particularly important in the case of a physician in order for him to stay in the city - otherwise he would have been assigned to rural areas.

(22) According to their occupation: Party members, the intelligentsia havin^g a workers' background, the officers' corps of the armed forced (army, police, AVH), technicians, other occupations, workers, peasantry.

(22c) Those who excelled in sports were the beneficiaries of all kinds ~~mf~~of advantages; the so-called stars had also enormous privileges.

(22b) He was satisfied.

(23) Party members and functionaries,
Workers,
Peasantry,
Intelligentsia^s.

(23d) The barriers were not sharp. The only question asked was: Are you a Party member? People needed each other.

~~Rk~~ During the Revolution everybody was a comrade in arms and complete strangers became very familiar with each other in a matter of seconds. The relationship between college students was very close.

The officers used to call each other by their first name. Their

relationship to the enlisted men was formal.

It is interesting to note that those refugees who have not "arrived" yet are on familiar terms with each other, while those who have good jobs, do not keep up the contact with their countrymen.

(23e) Less equal.

(23g) They became ruder, more direct.

(24) A so-called national minority did not exist.

However, elder people and ex-officials of the ~~1944~~ Horthy regime suffered more than others under Communism.

(24a) The workers - not in factories, but from the point of view of being able to get jobs and further their studies.

(25) This a delicate question, most of the time it is misinterpreted.

After the war, Jews were given advantages, they received ample job opportunities and also financial assistance. They joined the Party, took part in the commercial life and the chairs at universities were mostly occupied by professors of Jewish origin; in ^(S) textile plants, managerial positions were mostly held by Jews. The part played by the Jews in the AVH and the police was a matter of public knowledge. (The number of the Jews in the armed forces was small.)

(25a) In the beginning, until 1948, they had their personal enemies arrested to take revenge - Respondent considers this a natural reaction and does not condemn it.

(25b) Leading role.

(25c) Respondent did have a few Jewish acquaintances.

Generally, they supported the system, although the majority did this nominally. (An extremely large number of them left Hungary during the Revolution.)

(25d) Their attitude was non-committal.

(25e) Officially there was no Jewish problem in Hungary - generally they are disliked, though. They were particularly disliked by the workers and by the peasantry. However, ~~no~~ outspoken anti-Semitism did not exist.

Respondent points out that ^{at} ~~in~~ Diosgyőr an AVH officer was not hanged due to his Jewish background.

(25g) There was less anti-Semitism after the war.

(25h) The majority thrives to leave Hungary.

- (1) Yes.
- (1a) Hungary's situation, the German problem, the various conflicts of the two world powers occupied a great deal of ~~Respondent's~~ Respondent's "sphere of attention".
- (2) The flow of the political events many times aroused his hope for changes in the not too distant future.
- (2a) No, he was too young.
- (2e) Family traditions and political sympathies moving in other directions.
- (2f) II - he was always against the regime.
- (2h) Isolation from the outer world, the unrestricted terror, the fact that people were transferred continuously from job to job. However, in this respect, the situation later became stabilized - people were thus able to know each other much better, this way their attitude became more open and they found out very quickly who the informers were.
- (3) At places of employment, the carrying out of orders without being given the opportunity to criticize them; at the university, the constant fear of being expelled ruined his ~~studying~~ ^{of study} years.
- (3a) III, IV, XIII.
- (3b) II, XI, XV.
- (3c) ~~II~~, VI, VII.
- (3d) I, IV, IX.
- (3e) XV, VIII, III.
- (3j) From the point of view of the peasantry, the solution of the

land problem, in the case of the workers, the assurance of medical assistance and the fact that the children of both social strata received a chance to further their studies.

Respondent personally was not pleased with anything. On second thought: the fact that the state gave financial assistance to the university students and also saw to it that, after graduation, they be offered jobs, gave him satisfaction.

(4) The Soviet Union.

(4abc) The leaders of the country carried out instructions received from Moscow. In Hungary, the power and the central "steering" was in the hands of the Party. The Council of Ministers worked on the basis of instructions received from the Central Party Committee; in turn, the Party operated on the basis of orders received from the Soviet Union.

(4f) In Hungary, the economic bankruptcy was due partly to the over-emphasis put on ~~the~~ bureaucracy. It was incomparably greater than ever before.

