

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent is a young intellectual with a middle-class background. He is highly intelligent and gave excellent response. He is inclined to regard everything from an economic point of view. His answers on questions dealing with the economic conditions in Hungary are extremely interesting. He gives a first-hand authentic account of the students' meeting at the Technical University in Budapest and depicts the gradual development of a students' meeting into a revolution. His views on political questions differ to a considerable extent from the answers we have been getting from younger people. His mentality reflects the fact that he grew up before entering World War II. He is one of the exceptional few who lived comparatively well in the years before the revolution.

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent is a young intellectual with a middle-class background. He is highly intelligent and gave excellent response. He is inclined to regard everything from an economic point of view. His answers on questions dealing with the economic conditions in Hungary are extremely interesting. He gives a first-hand authentic account of the students' meeting at the Technical University in Budapest and depicts the gradual development of a students' meeting into a revolution. His views on political questions differ to a considerable extent from the answers we have been getting from younger people. His mentality reflects the fact that he grew up before entering World War II. He is one of the exceptional few who lived comparatively well in the years before the revolution.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

In connection with the Hungarian revolution the people of the US should know that the people in Hungary, almost without exception, hate Communism and are not willing to tolerate Communist rule. The people here in the US must realize that the entire Central and Eastern European question is not solved diplomatically. There are many problems in this area which must be taken care of before order can be finally restored.

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

A. On October 22, 1956 I was working as usual in the commercial engineering department of the Budapest Technical University. During the forenoon we heard that a meeting of all university students had been called by the DISZ for that afternoon. This meeting was called by the DISZ organization in order to disarm the Budapest University students. Rumors had already been spreading to the effect that the university students in Szeged had held a meeting a few days before and decided to abolish their DISZ organization and form the MEFESZ instead. To avoid the re-occurrence of such developments in Budapest the DISZ organization at our university decided to call a meeting of the students and to discuss pending student problems.

Before the meeting the faculty also met. Some of the Communist professors protested that the president of the university should not have allowed the meeting to take place on university premises. However, the Communist Party secretary of the School of Architecture announced that he approved of the meeting and therefore, the president's permission to hold the meeting was not revoked.

The meeting started at 3 p.m. The entire faculty, the Party secretary and his deputy, a woman, the chief of the local propaganda section of the Communist Party, were present.

Although the meeting was originally called only by the DISZ organization of the School of Architecture, the entire Technical University student body appeared at the meeting. This meeting was a great sensation among the university students because, although they had heard of the Petofi Circle meetings and their informal and free atmosphere in which the latter were conducted, nothing like this had ever occurred at the university before. This meeting promised to be something like the new Petofi Circle meetings which were much talked of among the students.

The political program outlined by the DISZ was very moderate. The DISZ only demanded that a public trial be held in the case of ex-Minister for Defense Farkas and his son, the infamous AVH officer, Vladimir Farkas. The DISZ also wanted Kadar and Losonczy to be included in the cabinet and that Istvan Friss, the Moscow economic advisor who was in charge of students' affairs at the Communist Party headquarters, be removed. All other demands were insignificant concerning only the students. These included better and cheaper food in the student cafeteria, low-priced textbooks, higher scholarships, and possibilities for traveling abroad. The program of the DISZ ended in a statement according to which "the students of the Technical University in Budapest are not in favor of dissolving their DISZ organization and forming a MEFESZ organization."

This program was made public by the secretary of the DISZ organization who acted as chairman at the meeting. He was extremely unpopular. When he finished his report with the motion of confidence for the DISZ organization, a group of some 20 students who were sitting in the corner of the hall, began shouting, "Down with the Chairman! We want another Chairman!" Someone suggested a name, and with an enormous majority of votes it was accepted that this person continue to conduct the meeting.

Someone in the hall motioned that the students of the Szeged University who were then in Budapest, be invited and asked to speak. After some debate whether there were university students from Szeged present in Budapest or not, it was decided that a car be sent for them to the DISZ headquarters where allegedly the delegation of Szeged University students was conducting negotiations with the DISZ organization.

A university student from Szeged arrived in a very short time. He appeared to be very young. Were it not for the tense atmosphere in the room, caused by the debate which took place previously, this student delegate would not have had much chance of being allowed to speak. He was something of a demagogue. He told us that the university students in Szeged had been dissatisfied with the inactivity of the DISZ organization,

had lost confidence in it, and for this reason, they had decided to dissolve their DISZ organization and to form a new organization of their own which was known for its abbreviations as the MEFESZ. This abbreviation stands for the Federation of Hungarian University and College Students.

Dissatisfaction with the ways in which the DISZ operated was keen also among the students of the Technical University in Budapest. Under the influence of the speech held by the student delegate from Szeged, our students at this meeting also decided to dissolve their own DISZ organization and to form a MEFESZ organization of their own. After many speeches, containing sharp criticism of the DISZ organization, they motioned to dissolve the DISZ. The motion was adopted almost unanimously. The only person voting against the motion was the secretary of the DISZ organization.

I must mention that some of the Communist students and trade union officials of our university were very much upset by the course which the students' meeting was taking. They objected strongly when the chairman of the meeting was deposed and when the student delegate from Szeged was allowed to speak.

After the adoption of the resolution concerning the disbanding of the DISZ organization, it was decided that the students would prepare a memorandum listing the grievances and demands and send the list to the government. A lively debate followed on what the memorandum should contain.

Around 6 or 7 p.m., the students who attended the night courses began to arrive from their places of work. One such student, a young industrial worker by the name of Szilagyí, asked the chairman of the meeting for permission to speak. When this was granted, he announced that according to the Yugoslav radio (it was probably some Western radio but he said Yugoslav -- M. I.) the Polish parliament had decided to depose Marshal Rokossovsky and the Soviet Union had threatened to use its troops against the Polish government. He said that the entire Polish capital was in an uproar. He ended his speech by saying that "we Hungarians cannot stand idly by watching while freedom was being crushed in Poland."

Up till now the meeting had been stormy enough, but Szilágyi's speech was a virtual bombshell.

The three top Communists attending the meeting immediately went into action. A Communist dean of the School of Architecture stood up and announced that the announcement made by the previous speaker was nothing else but false rumors. He expressed his confidence that the students would not believe such fantastic rumors which were spread intentionally in an attempt to incite the students against the government. The Party secretary also attempted to discredit the announcement concerning the events in Poland. The trade union secretary, Mrs. Orban, whose husband was a speaker at the radio studio, asked to be heard. She said that she had ~~max~~ contacted the radio studio to find out what was new in Poland. The reply she received claimed that nothing has happened in Poland and, therefore, she alleged that what the previous student had said was not true. Some of the audience noted that she had not left the room during the entire meeting and there were shouts of, "You are lying! You have not left the room!"

Another student got up and announced that the Hungarian Association of Writers was planning to hold a demonstration in sympathy with the Polish people on the next day. The Writers' Association was going to place wreaths on the monument of the Polish general, Bem. He proposed that the university students also join this demonstration.

The Communists immediately denied that the Hungarian Association of Writers was planning such a demonstration for the next day. It was finally decided that the Hungarian writer, Peter Kucka, be sent for. He arrived shortly thereafter.

Peter Kucka announced that he had just arrived from the offices of the Hungarian Association of Writers and that neither the association nor he know anything about the demonstration which was to be held on the next day. However, he approved of the students' plan to prepare a memorandum with their grievances and demands and to send this memorandum to the government.

He offered to remain there and help the students in drafting this memorandum.

I cannot say who had sent for Peter Kucka because I do not know. It must have been either the Communists or someone from the faculty of the university.

I must note that Peter Kucka was a Communist writer whose works caused much controversy among the Communists because of his disillusionment with Communism which was expressed in his works. He received sharp criticism but, nevertheless, he remained a Communist Party member.

From here on the students at the meeting debated the issue whether or not to hold the demonstration in sympathy with the events in Poland on the next day. Some of the students favored holding such a demonstration even if the Hungarian Association of Writers was not planning to hold it. The president of the university addressed the meeting and expressed his grave concern over the complications that may arise from such a demonstration. He said that anti-democratic elements may take advantage of the demonstration and turn it into a revolt against the government.

Other students who spoke after the president of the university were all in favor of holding a demonstration. The students agreed to that. They themselves would take care that no anti-democratic elements infiltrate the demonstration.

The meeting was getting quite out of hand when, all of a sudden, a lieutenant colonel arose and asked to be heard. He was Lt. Col. Marjan who was in charge of the military department of the university. He was a very good speaker and I shall never forget what he said: "I am a soldier. I may not know much about politics, but I do know this -- if I want to hit someone, I first must take into consideration whether my blow will be effective and whether I will be hit back or not. If I am hit back, will I be vulnerable? There is not much sense in holding a demonstration if it is unnecessary or if the government orders the police or the army out against us. You have a right to criticize the government. You have a right to express



your dissatisfaction. But, if you wish to stage a demonstration, please try to get, first of all, official permission for this. If permission is not granted then it is again up to you to decide whether to hold the demonstration in spite of the government's ban or not. But if you go, I will go with you."

Lt. Col. Marjan was an intelligent man and he saw that this was his last chance of curbing the university students. His intentions originally were probably to disarm the students and to dissuade them from holding a demonstration. However, he had to promise the students to be on their side and take in the demonstration should they decide to do so. Later on, he kept his promise.

I did not know Lt. Col. Marjan personally but I am convinced that at time the officer in charge of the military science department at our could be no one else but a reliable Communist. Before addressing the students he had stressed the fact that no one had instructed him to speak and that he had not been sent by the Party. He said that he was a married man with three children and, by speaking up he may be placing his family in jeopardy. He claimed he was obeying the voice of his conscience when he spoke up and ~~gaxaxgmixdaxxa~~ attempted to give guidance to the students.

As a result of Lt. Col. Marjan's speech, the university students decided to draft their proclamation, listing their grievances and demands and to attempt to make this proclamation public. If they would be unable to get the press to publish the proclamation then, they would attempt to seek permission from the Minister of the Interior to hold a silent demonstration. If this permission were not granted then the students would decide whether or not to hold the demonstration in spite of the ministry's ban.

The drafting of the demands was very complicated and slow work. In general, the political maturity of the students was inadequate. It is characteristic of them that they viewed the entire situation from the Communistic point of view. The demands which

were proposed to be included in the proclamation reflected their political shortsightedness. For example, among the numerous grievances which were to be listed in the proclamation, there was no demand for abolishing the compulsory delivery of crops by the peasants and for the retraction of other anti-peasant government measures. They, more or less, considered the compulsory delivery of crops as something natural.

Discussions and debates on the text of the proposed proclamation continued without making much headlong. Too many minor issues were being raised. It was getting late and, it was evident that the Szabad Nep and other newspapers had already closed down for their morning edition. A group of university students headed by assistant professor Jankovich decided to go to the radio studio and attempt to persuade the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ official Hungarian news agency to broadcast the proclamation of the university students over the radio. On the basis of the discussions, Jankovich and this group of students prepared a draft of the so-called 14 demands, in Jankovich's car, on the way to the studio. The official Hungarian news agency which has control of the Hungarian radio stations refused to broadcast the 14 points. Jankovich and the students returned and informed the meeting of this development. The draft prepared by Jankovich and the students was later adopted by the meeting. Other demands which were raised at the meeting, but not included in the 14 points, were: the return of all Hungarian prisoners of war from the Soviet Union (it was widely believed that there still were prisoners of war in the Soviet Union), public trial for Rakosi, the removal of the Stalin statue, full solidarity with events in Poland.

Shortly after Jankovich and his students returned from the radio building, one of the announcers of Radio Budapest came. He was the husband of the Communist trade union official at our university. I believe that she telephoned him. This announcer was permitted to speak. He told the meeting that rumors concerning uprisings and unrests in Poland were false. He advised the students to prepare such demands that could be accepted and read over the radio. Demands concerning the convocation of

withdrawal

a new Party congress and the ~~xxxxxx~~ of Soviet troops from Hungary cannot be made public.

From what this announcer said it was evident that the students would have difficulty in making their demands public. For this reason it was decided that a demonstration be held. The student delegates would go to the Minister of the Interior and request a permission to stage the silent demonstration. The students were told to gather in the garden of the Technical University at 2 p.m. the next day. By then, a reply from the Ministry of the Interior could be expected and, if it should not permit the staging of this demonstration, then the students would have to decide on the following day whether to hold it or not despite the ban of the Ministry of the Interior.

Before the students' meeting disbanded at 11 o'clock, it was decided that the 14 demands be lithographed. The president of the university refused permission to use the university printing press for this purpose. Finally, the students were able to open the premises of the Marxism Dept. of the university, where they found stencils and typewriters. Many of the students attending night classes who worked in the industrial plants near Budapest by day, stayed there for hours after the meeting to get copies of the 14 demands in order to be able to circulate them among the workers the following day. Those who were unable to stay jotted down the 14 demands in their notebooks and promised to tell the industrial workers about the students' meeting and the 14 demands.

