

19. Immediate Plans: To continue his studies at some American college.
20. Other Western agencies interviewing: A student from some university questioned him while he was at Camp Kilmer. He was asked for details on the revolution, he does not know who the interviewer was or what university he was from.
21. Foreign languages: Studied Russian for wight years, and English for two semesters. He had just begun to study Spanish and German.

Respondent is an economics student. His back-ground is both industrial worker and peasant. Fairly intelligent and we established a good rapport. He belonged to the smart young set called "JAMFEC" by the Communists. He took an active part in the revolution and was wounded twice. Fears retaliation against relatives still in Hungary. Gives the impression of being homesick and intends to go back to Hungary as soon as the present regime collapses.

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ACTIONS, ATTITUDES, AND EXPECTATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. On October 22, I went to the university, as usual. The previous evening, the Petofi Circle had held a debate. Two students of our university who were members of the Petofi Circle greeted the students in the hall of the university building and announced that, in the afternoon, a meeting of the students would be held in one of the auditoriums to discuss the plans for a silent demonstration in sympathy with the Polish students. It must be pointed out that the plans for this demonstration did not originate within the Petofi Circle. We had already gotten in touch with the students of the other universities in Budapest in order that they, too, would hold such a demonstration.

For some reason, the meeting of the students was delayed and it did not begin until evening. The president of the Petofi Circle was invited to speak. He gave us a summary of the political situation. At this meeting, we had already heard of the demands of the Cseged university students. At ten o'clock, the meeting was adjourned until nine the next morning.

When the meeting was resumed, the main issue to be decided was whether or not the demonstration should be a silent one. The majority of the students favored such a demonstration because, in this way, it could not be termed "counter-revolutionary". We decided to carry flags and a few slogans, but in all other respects, to keep the demonstration silent.

The meeting was still in progress when, at one o'clock, the president of the university came into the hall. He addressed us, approving of our plans for the demonstration and our demands, with one exception: he objected to our demand which stated the Russians leave Hungary. He said the time was not right for such a demand and that it should be withdrawn. However, the students booed him and in protest he left the hall.

Shortly after that a delegation of students from the Technical University arrived at the meeting. They informed us that a silent demonstration would start at 4 p.m. as agreed, in spite of the fact that the Minister of the Interior Piros refused permission for the demonstration on the grounds that it would provide an excellent opportunity for the counter-revolutionary elements to cause trouble. Upon hearing this, a very few Communist students made a motion that the university should not take part in the demonstrations. They were immediately

silenced by the majority of the students and they had to withdraw their motion.

Just before four o'clock, we marched off in the direction of the Petofi Square where we were to meet the students of the other universities. Our students carried a large number of Hungarian flags, but we also had five Red flags with us. This was to insure us against counter-revolutionary accusations.

In front of the Petofi statue and after we had recited some of Petofi's patriotic poems, the crowd became incited to such an extent that, from there on, the demonstration was no longer a silent one. As we marched along the main streets of Pest in the direction of the Margit Bridge, the demonstrators kept shouting slogans demanding the clarification and investigation of the Rakosi and Rajk cases, that uranium not be sent to the Soviet Union and that the economic and commercial agreements with the Soviet Union be revised. One by one, the Red flags which we carried, disappeared. When we reached the Margit Bridge, the students of the Lenin Institute, that is the department of the Russian language and literature of the Budapest university still had four Red flags. By-standers, especially women, shouted at them saying that they should be ashamed of themselves and they should throw away the Red flags. They did not throw them away, but they rolled them up and put covers on them/

A large crowd collected on the square where the Bem statue stood. Wreaths were placed at the feet of the statue in sympathy for the Polish students. The speeches were delivered and patriotic poems were recited. The soldiers in the barracks facing the square were lined up at the windows. They cheered us and decorated their building with Hungarian flags without the Communist symbol. However, they were not allowed out of their building.

Someone in the crowd suggested that we all go to the Parliament building. The word was passed on and everyone started across the Danube. On the way, we passed the building of the Ministry of the Interior. It could be seen that the building was heavily guarded and that the police had prepared for emergencies. Just before we reached Parliament Square, a special, one-page edition of Szabad Nep was distributed among the crowd. I was able to get a copy for myself. The Szabad Nep listed the twenty-one demands of the university students. The editors of

the newspaper accepted full solidarity with the students. They pledged to continue to edit their paper with a new spirit. One of the captions of the paper was "The Entire Country Should Know".

Parliament Square was completely filled with demonstrators. We demanded to hear Imre Nagy. There were also shouts for the immediate freeing of Cardinal Mindszenty and that he should be placed at the head of a new cabinet, but these shouts were originated, not from the students, but from the workers.

We had to wait several hours for Imre Nagy to arrive. When it became dark and the lights in the square were not turned on, the crowd began to make torches from the copies of the Szabad Nep. Pictures and placards of Stalin and Rakosi were also burned publicly on the square. I do not know where these came from because I had not seen any carried in the demonstration.

After the torch episode, the lights were soon turned on. Imre Nagy finally came and spoke to the crowd. He tried to quiet us down. He promised that all our demands would be discussed by the Parliament and the government, but we should go home. Hungarian blood was precious and we should not spill it needlessly.

After Nagy's speech, the crowd did not want to disperse. It remained until someone passed the word that the entire crowd should go to the radio building and demand to have our demands read over the radio.

This was probably the turning point of the demonstration, and the start of the revolution. However, even before the demonstrations started we realized very well that they would not remain silent. From Petrofi Square on there were no silent demonstrations any more. And when we passed the building of the Ministry of the Interior and saw how heavily it was guarded we realized that the police ~~was~~ were prepared for us and that the ~~entire~~ entire demonstration could very easily turn into a revolution, or a massacre. Such an outlook, however, did not dampen our enthusiasm. For the first time in years we felt we were really Hungarians.

The silent demonstration was organized by the university students in cooperation with the Retofi Circle and with the Writers Club. At the beginning the demonstrations were only

university students. But by the time we reached Parliament Square practically the entire Budapest was there. I saw several Polish, Albanian, and Korean students there also. Later many of them fought on our side. Several of them were killed.

B. With three other friends I went to the Radio Building. By the time we arrived there was a large crowd in front of the radio studio building. A delegation of twelve students was standing right in front of the entrance. They demanded to be let in and be allowed to read the demands of the Budapest University students over the radio. There was a long delay during which this delegation told us that if they are ~~not~~ let in and not let out within a reasonable time we should break in and free them.

The delegation of students was finally let in but a considerable time elapsed and there was no sign of them. The crowd began to get nervous and suspicious. We began to pound and kick the gates of the Radio Building. To frighten us the AVO guards fired several shots in the air. This only infuriated the crowd. The AVO ~~guards~~ guards resorted to tear-gas bombs. When they saw that even this did not help much they began firing into the crowd. Several people were killed and many wounded.

When we saw what was happening my friends and I decided to go to Csepel and get arms. We only got ten blocks, as far as the Korut and there we saw a great commotion. An AVO officer had fired into a crowd from a building. He killed one woman and wounded two other people. The crowd went onto the house to get him and they brought him out and beat him to death. An AVO car was recognized in the street. The crowd turned it over and set it afire.

On seeing this episode we turned back to the Radio Building deciding not to go to Csepel. About a half hour later several trucks appeared bringing arms and ammunition. I was given a sub-machine gun. I was able to handle it because that very summer I had completed one month of compulsory military service and had been trained in the use of small arms. Fierce fighting ensued. The AVO guards were shooting at us not only from the Radio building but also from the roofs of the other buildings near-by. We too kept firing at them from behind a stone wall at the Museum Park. This shooting continued until 3a.m. We then heard the rumble of approaching tanks. Four Soviet tanks and stopped on the street of the radio building. One tank aimed its gun directly at us. We stood up from behind the stone wall and wanted to run for better cover. I felt a sharp pain in my forehead and lost consciousness. I regained consciousness late the

next afternoon. I was in a private home near the Museum Park. A young woman whom I had never seen before was nursing me. She assured me that I was safe and there were no AVH men living in the building, and that in the afternoon I would be taken to a safe hospital for treatment. They took me in a private car to the Surgery Clinic of the Budapest University School of Medicine. I stayed there until November @ 2.

When the fighting started there was no time for slogans. During the demonstrations our slogans were "A new government under Imre Nagy.", "A public trial for Rakosi", "Better wages." After the demonstrators left the Bem statue the demands were that the Russians should go home, that Hungarian uranium should remain in the country and that Gero be expelled from the government. I first heard the term "Freedom Fighters" in the hospital from friends who visited me. E

Everyone took part in the fighting, young and old alike. There were many women and girls with arms among us. I received my sub-machine gun and a round of ammunition from soldiers. They brought them from Csepel. The sub-machines were being manufactured in the screw factory in Csepel. However, there was not much ammunition in the factory and we had to bring a truck-load of sub-machine gun ammunition from Svabhegy. (A n elite residential section overlooking Budapest where many top Communists lived.) We were led there by a Lieutenant Colonel. He was among the on-lookers in the crowd when the AVO started to fire from the radio building. A simple woman about 45 pointed at the first five people killed by the AVO and said to him "Look at this! Is there nothing you can do?" He burst out in bitter tears and asked for ten students to volunteer and go with him. There were so many volunteers that he had to pick out ten. We went and brought three truck loads of ammunition.