To illustrate this, the following example is brought up: the number of workers employed at one tractor station was 98; when seasonal works necessitated an increase in personnel, then approximately 50 more workers were added to the above mentioned number; to control and administer the workers, the following administrative jobs were set up: (1) director, ~~9~~ (1) chief accountant, ~~2~~ (1) Party secretary, (6) assistant accountants, ~~2~~ (1) chief agronomist, (1) chief stock breeder, (1) gardener and (16) additional agronomists; a total of 28 people.

In the case of technicians, the leadership consisted of:

(1) chief engineer, (2) additional technical leaders, (1) procurement officer, (2) stock men, (9) brigade leaders, (9) assistant brigade leaders, (4) technical comptrollers; the number of the aforementioned people also is 28.

Consequently the tractor station was operated by 56 individuals.

- (4hj) Mostly workers' kaders who had graduated from Party schools.
- (4i) 70 percent of them were the progeny of workers and peasants.
- (5) Every secondary school pupil and university student had to belong to it, except those against whom political objections were raised.
- (5a) No.
- (5b) Yes, at colleges.
- (5d) Yes.
- (5f) He held no position. His obligations consisted of attending meetings.
- (5g) Respondent considered it compulsory.
- (5k) The Communist Party.
- (6) A secure position, and the ability to take the dislike of those who did not belong to the Party. [?]
- (6f) Those who became dissatisfied with the system, became tired and resentful of being permanently ^esubservient and propagate the theories of the Party leadership dependent on changes which necessarily had to take place during the course of time.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) Yes. What's more, it would have been advisable to do so.
- (6r) He had already answered this question.

- (7) Only to Trade Unions.
- (8) 10 percent.
- (9) The ~~DISZ~~ DISZ became a center of opposition by the granting of permission to freely discuss pertinent matters.
- (10b) The AVH was formed to control the activities of political and economic workers.
- (10c) ~~Members~~ Members of the armed forces were transferred to the AVH, after having given proof of their reliability; however, there were many members^s of the AVH who had been drafted regularly and assigned to it.
- (10g) The relations^h between the leaders were ~~good~~ good, but ⁱⁿ the case of
- (10j) the enlisted men, ~~the~~ relations were bad. ^P The police was afraid of the AVH.
- (10k) It oper^{ated} on the basis of instructions received from the Party.
- (11) Yes.
- (11abcd) In the field of agriculture, until 1954, the leaders faced mass ~~arrests~~ arrests, if the ~~prescribed~~ prescribed plans were not fulfilled for reasons of personal or political disagreements.
- The slogan was: to be a leader of a ~~tractor station~~ tractor station meant complete insecurity.
- (13f) One should not voice his or her political convictions, not even in friendly circles.
- (13c) Yes, Party functionar^{ies}.
- (13d) It was possible to conceal an unfavorable background only temporarily.

- (14) The worst times were between '49 and '53; after '53, an easing-up could be felt.
- (15) The affairs of Hungary were conducted ^{so as} to serve the interests of the Soviet Union.
- (15e) In ^ogovernment, armed forces, industry. Every ministry had its Soviet advisers. There were no weak links in this chain.
- f)
- (16a) Not openly.
- (16c) Only in the closest family circles.
- (17b) It is possible to do so; in case the peasant does not fulfill his obligations in delivering all the agricultural products he was supposed to, he had to give a "smart" explanation. If the latter is accepted and if in the following years the peasant does fulfill his obligations without fail, then the former "crime" is not held ~~up~~ against him. However, this ^{does not apply to} ~~has no bearing on~~ the kulaks.
- (17c) Yes. Good connections are very helpful. If a worker leaves his employment place without the approval of his superiors, then the official employment agency assigns him for six months to another plant or to the one he wanted to leave.
- Another way of transfer is ^{to} deliberately neglect one's work, in which case he would be fired.
- A third way is to establish before-hand contacts with the plant to which he intends to go and have the managers request his transfer.
- (18a) Incredible terror and overemphasized centralization.

- (18b) The fact that it gave political concessions in Hungary.
- (19) The irresponsible way of performing one's tasks, and also many forms of covered sabotage.

Respondent knew of a state farm, where the slogan of the leaders was: "Every day ten forints worth of damage to the People's Economy."