I do not know how, but a young miner from Tatabanya also came to the meeting. He was given permission to speak and his speech made a great impression on the students. He said that the miners of the Tatabanya coal fields wished to assure the university students of their sympathy and cooperation. He said that the 14 demands were also the demands of the Hungarian miners. He promised to go home and give a full account of the meeting and of the 14 demands to his fellow workers.

It was interesting that during the meeting some persons were photographing the speakers from the balcony. Several people from among the audience protested against this and feared that this may be the work of the AVH which, on the basis of these photographs, would identify the speakers later on. Somebody motioned that the films and plates be taken away from these photographers. However, the opinion of the meeting was that the photographers should not be hindered in their work if they wished to take photographs and that if anyone would be made to answer for his participation in the meeting, then, all 5,000 or more participants at the meeting would be held responsible collectively. This declaration of full solidarity served to boost the morale and exuberation of the participants.

The students occupied the premises of the DISZ organization's printing press where "Jovo Mernoke" ("The Future Engineer Apprentices") was published. Here the students coerced the printers to print the 14 demands in the organization's newspaper.

The next morning, on October 23, <sup>as</sup> I went into the university, I saw the printed posters containing the 14 demands of the university students posted everywhere on trees, buildings, and walls in the vicinity of the university. In the department of economic engineering where I worked I also saw a lithographed announcement stating that a meeting of the university students would take place at 2 p.m. in the garden of the university and a silent demonstration would be held in the course of which the university students would march to the Bem statue and place wreaths before it.

The students attending the evening courses at the university spread the news that day about the the demands and the meeting of the university students among the industrial workers in the factories where they were employed. Many of them were able to take handbills containing the 14 demands and distribute these among the workers.

The students of the Technical University on the previous night were already in contact with all the other universities and student bodies in Budapest. Thus, the students of the Agriculture University, the School of Medicine,

the School of Philosophy, the School for Physical Culture, etc. all were informed that a meeting and a silent demonstration would be held the next day at 2 p.m. Our students probably telephoned all their friends at other universities. Therefore, at 2 p.m. that day, a very large crowd of students had gathered in the university garden. The students had taken the warnings of the university president very seriously; namely that irresponsible elements may attempt to infiltrate the student demonstrations and cause trouble. For this reason, the entrance to the university gardens was guarded by students. They let in only persons who were able to identify themselves as students.

Before 2 p.m. I met the Communist secretary of the DISZ organization who maliciously told me that he was certain that the Ministry would not permit the demonstration.

At 2 p.m. Lt. Col. Marjan announced to the gathered students that the Ministry of the Interior did not grant permission to hold the demonstration. He urged the crowd to remain quiet because another student delegation had gone to the ministry and requested once again that the demonstration be held. He persuaded the students to await the return of this delegation.

While we were waiting there, in the garden, some of the students of the Army Engineering Department rose up to speak and announced that they, that is the military students, had decided also to join the demonstration. This created great excitement and exuberation. It was known that these officers who were studying army engineering at the university (Budapest Technical) were reliable Communists. They already held the ranks of first lieutenants or majors in the army. It was considered to be of great significance that they, too, approved of the 14 demands of the students and that they, too, were willing to participate in the demonstration.

Some time later, a young man came and addressed the crowd. He said he was an official from the Ministry of the Interior. He announced that the Ministry of the Interior (this ministry supervised the activities of the AVH) approved of the demands made public by the university students. They compelled the Minister of the Interior Laszlo Piros to grant permission to hold this demonstration. He was said he was happy to announce personally that the permission had been granted.

There were about five to six thousand students in the garden. When the demonstration started we lined up in rows of 12. I was about 200-300 meters from the first row. When I looked back my impression was that our parade would never cease. It was strictly decided that silence would be maintained all along and not to permit anyone to join us. For this reason, the students linked arms and marched in orderly rows.

We marched along the Danube embankment in the direction of the Bem statue. Policemen could be seen nowhere. We saw only one motorcycle traffic patrolman who came to direct traffic because we were blocking traffic to and from Pest.

I do not know who joined our ranks in the rear because I could not see so far back, but I must state that we paraded in silence and in orderly fashion toward the Bem statue.

On the way, some pedestrians asked us for the 14 demands. Many of us had copies of the printed leaflets. We had brought these leaflets along not for the purpose of distributing them, but, when we were asked for leaflets, we gladly gave them to bystanders. People read our 14 demands with smiles of evident approval. We told them to pass the leaflets on. When we reached the first buildings beyond the Gellert Hill (Note: the Gellert Hill overhangs the Danube and there are no buildings along the embankment because this part of the hill is maintained as a city park), the residents began hanging flags on the buildings. When the first flags appeared, some of us began to clap our hands in approval. The ushers warned us to keep quiet because the demonstration was supposed to be a silent one. Later

on the students demanded that the flags be hoisted on the buildings but even then, the ushers warned us to be silent.

On one of the balconies we passed we noticed that the person who lived there had not unfolded the entire flag but rolled it up in such a way that the Communist red star in the middle of the flag could not be seen. This met with the approval of the students and we applauded the man. From then on, there were a few cries of, "Down with the red star!" However, in general, up to the Bem statue the demonstration was really a silent one.

We were unable to get near the Bem statue or on the square where it stood. There was such a crowd there ahead of us that we were forced to stand several blocks from the square. We did not hear anything that was going on. Word was passed around that everyone should go to Parliament Square. We still tried to keep others from infiltrating our ranks, but this was impossible. The pedestrians would come, join arms and form lines of their own in the parade. Such new arrivals could not have been more than 20 per cent of the original number of students. On Parliament Square, however, the crowd was completely mixed. It was impossible to stand in orderly rows, linking arms.

On our way to Parliament Square there were numerous of, "Down with the red star!" and, "Every soldier should go home!" Until we reached Parliament Square, the demonstration was not directed against the government and our demands were only those which were included in the original 14 demands. In Parliament Square, however, the crowd began to yell, "Down with Rakosi! Down with Gero!" This occurred only when word was passed around in the crowd that Gero had held his speech over the radio and had used violent words to denounce the demonstrators. But essentially, the demonstrators wanted nothing else than national independence, the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the liquidation of the remnants of Rakosi's policies.

The crowd had to wait a long time for Imre Nagy to appear. The lights illuminating the red star on top of the parliament building were switched off due to the insistence of the crowd. The Hungarian flags were hoisted on the parliament building and the neighboring buildings.

Imre Nagy's speech was not what the crowd expected. Most of the people felt that nothing had been achieved.

Truckloads of university students arrived and urged the crowd to go to the radio studio building where the students were demanding that the 14 points be read over the radio. It was amazing to see how close this revolution followed the pattern of the 1848 events. Even the very scene of the next act was almost identical -- namely, the radio building is near the museum garden where the 1848 declaration of independence was made.

I also wanted to go over to the radio building, but first I had to get my car which I left in Buda, in front of the university.

I forgot to mention that when we were marching toward the parliament building, we passed "Szikra" printing office where many Communist publications had been published. The printers were lined up in the windows, looking on. We attached a copy of the 14 demands to the end of a flagpole and lifted it up to them, to the second floor windows. They took off the poster from the flagpole, and, as we found out later on, printed the entire text.

The crowd in front of the parliament building was very mixed. It was the kind of crowd one would usually see on the streets. However, I think that the majority of the people were young.

During the demonstrations I hoped that the economic demands included in the 14 points would be met. I know from practice that economic life cannot function properly when it is based on Marxist principles. Therefore, I hoped that by granting the economic concessions that the students demanded, the government would thereby prepare the very grave of Communism itself. I thought that the government could meet the 14 demands, but I hoped that they would start off a chain reaction. I



was convinced that Imre Nagy would take over the government. I knew that the Patriotic Front created by Imre Nagy in 1953 was intended to exist parallel with the Party and not be subordinated to it. I thought that, perhaps, under a new Imre Nagy government the Patriotic Front would win an upper hand over the Communist Party.

I did not fear retaliations because of participation in the demonstrations. The complete solidarity of all our participants, their large number and the well-meaning intentions of the students insured everyone that there would be no retaliations.

After getting my car at Buda I drove at about 8 o'clock to Pest. I stopped near the Hotel Astoria because I was unable to proceed any further. When I got out of my car at the hotel, I already heard from the crowd that the AVH men were using tear gas bombs against the demonstrators in front of the radio building. After the Russians had withdrawn from Budapest I received a first-hand account of events which took place in the studio building from the husband of the Communist woman who was the trade union official in our university. The husband, as I mentioned before, was a radio announcer who was on duty when the demonstration took place and the fighting broke out. His version of the events inside the studio is the following: The personnel of the radio was also convinced that the demands of the university students were just and should be broadcasted over the radio. They intended to make an announcement concerning the demonstrations, but, did not want to broadcast the entire text of the demands. Mr. Losonczy, the Communist writer who was a prominent member of the Hungarian Writers' Association and who had been severely criticized by the Communist Party for some of the things he wrote, was also present in the studio building and took part in the discussions which were the drafting of an announcement to be made. However, it was not deemed advisable to make this announcement before Gero's speech which was scheduled for 8 p.m. that evening. It was hoped that Gero would tape record his speech and the radio personnel ~~six~~ allegedly ~~xxxxxxx~~ prepared to exercise censorship over the text of the speech, deleting anything that they thought would be unfavorable and would serve to incense the crowd. However, there was considerable delay and postponing on Gero's part so that finally

he had to go on the air directly and not recorded. Gero spoke from Party headquarters in Academia Street and not from the studio. The radio personnel was also incensed by some of the things that Gero said about the demonstrators. It served only to infuriate the crowd. When the student delegates arrived at the radio building and demanded admission, they were admitted. They wanted to address the crowd from the balcony of the studio building. However, the radio personnel and the students and also Mr. Losonczy were unable to make themselves heard because the crowd was so unruly and kept shouting constantly. The people in the streets probably came concerned over the prolonged absence of the students who had entered the building. They thought that the students were being detained by the AVH. The AVH guards used their arms against the crowd only when the crowd attempted to break in the studio building and rammed the gate of the building driving a heavy truck into it. He claimed that the first shots were fired by the crowd against the AVH guards and the AVH guards used their arms only in retaliation.

This was his version of the study and I, personally, do not believe it. It is also my impression that from what this man said that practically every one -- the radio personnel and the guards alike -- belonged to the AVH even if all of them did not wear uniforms. This announcer said that one of his very good friends had been shot by the demonstrators. It is my belief that this person too, was fighting; perhaps all of the radio personnel had been equipped with arms.

It cannot be denied that the crowd in general was always inclined to believe the worst about the AVH. If any rumors were spread, they were quickly accepted. But at ~~that~~ that time, no one feared the AVH. For example, when I was standing on the corner of Museum Road and Brody Street, not far from the studio, a group of about 20 ~~men~~ men was advancing in the direction of the studio. Some one warned them that the AVH was there. One of the men answered: "Where is the AVO? Don't you know that the AVO is now lower than a frog's ass?"

Because of the tear gas bombs, I thought it practically impossible for the crowd to capture the studio building.

I did not linger for long but decided to drive in the direction of the square where the Stalin statue stood. I did not hear any rumors about what was taking place there but I suspected strongly that something interesting may be going on there.

I arrived just in time to witness the dismantling of the huge Stalin statue. Officially, there were no students there. The students had been participating in the demonstration in front of the parliament building and near the radio building. The crowd here mostly consisted of industrial workers. They arrived in trucks and on foot. Some brought welding equipment with which they were able to cut the statue.

B. I heard rumors that shooting was going on in the vicinity of the radio building only after the Stalin statue had toppled. Word passed around the workers. They commandeered trucks and spread word that every one should go to the studio building to help the students.

Neither Blue Policemen nor AVH men were to be seen on the streets. The entire crowd rushed in the direction of the radio studio.

I drove my car to the Astoria Hotel again and parked it there. Here rumor had it that the AVH was shooting people outside the studio. I did not want to believe this. I decided to see for myself. On hearing that a wounded person was getting medical attention in a pharmacy near by, I went there. I saw a young man who had a chest wound. He was receiving medical aid from the pharmacist. The reason why I was so incredulous at first was that until then I had not heard any sound of shooting.

Soon after that, I heard the sound of shooting. Trucks bearing soldiers began to arrive. The crowd tried to persuade the soldiers not to fight against the people. Many of the soldiers said, "Don't worry. We don't even have ammunition."

In the meantime, AVH men armed with tommy guns formed a line and pressed the crowd from Brody Street. A few shots could be heard here and there, but it was

impossible to determine who was shooting against whom.