There was no central leadership or command to direct the fighting. This was due to the fact that the revolution and fighting was not planned in advance. Fighting groups were formed under people who had some military experience or who were born leaders. I have met and fought under several such group leaders. Some were army officers, others were assistant professors at the university, simple industrial workers who previously served in the army, etc. The most remarkable man among them was a 60 year old industrial worker whom everyone called Uncle Andy. He had been a young corporal in the first World War. He did not have much education, but he was a born strategist and knew how to handle people. Even captains and lieutenants obeyed him willingly. In general, it was the 60 and 70 year old veterans who taught the youngsters how to handle arms; how to

load and to clean etc. They also taught the youngsters how to shoot, how to seek cover and so on. In a matter of hours young children of ten and twelve who had never had fire arms in their hands before became experienced fighters.

No one thought of consequences during the revolution. No one feared dying or getting wounded. The sight of others getting killed or wounded infuriated us the more.

Before the demonstration at the university the question was raised what would happen if the government should decide to send out the AVO to stop the demonstrations which the Minister of the Interior had not permitted. At that time we were of the opinion that if the police should shoot at the demonstrators then the West would intervene. But I must repeat we discussed this only as a possibility and did not have any plans of turning the demonstrations into a revolution.

In my opinion it was neither Kadar ~~xxxxxxx~~ nor Gero who called in the Russian troops. It was the Kremlin which decided to take ~~xxxxxxx~~ military ~~xxxxxx~~ action against us.

C. On November ~~the~~ 2 I left the clinic to go to Vienna and bring medical supplies. I went with a caravan of 21 trucks. These trucks were manned by a personnel of 40 or 45 people consisting of truck drivers, medical students, nurses and doctors. All of us put on white coats and put on Red Cross arm bands. We were warned not to take any arms with us.

In Vienna we loaded our medical supplies and were turning back to Hungary. We arrived at the Hungarian border late at night on November 3. The Hungarian border guard warned us at the border to stop immediately if we were challenged anywhere on the road. He said he felt something was going to happen because allegedly Russians were coming to take over guard duty on the frontier.

We got as far as Sopron without any trouble. We stopped at the local hospital to rest and to eat something. Our trucks started off again for Budapest ~~xxxxxxx~~ after midnight. This was the early morning hours of November 4.

Where the Sopron road runs into the Budapest-Vienna Highway we were stopped by Russian guards. We showed them the papers given us by the Hungarian Red Cross. They brushed them aside saying they were no good. They insisted on searching the trucks. They said they were looking for arms and ammunition. ~~xxxx~~ Since I spoke Russian I acted as interpreter. I saw that the Russian sergeant in charge was opening the food crates in the trucks. He seemed very ~~hungry~~ hungry and was eating from the crates. I told him that the medical supplies and food was needed for the wounded in Budapest. He said the medical

supplies could go but the Russian soldiers were hungry and needed food. We talked the situation over among ourselves and decided not to give the Russians our supplies. Seeing only eight of them we decided to make a break for it.

The first ten trucks got over safely. I was in the 11th truck leading the second half of the column. I told my driver to drive as fast as he could, but we were able to go only a few hundred yards when two Russian jeeps and three motor-cycles ~~caught up with us~~ with side cars caught up with us. They began firing at us. My driver was killed and our truck turned over.

I regained consciousness in the hospital in Győr. I had been shot in the leg and head and my arm was broken. The truck must have caught fire after it turned over because there were severe burns on my face and hands. At the hospital there were three other people from the second half of our truck column which I had been leading. I was never able to establish what happened to the others. Beside my chauffeur I think many others had also been killed.

I was in need of a serious skull operation and I was rushed to a German Red Cross hospital on the outskirts of Budapest. I was unconscious for a long time after the operation. Days later I was allowed my first ten minute visit. My friends told me how the Russians shot up the Technical University and then started shelling our university buildings. The two universities face each other on the banks of the Danube. Some medical ~~university~~ university students told me how the Russians invaded hospitals and either took away or shot the wounded patients.

On November 10 the doctors told me that I would be able to leave the hospital a week later. I did not wait for the week to expire, but left the hospital on November 14. I considered it too unsafe to remain because there was too much shooting going on in the neighborhood.

My friends came to get me by car, but riding in the car gave me a severe headache so I decided to go by foot. We got as far as the Margit Bridge without any trouble. There the Russians were checking vehicles and pedestrians alike. My head was bandaged but I had pulled a Swiss beret over my head. However, the guards saw the bandages under my cap and refused to accept my identification card. He insisted on escorting me in. A Hungarian in civilian clothes was there acting as translator for the Russians. He told the Russian soldier that he would escort me in. The Russian turned back and we continued across the bridge. When we passed safely through the second check point at the other end of the bridge he told me "The next time be sure to pull your cap further down to conceal your bandages. Go home as ~~fast~~ quick as you can. I too am a university

student." One of my friends knew this boy by sight. A few days later we heard that he had been executed by the Russians because they caught on that he was intentionally giving them wrong ~~translations~~ translations.

I ~~went~~ went to my parents home but their flat had been heavily damaged by the fighting. I learned from neighbors that they had gone to relatives in the country and that my brother had also gone after them. I decided to go and live with my friends in a students home.

During the next few days we sat beside the radio constantly. For our meals we had to go in to the university. We were forced to use the side entrances or the rear windows because the Russians did not let us in. On one or two occasions they fired at us.

Seeing my bandaged head people would stop us on the street and invite me and my friends to lunch or supper. There was a clinic near the students home where I lived and the nurses often sent us their own meals.

On one occasion when I went to the university I met my Russian professor. He was an interesting man who was born in Germany, educated in the Soviet Union, and was sent to Hungary to teach us Russian. He was an idealistic Communist. He was very glad to see me because it had been rumored that I had been killed. He warned me that we should disappear from Budapest before November 20 because on that day the Russians would start taking university students in to custody. He was very bitter and disillusioned. He said that what happened was worse than Hitler's barbarism before and during World War II. He used some very drastic words when expressing his opinion on the Communist Party.

Heeding the warning of this professor I and my friends decided to leave Hungary. We left Budapest on November 18. Boarding a train in the Kelenfold station we got off one station before Sopron. The border was not guarded there then. We had to walk one and one half kilometers and arrived in Austrian territory at 9 P.M.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

- A. When the revolution broke out, we thought that the US government would send a formal protest to the Soviet Union and if that were not sufficient, then the American air force would bring paratroopers to Hungary. If only a single American airplane or a single American soldier had appeared during the fighting, it would have encouraged the population to such an extent that no further aid would have been necessary. When we saw that we would get no aid, we fought on, embittered.
- B. When Imre Nagy made his appeal for aid to the UN, we expected the UN to send an international police force to Hungary. Our hopes were soon dispelled when we saw that the UN was delaying action.
- C. During the revolution and the demonstrations, I saw foreign newspaper reporters, but I did not speak with them. During the fighting in front of the radio building, somebody from the French legation was there taking photographs. My brother told me that in Csepel, he had to seek cover in the same doorway with a Western press correspondent. The man did not know Hungarian and my brother was unable to speak with him. But one thing must be made clear: that with these press correspondents and photographers did not incite the crowd. They were simply taking pictures and notes on what was happening.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father is a peasant who owns 12 cadastral yokes of land and a house. For a considerable length of time, he had been employed as a laborer by a chemical factory. He completed eight years and my mother four years of grade school.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the peasants, the workers, and the intelligentsia. The small tradesmen and craftsmen should be included among the workers. To the intelligentsia belong doctors, teachers, professors, and, in general, all persons who fill jobs requiring at least secondary education.

I have had contact with all these groups because my father is of peasant origin, but he worked for a long time among industrial workers and as a university student, I came to know many of the intelligentsia.

My opinion of the Hungarian peasants is that they are very thrifty and they work very hard. They have a great thirst for knowledge. For example, in the summer vacations when I took my text books home, friends of the family would come in and look at my text books wanting to know what was in them.

The workers, in general, are more intelligent than the peasantry. There is more cooperation between them and they are better organized.

The intelligentsia was the most valuable social class in Hungary. They were not willing to be misled by Communism.

On the basis of my education, I ~~am~~ considered myself to be a member of the intelligentsia. I think that of all social classes in Hungary, the industrial workers were the hardest hit by Communism because of low wages and labor competition methods.

C. I think that, in Hungary, the peasants sympathized with the industrial workers. They were much closer to them than to the intelligentsia. They did not have the very best opinion of the intelligentsia because they did not know them so well.

The workers sympathized with the peasants and were sorry for them. When the government was using every means to ruin the peasants, the workers acknowledged the leading role of the intelligentsia and stood much closer to this class than the peasants did.

The intelligentsia was a bit inclined to look down upon the peasantry. It valued the workers far more than the peasants. The only change to the attitudes of these classes to each other was noticeable in the last two or three years before the revolution. Then the gap between the intelligentsia and the peasantry became much smaller.

E. If a person wished to get ahead in Communist Hungary, first he must have a good cadre sheet. He had to be a Communist Party member with no relatives living in the Western countries. A person's talent or knowledge or experience was of the least importance.