- (19b) The leading strata of the Horthy regime.
- (191) The changes which took place in political circles and the divergences of opinions within the Party resulted in the granting of permission of open discussions.

(1) From the radio, newspapers, and from acquaintances who returned from abroad.

(1a) BBC, the Yugoslav radio, Voice of America.

The newspapers were the Szabad Nép and Dunántuli Napló (a daily paper published in Pécs.)

Periodicals - Economic and technical: Auto-Motor (weekly), A Gép (monthly). [=The Machine]

(2a) Was answered under(1a).

(2b) Yes. [=regularly]

(2e) Yes.

(2f) They were primarily concerned with problems pertaining to the places of employment.

(2g) Yes.

(2h) At the university he saw newspapers and technical publications in German and English.

(2j) Yes, his brother used to send home some articles of the Hungarian Nazi publication Hungaria.

(3) Twice a week.

(3a) He preferred foreign movies (French, Italian, English). They dealt primarily with the problems of everyday life.

Only those Russian films were good the subjects of which were historical events. The ones which dealt with political subjects were stereotype: the Party secretary falls in love with the school teacher, or the army officer, after being discharged of his tour of duty, falls in love with the school teacher.

- (3e) Yes.
- (3f) From the operetta Csárdáskirálynő to the opera Othello, the ballet The Nutcracker Suite, and at the National Theater: The Tragedy of Man.
- (4a) Yes. 40-50.
- (4e) Jókai, Gárdonyi, Mikszáth, Gogol, Dostoevsky.
- (4f) Mark Twain.
- (4g) Generally yes.
- (5) Yes.
- (5bf) Yes, Orion.
- He used to listen to radio broadcasts at his parents' house and also in his own room.
- (5d) Music (opera), news and theatrical performances.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) BBC, Noviszed (Ujvidek), Voice of America.
- (6d) See question (8d).
- (7) Yes, through acquaintances and also from members of various agricultural delegations sent to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, East Germany, and Poland.
- (7h) Everywhere: at places of employment, restaurants, private homes.
- (8) 50 percent.
- (8^d) Listened to Radio Free Europe, to the domestic radio, believe 50 percent of what each of them says and you will find out the truth.
- (8e) BBC was considered the most reliable.
- (8f) Yes. Rarely, he is not too preoccupied with literary problems.

- (8g) Yes, daily.
- (8h) No.
- (9a) Generally, the masses obtained their information through radio broadcasts (mostly listening to Radio Free Europe).

The best informed people were the members of the Party leadership - they read articles translated into Hungarian from the most important foreign press publications. These translations were at the disposal of the members at the county Party headquarters. For the regional headquarters, excerpts were prepared from the excerpts. (An acquaintance of Respondent's, a translator, gave him this information.)

- (10a) Barbarianism, mass murder.
- (10b) The Soviet Union was present ~~maxxxxxxxx~~ behind the scene.
- (10c) He believed what the press published on this subject, he believed that the purpose of the germ warfare was experimental study.
- (10d) He was in the belief that it will take place in the immediate future - now he has the feeling that the West German rearmament will never take place. From Hungary's point of view, the lack of rearmament is disappointing. Under the present circumstance, Hungarians are willing to cling to a piece of straw.
- (10e) In his opinion, there was little sense to this action. While in the army, they had to collect these ballons, but when an officer was present, they had to throw them away without having read them.
- (10f) Respondent knows little about it.
- (10g) Procrastination.

(10h) He was in the belief that the emigrés had a more encompassing influence than they actually have, and that their activities were of a more important nature. In this respect, he makes reference primarily to the German and Austrian situation.