I, too, went on to Kossuth Lajos Street and there entered an espresso shop for some coffee.

Around midnight, a detachment of Hungarian tanks came and it was rumored that they were there to arrest the AVH guards. The tanks had to stop because of the crowd on the corner of Museum Road and Brody Street. The commander of the detachment addressed the crowd saying that he, too, had been a worker previously and that he would not fire on his own people. He said that he came to arrest the people who had been shooting at innocent civilians from the radio building. The crowd cleared the way for the tanks to proceed and the tanks rumbled in front of the radio studio building. Later on, the body of the commander was brought back. He was shot while he wanted to negotiate with the AVH inside the building for their surrender.

(The radio announcer to whom I had already referred later gave a different version of the shooting, stating that the officer had been killed by someone from the crowd. I do not believe this version. I am convinced that the AVH killed this officer.)

Soon after this scene, several truckloads of armed workers came from Csepel. I do not know where they acquired their arms. It was evident that they came not to defend the AVH. The armed and unarmed civilians set up checking points in the vicinity of the radio studio buildings and probably the situation was the same in other parts of Budapest. All vehicles were checked. Much indignation was caused by the fact that practically one of the first cars which were checked was an ambulance in which the AVH attempted to smuggle arms and ammunition to the guards inside the radio buildings. (An ambulance driver I knew complained that he was almost shot by Freedom Fighters on three occasions. They had suspected him of being an AVH man in disguise.) The soldiers who came to the studio buildings were loitering on the streets with the civilians and willingly gave their arms to any one who wanted them. Some of the

soldiers did not give their arms themselves but stood by and let the civilians take the guns and ammunition off the trucks and from the tanks.

Around 2 a.m. I went to see what was going on near the office buildings of the Szabad Nep. A crowd had stormed the office building and occupied it. Communist publications were being burned in the center of the street. The body of a man, draped in the Hungarian flag, was brought from the direction of the radio building. It was claimed that the AVH had killed him. Civilians were active everywhere at intersections checking traffic. They made no attempts to check military vehicles and when the Russian tanks first came, they let them go by. Everyone was exuberant that the army was on our side.

Around 2 or 3 a.m. on the morning of October 24, one could hear shooting from every direction in Budapest. It was difficult to determine who was fighting against whom. I decided to go home. On my way I passed the barracks on Palfy Square where the Bem statue was located. Here I saw soldiers and civilians loading guns and ammunition on trucks. These trucks drove off in the direction of the city.

At 3 a.m. I thought that I would once again drive to Pest and see what was going on. I just entered the circular driveway at the bridgehead of the Bridge in Buda when I heard rumbling noises coming from the direction of the tunnel. I looked back and saw that Russian tanks were approaching from that direction. I speedily changed my course and drove up to the Palace Hill and went home. When I saw the column of Russian tanks advancing toward the city, I felt that the revolution would be crushed.

I woke up late on the 24th of October. The radio announced a curfew and that no one was supposed to be in the streets. We did not take this curfew seriously. There was a students' home on Palace Hill and the students were always able to inform

us of what was going on in the city. It was a bit foggy and we could not see much from Palace Hill. The radio announced that small bands of counter-revolutionaries were fighting in various parts of the city, but that, their liquidation was in progress.

Around noon time, a patrol of consisting of two officers came and chased everyone off the streets. One of the officers was Pal Maleter who, as it turned out later, that afternoon was assigned to take over the Killian Barracks. In charge of the Killian Barracks, he became one of the outstanding heroes of the revolution.

(It must be mentioned that at the Palace Hill section was a restricted residential section in which only reliable Communists were allowed to live. I was allowed to get an apartment there through one of my students who happened to be in charge of housing in this area. The Communists originally planned to create a government section here. Considerable secret work was conducted until 1953 on the caves and tunnels that ran through Palace Hill and many of them dated back to the 14th and 15th centuries and to the time of the Turks. When Imre Nagy first came to power in 1953, construction work on this project was stopped.)

We heard the sounds of shooting ~~xxxxxx~~ but nothing of exceptional interest happened in our neighborhood.

On the morning of the 25th, two of my students came and asked me to lend them my car. They said that they are working for an emergency hospital which had been set up by the Communists in the caves of this hill. Originally, this hospital dated back to the time of World War II and it was in operation during the siege of Budapest. These students said that this hospital has now been placed into operation to take care of the numerous wounded in the fightings in Budapest. Instead of lending them my car, I offered to go with them and drive it myself.

Up till now, there had been no Russians on Palace Hill. On the 25th we found out that a large and seemingly or-

ganized group of Freedom Fighters was fighting north of us on Szena Square. From the students I also heard about the fighting at the Killian Barracks. The radio announced at all times that these groups had surrendered. This was not true. What happened in fact was that when the Freedom Fighters heard or saw a larger number of tanks approaching, they disappeared. When the tanks went away, they returned again from their hiding places. The people were not inclined to believe radio reports to the effect that the resistance groups have surrendered.

My impression was that on the first day of fighting it was mostly the industrial workers who fought. There was no sign of organization among them. Students also participated in the fighting, but mostly they were very active in getting news and attempting to establish contact between the various groups. In these days I think that the students were the best-informed people in the city. The Communist government sent representatives to the various students' homes and conducted negotiations with the students. In this way the students began play an official role in the revolution. But still, there was no central leadership among them. The resistance troops were being organized spontaneously. Practically everyone was able to acquire arms by this time. This was due chiefly to the support of the army. Soldiers -- individually and in organized units -- were coming to Budapest. But the army, as a whole, did not take a united stand against the Communists. For example, the Karoly Barracks in Budapest were Communists all along.

The Imre Nagy cabinet was formed on the third day of the revolution. At first, the people distrusted him because it was rumored that he was responsible for having called in the Russians against the students and workers.

On October 26 the two students and I drove to a large dairy plant in the southern part of Buda to obtain milk for the hospital. We were warned to take the road running near the Karoly Barracks. On our way back, we were stopped by soldiers and we were taken into custody by them. They still wore their Commu-

nist insignia. During my stay in the barracks I saw that the attitude of these soldiers and officers was to make a show of strength but not to attack the insurgents. They wanted the resistance groups to give themselves up but were reluctant to attack them. They complained that the resistance groups were shooting at them.

I think that I was very suspicious to the soldiers who took us into custody. They thought that I was an assistant professor at the Technical University and the boys who were with me were students. They probably suspected that I was a revolutionary leader. They let us go at midnight. I thought that this could be attributed to my logical reasoning and that I had convinced them of their mistake. Later I found out, however, that their change of mind could be attributed to the radio speech held by Imre Nagy that night.

This radio speech marked an interesting turn in the revolution. From then on, there was no more talk of "armed bands" over the radio.

In the tight spot in which I felt myself to be when I was taken into custody by the soldiers of the Karoly Barracks, I promised myself to keep away from everything in the future. However, the next day (October 27) I nevertheless was present when the massacre occurred on Parliament Square. When I crossed the bridge over to Pest, I saw Russian tanks stationed on the bridge and at the bridgeheads, but, they let me through. Things were beginning to return to normal. That was to have been the first day on which bus transportation was resumed in Budapest. I did not have much gas in my car, so, I stopped at a gasoline station on the corner of Szabadsag Square which was next to Parliament Square. The gas station attendant was nervous and said that he would serve me but that after that he was closing down. From him I learned that all the busses had been ordered back to the garages. There I saw, with my own eyes, two Russian tanks decorated with Hungarian flags and flowers and with Hungarian students clinging to the sides of the tanks, manned



by the Russians. These two tanks rumbled by and were headed for Parliament Square but made a detour. I got there before they did and I saw two or three Russian tanks decorated with in the same manner.

A large crowd of demonstrators had gathered in the square and were cheering -- and I think that this is an irony of fate -- Kadar and Marosan. All of the sudden there was a volley of submachine gun fire. It may have been machine guns but I do not know. At first I did not believe that this shooting was directed against the crowd but I soon realized my mistake when people were being killed and wounded around me. I speedily ducked under the arcade of the Ministry of Agriculture and there found an emergency exit of the air raid shelter under the building. Other people jumped in after me. We were terrified. It was rumored that the AVH was massacring the people. We did not know what to do. Many of us, including myself, immediately hid the Hungarian national colors which were in our buttonholes.

It turned out that the AVH, which was concealed in the buildings, surrounding Parliament Square, began firing at the crowd and at the tanks. The tanks returned the gun fire. In my opinion, the AVH thought that the crowd, under the protection of the Russian tanks which went over to the insurgents, was attempting to storm the parliament building. Probably this was the reason why they began firing at the crowd and at the tanks.

When the shooting died down, I was able somehow to escape from the air raid shelter in the same manner I had entered. My experience here, on Parliament Square, and the large number of people who were wounded and killed there, had very terrifying effects on me. On the first night of the revolution I went to bed believing that the revolution would be victorious. When the Russians interfered, I despaired. On the third day when the Imre Nagy cabinet was formed and later, when I

saw the Russian tanks go over to the side of the Freedom Fighters, I again had high hopes of victory. During the machine gunning on Parliament Square, I was again in despair and believed that our cause had been lost. However, when I went over to Buda (I fortunate inasmuch that I was able to edge in between a line of diplomatic cars heading from Pest to Buda and the Russians let me go through the bridge), I drove in the direction of the university. Here I again saw cheering Freedom Fighters and no fighting. Once more did I believe that we would win.

C. On October 28 it was announced over the radio that the Imre Nagy government had been formed and that revolutionary councils were being also formed. The Freedom Fighters were allowed to retain their arms and were being organized into a militia.

On October 29 I went to the university where the revolutionary council of the university was being elected. Each school (sub-section) of the university elected one professor and two instructors to the revolutionary council. The Hungarian political parties began their work of re-organizing the parties. In principle, I was opposed to the activities of the revived political parties at that time because I considered them to be premature. But I realized the fact that the Communist past of Imre Nagy discredited him to an extent where people were not inclined to believe his promises of free elections and free party life later on. Imre Nagy was forced to permit the immediate revival of the political parties. Promises alone would not have sufficed.

The School of Army Engineering also belonged to our university. Its commander, a man by the name of Nemeth, told us that renewed Soviet attack could be expected. He said that the troop movements of the Russians indicated that they are blocking lines of communication in Hungary. This happened already on November 2.

On November 3 when we discussed the military situation with the officers at our university, they told us openly

that in case of a Soviet attack the only thing that Hungary could do was to resort to guerilla warfare. He said that from the point of view of a united military action, Hungary had been paralyzed by Soviet troop movements.

I was reluctant to believe that the Russians would attack. At the first meeting of the revolutionary council of our university (to which I, too, had been elected) I personally proposed that the teaching of Marxism and the Russian language be abolished in our school. This went on the record. This is the reason why I later deemed it extremely advisable to leave Hungary.

I awoke at dawn on November 4 to the sound of heavy gunfire. Before that I was a bit concerned about the Russian movements in Hungary but the radio brought comforting news.

Between November 2 and 4, a General Kiraly and his group began organizing the national guards. There were 23,000 civilians with arms in Budapest at that time. The backbone of the new militia consisted of university students. But the majority of the militia was comprised of industrial workers. By noon of November 3 the situation in Hungary was that only persons with permission to have arms were in possession of fire arms.

During the same period -- between November 2 and 4 -- the activities of the new students and the new militia consisted of liquidating and capturing AVH resistance centers. Where the AVH offered resistance there was stiff fighting. The AVH was constantly attempting to create disorder. I was reluctant to believe this until I was convinced when I saw one of my students shot to death. He was driving a car and met a Pobjeda. Pobjeda was the Russian version of the German Opel cars. They were speedy cars and much liked by the AVH. Such AVH cars were circling around the city, equipped with machine guns. They were the ones who started the fighting and snipe shooting, as in the case I mentioned where my student was killed. In this way the AVH practically

forced the militia to resort to retaliations. Later, Kadar in a speech, announced the murder of such good Communist comrade Kalamar. I happened to know this man because he was the state manager of the construction (national) enterprise where I had been previously employed. His "murder" was related to me by some of the workers whom I knew. Comrade Kalamar's daughter was also a bloodthirsty Communist who had studied army engineering and was assigned to the rank of captain in the army engineering corps. During the fightings in Csepel, she took her service revolver and fired on the workers from the window of their home. The workers noticed where the shots were coming from, stormed the house, and killed both father and daughter who offered resistance.

During the days before the Russians' attack I noticed something very interesting in the Communists I knew. For example, there was the trade union official whose husband worked for the radio. Their feelings and conduct could be best described by saying that they had guilty consciences. She told me that although he was the mother of four children, she would gladly let herself be executed could she, thereby, undo all the wrong which the Communists had done and which she realized only then.