Class origin was also very important. This was one of the first things stated on a person's cadre sheet. People in general were classed as either workers, peasants, intellectuals, or they were classed in a group called IKs. To the IKs group belonged the people who were politically unreliable, such as ex-Army officers of the Horthy regime. Top government officials of the previous regime, or prominent politicians or members of the Hungarian Fascists (file cross) Party. The majority of the students admitted to our university were of worker origin. There were also some peasant boys, but very few children of the intelligentsia, and no one whose parents belonged to the IKs group. This IKs group did not exist in the first years of Communism immediately after World War II. It was introduced only in 1951 or '52.

The person most likely to succeed in Communist Hungary, was the big-mouthed Communist with the proper class background who is willing to read the Communist newspapers at least three times a week so as to be able to quote from the Hungarian Communist newspapers, publicly, thereby giving the impression that he is a good Party member.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Family life under Communism was inclined to become loosened. Quarrels in families because of the Communist Party membership of a family member were very frequent. People were at home had to sever practically all contacts with relatives living abroad. Financial difficulties, very often, caused scenes and quarrels at home.

B. In kindergarten and in grade school, the children were taught to worship and idolize the Soviet Union. Communists wanted the children to be, not Hungarian, but Soviet patriots. Religion was banned from the curriculum of the schools. Later, children were permitted to attend religious classes if the parents wanted them to do so. However, usually only a very short time was allowed for enrollment to these classes. The parents, very often, found it impossible to enroll their children because, more often than ~~not~~ not, the teacher in charge of enrollment was not available. When he became available, the time for enrollment had expired.

In secondary schools, the children were led to believe in Soviet superiority. All technical inventions and scientific discoveries were credited to Russians. The socialist type of man was described to be much more superior than any other. Strong emphasis was placed upon Russian literature and culture. For example, in gymnasiums, at the final examinations, fifteen questions were asked about Soviet literature and Soviet authors, whereas only five were asked about Hungarian counterparts.

Many of the professors in the secondary schools and at the universities were either Soviet born or Soviet educated. They encouraged students to conduct correspondence with members of the Soviet Komsomorg.

In general, the Communist intended to separate the children from the parents, but I do not think that, under Communism, there has been much change in the extent to which children obey their parents. I think that this varied according to families and depended largely on what kind of people the parents were.

C. Because of financial difficulties, both husband and wife were forced to seek employment. This had a very bad effect on the emotional side of marriage. Very often, there were also

differences of political opinion between husband and wife. In general, I think, marriages were formed more easily and perhaps more irresponsibly than before.

I do not think there has been any change in the way young people learn to know each other. Perhaps, in the cities, formal introductions were less important than in the villages and in the country. Extra-marital sexual relations were perhaps, more frequent than before. I think that the number of illegitimate children increased.

Officially, prostitution was banned, but there was secret prostitution.

There was not much talk in the papers about the official Party or government attitude on sexual matters.

The morals of the Communists and their attitudes toward sexual matters probably varies according to their social class. The morals of Communist workers were sometimes very loose. In factories, after Party meetings, drinking bouts were frequently held to which the women workers were also invited. Perhaps the Communists, in general, have less inhibitions in sexual matters, at least, they are less concerned about keeping up appearances.

D. I don't think that the Party membership or Party assignment of my friends would influence our friendship. For example, at the university, I had a room mate who was a Communist Party member. He was just "a reactionist" just the same as I was, only he joined the Party in order to be able to get ahead. I think that a friendship can exist between persons of different political beliefs. A friendship can exist without mixing politics into it.

E. I think there has been an increase in crimes under Communism, but the Communist press did not write much about it. Many crimes against property were committed under Communism because the offender was driven to crime by poverty and desperation. The crime rate amongst women has probably increased also. There certainly was an increase in juvenile delinquency. At one time, certain sections of Budapest were unsafe because gangs of teenagers held up and robbed pedestrians and committed acts of atrocity against women.

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The police were not able to do much about the crime situation. They were not as effective as the gendramerie was under the Horthy regime.

I suppose that alcoholism also increased under Communism. Many people drowned their sorrow in hopeless drink.

The "Jampec" were mostly young intellectuals and university students. They liked to dress smartly and according to American style. They wore long hair and imitated the American jitterbugs. ~~The industrial workers~~ Some young industrial workers also imitated them. They were frowned upon because they imitated European and American fashions, and behavior. I do not think it is a crime to be a Jampec, but sometimes young criminals would also imitate this fashion. In such cases the Communists were inclined to generalize and say that all Jampecs were criminals. This was not true. For example, not one of our assistant professors at the university could also be called a Jampec because of their dress and style of hair. The majority of the Jampecs were people between the ages of 18 to 24. They were mostly children of the intelligensia and some came from industrial worker families. The parents really ~~in~~ did not mind their children being Jampecs. Sometimes they protested against ~~the~~ the over exaggeration in clothes.

VII. RELIGION

A. There was no religious freedom in Communist Hungary. The university student did not dare go to church openly. If he was seen in church he would be called to the dean's office and warned. He would be told that Communist beliefs were incompatible with church doctrines. If he believes in the creation of the world as described by the church then it is useless for him to attend the university. He should reconsider his religious views and think twice ~~before~~ before going to ~~church~~ church again. If this warning was of no avail and the student was seen going to church ~~again~~ again he would be expelled from the university.

I think that the Catholic church was the hardest hit by the Communists in Hungary. This was probably because of the international relations and ties of the Catholic Church. The Protestant church was not oppressed to such an extent by the Communists as the Catholic church, but it was not advisable to be seen attending a Protestant church either. I have not heard that the Jewish religion was also persecuted.

B. Religion plays an important role in my life. Whatever the regime religion remains a spiritual necessity for everyone. But perhaps I am not as religious as my parents are. I think that I am just as religious as the average university student, but I cannot compare myself to the average person in Hungary with regards to religiousness. I sometimes felt the need to go to church and pray but I did not go to church regularly, nor did I pray at home every morning or night.

C. I think that the government should not interfere in religion and the church should not interfere in government. Church and state should be independent of one another. The church should be concerned only with the spiritual life of their members.

I think that the church should play an important role in the education of children. In an independent Hungary I would give back all the church's schools. I would make religion compulsory in school. I think that the opinion of the church should be heard in such matters as censorship in films, plays, and books. But sometimes church censorship is over exaggerated.

The church, in my opinion, should not play an active part in politics in an independent Hungary.

D/I did not know many Jews and therefore I do not have an exact opinion the situation of the Jewish religion under Communism. But my impression is that the Jewish religion was not persecuted because so many of the top Communists were Jews. I don't think there was much difference in the attitudes of Jews as compared to the attitudes of Christians toward Communism in Hungary. It is true that of the three Jews I knew personally two were Party members. But they were members only to be able to get ahead. They were not Communists by conviction.

I did not see any Jews participate in the demonstrations or in the fighting during the revolution.

I do not know of any reason why Jews should be afraid of an independent Hungary.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. In my opinion the term Hungarian youth should be applied to the younger generation between the ages of 18 to 24.

B. I don't think that the Hungarians youth led the revolution. The Hungarian youth and mostly the university students started the revolution but ~~it~~ let the industrial workers take over.

In the six months prior to the revolution the Hungarian youth staged political debates in which it ~~was~~ criticized the Communist regime and in this way it paved the way to the revolution. This was done not only in the framework of the Petofi Circle. Heated debates were going on in student dormitories and even in political orientation classes.

The demonstrations were organized and staged by the Hungarian youth; mainly the university students. ~~They~~ They were the ones who also started the fighting. But, the Hungarian army and the industrial workers soon took ~~the~~ over.

The Hungarian youth, and mostly the students, started the demonstrations because they were very well organized and were able to maintain contact with various groups, probably much better than anyone else in Hungary.

During the revolution the older generation glorified the Hungarian youth. Many of the older people had not believed it was possible to start a revolution. When they saw that the impossible had happened they took over.

C. In Communist Hungary the Hungarian children and students were being educated along Soviet patterns by Soviet citizens. The young people were being educated to serve the purposes and aims of the party.

The choice of a vocation was very much restricted. During the final year in the gymnasium students were required to hand in their petitions for permission to enroll in an university. They could state which profession they wished to prepare for and what university they would like to attend. Very rarely were these requests taken into consideration. For example, I wanted to enroll in the school of medicine. I was permitted to study only at the University of Economics. A gymnasium student could never deal directly with the universities...only through the schools. The director of the gymnasium had to give an opinion of each student, stating in his opinion which profession the student concerned was best suited to. The opinion of the director was in

most cases decisive.

At the university we had thirty-five academic hours a week. This included about four hours of political indoctrination. We were over-burdened with studies. There were too many Marxist books to be read. With the exception of the Marxist and political indoctrination classes the quality of education at our university was excellent. The great majority of our professors were eminent scholars and scientists who had achieved fame during the previous regime. They were what the Communists called "Reactionists". A few of the younger professors got their jobs because of political beliefs or Communist Party membership. But they too were well qualified to teach us although they did not know quite as much as those who had taught under the previous regime.

E. It is quite true that the Communists devoted much time to indoctrinate the Hungarian youth. The youth ~~was~~ was crammed with Soviet and Communist ideology. Everything that was Western was prohibited. But this only made it more interesting to the Hungarian youth. From the very beginning they were opposed to Communism.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. My major dissatisfactions with life under Communists were the constant lack of money, too much Marxism and Leninism in school, the presence of Korean, Albanian, and Chinese students who received much more aid from the Hungarian government than we did. For example the scholarships which the Hungarian government paid, did not give an Hungarian student more than 460 forints per month. At the same time the Chinese, Korean students were getting over 1500 forints a month. Another source of dissatisfaction in Hungary was not enough food.