- (1) Along political lines, the multi-party system should be introduced and freedom of the press and ^{of} speech should be granted; in economics: the structure of the present industrial system should be reorganized into various branches of industry, such as light industry, production of agricultural machinery, production of synthetic materials, and develop~~x~~ food packing. In the field of agriculture: return the land to private ownership and supply the right state guidances and organization - guide the peasantry toward intensive animal breeding (hogs, poultry, and cattle) and induce it to produce for the food packing industry and grow medicinal herbs and increase fruit growing.
- (1a) Large enterprises, and banks should be in state ownership.
- (2a) Yes.
- (2b) No.
- (3) There should be unrestr~~icted~~ freedom.
- (3c) No, everybody should ~~have~~ ^{have} the right to speak up against the government.
- (3d) Yes - activities contrary to the interests of the state should be prevented (spying, sabotage, etc.).
- (4) Yes.
- (4b) Only in case of dictatorship.
- (5) See question (1).
- (6) Yes.)
- ~~There~~ There are two types of solutions: either ^{to} keep heavy industry

in its nationalized form, or to sell the nationalized factories by putting stocks on the market but of small face value; the second solution would be practicable in case the state limited the maximum number of shares to be held by one person.

- (6b) Small plants which have no more than 100 employees.
- (6c) It is good.
- (6e) No. In case of state monopolies, it can be very seldom achieved that employers and employees should be directly interested in production. For instance, in the case of the Kőzért, little emphasis is put on quality; on the other hand, it is right that prices be the same all over the country.
- (7) Partly, yes. In case the number of employees exceeds 100.
- (8abc) Today, in Hungary, it is extremely centralized - the detailing of the plans takes place only from above which creates ~~many~~ obstacles in the path of the flow of production. In many cases, certain enterprises have to carry out a plan even if they know beforehand that they will have to operate at a loss! Government planning should give only the broad outlines into which each plant should fit itself on the basis of the given ~~conditions and~~ possibilities under which it functions.
- (8d) The extent of production should be determined by the law of supply and demand.
- (9) Yes, there are. There should be no state interference with the productive work of privately operated and owned land, smaller shops and stores.

- (10) Absolutely yes.
- (10a) After one's income.
- (10b) It is necessary - 50 percent of the present term of duty should be taken for a basis.
- (10cd) Everybody should obey orders and laws and the state should have the right to force people to do so, but only in case the aforementioned laws and orders do not violate the general rights of human freedom.
- (10e) Yes - to protect the citizens interests, to maintain police, etc.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) Yes, the peasantry and the workers.
- (11b) Yes. In case only one member of the family worked, ~~then~~ the whole immediate family was entitled to medical care.
- (11c) The examinations given by private physicians were more precise, more thorough, while those given by doctors employed by the state's health service were, in many cases, superficial.
- (11d) ^y ~~They~~ were relatively good and widespread.
- (11e) His own experiences were good.
- (12)b) More people attend such places today than in the past; the explanation lies in the fact, ^{that} that, under ^{the} present circumstances, people do not wish to save.
- (13) No.
- (13a) Better than in '46.
- (13b) Today he eats better.
- (14) By ^{and} enlarge, yes.

The peasantry and workers are better off, the middle class is worse off, in this respect.

(14a) Better.

(14b) Better.

(15) Positively yes.

(15ab) In order to serve Soviet interests, the heavy industry received prime consideration, while ~~the~~ agriculture played second fiddle.

Industrial production is higher than that of pre-war level, while agricultural production is half ^{of} ~~the~~ the pre-war level.

(15cd) This situation is extremely detrimental. Hungary is an agricultural country - it follows that agricultural production should have been increased, while heavy industry should have been geared according to domestic needs.

(16a) Protect the interests of the workers.

(16b) Completely.

(16c) It should be compulsory.

(16de) The right of the workers to have a say in how to run a factory or a shop would result in continuous arguments and nothing more. Whether an enterprise is state-owned or is the property of shareholders, one person should be appointed to be responsible either to the state or to the shareholders.

(17) Collective farms are not paying propositions. In the future, the system of co-operatives should be restricted to the mutual use of agricultural machinery, transportation, storing and market-

ing of products.

(17a) Co-operatives as they exist today are not good.

~~Reasons~~ Reasons: the lack of expert leadership, the co-operative leadership, and the lack of interest on the part of the peasantry.

The collective farms of today are not only a losing proposition to the state, but also to the peasantry.

On farms of this sort, only the most important works are done and the concensus within such co-operatives is: "It does not pay to keep livestock." (But, of course, everybody keeps it on his own farm.)

The poor condition of the livestock is evident by the following example: in the Siklós region, the daily average milk production is 4-6 liters. Livestock is completely gone. (The bulk of the work is being done by machines, so the stock of horses was reduced to nothing.)