I asked her, "Did anybody harm you?" She answered, "No, but they are constant fear." She admitted that she had not heard of any Communist being mistreated by the Freedom Fighters, but, she feared that they would harm her because she felt she had committed a great injustice against the people of Hungary.

There was no lynching of Communist Party members with the exception of some extremely cruel and brutal AVH officers.

Palace Hill was not captured by the Russians until November 6. It remained in the hands of the Freedom Fighters, not because it was so strongly defended, but because the Russians did not care much about capturing it. I saw both Communists and Jews, mostly young people, taking part in the defense of Palace Hill. My impression was that even the most loyal

Communists denounced Kadar's treachery and his alliance with the Russians. After the fighting subsided in Budapest, we discussed the situation among friends. It was decided that our resistance should continue together with the Hungarian Association of Writers. It was generally believed, and my professor also shared this view, that the Kadar government could not remain in power long because the people would only tolerate a more indulgent government. My professor told me that it was, in his opinion, unnecessary for us to leave the country. He said that an atmosphere favorable for scientific work will develop after the revolution.

Certain signs indicated that my professor was mistaken. Our university had a branch in Szolnok. This was the School of Transportation Engineering. He sent word to us in Budapest that the Russians had arrested the Hungarian students in Szolnok and the revolutionary council of the school had been also taken into custody. Only one member of this council had been allowed to go free but he had been beaten practically to insanity. He requested that the president of our university lodge a formal protest with the Ministry of Education and demand that the university students be freed and be returned to Hungary (there were persistent and credible rumors concerning mass deportations).

Our university building had been closed but on the 17th of November the members of the faculty were summoned to go in for their pay. There, at the university, I saw small notes which had been thrown out of boxcars by students who were being deported to the Soviet Union. In these notes, the students requested that something should be done to help them. The names of the students in the boxcars were also included in the notes. Information received from railway men employed in Szolnok and its vicinity, confirmed the rumors of the deportations. The Communist members of the faculty were maliciously pleased over recent events. Their conduct toward us promised no good. They were very inquisitive, wanting to know what role we played in the revolution. They were always eavesdropping and listening to what we were talking about. I was convinced that what happened in Szolnok would also re-occur in Budapest, but at a later date.

On November 19 I boarded a train at the Kelenforld railway station in Budapest. The entire train spoke openly about being from the country. I got off the train some distance from Magyarovar and proceeded on foot. I managed to reach Austrian territory on November 20 with greater difficulty. There were Russian troops on the border already at that time and rockets were being fired from time to time to light up the territory.

I think that despite the heavy losses of life and property caused by the revolution, Hungary on the whole, had profitted by it. Hungarians have regained their self-respect and want the respect of the entire civilized world. The Hungarian people regained their unity and patriotism. Before that, many people in Hungary were disheartened with the conduct of the people and the ones at home.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. In the first days of fighting it was impossible to expect any help other than moral support from the West. However, with the re-invasion of Hungary on November 4 was such an outrage that despite all realistic deliberations, we expected effective aid from the West. I did not expect an outbreak of a war because of defense in Hungary but I did expect effective UN aid. I thought that the UN would send observers and even an international police force to Hungary. I expected a complete boycott of the Soviet Union. I thought that the UN would adopt sanctions which would hurt Russia.

C. From October 23, 1956 until my arrival in Austria, I met no foreigners.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Before and during the war my father was a postal employee. After the war he was permitted to serve for a short time, but in 1950, he was given a pension. My mother was a schoolteacher who was pensioned in 1952. My parents owned no real estate property.

My father was a gymnasium graduate; my mother completed teachers' college.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the peasantry, the industrial workers and the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia includes not only the new Communist intelligentsia created by the new regime, but also, all workers who are called "white collar workers" here in the US.

I have had contact with all these classes with the exception of the peasantry. My contact with the latter was limited.

In my opinion, the Hungarian peasantry was conservative but not in the bad meaning of this word. The peasantry had great respect for traditions and customs and their opposition to Communism can be led back to this respect.

I can consider myself to be a member of the intelligentsia.

I think that the Hungarian peasantry was the hardest hit by Communism -- that is, materially. Concerning future outlooks, I think that the intelligentsia was the hardest hit because there was no future for the intelligentsia in Communist Hungary.

C. The Hungarian industrial workers in general recognized and accepted the leading role of the intellectuals. Communist propaganda made some of them believe that industrial workers should play the dominant role in society. However, when under the Communist regime, many industrial workers lacking basic education, experience, and knowledge were appointed to top jobs in government and industry, the industrial workers realized that class origin should not determine the role of a person in society.



The Hungarian intelligentsia looked with disfavor on discrimination against it on the basis of class origin. The leading role of the intelligentsia in society had been generally recognized by all the other classes by the time of the Hungarian revolution. During the revolution, there were no differences between social classes and all class barriers disappeared.

I do not know what the opinion of the Hungarian peasantry was of the other two classes and vice versa. I had very little contact with the Hungarian peasants. The role of the Hungarian peasantry was very critical but since 1953, that is, the first Imre Nagy government, the peasantry has been rehabilitated to a considerable degree. Imre Nagy was the one who first focused public attention on the difficult and unfavorable situation of the Hungarian peasantry and convinced the Communist Party that the exploitation of the peasant class should not be the primary aim of the industrial workers.

Very often it could be noticed that the Hungarian peasants were very unfriendly toward industrial workers who were assigned to public administration jobs in the country. In these persons, the Hungarian peasants hated not the industrial worker but the Communist.

E. The most important factor determining one's chances of advancing in Communist Hungary was class origin. An industrial worker background, even if inherited, was a hallmark to success. The Communists chiefly believed that loyalty to the working class was an inheritable trait.

Political views were also important, but on the other hand, there were very few Communists in Hungary -- that is, few Communists by conviction. Among all my friends, I think there were only two Communist by conviction. The other Party members whom I knew were all either opportunists or were able to assimilate with Communists. Therefore, instead of political views,

I think it will be better to use a person's capacity to lie even in spite of himself.

In the field of science and art everything was subordinated by Party interests. There were very few opportunities ~~xxxxxxx~~ to get ahead in these fields without proper class origin or political views. Only in exceptional cases was emphasis placed on talent and knowledge. Even in such cases, a gendarme ancestor or a relative living abroad were insurmountable handicaps.

In the first years of the Communist regime class origin and political views were the primary factors with no consideration at all for talent or experience and it was easier to assign such people to posts in public administration and industry than to replace them later on. Revolutionary changes would have meant unemployment or harder work and difficult living for such people. The opposition of this new Communist aristocracy caused Imre Nagy's downfall the first time. They feared to lose their positions and easy life.

As an individual the person most likely to get ahead in Hungary is the person with very lax conscience; the person who has no convictions or is able to suppress them.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism had a devastating effect on family life, namely through the economic and social conditions it created. In Hungary, during the Communist rule, the housing situation was very critical. Families had to share flats and apartments. The general rule was two persons were allowed one room. Consequently, the young people were unable to live alone. They had to reside with their parents or with strangers. Very often after marriage, the young people were entirely unable to live together. Both the husband and the wife had to reside with their respective parents. Even divorces were rendered difficult because of the housing shortage. The six months' separation customary under Hungarian divorce law had to be disregarded entirely. Even after the divorce had been granted, very often the divorced couple was forced to reside in the same apartment.

Under Communism the women were also required to work. This was more or less a political slogan, but also an economic necessity because of the low wages. Large-scale female employment rendered the customary form of family life and the education of children by the parents impossible.

Even husbands who earned enough to support a wife and a family (this was very rare) were compelled for political reasons to send their wife to work. Keeping a "lady" at home would reflect upon the political attitude of the person concerned and would eventually cause him much trouble.

In this way the Communist government in Hungary had a considerably greater influence on the education of the children. The educational system beginning with day nurseries and kindergartens, and extending to the universities could be better controlled from the political point of view by the Communists and monopolized completely the education of the children. The unpublicized aims of the Communists were to replace the family education of the children by State education -- the so-called collective education.

B. There were many more kindergartens and day nurseries under the Communist regime than previously. Parents of schoolchildren could also make arrangements with the school to keep the children there also during the afternoons (instructions usually ended at noon or at 1 o'clock). Officially, the children should have studied and prepared their homework in the same classrooms where they had been staying before the forenoon, but in practice there were not enough supervisors for all the children and they could do what they pleased as long as they remained quiet. It was very unhealthy for them to remain in the same stuffy classrooms where they had spent the hours of instruction before noon.

The adolescent children were able to see the difference between Communist theory and everyday practice. They had to learn to keep their opinions to themselves and not to express their true opinions. Political consequences could arise from such simple facts, as for example, the child of an intellectual did not learn the names of Communist heroes in history classes.

As a basic rule of conduct the children were taught in the Communist schools that they are obliged to obey their parents only when and if the conduct required of them complies with Communist principles and is not aimed against Communist social order. For example, the children did not have to obey their parents if the parents wanted them to attend catechism classes at the time when religious instruction in school was voluntary. However, later on, the Communists realized the drawbacks of such mentality and were forced to gradually restore the authority of the parents.

I think that these changes are the same for all social classes.

C. Under Communism, I think that more irresponsible marriages were formed than before. The young people saw the impossible situation in which their elders lived and did not hesitate to get married if they wanted to. The generally accepted view that young people should have at least a place to live and some

material basis with which to start life were disregarded as obsolete. The Communists reduced the age at which young people became of age to 18 years. Therefore, the permission of the parents to marry was required less frequently than before. On the other hand, it must be admitted that social benefits were offered by the government on a much larger scale than under the previous regime.

Under Communism social activities could not be conducted in the same manner as under the previous regime. The traditional annual students' balls and other highlights of Budapest social life were banned by the Communists. Social intercourse and activities were conducted within the factory or office where one worked. In this way the social activities of people could be better supervised and the various classes were forced to mingle with each other and could not keep to themselves. The number of marriages among couples who worked in the same factory or in the same office increased considerably.

This curb on social life and social activities was not liked even by some of the Communists. For example, I heard that the first wife of onetime Defense Secretary Mihai Farkas complained that she was unable to marry off her daughter to a reliable young Communist because there were no exclusive social events at which the children of top Communists could meet each other and form acquaintanceships with which could result in marriage. In the last few years before Communism, the Communist Party headquarters in Budapest already sponsored such exclusive social events for top Communists and their families.

In general, the Communists looked with disfavor upon mixed marriages -- that is, the marriages of Communist Party members to non-members. They learned through experience that in such cases it was usually the Communist Party member who gave in and changed his views or political convictions.

I am not able to tell you much about courtships and the ways of young people under Communism because I

went through this phase of life under the previous regime. However, I know cases where unwed expectant mothers went to the Communist Party and complained that their Communist boyfriend was not willing to marry them. In such cases the Communist Party usually attempted to persuade the boyfriend to marry the girl but could not compel to do so.

HIM

For at long time under Communism abortions were punished very severely. But after 1954 it was possible for expectant girl mothers to turn with confidence to the local councils which arranged for an abortion in a hospital or clinic. In many cases, however, the girls were unwilling to do this because they were afraid that their parents may learn about their misfortune. They preferred to pay or had the boyfriend pay 1,000-1,200 forints for an abortion. Under the Rakosi regime, however, gynecologists were unwilling to undertake illegal abortions. Several hundred doctors were arrested in the Communist regime's drive against abortions. For example, the absence of any female employee for three days or a longer period was immediately to the police who investigated whether or not an abortion had been performed.

There was no official prostitution under the Communist regime in Hungary. However, there were several high-class prostitutes who were permitted to operate in hotels and restaurants frequented by foreigners. These women were well educated and spoke languages. Many of them belonged to the Hungarian aristocracy.

I think that the Communist Party favored restraint in sexual matters. However, there was not much talk about such problems; probably Communists in general were less inhibited in sexual matters because they became used to the idea of being a privileged special class, not bound by laws -- either state or moral.

D. I do not think true friendship could have continued if a friend of mine would have joined the Communist Party and became, for example, a Party secretary. This is provided that he did all of this as a Communist of conviction and in such a situation, true friendship could not continue. If the friend-

ship were broken it would probably be I who would put an end to such a friendship. I do not think that in such a case a friendship could be continued under an agreement not to mix politics into it. Politics not only interfered with friendship, but also with love affairs. For example, I was unable to continue a love affair with an otherwise very attractive girl because she turned out to be a Communist by conviction. On one occasion when I turned up for a date wearing a double-soled shoe, she scolded me for being a reactionary jampec.

E. I think that under Communism the rate of ordinary crimes declined. There were no rich people in Hungary, therefore, the material motives for committing a crime were not as strong as before. Police control over practically the entire population was much more effective under Communism than under the previous regime.