B. Most of the people complained about working conditions, low salaries, labor competitions, and, in the country, the compulsory participation in farm cooperatives.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. During my last year in Hungary I was very bad off financially. I received 460 forints a month from the government. From this I paid 120 forints a month for a room in a student home. I shared this room with three other students. We paid 180 forints a month for lunches. This we got at the university cafeteria. Breakfast would have cost 85 forints a month and supper 110 forints. But very few ~~people~~ ~~students~~ students, including me, every ate breakfast or supper. When I was very hungry I usually visited my aunt who lived near-by and ate a second lunch or dinner with them. The food at the cafeteria was of a very poor quality and it was never enough. I had two suits. One Sunday suit which was two years old and one everyday suit which was five years old. The students didn't care much about clothes. Everyone was shabbily dressed.

For me, a rarely achievable luxury was to go dancing on a Saturday or Sunday. This usually meant an expense of 20 or 30 ~~forints~~ forints.

I had the most difficulty with clothes. I would have like to own three or four suits.

My parents did not live very well either. ~~My~~ When our family was living in Budapest the food at home was somewhat better than in the household of the average industrial worker. This was because my father received parcels from home from the person to whom he had leased his land. He was able to buy a suit or coat for himself, my mother, or my brother ~~only~~ only every third year. They lived in a two room apartment. Their greatest problem was clothes.

Our standard of living was much lower after the war than before. Before the war my father was able to support his family fairly well on his salary alone. Before and during the war we had a radio. After the war we could not afford one. According to my estimates our standard of living decreased about 50 or 60 percent in comparison to its pre-war level. After the war, our standard of living was probably the highest in 1949 and the lowest in 1956.

A distant aunt was probably much better off financially than anyone else I knew in Hungary. She was a widow. Her husband had been a physician. She herself was a mid-wife

She had a 16 year old daughter. They lived in a provincial town in a four room house of their own. Their food was very good and they were able to dress well. She was planning to have her daughter study medicine. They could afford to go to the cinema and theatre often and to give parties at home. My aunt was able to lead this life because she was- had been well provided for by her husband. Also, because she received many sick calls after her regular hours at the hospital were over.

I think that the low standard of living in Hungary during the past 8 years is due to the economic exploitation of the country by the Soviet Union.

My father's average income in 1956 was from 5--- 850 to 900 forints a month. This was take-home pay which did not include the 50 forint deduction for trade union fees. The take-home pay also included a small allowance for my younger brother. My father did not have any secondary source of income. My mother had heart trouble and could not do any other work than housework. My father once received a salary increase of 50 forints a month, but I do not know in which year. This was not a general wage increase.

As I've already mentioned, I received a scholarship of 450 forints a month from the government. I would not have received this amount had I been living at home. This was not enough to cover all my expenses. For this reason, we university students would go to the central Budapest produce market to load and unload fruit. This we could do only on Saturday and Sunday. By 12 to 14 hours of hard work, we were able to earn about 100 forints each week-end.

C. In general, food prices on the open markets were about 10% higher than the prices in the government stores. New, ready-made suits were obtainable only in government stores. The government commission stores sold only second-hand articles. The difference in food prices on the two markets was only seasonable. The food price differential was especially great in 1955.

The quality of goods available in government retail stores was always very poor. I am not aware of any difference in quality in the various years before the revolution. Retail distribution in Hungary was very sloppy and inefficient. For example, in the winter of 1955, you could get

lard only in two stores in the whole of Budapest. At the same time, there was an abundance of lard in all stores everywhere else in the country. I do not know how difficult it was to obtain spare parts. There may have been some waste of food in Hungary.

There were periodical shortages in such food stuffs as lard, potatoes, flour and meat. The price of lard and meat was very high and, even so, very often, it was not available. Oranges, lemons, tropical fruits, coffee, tea, were unobtainable. I am not aware of any change in this respect during the past few years.

The shortage of money compelled many people to conduct black market operations. Many peasants were forced to sell their produce on the black market in order to be able to acquire the money necessary for taxes. Two university students whom I knew bought and sold wrist-watches on the black market.

My friends knew only two people in the black market. One was the man from whom they obtained the watches and the other was the man to whom they sold them. These watches were smuggled on from Austria. Usually, by Russians, or by the crews of the Danube ships. They bought watches at the price of 200-300 forints each and passed them on with a profit of about 100 forints each, to a man who sold them in provincial towns and cities, where such a watch would usually sell for 600-700 forints, whereas the store price would be 1,200 forints or even higher.

Very often, the prices on the black-market would be lower than the official retail prices. The quality would also be better, especially if the goods was some that had been smuggled into Hungary, from Austria or Czechoslovakia.

Black-market operations were dangerous. The university class-mate received 18 months imprisonment because he sold two or three dollars on the black market. The professional black-market operator would be liable to get from 4 to 10 years.

I did not hear of any cases where retail dealers demanded a higher price for scarce goods. This may very well

have happened.

D. (Respondent is a student and had never been employed.)

E. While I was in Hungary, I preferred to live in the city. Life in the city is always better and more comfortable. It had more possibilities for cultural enjoyments than in the villages.

I think that in Communist Hungary, the agricultural workers ate more and better food than city workers. The general standard of living was higher in the villages ~~than-in-the-coun-~~ and in the country. Politically, it was wasser to live in the country because the rural population was spread farther apart.

When collectivization of the agricultural properties was first introduced in Hungary, I was too young to have an opinion on it, but my present opinion on this ~~was~~ as it has been conducted in Hungary, is a very poor one. The peasants were opposed to this program. I saw, many times, that the unharvested crop stood in the fields in December. I think both small and middle peasants objected to collectivization in the same degree. I have not heard of any farm collectives being dissolved.

As an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary, I would much rather work on a private farm/

The ideal agricultural system in an independent Hungary should be based on individual farming, free marketing with non-controlled prices, no compulsory delivery of crops and fairer taxation. The tractor stations set up by the Communists should not be abolished. The mechanization of agriculture should continue.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. About the activities of the Communist Party before 1948, I know only what we have been taught in school. I suspect that we have been given a very one-sided account of the Hungarian Communist Party in 1918 and 1919, therefore I am unable to form a definite opinion of my own. I think that the number of Communists in Hungary before 1945 is very insignificant.

The vast majority of the Communist Party members joined the Party because they were afraid of losing their jobs. Many people joined in order to be able to have a career. Very few joined from convictions. I have met Party members of all three types. The vast majority of the Party members applauded the actions and words of the Party, but, at home, secretly, they thought otherwise.

The policy of the Hungarian Communist Party always changed in compliance with the wishes of Moscow. There were periods of open terror and periods of appeasement. In general, it can be said that from the time of the 20th Congress until 1956, there was a thaw in the Communist Party policy. The policy of appeasement can probably be traced back to the fact that the Communists in Moscow realized they were headed for economic and political disaster. I am not aware of any differences within the Communist Party itself.

By Party morale, I mean the acceptance of the Party's policy by its members. It is my opinion that Party morale has been very low since the 20th congress. Criticism and difference of opinion were allowed within the Party. Many people discontinued their membership.

I think that the top leaders of the Communist Party are Communists by conviction. They believe blindly what the Party teaches. As individuals, they are only puppets and have no personality. They are evil and diabolical. Very few of them may have good intentions, but be unable to carry them through. They have to obey instructions. They are motivated, primarily, by material gain. They have to obey gain and only secondarily by personal gain. They are very incompetent and sometimes very stupid.

The motives of the simple Party members are fear of losing their jobs, the desire to have a career, and a wish to live as comfortably as possible. On the other hand, the motives of the top Communists are the desire for power and for unequalled good living. When Hungary regains her independence, the top leaders of the Hungarian Communists should be liquidated the same way that they have liquidated many thousands.

C. Every form of opposition to Communism could be found in Hungary. There was dissatisfaction and grumbling, production slowdowns, and even strikes. For example, in 1949, the workers in Csepel went on strike. The AVO was sent to suppress this strike. It opened fire on the workers and killed several of them. Sabotage was conducted mostly by workers and very openly by the peasantry. Such oppositional behavior was no secret to anyone in Hungary, especially not when the persons concerned were arrested for their acts. All forms of oppositional behavior served to increase the unpopularity of the regime. The closer we come to 1956, the more frequent were the acts of opposition. Up to 1948, people dared to oppose the regime more openly. With the increase of terror after 1948, the people dared less and less to voice their dissatisfactions of the regime.

I have heard about the activities of the intellectuals before the revolution. In Hungary, the author, Zoltan Zelk, was the first one to bring up the question of Hungarian uranium. Later, the Petofi Circle took over this question and debated it in great detail.

I first heard of the Petofi Circle in January, 1956. Some of the young resistant professors at the university who were members of the Circle told us about its meetings and invited us to attend some of their debates. By the summer of 1956, the Petofi Circle meetings and debates had become so popular that people were unable to get in to them any more. Special identity cards were issued only to Communists and to old members. These were shown before any one was admitted to a meeting. Still later, the meetings of this circle were banned entirely. A few months before the out-

break of the revolution, the Petofi Circle was again allowed to function.