(17b) The existence of state operated farms is justified if they function as model farms and if they serve as experimental stations.

Generally, if a farm operates at a loss of half a millions forints yearly, it is still considered a good one.

The idea that a state farm should produce for foreign markets is good, but this should be accompanied by a reduction in the number of the managing personnel.

(17cd) See question (17). The opinion of the peasantry in connection with this question was clearly voiced during the Revolution when, within a matter of days, they prepared to dissolve most of the collective farms.

(17e) Among the present owners.

(17f) Yes. The ceiling should be about 700 acres.

It is ideally suited to the Hungarian conditions that a farm of 3,000 acres be operated by the state as one production unit.

(17g) The presently private land should be left in private ownership.

The uncultivated and state owned lands - within the above mentioned limits - should be returned to the former owners.

(17h) Of course.

(17i) Yes, with the exception of the large estates.

(17j) Each former owner should get back his former livestock and equipment; building and equipment which were purchased co-operatively on the basis of having obtained credit, should be sold to the members.

(17k) See question (17).

(17l) Yes, with ^{agrarian} ~~agricultural~~, long term credits, through state organized education, by distributing seed grains.

(17mnop) Respondent would dissolve the tractor stations, instead of them he would establish repair shops operated either by the state or by private ~~x~~ capital.

The machinery should be sold to a group from five to ~~xi~~ six farmers who would be enabled to purchase it ^{by means} ~~through the help~~ of long term credits.

(17q) Yes. Machinery which is suited to produce on a smaller scale should also be introduced along with that type of machinery which supply ^{ies} a large cooperative.

Rural electrification should also be solved in the near future.

- (18a) The affairs of the government should be kept separately from the affairs of the church.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) No.
- (18d) Yes. The churches should have the right to maintain denominational schools.
- (18e) No. It should be the right of the parents to decide whether they want their children to attend courses in religion.
- (18f) Respondent prefers denominational schools, because the teaching there is more conscientious and more thorough.
- Lands formerly in the possession of the church should ~~not~~ either belong to the state or to private individuals. The clergy should live from the donations of the congregation. It should live modestly - let them be poor!
- (19) In Respondent's opinion, this problem should be subject to close ~~economic~~ scrutiny. Many people were forced to enter the Party.
- (19a, b, c, d, e, f, g) They should be judged individually. They should be called upon by courts to account for their activities.
- (19h) This in itself is not extenuating because many of the former Communist leaders joined the Party again; those who sided with the Revolution and stuck by their guns should be absolved.
- (20) The Turkish wars were significant for all of Europe, and the re-

cent Revolution has a world significance.

Some of the Hungarian composers - ~~Kada~~ Kodály, Bartók - are recognized all over the world.

- (21) Hungarians are discordant, hospitable and their enthusiasm is ephemeral.
- (21a,b,c) In the above respects, it differs from all of them.
- (21ef) The aristocracy and the peasantry are reserved, they warm up very slowly and are extremely hospitable.
- (22) Unfortunately, a "best government" did not exist.
- (22a) Elderly groups and the clergy still stand up for the monarchy.
- (22f) It was very significant and it was very bad.
- (22g) There was a time when this regime represented and had at heart the interest of the nation and it cannot be blamed exclusively for failing to solve certain problems, such as the land reforms.
- (22h) Hungary should have declared its neutrality much sooner and it should not have stuck by Germany.
- (22i) On account of the damages suffered during the war, it is hard to formulate an opinion on this score.
- (23) The discussion of this problem was deliberately avoided by the Communist regime; moreover, it was stated that Hungary had no rights in this respect.
- (23b) Yes. The Hungarian nation definitely has a claim to the Bácska, Transylvania and the Felvidék. This claim is valid even if, in the meantime, the Hungarians who used to live there were displaced. When this problem is analyzed, the basis for consideration should

be statistical information from 1914.

(23c) Yes, those nations who occupy territories given to them by the peace treaty of Trianon.

(23d) The conflict is ~~k~~ not natural.

The degree of the so-called controversy between Hungarians and Croats is much smaller than that between the Croats and the Serbs.

(24a,b,c,d)

Most of the Hungarians believe that an economic federation within the Carpathian Basin could be feasible under Hungarian leadership; political boundaries should be eliminated and, at the same time, the Slovaks, the Ruthenians, the Croats, the Rumanians should retain their national equality and participate in this economic federation.