I do not know about the crime rate of women and of juvenile delinquency. No statistics of this nature were published by the Communists.

I think that alcoholism probably increased under Communism because there were no incentives urging the people to save their money.

I think that the whole jampec questions is something which has been extremely exaggerated by the Communists. In general, this term was applied to people who copied Western fashion in clothes and who danced the modern dances. Frequently it was applied unjustly to everyone for no apparent reason.

The jampec fashion and jampec-styled clothes appealed to the young people of Hungary probably for the very reason that it was disliked by the Communists. It had the appeal of something ~~praktikálna~~ forbidden.

I think that the jampec is not limited to one social class. They are mostly teenagers -- the elder young people of the smart set cannot very well be called jampecs. However, this term is often applied to them.

Before the revolution I disapproved of the conduct of the jampecs. But it must be admitted that during the revolution they were some of the bravest fighters.

I think that the parents of the jampecs approved of such conduct, or at least, condoned it. They were the ones who bought the clothes for the jampecs.



## VII. RELIGION

Communism in Hungary restricted religious life. Religious propaganda had to cease entirely. Church sermons and church publications were censored. Church attendance was not prohibited only discouraged. To be seen in church may have caused much unpleasantness, even the loss of employment. In schools, the school teachers and superintendents received instructions to raise every possible obstacle to religious instructions. As a result, the Communists brought up one or two generations of pagans.

I think that the Catholic Church in Hungary was the hardest-hit by Communism because it was the most intolerant toward Communism. Not every Catholic layman approved of the intransigent attitude adopted by Cardinal Mindszenty. This irreconcilable attitude on the part of the Cardinal caused the nationalization of church schools. The Protestants were able to keep most of their church schools.

The Protestant church was looked upon with more favor by the Communists. Some of the Protestant theologians worked out new theories to prove the possibility of coexistence of religion and Communism.

B. Religion plays a considerably lesser role in my life than it did and does in the lives of my parents. I think that the average Hungarian today is more religious than I am. I do not go to church and do not pray.

C. Even today the churches are the best suited arbiters of moral conduct. But I would not accept their competence for spreading higher education. For example, to teach natural sciences.

I think that the ideal relations between church and state are based on complete independence, as is the case here in the US. However, this would be disadvantageous for the churches in Europe because there everyone is accustomed to the system of established and tolerated churches receiving financial support from the government.

I do not think that the censorship of books, movies, and plays should be entrusted to the churches. Nor should the churches indulge in political activities. But it would be a contradiction of the democracy to forbid churches from organizing political parties on an ecclesiastic basis eventually led by politicians who are simultaneously members of the clergy as well.

D. The Communists also persecuted the Jewish religion. They were strongly opposed to Synaism although the latter is not entirely a religious movement. Many rabbis were in prison together with Catholic and Protestant clergymen. Marxist materialism is opposed to every form of religion.

I knew very few Jews who were not members of the Communist Party. The vast majority of those Jews who did not leave the country in time, joined the Communist Party. The Communist Party in Hungary won the support of the Jews by being an ardent promoter of philo-Semitism by favoring the complete rehabilitation of the Jews and by punishing the Hungarian Fascists, the so-called "nyilas." This made even the capitalist Jews sympathize with Communism.

Under Communism Jews occupied key positions in economic life in science, newspaper writing and even important posts in the Party itself. Their infiltration into key positions which were well paid was considerable food for latent anti-Semitism. For example, most all of the new professors nominated to our university were Jews. When the most recent nomination of professors was made public, one of the Jewish professors of our university went to the Minister of Education and asked him, "Why do you want one more Jew at our university?" The Jewish professors regarded any increase in their number with disfavor. There was much competition and strife among the Jewish professors at our university. When I handed in my dissertation for my doctorate to a Jewish professor, he told me I had nothing to fear -- my dissertation would be accepted because I was neither a Jew nor a Communist.

However, I think that there were very few Communists by conviction among the Jews. The Jews, by nature, are inclined toward opportunism. Their conscience seems to be troubled by their own progress in Hungary. At the faculty meetings, two or three times a year, a Jewish professor would raise the question of, "Exterminating the remnants of anti-Semitism." This was done despite the fact that there was no evidence of anti-Semitism because no one dared to say one word against the Jews.

In general, the Jews acted cautiously and timidly during the demonstrations and the fighting. On the other hand, I personally know of Jews who were Communist Party members and nevertheless took an active part in organizing the demonstrations and participated also in the fighting. But I think the Jews in general were worried because they feared a pogrom. In the event of a political change, almost all of them had something to lose. On the other hand, I do not ~~think~~ dare say that they sympathized with the Russians or with the Communist Party. One of the aims of the demonstrations was to place an end to "functional jobs." Under this term we meant such unproductive assignments as Party secretaries, trade union officials, etc. Many such jobs were filled by Jews.

There was no sign of anti-Semitism during the demonstrations and the revolution. I know, for example, of one case where the crowd recognized an AVH officer on the street and he was not harmed by the crowd only because he was a Jew.

I do not think it can be said of the Jews in general that they fear a political change in Hungary. I have known many Jews who are honest and even in their own way. If there had been no feeling of nationalism among the Jews at all, then, all of them would have left Hungary after 1945 when there was a possibility for them to do so.

## VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth I mean the younger generation from 16 or 18 up to 25 or 28.

B. I think it would be an overstatement to say that the Hungarian youth led the demonstrations and the revolution. The Hungarian youth, that is, to be more exact, only the young Hungarian intellectuals, joined the movement for our intellectual revival started and led by the Hungarian Writers' Association. Even the Petofi Circle, organized within the framework was the work of the Hungarian Writers' Association.

It cannot be denied that the Hungarian youth and primarily the Hungarian university students initiated and organized the demonstrations which led to the outbreak of the revolution.

In the fighting, many students participated but their role was not so exclusive as in the demonstrations. The larger group of fighters consisted of industrial workers and city urchins. The university students in Budapest received arms officially only after the withdrawal of the Russians from the city. The first stage of the revolution was fought by the street crowds -- by everyone who was able to obtain arms.

The Hungarian youth took the initiative in the demonstrations and in the fighting because financially it was the least dependent group in Hungary and had the least to lose.

During the revolution the older generation regarded the Hungarian youth with respect and admiration. On Palace Hill, the elder people helped the Hungarian youth but there were cases when the students and young workers complained that people locked their gates and doors and barred them refuge when they needed to hide. On one occasion when I went to fetch bread for the students and young workers, fighting in the neighborhood of my home, I stopped in front of a bakery where a long line of civilians

were queuing up for bread. When I told them who needed the bread, they let me go ahead of them and take away 40 loaves of bread although this meant that they had to stand for 2-3 hours more.

C. Higher education in Hungary under the Rakosi regime assumed gigantic proportions and was split up through irrational specialization. Emphasis was placed not on individual study but on teaching. They wanted to create technical specialists on a production line. Secondary school methods were introduced in the universities. Professors were degraded to school teachers.

Over-specialization was the main deficiency of the educational system. It was also a lack of professors, especially in regard to applied sciences. The level and prestige of the university professors declined from one day to another. Professors were created from senior engineers who may have been good engineers but who were not educators and scientists.

Too much emphasis was placed on the teaching of Marxism and Leninism in the secondary schools and universities. The Communists endeavored to instill into the students things which could not be proved in practice. Communist political views and teachings all had to be learned by heart and accepted as the gospel truth.

There was a tendency on the part of the Communist Party in Hungary to minimize individual talent and knowledge. Here theory was "everyone is capable of doing if the Party chooses to assign him to such a post."

a  
There was a numerus clausus on all universities, and, on the other hand, the number of applications for admittance were very numerous. If the quota, which could be accepted, was filled the universities would try and direct applicants to other universities where admission was still possible. In this way, a student graduating from a ~~gymnasium~~ gymnasium and wanting to enroll for chemical engineering may be advised to go and study dentistry.

The level of education under Communism declined considerably. Lectures and the curriculum in general had to be adjusted to the educational level of the so-called "worker students". One year I was forced to flunk 24 per cent of my students and for this reason I was not given premiums at the end of the term.

The vast majority of the professors inherited from the previous regime opposed Communism. and scientists and professors, however, were not compelled to join the Party. The new professors had the decisive say in university matters. In the summer of 1956 the always-changing educational plan required that 60 per cent of the faculty be of industrial worker or peasant worker origin. This meant that about the same percentage of university professors and instructors would have to be replaced by new cadres. The whole plan was stupid and would have meant the total bankruptcy of our university education. However, the new professors were doing their best to execute the instructions of the Ministry of Education in this respect.

Not all of the new professors and instructors had the proper educational qualifications. For example, I was assigned as an assistant professor to a newly created department -- the Department of Commercial Engineering. Out of a total personnel of 12, I was the only one who had a degree both in engineering and economics.

E. It is true that the Communists spent much time and effort to indoctrinate the Hungarian youth. They were crammed with Marxist and Leninist subjects, the history of the Soviet revolution and the glorification of the ~~Soviet~~ Soviet Union. It was stupidity on the part of the Communists because no one willingly accepted the teachings of Soviet supremacy and superiority. The political and economic dogmas of Communism were in flagrant contradiction with everyday practice. Communist teachings were neither credible nor variable; nor were they sympathetic. It was also compulsory and dangerous.

At one of the last staff meetings before the outbreak of the revolution, it was officially announced that the Ministry of Education demanded that Marxist principles be stressed in other university subjects. Professor Mihajlios objected strongly to this, stating that Marxism was taught for four years with five to six academic hours a week, whereas statics -- one of the basic subjects of engineering -- was taught only half that time. He claimed that now the Ministry wants the professors to teach Marxism and Leninism even during the comparatively few academic hours assigned to the teaching of statics.

Despite such intensive attempts at indoctrination, the Hungarian youth was not affected by it because there was such an evident contradiction between Communist theory and practice.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS WITH EVERYDAY LIFE

A. During the Communist regime in Hungary I was very much dissatisfied because of the reoccurring shortages of foodstuffs and commodities. It was impossible to express any opinion -- either in everyday life or in science alike.

B. The main causes of dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary was the housing shortage, the compulsory government loans, and the difficulties which the housewives encountered in supplying their families with food and clothes.



X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. During the past year of Communism, I lived exceptionally well in Hungary. I had two jobs and was able to acquire extra work which paid well. I was able to eat any kind of food which I desired with the exception of citrus fruits and other exotic foods which were not available at all in Hungary. I was comparatively well dressed. I had five or six suits. I had an apartment of my own which consisted of two rooms with bath, kitchen and hall. Originally it was an apartment which was badly damaged during the siege of Budapest. I rebuilt it personally at a cost of 35,000 forints.

an  
Travel abroad, dining out, and an automobile of my own were luxuries which I could afford. My major problem was furniture and that too was being solved.

It would not be a fair basis of comparison to compare my present standard of living with my pre-war standard of living. In that time I aged 12 years and finished my studies. Under such conditions the living standard of any other person, even in normal times, would change. But comparing my parents' present standard of living with their pre-war standard of living I think that it dropped at least 50 per cent.

My standard of living was the highest in 1956 and the lowest in 1950. The year 1950 was extremely bad for me because at that time my salary dropped from 3,000 forints to 1,500 forints a month. We did not have any acquaintances who lived extremely well under Communism. Such people would be members of the AVH or top Communists and I did not have contacts with ~~such~~ people of this kind. I knew some top Hungarian scientists -- one or two of them had even been awarded the Kossuth prize -- but they, too, could not afford the standard of living which is common here. In Hungary, before the revolution, a high standard of living began perhaps, with a summer cottage on Lake Balaton or along the Danube, a season ticket to the opera,

a theatre season ticket, and with an automobile. Some people, such as senior engineers of industrial enterprises, had official cars which they could use for personal use also.

The low standard of living in Hungary cant be attributed to, first of all, to the reparation payments demanded by the Soviet Union. Later, under the Three Year Plan, the standard of living showed a considerable increase. The Five Year Economic Plan which followed called for such economically unsound investments as the iron and steel industry combined in Sztalinvaros and the new underground railway in <sup>(subway)</sup> Budapest. The senseless agricultural policy of the Communist government, namely the forced collectivization of farmland also contributed heavily to the low standard of living in Hungary. The third, and by no means insignificant factor, was the foreign policy of Hungary which required the maintenance of Soviet troops and the building of new military installations.

B. My average income per month in 1956 was 5,000 forints. Twenty-four forints per month were deducted for trade union dues and 120 forints a month for government loans. I was lucky inasmuch the government loans were levied in proportion to a person's basic pay. My basic salary happened to be only a small portion of my monthly income.

I did not receive any premiums or allowances.