There were certain signs of intellectual ferment long before the Petofi Circle. Ever since the 20th congress, criticism within the Party was allowed. Rumors could be heard of heated arguments and debates at Party meetings. To prove that there was true freedom of opinion within the Party, non-members were also allowed to attend some meetings.

The activities of the intellectuals in Hungary were not secret. Everyone knew about them, especially after the Irodalmi Usag began to publish articles of some of the intellectuals.

The significance of the intellectual lies, not so much in what they said, but rather that they dared to express what everyone else thought. I valued their activity highly. They started the open opposition to the government and to the Communists' regime despite the fact that they were given precise instructions on what to write and how to write it. I do not consider them the leaders of the revolution, but they certainly paved the way for the revolution. I think that they are practical and realistic people.

The young intellectuals turned against the regime because they knew very well what the situation in Hungary was. They realized that life in Hungary was quite different from the reports submitted at Party meetings.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The Hungarian Communist secret police were cruel, ruthless people. All traces of humaneness were carefully eradicated from them. They were well paid to be loyal servants to the regime.

Not my family, nor my friends, nor I have had any personal contact with the AVH officers. None of us was ever arrested. I had heard of only one AVH officer who left the service. He was a second lieutenant. He resigned and became a laborer. I do not know the reason for his resignation.

I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that Communist Hungary was a country of constant fear and anxiety. Nobody dared to speak openly because of omni-present AVH informers. The AVH kept practically everyone under constant observation. When Hungary is independent, members of the AVH should either be sent to the Soviet Union or executed.

The Hungarian Blue Police were somewhat more popular. During the revolution, many of the Blue police fought on our side. There were some Communists by conviction among the officers of the Blue police, but they were far less in number than those in the AVH.

I do not think that the Blue police operated as effectively as the police force or the gendarmerie of the Horthy regime. There may have been some corruption and bribery within the police force. During the Budapest fighting, the majority of the Blue policemen sided with the revolution. During the first demonstration on October 23rd, I personally saw a traffic policeman pin on the Hungarian national colors, take off his white gloves and police arm band, and slip in line with the other demonstrators. On the other hand, there were several police men who did not let the students pin the national colors on their coats. Later, when the national guards were formed, blue policemen performed guard duty together with students. On one occasion during the revolution, I met a police sergeant who told me that he had been offered a higher rank with the AVO, but he was unwilling to accept it. When he rejected the promotion, he

was taken in to the AVO and severely beaten.

B. I did not have very much experience with the Hungarian courts, but I think that the civil courts in non-political cases operated fairly well. I am too young to remember what courts were like under the Horthy regime. But, according to what my father told me about the pre-war days, I do not believe the Communist allegations of class justice are true.

I do not know anything about the people's courts which were set up in 1945-47. I think that the war criminals were guilty and that their sentences were just.

C. It is largely due to the aid and cooperation of the Hungarian army that the revolution of 1956 was allowed to develop into what it did. The army provided the arms us the small arms, munitions, and heavy guns. At first, the soldiers were virtual prisoners in their own barracks. When they were freed, they came to our assistance and fought with us. This I know from personal experience.

Troops stationed in eastern Hungary, did not participate in the revolution to the same extent as the troops in Budapest or in the trans-Danubian country. This was due to the fact that, in eastern Hungary, there were very many Hungarian units under Russian command.

Practically all of the enlisted men, most of the non-commissioned officers and many officers, openly sided with us. I do not know of any difference in their conduct which can be attributed to class or origin.

Some army groups did not join the revolution because they were influenced by their pro-Soviet officers.

I was not very much surprised by the conduct of the enlisted men, but I was surprised by the conduct of the officers. That summer, I served one month in compulsory military service. After experiencing the manner in which the officers spoke to us then, it would have been very difficult to imagine that they would fight with us against the AVO and the Russians.

I do not know what the relations were between the army officers and the regular enlisted men. We received special treatment because we were performing military service only in the summer months during vacations. I know that our officers received us with hostility and contempt. They told us they had been waiting for us for the past ten months. They said it is not enough for us to study and to go in for sports in order to become good soldiers and officers. They were very conceited about their profession and thought that their experience was the peak of human knowledge. According to regulations university students completing compulsory military training should have been allowed a ten minute rest every hour and should not be exercised for more than eight hours a day. But these regulations were not observed.

According to my experience the non-commissioned officers were much better than the officers. When the officers were not present they were very friendly to us and did not insist going through senseless exercises. But if they saw an officer approaching they immediately resumed their official tone.

I think that relations between the officers and the enlisted men improved considerably during the revolution. Those were exceptional times and an officer would very readily shake the hand of a simple soldier, and would not insist the his belt and buttons be in order during the fighting.

Our officers could not be termed as intelligent. They were certainly very bad instructors. They knew something about their own profession and did not care about anything else.

In my experience the officers and non-commissioned officers of peasant origin were much better than those of industrial worker origin. Perhaps the officers and ~~the~~ non-commissioned officers who were Communist by conviction were inclined to be more severe than the others.

Some people did get special treatment in the army. For example one of my class-mates was the son of a colonel. Whenever we marched out for exercises he went swimming. If I ~~had done the same thing~~ had done the same thing I would have been court-martialed.

We had six hours of political indoctrination and seminars a week. But we heard from the other soldiers that the recruits who weren't students received twelve hours of political indoctrination a week. In general, the

recruits did not like the political indoctrination classes. During such classes and in seminar groups they always took it easy. Soldiers were very bored with these classes. Whenever it was possible they skipped them.

B. It is true that the unpopularity of the Russian army in Hungary is partly due to the role that the Russians~~army~~ played in ~~the~~ squelching the K_osut Rebellion in 1848. But in my opinion the unpopularity of the Soviet army is due mostly to its conduct in Hungary in 1945.

In 1945 I was only eight years old. Judging by what the older people said about the Russians I was very much afraid of them even before they came. Although my father had not been in the army during the war they took him away as a prisoner of war. He came back home three months later only because he had been able to escape from a prison-of-war camp in Rumania. Once they tried to molest my mother. They raped two young women living next-door.

Since 1945 the majority of the Russians' enlisted men and officers came to like our country and our people. Some of them were very friendly. On one occasion in 1955 I was traveling by train. ~~From~~ A Soviet First Lieutenant gave his seat to an elderly Hungarian woman. I started a conversation with him in Russian. He told me that the Russians liked to be in Hungary. He also said that a Russian couple in DEBRECEN had committed suicide by jumping from the fifth floor when they heard they were being transferred to the Soviet Union.

I think it always depended on the individual Russian how much he was liked. Probably this is the reason the troops which were stationed in Hungary for a long time before the revolution were replaced by the Russians.

On another occasion I met a Soviet First Lieutenant who was a university professor back home. He was a very intelligent man and his wife was very charming. I met them in a club and I danced with the wife. The husband told me that they liked being in Hungary very much. They only regretted that the Russians in ~~Hungary~~ Hungary were so unpopular. He knew that this was due to the conduct of the Russian soldiers in ~~in~~ 1945.

I have had no other personal contact with Russians.

After 1945 the conduct of the Russian army gradually improved. Simultaneously the hostile feelings of the Hungarian population also lessened to a certain extent. But the conduct of the Russians in 1945 can never be forgotten.

There was very little contact between the Soviet Occupation troops and the civilian population. The enlisted men and the non-commissioned officers were locked up in barracks. They were not allowed to leave the premises except for military duty. Sometimes they could be seen patrolling the streets. There was somewhat more contact with the Russian officers and their families. Usually they were the ones who sought ~~social~~ social relations with Hungarians. With intelligent Russians it was possible to maintain social relations. Otherwise the Russian children did not attend Hungarian schools but had schools of their own. I know of no marriages between Russians and Hungarians. If there was any courtship at all it was limited to officers and Hungarian women, but even these were very rare.

My general impression of the Russians is that they were Russians first and Communists only second. They liked living in Hungary better than in the Soviet Union. They openly admitted that economic and social conditions in Hungary were much better than home. Suicides were frequent among them when they were told they had to return home. The Russians whom I talked to liked the Hungarian people. I do not know the opinion of the Russian enlisted men.

During the demonstrations and the revolution I had no contact with the Russians other than fighting. But I don't think there was any difference between the conduct of the Russian officers and the Russian men. Their conduct always depended on the individual. I did not see any older men among the Russians. The ones who were here before November 4 were Ukrainians and white Russians. ~~There was a great difference~~

There was a great difference between the conduct of the troops which had been stationed in Hungary for a longer time and the troops which were freshly brought in. The new troops were strictly prohibited from talking to Hungarians. I once spoke to a Russian who arrived only three days before. His

answers were very rude and reluctant. He was not willing to tell me where he came from or when he arrived. He considered everyone who asked him questions a spy. On the other hand the troops which had been stationed in Hungary for a longer time were friendlier. For example, in Budapest I saw one such Russian get in line and wait for his turn in front of a bread shop.

I myself saw two Russian tanks desert and fight on our side against the AVO. This was on October 30 in Parliament Square. These same two tanks turned their guns against the other Soviet tanks later. The crews of these two tanks were very hungry. The civilian population showered them with food. But one of the Russian officers insisted that we should not think that he is fighting on our side just because ~~maxikamag~~ they are hungry and we have given them food.