(24e) It was not necessary - he is talking about the removal and resettlement of the Swabians.

(25ab) Basically the Russian people are good, simple, quiet. And most of them are uneducated.

(25c) Communists are in ^{the} ~~a~~ minority.

(25e) Hostile.

(25g) From 1946 on, the Russian soldiers stationed in Hungary became friendlier and friendlier with the Hungarian people - this was proven during the first part of the Revolution.

(26) Marxism in the strict and pure sense of the word, basically advocates the ^c creation of an ideal situation.

In Hungary the Marxist theories are being utilized for political

purposes for the misleading of the masses.

(26ab) Respondent does ~~not~~ not reject anything in principle; however, in his opinion, it is absolutely impossible to put Marxism into practice.

(26c) On the basis of historical events, on what was taught, this cannot be determined.

If he read Lenin's original works, he might be able to formulate an objective opinion.

(26d) He was rather a Stalinist.

(26e) There was a tinge of ~~N~~ nationalistic Marxism perceptible.

(26f) Soviet Muscovites, Soviet Marxists.

(26g) Respondent is ~~am~~ unable to answer this question.

(26h) Yes. The ~~Marxist~~ Marxist principles adopt as their own, ~~exaggerated~~ ^{exaggerated} democratic principles.

(26^j~~g~~) Democrats adopt - in theory and practice - the principles of complete equality.

(26i) Never.

(27) National Communism is independent of Soviet Communism.

(27a) There were many of them.

(27b) The workers. They intended to create national Communism - they probably had in mind Tito's system as an example.

(27c) He would like to follow, copy, Tito's principles ~~since~~ ^{since}.

(27d) Yes, a National Communist.

(27e) As practiced in Hungary today, they are incompatible. Soviet Communism wants to eradicate patriotism in the satellite countries.

But, at the same time, the glorification of patriotism, within the ^{boundaries} ~~limits~~ of the Soviet Union, knows no limits.

(28) In the beginning, there would have been a complete anarchy. After that, a political line between democracy and national Communism would have been followed.

~~28~~ (28b) Yes.

(29a) Good.

(29b) Bad.

(29c) Bad.

(29d) Bad.

(29e) Bad.

(29f) Bad.

(29g) Good, that is to say it is not bad.

(29i) Good.

(29h) Ideally.

(29j) Respondent doesn't know.

(29k) Respondent doesn't know.

(29l) Respondent doesn't know. Has no significance.

(29n) During his captivity, he lost contact with the nation.

(30) The Social Democratic Party, together with the Peasant's Party.

(30a) Imre Nagy.

(31a) - They used to be adequately rewarded, however, ~~but~~ during the past few years, they received less than they deserved. However, it should be pointed out: their children received the opportunity of furthering their education - so, ⁱⁿ ~~from~~ this respect, they received more.

- (31b) More.
- (31c) Less
- (31d) Less
- (31e) Less
- (31f) Less.
- (31g) Much more.
- (31h) Less.
- (31i) Less.
- (32a) Worse.
- (32b) Did not exist.
- (32c) Better.
- (32d) Better.
- (32e) Better.
- (32f) Better.
- (32g) Worse.
- (32h) Better
- (32i) Better
- (33a) - Coincide
- (33b) - There are no conflicts between these two groups; the intelligentsia is now somewhat in the background, even the new intelligentsia, because their children already have a bad kader.
- (33e) Coincide.
- (33f) Conflict.
- (33g) Conflict.

(33i) Conflict.

(34) It In the beginning, that is right after the war, the Soviet Union was weak; but as time goes on, the Soviet is becoming dangerously strong.

(35) Nobody.

(35a) Everybody (the small exception is the AVH).

(36) No.

- (1a) The questions are extra-ordinarily comprehensive - they tried to cover too many problems. It was hard to give precise answers and eliminate the possibility of misunderstanding.
- (2a) Yes. As soon as possible, when a change in the political system will take place.
- (3b) Note, this interview should be used in conjunction with interview 406. These two Respondent's were close friends and worked at the same tractor station, both in leading positions: one was the chief engineer, and the other the chief agronomist.