The instructors and assistant professors at the Budapest Technical University were permitted to take part-time jobs and to accept engineering work on a part-time basis over and above their regular work and salary. This exception was made in our case in order to enable us to ~~keep~~ maintain constant contact with developments in industry and not to become one-sided theoreticians.

I was divorced but previously, my wife also worked. She was a physician.

I did not get any increases in salary with the exception of overall wage increases.

C. The difference in the price of foodstuffs on the free market as compared to retail prices in government stores varied; in many instances the government ~~market~~ store retail prices were lower. Supply never exceeded demand to such an extent that farm products could not be sold.

Prices in the government stores were fixed by the government and never took supply and demand into consideration.

I am unable to tell you the price of various commodities and their change in the course of years. These are things I did not pay much attention to.

The quality of goods on sale in retail stores declined rapidly after 1950. This coincided with the increasing expansion of government trade. From 1953-54 on, there was a steady improvement. This can be attributed to the increasing control of quality in production.

Retail distribution in Hungary was very inefficient. The extent of local demand was never taken into consideration. Practically no market researching was done. The managers of the government stores were not as interested in their work as they would have been under private ownership. The government stores were run in a very haphazard manner. The management of the government stores was criticized by the Communists themselves.

It must be admitted that the standardization adopted by the Communists worked out well in practice. However, it was still difficult to get spare parts because the production of spare parts decreased the total value of production.

I do not think that there was any spoilage of food in Hungary.

Often there were recurring shortages of foodstuffs containing hemoglobin, such as meat, eggs, fats, etc.

Sometimes, fruits and vegetables were also scarce. There was a time when it was extremely difficult to get wine. In 1951 there was a shortage of bread and bread rationing had to be introduced.

Commodities were not available not because of their unattainable high price but because of their scarcity. Furniture was extremely expensive. Construction material prices were comparatively very high. In the scarcity of textiles, quality and high prices were entirely equal factors.

There was a black market in agricultural products in the country. Peasants had to buy on the black market products in order to be able to meet the compulsory delivery quotas. They also ~~usually~~ sold on the black market what they could, save in the way ~~that~~ of evading compulsory deliveries. There was no black marketing in Budapest itself because it was very dangerous and punishable. On the other hand, there was no rationing either. I think that the price of agricultural products on the black market was several times higher than the official prices paid to farmers for surrendering their crops.

There may have been some under-the-counter dealing especially in meats, textiles, and construction materials. Black market operations were severely punished especially if the persons apprehended were kulaks or either class enemies.

D. During the last 12 months of my stay in Hungary I was employed as an assistant professor in the industrial engineering department of the Budapest Technical University. I taught night classes at the university, teaching economics to students who had already acquired their engineering diploma. I was in charge of a research group which was studying mechanization methods in the building industry.

I did not have fixed office hours. Sometimes I worked as much as 12 - 14 hours a day; sometimes, even more.

I never slept more than six or seven hours a day. It did not take me more than six or seven minutes to drive from home to the university. As an engineer I was permitted to operate a private car.

I liked my job very much and was on excellent terms with my co-workers. I got along well with my superiors. Not all of them were experts in their fields and the authority and prestige they had varied to the degree of their scientific qualifications.

The trade union vacation program in Hungary operated fairly well. The only trouble was that many workers did not make use of the available facilities because they did not want to be separated from their families, or because, during vacation they obtained part-time jobs elsewhere to supplement their income. It was rather the intellectual workers who went to the vacation resorts maintained by the trade unions. Much depended on what kind of contact one had with the trade union officials. If one had influence, then it was possible to get a place in a first-class health resort or hotel.

The socialized medical service maintained by the trade union council was fairly efficient and popular.

In the first years of the Communist regime pensions were intentionally made very low. The purpose was to ruin economically those persons who served the previous regime and now became eligible for pensions. There was great discrimination among the persons entitled to pensions. For example, my father was pensioned in 1945 and in 1956 his pension was only 440 forints a month. My mother, who served for some time as a schoolteacher under the Communist regime, was pensioned in 1952 and in 1956 she received 780 forints a month which is almost twice as much as my father received although my mother did not have as many years of government service.

E. If I were to live in Communist Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. In my opinion, city residents ate much better fare than country people. Food stores in the country were practically empty. The government wanted to compel the rural population to use up its stocks of food and supplies.

I think that the standard of living was much higher in the city than it was in the country. I think politically it was easier to live in the city than in the country. In many places, the rural population became the prey of unintelligent Communist officials who terrorized them and conducted the public administration more or less according to their will.

I considered discrimination between kulaks and working peasants neither just nor sound nor proper. In principle, I approve of co-operative farming but ~~in~~ not in the form it was conducted in Hungary. The Communist farm collectivization program has made co-operative farming very unpopular in Hungary for a long time to come.

I do not know who objected more strongly against collectivization -- the kulaks or the other peasants. I think that in the first stage of the collectivization program, this program was aimed only at the kulaks. Later on, however, even those lands were collectivized which had been distributed to the landless peasants by the Communists after 1945 to gain support. It was extremely difficult to dissolve farm co-operatives. During the first Imre Nagy regime, this was permitted, but I do not know under what circumstances. Not much was published about such things.

I think that Hungarian peasants would ~~be~~ prefer to work on the government farms because of the comparatively higher pay and the social security benefits.

The ideal agricultural system for an independent Hungary should be based on free marketing with no compulsory crop deliveries. The government should promote the formation of small tenant farms and with the aid of credit and loan programs, it should influence but not direct what and how the farmers grew. I would not retain the present system of tractor stations introduced by the Communists because in practice they did not work out well.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. At the end of World War II I was 20 years old. During World War II I was interested in politics inasmuch as I wanted to know what the outcome of this war would be. After the war my interest in politics became even greater. Among the parties which operated before 1948 I sympathized most with the Sulyok and the Pfeiffer Parties. Had I been given a right to vote at that time, I would have probably voted for one of these parties.

Both my father and mother had joined the Communist Party before 1948. They became Party members under compulsion because they were in fear of losing their jobs. I personally had never been a member of any political party.

I favor a Hungarian national policy. I became extremely anti-Soviet when I worked for the office for reparations and had an opportunity there to see how the Russians were looting the country.

I loathe and despise the Communist Party for the 1918-1919 Revolution and for the role Bela Kun and the other Communists played at that time. I did not have any knowledge of the operations of the Communists during World War II. After 1945 the Communist Party was revived in Hungary only with the aid of the Soviet Union. I hoped that in the struggle for political power the Communist Party would lose.

B. The members of the Communist Party are either members by conviction or opportunists who joined the Party for material gain and finally, there is a large group of Party members by compulsion who joined the Party either to ~~make~~ be able to keep their jobs or to find employment. I have known Communist Party members of all three types.

In the first two-three years of Communism, not much was said about the true purposes and aims of the Party.

Until 1948 political indoctrination was intentionally neglected. The Communist Party did not wish to reveal its true purposes because then the other opposition parties, which at that time still existed, would have gained power. From 1948 on, propaganda and indoctrination work continued to Soviet methods which had been well tried out in practice. From 1948 on, the power of the Communist Party was on the incline. Gradually, it achieves complete control in Hungary. With new programs and showcase trials, it always had something new to attract public attention. In 1952 the position of the Communist Party in Hungary began to become extremely shaky. This was due mostly to economic reasons. The economic policy of the Communists was very shortsighted. It was directed and conducted by a man who had little experience or knowledge. On sound investments of the Five Year Economic Plan exhausted the economic resources of the government which had been easily obtained through the nationalization of industries. From 1953 the Communist Party in Hungary did not have an effective policy. Communist policy in Hungary has been very undulating and reflects the struggle for power within the Party.

I never quite understood what Party morale was in the Communist Party. Party members pretended that it existed. Somehow, I never could believe that there existed people who were stupid enough to accept the Communist faces of undying love toward the Soviet Union, acceptance of Soviet superiority, and who believed in the ridiculous "self-criticism" of the Communist Party.

I think that the vast majority of the top Communists in Hungary are ordinary traitors and mere lackeys of the Soviet Communists. In 1952 we once debated among friends whether or not the top Communists in Hungary could be termed as well-meaning people. We agreed already at that time that so far as the economic policy of Hungary is concerned the top Communists in Hungary have regard for only Soviet economic interests. I have not known any of the top Hungarian Communist leaders personally. I have heard only of one -- Istvan Antal -- a university professor, who at one time, was



the president of the Hungarian National Bank. Allegedly, he once said that he does not see things exactly as the Communist papers quote him.

I think that the top Hungarian Communists are Communists by conviction who have fanatical faith in Soviet friendship and Soviet economic ideology. Their fanaticism, loyalty, patriotism is not for Hungary but for the Soviet Union. Even if they are fanatical Communists, they must realize how much harm they are doing to Hungary and the Hungarian people.

If Hungary regains her freedom then those top Communists who have evidently betrayed the interests of Hungary should be tried as traitors. Those top Communists who have an answer for the lives of innocent people should also be brought to justice. In general, I favor the basic principles of Roman law which state that criminal law should not be retroactive and that no one can be tried for a crime which was not a crime at the time it was committed. There was constant opposition to the Communist government before the revolution. Probably, the most opposition came from the peasantry. They attempted, in every way possible, to circumvent the government regulations concerning the compulsory surrendering of crops.

There were other forms of opposition. For example, opposition to subscriptions or compulsory government loans. Such conduct often resulted in loss of employment or in arrest on trumped-up charges. In 1952-53 there was the so-called 100 forint movement. It meant that everyone should do 100 forints' worth of damage to the government each day.

Open opposition was very rare and was immediately crushed by the AVH. However, passive opposition was very frequent and very often it meant that the person intentionally gave up chances for advancement or promotion.

According to public opinion these forms of opposition behavior did not have much result. The lower echelons of industrial and public administration were bureaucrats who mechanically strived to ~~maxx~~ surpass the results demanded of them by their superiors. By 1953-54, the

the intellectuals within the Communist Party itself started an opposition, or rather, a spirit of criticism against the regime. These intellectuals were able to assert their criticism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The struggle of young intellectuals for literary freedom was the first effective resistance in Hungary. Allegedly, it had been inspired by the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg. On one of his visits to Budapest, Mr. Ehrenburg was quoted as having said: "You are still debating over socialist realism in art and literature. We know long ago, that it is rubbish."

The Petofi Circle was organized by the DISZ in an attempt to change the inactivity of the non-Party intellectuals. It began to function at the end of 1955. It was a great success and created a sensation with the entirely free and democratic way in which the debates and meetings were conducted. For example, there was no fixed agenda and the speakers did not have to state their names. For the first time in a good many years people, at these meetings, were able to applaud anything they liked and to boo everything they disliked without fearing retaliations on the part of the AVH and without first thinking whether or not the Communist Party officially approved or disapproved of what was being said.

I went to a Petofi Circle debate for the first time in the spring of 1956 when economic questions were being discussed. I was enthusiastic about the feeling and the spirit of these meetings. When I talked about this to Communist friends and colleagues, they assured me that, "the broth is not eaten as hot as it is made" and that everything would go on as before.

The significance ~~of~~ and importance of the young intellectuals lies not only in the fact that they expressed openly what everyone else felt but did not dare to say. These intellectuals were writers with a gift of words and were able to express their ideas in a very popular and pleasing manner. For example, the writer Tibor Deri, is the originator of the so-called "key literature." In his works,

the exact opposite of what he is saying should be understood. Perhaps the ~~average~~ average Party member in Communist Hungary did not even understand his writings.

I think that the Hungarian intellectuals are realistic and well-meaning people. They turned against the Communist regime because they could tolerate Communist control over their writings no longer.

## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. I did not have any personal experience with the AVH. I was never arrested. A friend of mine had been arrested and convicted but died in prison and I do not know what the AVH did to him. Many of the AVH officers are of the over-zealous, narrow-minded type. They can ~~not~~ convince themselves that what they are doing is being done in the interest of the nation. The second group of AVH men belongs to the sadistic type. They, perhaps, know what they are doing but derive perverse pleasure from bullying and torturing others.

I have not heard of any AVH men who wanted to resign from the force because they had pangs of conscience. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that Communist Hungary has been a country of constant anxiety and fear. When Hungary becomes independent, I think that the AVH men should be brought to justice. But here again the same principle must be applied which we already discussed when this question was asked in connection with the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party.

I have a very poor opinion of the Hungarian Blue Police Force, although in principle, they did not investigate or handle political cases. Nevertheless, they were inclined to exceed their authority. On one occasion in 1948, I was asked to identify myself by a policeman. I showed him my student identification card and he claimed that card was not valid. I began to argue with him and he took me into the police station. There, I was beaten. Afterwards, they let me go telling me, "The next time you will know how to speak with respect to a policeman."