I personally do not know of any cases of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution.

E. A typical bureaucrat with whom I had contact was the Party Secretary at our university. He was very much disliked. Very often he came to work late and drunk. He spent four or five hours in the office doing nothing and then went home. His salary was 1200 forints a month. He was 27 years old and single. He wanted to ~~for~~ force his secretary to marry him.

This Party Secretary had jurisdiction over all the students and assistant professors at the university. The regular professors did not belong under his jurisdiction but they too feared him because he was spying on everyone there. He would sometimes come ~~in~~ to class and stroll around while the assistant professor or professor was lecturing. He would examine some of the books and notes of the students, and sometimes even the notes of the assistant professors. He did not do any productive work. He was merely a spy of the Communist Party at the university.

F. If a person had influence or money it was sometimes possible to circumvent government regulations. For example the child of a university professor or Party

Secretary had no difficulty at all in enrolling in any university. It was also possible to give a 500 forint bribe to the Party Secretary at the university and then the students concerned did not have to undergo an entrance examination. I know of one such case at our university and there probably are more. If our Party Secretary had been caught accepting a bribe I don't think anything would have happened to him. The Communists were careful to avoid compromising their own people.

G. In Hungary we had a word ~~in~~ which can best describe such people as the top officers of the AVH. This word was "Barbarian specialists." They were not at all intelligent. They only knew something about their own field. From the point of view of the Hungarian Communist government the top officers of the AVH ~~had~~ were competent and well trained. Requirements for admission to the officers school of the AVH were very stiff. Prospective candidates had to undergo a stiff entrance examination. After that came a one month training ~~and~~ course/ ~~the~~ the purpose of which was to test the candidates both mentally and physically. If they passed the one month training course they had to undergo stiff military training for six months in a military camp. Only then could they attend classes at the school for AVH officers in Budapest.

I think that the ~~higher~~ higher leadership of the Hungarian army must have been fairly efficient and competent. I do not know about the Russian army leadership. The top officials in Hungarian public administration were probably more intelligent than the top officers of the AVH or the Hungarian army.

XIII. ASSESSMENTS ~~AND~~ OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. In the next few years Hungary will very likely share the fate of the Baltic states. I foresee a very sad future for Hungary. Only a third world war or effective United Nations action can help her.

I think that Kadar will soon be replaced by another Soviet trained Hungarian. The Hungarian government will continue along the Stalinist lines. No concessions are likely to be made.

Outside Hungary the Western world is behaving very pacively. They are afraid of war. The Soviet Union realises this and is reaping the advantages of the situation.

When I left Hungary in November 1956 I hoped that the United States or the United Nations would send us effective help. Now there is only a slight hope that when and if the Near East crisis is settled public-attention can again be focused on Hungary and something can be done by the United Nations in her behalf/

I do not desire a war between the United States and the Soviet Union because of the large ~~scale~~ scale butchering it would result in. But I think that the people at home would rather ~~accept~~ face the risk of war than to continue living under the present circumstances. Nevertheless, I think that war between the United States and Soviet Union is very probable. It may break out very easily because of the Near East or because the Moscow leaders will want to curb the rapid decline of Communism by starting a new war.

International pressure against the Soviet Union would help. For example, joint resolution by all long shoremen's unions not to load Soviet ships would probably be much more effective than any action the United ~~Nations~~ Nations could ~~take~~ adopt. The United Nations as it exists today is too weak and serves no practical purpose.

On the basis of what a friend who lived for three years in Soviet Union told me I hope that some internal

CHANGE will occur ~~in~~ there which will lead to a settlement of the Eastern European problem.

B. During the past ten years the situation in Hungary was gradually becoming more and more critical. The peasants were being crushed by the ever-increasing burden of taxation. The industrial workers were being completely exploited by low wages and labor competitions. Everyone at home thought that this cannot go on much longer. We always hoped for some international change which would effect us as well. Everyone constantly thought "Something must happen next year." ~~for~~ The time limit was constantly being extended.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. When Hungary regains her independence I think she should become a democratic Republic in the Western sense of the word.

B. In an independent Hungary the heavy industries should be entirely reorganized. It is now geared entirely to Soviet military and economic demands. It should be geared to only Hungarian conditions and resources. I think it would be well to expand the Hungarian machine industry and the production of tool machinery. There is a great future for the Hungarian aluminum industry because of their ~~great~~ great deposits of BAUXITE. Uranium exports will also contribute considerably to our economy. All national enterprises, farm cooperatives and state farms should be abolished.

In an independent Hungary I am opposed to all forms of nationalization. This refers not only to the nationalization of industries but also to the nationalization of transportation facilities. The Gyor-Soprony^r railroad was the only privately owned and operated one in Hungary, but it operated much better and with a greater profit than the Hungarian state railways did. Neither heavy nor light industries should be nationalized. However the large estates should not be returned to their previous owners. Such land should be distributed among the peasants who have no land. The owners should get a limited compensation. I would set the maximum of land one family could own at about 50 cadastral yokes. Mechanization of farms should continue. Compulsory surrendering of crops should be abolished and discriminating taxation of the farmers should also be abolished.

If I were to choose between a political system which gives no freedom to the people but it insures a fairly high standard of living and one which gives only freedom without insuring a high standard of living I would choose freedom. Once freedom is insured everyone can make a living.

In an independent Hungary I would be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party. It has a long record of subversive activities and cannot be trusted. However I think it would do more harm to outlaw

Fellow Travelers organizations than to tolerate them.

C. I think that ideally a neutrality like Austria's would be the best for Hungary. We would be restricted neither by the East nor West. I favor only diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and only diplomatic and cultural relations with the other Eastern European countries. Military relations are quite out of the question because of Hungary's neutrality. Trade relations are also out of the question because if the other Eastern European countries should remain Soviet satellites with ~~socialist~~ socialist economy it is almost impossible to trade with them. I am in favor of close trade and cultural relations with the other European countries and with the United States.

I first heard about a federation of Danubian states in my history studies. This idea ~~is~~ was originated by ~~the~~ KOSUT in 1948. At the university our assistant professor of Marxism was of the opinion that a Danubian federation is a very sound idea but cannot be achieved under the Soviet system. I too think that such a federation can be accomplished only after Communism has been over-thrown. I think it ~~is~~ is very possible in that case, and very desirable. But I would not very much like being in a federation of this kind together with Czechoslovakia and Rumania. I feel very strongly about them because of their conduct during the Hungarian revolution. Also the Czechs are very chauvinistic people. For example, when an Hungarian choir went to perform in Czechoslovakia a few years ago as a result of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian cultural agreement the audience threw eggs and tomatoes at them. It seems that the Czechs were afraid that such performances may kindle the ~~fanaticism of the large Hungarian~~ patriotism of the large Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia which the government would like to Slovakize.

I think the idea of the Danubian federation is known only to the Hungarian intelligensia at home. The great majority of the intelligensia would probably be in favor of ~~it~~ such a federation.

I do not find the present boundaries of Hungary acceptable. We should get back all the territories we had before 1945. But I don't think that the neighboring countries would return these territories of their own free will. But there may be a ~~slight~~ chance

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to settle the territorial disputes in East Europe in the course of a general settlement after the third world war.

I am concerned about the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. They are rapidly losing their nationality.

I think that these problems are important, not only to me, but to everyone in Hungary. We have historic rights to the territories which have been taken away from us and they should be returned to us.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I heard about Khrushchev's secret speech over the Hungarian broadcasts of the foreign radios. The Hungarian press, at that time, could bring only Khrushchev's public speech. Even the Soviet radio gave more details than the Hungarian press or radio did.'

The Communist press wrote about Senator McCarthy and the Senate investigation committee. He received much abuse from the Communist press. The only time he was praised was when he made a speech about granting equal rights to Negroes.

I do not know who Peron is.

We knew practically nothing about Raksei's private life. All we knew was that he was very closely guarded.

B. During the war, my father subscribed to a Protestant newspaper called Az Ut, for a daily Hungarian newspaper and for the Sport Ujsag. The only magazine I remember at this time was the Futar. It was a German sponsored Hungarian magazine which appeared in 1944. My father also read detective stories and novels. I think that my father was satisfied with the kind of books and publications which were then available because he had a large variety from which to choose.

Under the Communist regime, we subscribed to the following newspapers: Az Ut, Szabad Fold, Szabad-Nep, a Nepszava, and, later, to the Szabad Nep. We didn't read everything in these papers, but we kept check on domestic and foreign political developments. Up until about 1948, it was possible to accept as reliable what the newspapers wrote. From then on, foreign radio broadcasts were the only authenticated source of information. Reports and articles on foreign, political and economic developments could be trusted least of all. Simple facts, such as "Vishinsky is now in London" could be trusted, but not the details concerning the purpose or the result of such a visit. In general, what was in the newspapers served as a basis for comparison with the broadcasts of the foreign stations.

Neither my family nor my friends ever read any foreign Communist publications. Yugoslav publications were not available after 1948, but then for a short time in 1954. Publications from the Soviet Union and other satellite countries were always available.

We did not read any legal publications from the West. I do not think that any such publications were available. The only Western publication I read while still in Hungary, was a small Hungarian brochure which the Hungarian sportsmen (athletes) brought back from Austria. It gave a detailed account of the Hungarian Party and its activities.

We read many fiction books which were base placed on index by the Communists. It was dangerous to do so. If you were caught with such books in your possession at the university, you were given two warnings and expelled from the university the third time. Otherwise, there was not much secrecy about the possession of such books. People did not destroy them, but kept them in their bookcases. Frequently, they borrowed such books from each other.

I did not attach much importance to the news which I heard by word of mouth. I considered the foreign radio broadcasts more reliable, but I did get some interesting political information from the Hungarian athletes who were in Austria, England, and Italy. Among other things, the Hungarian football players told me that they were forced to lose to the Russians twice. I usually always passed along, by word of mouth, the news which I heard over the radio. Naturally, I gave such information only to reliable friends and students.

F. The cinema was the cheapest form of recreation. I went several times a week. In general, many Budapest university students preferred to go to the cinema and skip Political indoctrination classes. We got to the theatre about once every two weeks, and to opera and operettas. I did not see any Russian films, that is, not since 1945.

Two films which I liked most were, a British film called "Storm over Italy" and a Yugoslav film, "A Night of Terror". It is very difficult to choose the two plays which I liked best. They would probably be "Rigoletto" and "La Traviata".

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Certain signs indicated that inner disintegration of the Soviet Union is in progress. This is the opinion of a friend who spent three years studying in Moscow. Others also share his opinion.

I think that both Soviet workers and Soviet peasants are opposed to Communism. The higher intelligentsia is probably satisfied with the present conditions in the Soviet Union. They are the ones who derive the most advantages from the regime.

I think that this change in the Soviet Union will come in the form of a gradual liberation. The possibilities of a revolution are very real remote. Russia is too big for a revolution to succeed rapidly.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, I think that the Communist regime would be overthrown and a socialist-democratic government would come to rule. I think that the top leaders of the Soviet Communist Party are mail robbers, gangsters, and similar people. Their personal motives are world domination and material gain. They are not really human beings. I don't think any of them has a family life. There is no basic difference between the Russian and the Hungarian top Communist leaders.

B. From among the countries mentioned, Poland and East Germany are the most popular in Hungary. The least popular are Czechoslovakia and then Bulgaria. Hungarian sympathy for Poland and Poles is almost traditional. Germans are respected for their achievements in science and for their character. The Czechs are disliked because of territorial disputes and because of their conduct during the recent revolution. Hungary has had very little contact with Bulgaria.

I have had practically no contact with these countries.

If free elections were to be held in these countries, I think that the Communists would be overthrown in all countries with the exception of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. These countries are more in favor of Communism than the others.

I think that the standard of living is highest in East Germany, second highest in Czechoslovakia and lowest in Bulgaria and secondlowest in Rumania.

C. At first, it appeared that the Gomulka government in Poland represents a definitive change, but now it seems that Gomulka is only another Communist puppet. Before the Hungarian revolution, I thought that Poland would be the first satellite country to free herself of the Soviet Union, but now, I think that this is entirely out of the question. I think the Soviet government will tolerate Gomulka for a short time and, later, will replace him with another Moscow stooge. Gomulka is already showing a tendency to strengthen Polish ties with the Soviet Union.

Events in Poland most positively affected the events in Hungary. The whole Hungarian revolution started as a sympathy demonstration toward the Polish students, but I don't think that after October, 1956, events in Poland had any influence at all on the events in Hungary.

I have not heard that more freedom had been granted to the Polish people a year before Gomulka's rise to power.

Despite a great loss of Hungarian life, and the present situation now in Hungary, I prefer our revolution as it happened to the course of events in Poland.

D. Marshal Tito can be called the originator of national Communism. National Communism remains basically Communism, but ~~she-is~~ with less terror and more independence from Moscow.

My opinion of Tito is that he is a very crafty politician. He tries to reap benefits from both sides. His relations with the Soviet Union were very friendly up until 1948. He was then excommunicated from the Communist flock. After Stalin's death, the Soviet Union took pains to appease him. Since the Hungarian revolution, and events in Poland, relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are again somewhat strained.

Tito's relations with the other satellite countries is always influenced by his relations with Moscow. Perhaps, since the revolution, ~~relations-between-Hungary-and-the-Soviet-Union~~ there is more sympathy for Hungary in Belgrade. I do not know anything of Titoism in the satellite countries. I did not hear that Rajk was a Titoist.

I think that Tito is very popular at home and conditions in Yugoslavia were somewhat better than in Hungary before the revolution. I base my opinion on some information I received from Yugoslav students studying at our university and from a Hungarian newspaper reporter who visited Yugoslavia in 1956.

E. I do not know how and why the Communists gained control of China.

It is probably true that Communist China is more independent of Moscow than the other satellites. This is because China is much greater than any other satellite country.

I think that both the Anglo-French and the Israeli invasion of Egypt were mistakes. Egypt had no right to nationalize the Suez Canal because she was bound by international agreements to let the canal remain international.

Were it not for the events in Egypt, I think that our revolution would have had a much better chance for success.

F. I think that the standard of living in Western Germany is the highest in all Europe.

Germany may very likely ~~be the cause~~ be the cause of the outbreak of World War III. The unification of Eastern and Western Germany is a possible cause of a world war or, one may arise if a revolution breaks out in Eastern Germany and Western Germany goes to its assistance.

I approve of the re-armament of Western Germany and at least, there will be a military force on the European continent upon which one can rely. I think that the armed forces are stronger than those of either Great Britain or France. The length of compulsory military service in the West German army is probably three years.

I consider the German occupation of Hungary more dangerous, but the Soviet occupation was more distasteful. The German army was, by far, the more disciplined. The Soviet army is unquestionably the most unpopular.

G. I know very little about the British Labor Party.

With respect to a higher standard of living, Great Britain comes first, West Germany second, Soviet Union third, Italy fourth, and Greece fifth. Egypt is probably the last.

H. On my arrival in the United States, the thing that most surprised me was the comparatively high standard of living.

I think the primary aim of the US foreign ~~pep~~ policy should be to liberate the satellites from Communist rule. I do not think that the present foreign policy of the US government is forceful enough. I don't think the US government should give loans to such countries as Yugoslavia, Poland. It would be best to sever all relations with Kadar and his government. My views on these questions have not changed since my arrival here.

The people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors and especially writers, reporters, politicians, statesmen and even simple tourists. Before going to Hungary, visitors should be told to see, not only the sights which the government officially shows them. They should go everywhere and see everything for themselves.

The people at home would most certainly like to get Western publications. These should be sent to the rural population and to the industrial workers. It would be a good idea to use university students as distributors of such material.

I think it would be advisable to have Hungarian exiles associated with such activities as the information to visitors and the sending of publications. The people at home would at least see that we had not forgotten them.

I was too young to know much about the Marshall Plan at the time it was launched. I know about this only from what I have been told, at political orientation classes. I don't think that the Communist version of the Marshall Plan is the right one. Up to now, I have reserved judgement on it.

It is not quite clear to me why America became involved in the Korean War. I am not willing to accept

the Communist version of this question.

J. I think that the UN has shown itself to be too weak, but, instead of abolishing the UN, it should be re-organized to be more effective. In the fall and winter of 1956, the UN was too afraid to act. It should have sent troops to Hungary. I had not much hope for effective UN action in the near future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. The greatest living Hungarian is probably \bar{N} Imre Nagy.

B. I do not doubt that Imre Nagy was a true Hungarian and that he had the interests of the Hungarian people at heart, but on November 4th, he hesitated too long. He should not have ordered the army not to resist the Russian invasion.

Cardinal Mindszenty is a great man and a religious and honest person. He is also a good politician, but he happens to be a Cardinal and this makes him incompatible to any public office.

Laszlo Rajk is a dirty bum!

I do not know any words strong enough to express my feelings about Erno Gero and Janos Kadar.

President Eisenhower, I think, is a good statesman, but he should be more forceful with respect to the Russians. Secretary General Hammerskjold could have done more for Hungary, probably, in 1956 if he had wanted to. He was too afraid that he would incur the displeasure of the Communists.

I do not know much about State Secretary Dulles. I think US foreign policy depends more upon President Eisenhower.

Prime Minister Eden was a good statesman, but he made a great blunder when he attacked Egypt.

I do not know much about President Truman.

I know that Mikoyan is a top member of the Soviet Communist Party, but I do not know anything more about him.

Prime Minister Nehru is a very interesting person and a good statesman who is trying to make hay while the sun shines.

I heard about Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek at the time of the Korean war. I have not formed a definite opinion about him.

According to our history books, Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy wanted to sell our country to the West. I do not know much more about him, but I do not think he would make another good Prime Minister.

I, of course, have heard about President Roosevelt, but I was too young at the time he died to have an opinion.

Chancellor Adenauer is an excellent statesman.

Stalin was a dictator. I did not like him.

To hell with Malenkov!

Franco is also a dictator and I don't like dictators.

Bevan is one of the leaders of the British Labor Party. I do not know much about him.

Kruschev is a dirty bum.

We have already discussed Peron, and Tito.

Molotov is the same as the other top Communists.

Ollenhauer is the leader of the German Social-Democratic Party. I do not know much about him.