I think that there was corruption in the Blue Police Force. On one occasion, a Blue police officer took my car, used it for several days, then returned it, saying that he had recognized a stolen car on the street, taken pursuit, and recovered it when the thieves abandoned the car. He wanted me to lend him the car as a favor for returning it.

During the revolution the Blue Police Force behaved entirely passive at first. During the Imre Nagy government it took part in maintaining order. I heard one exasperated policeman say, "God alone knows to which side I belong now." They always joined that side they thought would win. They left themselves be disarmed by the revolutionarists and sometimes gave arms willingly. In general, there was not much complaint among the students and younger persons because of the conduct of the Blue policemen.

B. After 1948 there was a great shake-up in the Hungarian Ministry of Justice and in the courts. Marxism and Leninism were demanded of the judges. Justice was based on class discrimination. The majority of the new judges did not have the required knowledge or judicial background. They can be best described with having "a mania for over-exceeding" the regulations and instructions of the Communist Ministry of Justice.

I do not think that before 1945 the Hungarian courts were biased or partial. I do not believe Communist accusations of class justice in that period. Hungarian judges at that time were very well trained and were famous for their moral integrity.

The Hungarian courts that functioned in 1945-47 stood very strongly under Jewish influence. Their sentences were very often unjust and too severe. Their purpose was to avenge the atrocities committed against the Jews. Very often, people who had nothing to do with such crimes were sentenced by this court. The vast majority of people at home disapproved of these courts and of the way in which they functioned.

Many of the Hungarian war criminals were guilty, but here again, it is a contradiction of the basic principles of law to try someone for a deed which was rendered a crime only after the deed was committed.

C.  
The Hungarian Army did not participate in the revolution as a whole. Individual enlisted men and junior officers, some military units, took part in the fighting voluntarily and with great enthusiasm. However, the general military staff and the Ministry of Defense sabotaged defense and gave contradicting instructions often. These two bodies were the most Moscovite organizations in Hungary even during the revolution.

I do not know of any difference in the conduct of the army which can be based on territorial or geographical ~~XXXXXXXX~~ location.

AND ← There was a difference in the conduct of the enlisted men, non-commissioned officers in comparison to the conduct of the senior officers. The officers I talked with during the revolution were all in favor of the social achievements of the revolution, but spoke very moderately about political changes after the revolution. The officers, in general, were infected ~~with~~ with Communist ideology. On the other hand, the enlisted men and the non-commissioned officers and many junior officers had the same mentality as we had.

I do not know of any differences in the behavior of the army respectively of the members of the army which can be attributed to social origin.

The difference in the conduct of the various groups in the army, I think, can be attributed to hesitation on the part of the senior officers and to the fact that in many places the Communist officers, especially the political officers, were able to exercise control over the enlisted men and non-commissioned officers. I think the explanation lies always in the composition of the local army command.

I was very much surprised by the conduct of the Hungarian army during the revolution. I thought that ~~strict~~ strict military discipline and Communist leadership in the army would make it an obedient tool of the government. The events in Poland, however, had a great influence on the army. They supported the belief that the armed forces of a socialistic government cannot shoot against industrial workers. This was, more or less, the official attitude of the government.

(Questions concerning life in the army are not applicable since subject has never served in the Hungarian Army.)

D. There is traditional anti-Russian feeling in Hungary which can be traced back to the participation of the Russian troops in crushing the 1848 Hungarian Revolt to the 1919 role of the Hungarian Communists and to the anti-Communist propaganda of the Horthy government, before and during World War II. These anti-Soviet and anti-Russian sentiments were confirmed by the reports of Hungarian prisoners of war and by the conduct of the Russian troops during the war. However, the real popularity of the Soviet troops in Hungary can be attributed to their conduct in 1944-45 when they occupied the country.

When the Russians were approaching Hungary at the end of World War II, I knew very well that their coming would mean the end of the war for us. But on the other hand, I had very grave concern because of the rumors that were spread about the conduct of the Russians. I was not at home at the time Hungary was occupied by the Soviet troops. I was in Germany. From friends and relatives I knew how they conducted themselves. Among other things, they raped my mother-in-law. Since then to the present day, my views of the Russian soldiers have not changed.

After the war I did not have any contact with Russian occupation troops -- neither enlisted men nor officers. However, for eighteen months after the war I was employed in the Hungarian office for war reparations where I had contact with a Russian major. He was in charge of industrial reparation deliveries. From him I knew that the Russian principle was, "to ask the impossible in order to achieve the possible." For example, we had information to the effect that the Soviet Union itself did not know what to do with our reparation shipments. Bicycles which were manufactured and delivered by Hungary were rusting on railway platforms together with the equipment of dismantled Hungarian power plants.

I did not have any personal conversations with this major and I do not know anything about the mentality of the Soviet enlisted men or officers in Hungary.

I did not have any contacts with the Russians during the revolution. It could be seen that in the first stage of the revolution the Russians did not have political pep talks to prepare them for the fighting. The general enthusiasm in Hungary had its effect on them as well. Many of them joined forces with the Hungarians and even those who did not refuse to shoot at the Freedom Fighters. In 1956 many people in Hungary were able to speak and make themselves understood in Russian. They conducted an effective propaganda campaign among the Russian soldiers.

I do not know of any difference in the conduct of the officers and the Russian enlisted men, or, of the younger or older Russians. I did not notice any difference in their conduct which could be attributed to their various nationalities. But it was generally known that the troops that had been stationed in Hungary for a longer period had been "infected" by their contacts with Hungarians.

I have already mentioned to you that Russian tanks that went over to the Hungarians on the day when the massacre took place on Parliament Square. From a reliable friend who saw the scene himself, I heard that on Boráros Bridge a Russian tank commander shot and killed his men who was not willing to join the others and go over to the side of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. This officer later brought two buckets of gasoline, splashed it on the entire tank, and ignited it. I saw Soviet soldiers fighting against the AVH on Parliament Square. Otherwise, I do not know of any reliable cases where Soviet soldiers refused to obey their superiors, deserted, or fought against each other.

My brother-in-law told me that he saw the Russians capture eight university students who had arms in their possession. The university students were offering no resistance. The Russians took away their arms, lined them up against a wall, and executed them.



E. I encountered much bureaucracy in Hungary in connection with economic and industrial planning. Both the planning office and the Communist Party had their own apparatus for conducting and supervising planning. In this way there was much unnecessary publicity. The work of the planning offices did not have any practical value because the various government enterprises did not manufacture what the production plans ordered them to manufacture because their production was entirely regulated by contracts and orders which they received from other national enterprises. An exact duplicate of all government planning offices were set up within the Communist Party itself. Production statistics had to be sent to both places. However, neither the government planning offices nor their Communist Party counterparts were able to evaluate the production statistics and reports. The government apparatus and the Communist Party apparatus met only in the person of the manager.

The trade unions did not have such complicated bureaucratic apparatus in the factories and plants.

The personnel of the planning section, which consisted of engineers who were not suited for work in production and of so-called worker cadres who were generally narrow-minded persons with no economic training. They had no prestige whatsoever and lacked the feeling of responsibility. Such personnel was concerned only with the formalistic execution of instructions and orders.

I once had trouble with the manager of our national enterprise because on one occasion I had left my desk for two or three minutes and he found some documents on the top of my desk. He scolded me for a lack of vigilance.

On another occasion, I presented my enterprise with a plan by which we were able to save 30 per cent of our electric bill. Previously, our enterprise had signed a contract with the power plant national enterprise and undertook to use a certain number of kilowatt hours in one year. Because my plan saved our company 30 per cent of the power which we consumed in one year, the power company sued us for the cost of the power which we did not use. At the end, our enter-

prise wanted to force me to pay the cost of the unused power because a government mediation court had compelled it to pay the full amount taken in the contact.

I had frequent trouble with our Party secretary and the manager of our enterprise. They did not like me because I was a non-Party member. Also, I was not careful enough in my statements.

I had not known any functionaries who disregarded government or Party instructions in the behalf of the Hungarian people.

F. It was possible to circumvent government regulations and instructions. This could be done mostly in connection with wages, plant performances and planned investments. We could always falsify our reports and juggle our statistics.

If anyone was caught circumventing government regulations, his fate depended largely on the report of the manager and the Party secretary. Often he would be tried for sabotage, but if he were a good Communist or on good terms with the Party secretary and the manager, his transgressions would be overlooked.

G. I did not know any members of the secret police and have no idea or information concerning their efficiency and talent. The same is true in connection with the Hungarian Army leadership and the Soviet Army leadership. I think that the top officials in Hungarian public administration were either narrow-minded or intimidated persons.

### XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. I think that oppression and Soviet control will be ruthless and cruel in Hungary. Now and again developments can be expected. It is evident that any concessions on the part of the Communist regime would lead to its immediate downfall and internal decay. The Communist government will not be able to achieve the same economic level which it boasted in the first years of the Communist regime. Kadar will probably remain in power.

A considerable change will be caused in European politics by the termination by eastern and western occupation of Europe. Both the western powers and the Soviet Union will finally agree and withdraw their troops from their respective countries.

I hope that the internal decay will bear its fruits sooner or later in the Soviet union. A competing economic life cannot be sustained on Communistic principles.

I think that a war between the Soviet Union and the US is inevitable. Such a war will break out within the next ten years unless the US abandons entirely its political humanitarian ideals. I do not think that the people at home would welcome a war because they have had bitter experiences in connection with wars.

Severe international pressure on the Soviet Union could bring results and it would promote the ~~maxix~~ internal decay and the economic troubles within the Soviet Union.

B. During the past ten years we at home hoped that the problem of Hungary would also be solved in connection with the other Central Eastern European and Western European problems. There is the very important issue (German) which has not been solved. We hoped that, perhaps, that both East and West would withdraw from the territories which they held under military occupation. At the present, the Soviet Union is willing to withdraw from the territories it occupies only if it compelled to do so. However, I can't

Imagine that in the present age of atomic warfare neither side will consider it important to occupy the territories which it is now holding under ~~xxxxxxx~~ control. Perhaps the Soviet Union will prefer to retreat instead of taking on itself the burden of its present foreign policy.

Our hopes concerning a settlement of our problems were especially high at the time of the Berlin air lift and at the time of the outbreak of the war in Korea. Everybody thought that the Soviet rule in Hungary would end very shortly.

It was difficult to see clearly during the first Imre Nagy government. It seemed that a great change had occurred in the policy of the Communist Party, but on the other hand, Rakosi was still in virtual control.

#### XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

B. In an independent Hungary the national income should be adapted to the greatest possible productivity. This requires the best utilization of all available resources. Our production costs must be made to be able to compete with foreign countries. The level of industrial production must be increased in fields where comparatively the least investments are required. This is the only sound and possible basis for the economic situation of an independent Hungary.

The economic policy of the Communists coined slogans expressing their economic and industrial aims. These programs and slogans have, in any cases, distracted the attention of even economic experts from realistic facts.

The reorganization of the economy of an independent Hungary should not be restricted to the categories which you mention. Not the categories are important but the products, namely, what products can be manufactured at possible lowest cost.

The resources of Hungary destined her to be chiefly an agricultural country. There is also a great future for our industries which have already been introduced in Hungary and which, after comparatively little investment, can be made to compete on foreign markets. These are the fine mechanics industry, the textile industry, the agricultural industry (canning, dairy products, etc.), and the aluminum industry.

The centralized and government controlled economic system should be liquidated. Independent economic units should be created instead. The principle of free trade should be ~~applied~~ adopted both with the respect to domestic and foreign markets. The sharing of profits should be based on this principle. The State respectively in the private ownership of the nationalized industries should be decided by a referendum. Taking into consideration the status quo in Hungary, the future outlooks probably tend toward factories and plants owned by socialized stock companies. This was the trend which was being followed during the brief ~~days~~ few weeks of the revolution. The workers elected their own management and technical experts were to be hired on the basis of public bids.

I think that the State farms should continue to operate. Even with a free marketing system and uncontrolled prices, the State farms can be made to operate at a profit. The State farms are necessary to conduct agricultural experiments and will have a price levelling effect on the agricultural market.

Co-operative farming, but on an entirely voluntary basis, is essential and possible under the conditions which existed after the cold war and before.

I think that the people in Hungary, in general, are in favor of the State ownership of not only the transportation facilities but also of the industries. They also favor the nationalization of larger plants other than key industries. I personally am not in favor of State ownership. It only creates a State monopoly and curbs industrial progress.

In an independent Hungary the compulsory delivery of agricultural crops should be abolished and peasants should be required to pay only cash taxes only in cash. The government should not control agricultural production. It can only advise the farmers what and how to grow. Indirectly, it can influence the farmers through agricultural credits and loans.

I don't think that in an independent Hungary the government should establish a limit to the amount of land any one person or family may own.