Churchill is the greatest statesman of our times.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. The persons who had to leave Hungary were primarily those who had to fear retaliations because they participated in the fighting. Also, the people who had been persecuted for their political beliefs, or who had been freed from prisons. And finally, the people who were tired of living under conditions which existed during the Communist regime. The majority of the people were from the intellectual class and under thirty years of age.

Very few of the people who stayed in Hungary did so because they liked the regime. The majority of them was either unable to come out or had to stay because of family or other ties. I pity the people who stayed at home. Their situation is much more difficult than ours. I do not know of anyone who could have come out, but preferred to stay in Hungary. The majority of the people at home are relieved to know that the refugees are at least safe and they understand the reason for our leaving. There may be a very few people at home who despise us and consider us to be cowards.

B. While I was in Hungary, I did not have any knowledge of the political organizations and parties in exile nor about Hungarian politicians.

Since my arrival in the US, I have had contact only with the Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters headed by General Bela Kerai.

I have heard about the existence of the Hungarian National Council and of the American-Hungarian Federation only here in America.

We have already discussed Ferenc Nagy.

Charles Peyer was a social-democratic leader in Hungary who was very often denounced as a traitor by the Communist press.

Miklos Kallai was at one time Prime Minister of Hungary. I heard about him at home, but I do not know anything about him.

Admiral Horthy was the governor of Hungary. We heard rumors of his death several times at home, but he has died recently, since my arrival in the US.

I do not know anything about the activities of the Hungarian exiles who had left the country before 1956. I don't think they were able to accomplish much for Hungary. They probably did all they could, namely, they staged demonstrations here in the Western countries in order to arouse public opinion against the Soviet Union.

C. I personally do not know anyone who had left Hungary after 1945 and then returned to the country, but I have heard of such cases. I think these people regretted very much having returned to Hungary. They probably returned because they were homesick or had close friends or relatives living here (Hungary). I do not know what the purpose of the Communist "Come home!" program was. Anyone whom the Communists could lure home was considered a fool in Hungary.

D. I think that the people in Hungary would like to know how the exiles are faring here in the US. They should be informed about the activities of the Hungarian organizations in exile. The exiles, themselves, should remain united. They should stage demonstrations against the Soviet Union every week in front of the Soviet legation.

Here in the US, I am willing to enter or join only such exile organizations as those whose purpose or programs conform with the political views and beliefs of the refugees. I am already a member of the Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters headed by General Bela Kereki Kerai. This organization should unite all Hungarian exiles. It should keep alive our patriotism and should focus public attention on the situation in Hungary. I have no objection to earlier Hungarian exiles in this organization, as long as they are not Hungarian Fascists, that is members of the Hungarian firing party.

I do not know very much about the Hungarian political parties and especially nothing about these in exile. My only opinion about them is that they should unite and not quarrel amongst themselves.

In Hungary, during the revolution, we knew all about the revival of the political party: The Hungarian Small-Holders, the Peasant Party, and

the Social-Democratic Party were especially very active. I approve of the activities of these parties. They were needed. Our plans were to hold elections on a multi-party basis.

Very few Hungarians who were living in exile at the time of the revolution were able to return to Hungary to take part in the revival of the political parties.

B. I think I shall return to Hungary as soon as the present regime collapses, but if Communism is overthrown, before I finish my studies, I shall probably remain here until I have completed them.

If I remain in the US for a considerable time, get married here and have children, I think I shall insist upon my children's learning Hungarian.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. While I was in Hungary, I listened regularly to RFE, VOA, PARIS radio and Spanish broadcasts. All of these broadcasts were jammed. RFE operated on several wave lengths simultaneously. I know from a class-mate who was the son of a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, that the Hungarian government always left one wave length unjammed in order to enable Party officials and the monitoring service to listen to broadcasts. The wave length ~~was~~ which was left unjammed was always changed for each broadcast.

Generally, I listened to the Hungarian broadcasts of these stations. Rarely, would I listen to the English language broadcasts also. I listened to the foreign radio regularly once or twice a week. Usually, on Saturday or Sunday. That was when we had the most time to listen. But during the revolution, we spent six and seven hours a day beside the radio. What I heard, I always told my friends who were reliable. And I was always by them informed about what they had heard.

I listened to these radio broadcasts over my own radio, sometimes 10 or 15 students would gather in our room to listen to them. We usually locked the door or set one man out in the corridor to keep guard. I always heard about the Western broadcasts from others, but such accounts of Western broadcasts, I did not consider reliable. I preferred to hear for myself.

There was some risk involved in listening. On one occasion, a student informed on us. The director of the student hall warned us that if this reoccurred, we would be expelled. I don't think the risk involved deterred anyone from listening. In 1956, everyone dared to listen more openly.'

The regular broadcasts in Hungarian were very useful because they informed the people ~~at~~ at home about events abroad and also in Hungary.

I preferred the Hungarian programs of the VOA because these programs were the most impartial and exact, but in general, the news services of all stations were reliable. I formed this opinion by comparing the news broadcast by the foreign radio with subsequent events and with the news material of the Hungarian radio and of the Communist press.

The Hungarian broadcasts of the foreign radio stations were very effective. They informed the people at home about news events which they otherwise would never have heard about. During the revolution, the foreign radio was of very valuable service to the insurgents. They explained the situation at home and the international situation. They also gave some much needed advice. The foreign broadcasts contradicted the lies broadcast over the Hungarian radio. They also denounced the charges of the Communists that the revolution in Budapest was the uprising of anti-revolutionary reactionary elements.

It is true that the broadcasts of RFE and of other Western stations helped to incite the Hungarian people. They promised Western help.

I think that RFE should continue its broadcasts into Hungary. Its news service at home is very valuable and much needed. It operates on many wave lengths and people are sometimes able to hear the broadcasts of RFE when other programs are unable to get through.

There is no need for such items as for example, the opinion of "Galikoz". Unbiased, accurate straight news about political and economic events is of most importance.

B. I have never heard the initials NEM nor about the twelve demands.

C. I have seen Free Europe press leaflets several times at home. Such leaflets were brought to Hungary through secret channels or were thrown from balloons over Hungary. I received such leaflets from a university classmate several times, but he was not willing to reveal to me how these came into his possession. From '54 to '56 I received such leaflets about ten times. They contained anti-Communist propaganda. I received them under the condition that I pass it along. I did so.

There was considerable risk involved in picking up or distributing or passing on such leaflets. I remember that in 1950 when I was still quite young, some workers found anti-Communist leaflets in the outskirts of the villages. We all read these leaflets, they charged the Hungarian government with building socialism with the aid of prisoners and prison labor. A conscientious Communist worker reported

this incident to the AVO. The AVO came, confiscated the leaflets, arrested several of the workers, and almost arrested us also.

I do not think that such dangers prevented Hungarians from picking up or passing on illegal leaflets. It was most dangerous to pass on such leaflets in 1950-51-52. After '53, it became less dangerous, that is the punishment was not as severe as before.

I think it is not necessary to drop such leaflets into Hungary. The radio is a much more reliable and safer means of communication. It only infuriates the Hungarian Communist police. I do not think they are useful.

The effects of these leaflets were about the same as the effects of radio. However, these leaflets were not so wide spread and therefore, not as effective as radio.

I think that RFE should continue to send Free Europe leaflets into Hungary, but not into the cities, only into rural areas. There, many of the people do not have radios and therefore, are not as well informed as in the cities. I think it is more dangerous to throw such leaflets over cities or the outskirts of cities. The leaflets should contain a realistic and accurate account of international events and appraisals of the international situation. Anti-Communist propaganda is hardly necessary. Howe

D. The primary aim of all Western organizations which are broadcasting news and sending publications into Hungary, is to free Hungary and other satellite countries from the Communists. I do not see any difference in the motives of the various Western organizations.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. It is most essential for children to receive a religious education. This means that they will also be taught to honor and respect their parents and to obey them. It should also be that they are made aware of political values.

It is necessary to discipline children, but parents and educators should resort to physical punishment as little as possible. I don't think there should be any difference in the treatment of boys and girls with respect to discipline. But as children grow older, physical punishment should be replaced with persuasion.

I was eight years old when, on one occasion, I went to play football without permission. I stayed away for a long time and was late for supper. When I got home, I received two big slaps from my father. I heard buzzing sounds in my ears for two days. Otherwise, I was usually punished by my mother.

Among my acquaintances, children of six years or older were usually punished by the mother. The sex of the children did not make any difference in this respect. But after a certain age, it was usually the father who punished the children. I don't think this varied according to social classes.

In our family, physical punishment was abandoned when I was eight years old. Otherwise, physical punishment in general, is abolished, for boys, about the age of ten and, somewhat earlier for girls.

Punishment, in general, is abolished at the age of 18 for boys and 15 for girls, but this varies according to social classes. The rule I mentioned applies mostly for the children of the intelligentsia. In the peasant and industrial workers families, the punishment of children sometimes continues beyond this age.

I don't think that Communism has brought any changes in the frequency, kind or type of parental punishment,

Under Communism, physical punishment for children has been abolished for all children in schools. Instead of physical punishment, the children are punished by scolding,

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or by open criticism before the entire class or before a Communist youth organization group. In more serious cases, the children are expelled from school or barred from the youth organization.

I think that a true friend should share his trouble and wealth alike. It must be that friends have kindred souls. They must be diligent, intelligent, good sports, reliable, dependable, truthful. They must have a sense of humor and like to have a good time.