If I were to choose between a democracy ensuring full rights but no guaranteed standard of living and between a dictatorship with no rights but a fair standard of living, I would prefer ~~xxxxxxx~~ a democracy. Such a system of government suits human nature better and has greater promises of a future development.

In an independent Hungary I do not think it would be necessary to outlaw the Communist Party. I am opposed to every form of restriction of freedom of thought and expression.

C. The ideal political situation of an independent Hungary is a very complex problem. It cannot be restricted to a choice of the examples which are quoted.

As ideal, I would prefer a completely independent Hungary, which, together with Austria and other neighboring countries, would form a United States of Central Europe. This would be especially advantageous to the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. A completely neutral Central European political bloc has great possibilities and its creation would be advantageous to both East and West. It would act as a buffer state between the two political and economic systems.

This neutral bloc including Hungary would be in a position to limit its contacts with the Soviet Union to the most essential economic and commercial relations. It would be able to establish close economic and cultural relations with the Western world, especially with the US. Due to the neutrality of the bloc military relations with any country would be impossible. Only by economizing on military expenditure would these countries be able to overcome the backwardness and lag in their economies.

The plan for the Federation of Danubian Countries was probably made public for the first time by Kossuth in 1848. We discussed such questions frequently among friends in Hungary. I was very surprised to learn that Czechoslovak university professors and instructors also favored such a federation. I was in Czechoslovakia for a study of university and educational problems in the summer of 1955. I spoke to several Czechoslovak professors and instructors separately. Every one of them was in favor of establishing a Central European bloc in which both Czechoslovakia and Hungary would participate. One of the professors quoted the words of the Czech politician and writer, Palacky, who once said, "If there were no Austro-Hungarian empire, we should be obliged to form one."

On another official trip to Poland, I was able to talk with Polish university professors. They, too, favored an alliance with Central European countries. One Polish

university professor told me that from among all its previous neighbors, Poland could maintain friendly relations only with Hungary. Poland's position in the Danubian Federation would be based not on her geographical location but on her relations to the Soviet Union and Germany.

I think such a federation is desirable and it is also possible. All Danubian states should be included in the federation, but, I would like to see Yugoslavia, ~~Germany~~ join this federation at the very last. The Yugoslavs are very chauvinistic people but in the long run it would probably be able to get along with them also.

The idea of such a federation is desirable and acceptable not only to the people at home but also to the leading intellectuals of Czechoslovakia and Poland and probably also in the other Danubian countries. The United Nations of Central Europe or a federation of the smaller countries in central and eastern Europe would be popular because it is much better than to be exposed to the sphere of interest of one or the other power group. Until now it has been impossible to create such a federation of independent countries in Central and Eastern Europe, but this does not mean that in the future it cannot be achieved.

I do not find the present boundaries of Hungary acceptable. I think that the people at home also desire ethnical boundaries -- that is, the re-annexation of territories belonging now to the neighboring countries but inhabited by the Hungarian minorities. The solution of this problem is possible only within the framework of the Danubian Federation. In this federation, national boundaries would lose their significance and would be imported only from point of view of public administration. On the other hand, it is plain that Hungary cannot start such a federation by demanding that her minorities and territories be returned. This would cause resentment against Hungary on the part of the neighboring countries.

I am concerned about the future of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. Due to their isolation which is maintained even between the satellite countries,



there is no opportunity to observe the situation of the Hungarian minorities in these countries or to interfere in their behalf. The problems of the Hungarian minorities could be solved only in two ways. First, by maintaining friendly relations with the neighboring countries and reaching a friendly agreement with them on the question of concerning the minorities or by force. This later solution is very unlikely.

The question of the Hungarian frontiers and of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries is very vital not only to me but to everyone else who professes himself to be a Hungarian.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

While I was in Hungary I heard about Khrushchev's secret speech over Radio Free Europe.

At home we heard about Senator McCarthy and his House Un-American Activities Committee because the Communist press and radio were very much put out against him. They gave a detailed account of McCarthy's investigation concerning Communist membership or sympathy of top army officers. In general, the people at home had a feeling for what was true and what was exaggerated in these accounts of McCarthy and his activities.

At home I heard about Peron's downfall but events in South America seemed of little political importance to us in Hungary.

We knew practically nothing about the private life of Rakosi before the revolution. There were rumors circulating in Budapest about his home, his wife and about how closely he was guarded. But these rumors were very unreliable.

B. Before entering the war we subscribed for the B orai ujsag, Magvarsag. In general we read the bourgeois newspapers. I also subscribed for a monthly social and scientific journal, Magyar Szemle. I do not think that at this time I read more than the average Hungarian. I read all of the prominent Hungarian writers and many translations of foreign classics and modern writers alike. Some I read in the original.

After the war I read the Szabad Nep every day in order to be able to keep track of events in Hungary. Sometimes, reading the Szabad Nep made me physically ill. However, if one wanted to know what was happening in the country and what the Communists were doing or about to do it was impossible to disregard the Szabad Nep. I also read several journals and magazines on economics and statistics. I subscribed to the Tarsadalmi Szemle (a socio-political monthly) and also read the Hungarian-Soviet Economic Review.

I did not have as much time as before to read books but I managed to do some reading. I read very little from Soviet writers with the exception of such works as "The Silent Don" Sholochov and one or two works by Alexej Tolstoj. The only Hungarian writer I read was Peter Veress. However, I like Hungarian poets very much and managed to re-read the classics poets and some of the modern ones.

I read the Hungarian newspapers very carefully. Sometimes, this enabled me to read between the lines. In general, I was able to recognize the lies and distortions in connections with political news items. I just scanned articles and notices about the Communist Party. The news we read was believed only after comparing and verifying it with foreign radio broadcasts. I was able to analyze economic items myself and to determine whether they were credible or not.

As an economist, I regularly read the Russian Voproszi Ekonomiki and Hungarian digests of Bohemian and Polish economic journals. I was able to read Russian journals and periodicals in the original. Yugoslav newspapers and journals were not available even at the time when the Soviet and Hungarian Communists had patched up their differences with Tito.

At first, when I learned Russian, I was able to read the Russian economical journals and had a very high opinion of the articles published. Later, when I had access to Western publications of the same kind, I realized that these were much better. Both the printing and the contents of the Russian economic journals were inferior as compared to the American journals. I also noted that with a certain time differential, the Soviet newspapers were publishing material which had appeared previously in the Western magazines and journals. I also realized that Soviet Communist economy was unable to compete with Western economy. I also noted with much amusement the attempts made by some writers to give Communist explanations for such basically capitalistic institutions like interest, competition, standard of living, investments, etc. Any attempt of this kind would always be speedily and thoroughly subdued by Marxist economists.

At one time we were able to read the Neue Zürcher Zeitung regularly. Economic magazines and journals were always censored by the AVH. An inscription on each issue showed whether or not that number of the journal could be made available to readers in the library or not. There was considerable improvement in this respect during the last years before the revolution.

I do not know of any illegal Western publications during my stay in Hungary.

C. I received news by word of mouth from Hungarian prisoners of war returning from the Soviet Union. They gave us a very credible and exact account of the situation and conditions there. I also received the news from people who had been to the West. There were numerous rumors concerning AVH atrocities, waste in industrial planning, misuse of authority by Party secretaries, etc.

Such news was always received from reliable friends. If one went anywhere or met anyone, the first question was to decide whether the person was Communist or not and whether one could speak with confidence or had to remain silent.

In general, one believed the rumors and the news received by word of mouth. It always depended from whom one heard these news or rumors. However, accounts of Western radio broadcasts were not always reliable. Some people were inclined to mix a certain amount of wishful thinking into what they had heard.

I always, and I think everybody else did the same, passed on information that I heard by word of mouth. In this way, much information was spread. I was not careful enough in spreading news and rumors. Sometimes I was too sincere with people whom I should not have trusted. I found out during the revolution that the Party was keeping a careful watch on me.

I went to the cinema very rarely, but had a season ticket for the opera and occasionally attended the theatre. As a matter of principle, I never attended any Soviet film performances and was not interested at all in the so-called "socialistic films" whether Russian or Hungarian. The plays I saw were usually classics.

The two plays that I liked most in recent years were Rostand's "Cyrano" and Shaw's "St. Joan". The films I liked most were the Italian and French realistic films.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I have never been in the Soviet Union and am not informed about conditions there. But there are certain signs of liberalization, especially in the economy of the Soviet Union. What this will lead to is difficult to say.

In this age of tele-communication the chances of a successful revolt in the Soviet Union are very unlikely. A revolution within the Soviet Union would be possible only if there were a split in the Soviet politburo itself which would lead to an armed contest between two sides. This, too, is very unlikely. I do not know what the attitude of the Soviet people is toward Communism. Very few frank statements on this have ever been made. In connection with this, one thing has to be taken into consideration and that is: the ~~Soviet~~ imperialistic Russian policy of the Soviet politburo appeals greatly to the Soviet Communists.

There is no political life in the Soviet Union to speak of. There is no other party than the Communist Party; therefore, it is difficult to say what would happen in the event of free elections. There would probably be an end to the one-party system. However, it is difficult to say what parties would arise. Very likely the various fractions of the present Soviet Communist Party would split up into separate parties.

In my opinion, the top leaders of the Soviet politburo are capable men and obsessed fanatical Communists. I do not know what is more important to them: the doctrines of proletarian Communism or Russian imperialism. I have a strong suspicion that imperialism plays a more important role. I think that they realize very well the fallability of Marxist doctrine concerning social revolution.

In comparison to the Soviet politburo members the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party are lackeys, un-independent and unpatriotic. Neither their aims nor

ability can be compared with those of the top Soviet Communists. For example, the Hungarian Communist leaders had no judgement at all concerning the acceptance of Soviet socialistic institutions and their adaption to local Hungarian conditions.

B. Of the countries mentioned, Poland and Eastern Germany are the two popular countries in this sequence. Polish-Hungarian friendship is traditional; Eastern Germany is popular because of its technical and scientific achievements and because of its high cultural level.

If free elections were to be held these countries, I am certain that Communism would be defeated in all of them without exception.

The two least popular countries would be Romania and Czechoslovakia because of pre-war and post-war treatment of the Hungarian minorities.

The standard of living is probably the highest in Eastern Germany with Czechoslovakia following; the lowest in Romania with Bulgaria second.

C. The Gomulka government represents a favorable change in Poland. I think that Gomulka is a Communist by conviction. However, his popularity is not based on his being a Communist but a representative of nationalistic policies. National sentiment is very strong among the Poles. However, it is very difficult to imagine the possibility of a gradual change under a Communist government whether it be nationalistic or international.

I think that the Gomulka government will remain in power as long as Poland is under Soviet military occupation. There is a tendency toward national Communism in Poland but, in my opinion, Gomulka is on the side of the Soviet Union because of the territorial disputes with Eastern Germany.

My views on the situation in Poland have not changed considerably since my arrival in the US.

Events in Poland did have a considerable effect on conditions and the revolution in Hungary. The Poznan revolt and trial won much sympathy for Poland in Hungary. Gomulka's rise to power was the direct impetus which started the chain reaction of the Hungarian revolution. Had there been no political change in Poland and no cause for demonstration in Budapest there would have been no revolution.

I do not know anything about a political change in Poland long before Gomulka's rise to power. I heard rumors to the effect that Polish writers were leading an intellectual ferment in Poland, but I do not know anything about it.

From a short perspective it appears that it would have been better for Hungary had events in Hungary taken the same course as in Poland. Less lives would have been lost and there would have been less destruction. However, from a long perspective, neither the Hungarian revolution nor a Polish-type solution can very well alter the political conditions in Hungary. In my opinion, Hungary would not have tolerated even such a solution as had been adopted by Poland.

D. I think that Tito is the originator of National Communism. All Communist economic systems are only temporary. Tito's national Communism can be no exception. Tito originally was a nationalist leader. His position in Yugoslavia is not secure enough to ~~xxx~~ allow liberalization. He is a very good statesman who can take advantage of the differences existing between East and West. His rule, altho Communist, is much more flexible as far as economy is concerned. Many questions of prestige are involved in Tito's relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union would lose too much face by accepting Tito's national Communism.

Tito's relations with the other Eastern European countries are not sincere. They are always directed by Moscow.



The Hungarian revolution and the unpleasantness that it caused the Soviet Union probably provided malicious pleasure for Tito. However, when he thought that the Hungarian revolution was strongly anti-Communist, he disapproved of it in principle because it endangered his own position at home. He feared that the Yugoslav people may also get ideas from the Hungarian revolution.

I think that Titoism or national Communism is very popular in the Communist parties of the Soviet satellites. Many people -- both Party members and non-members -- may disapprove of Communism, but regard national Communism as a realistic first step away from Communism.

I do not know how popular Tito is in Yugoslavia. There is strong political oppression there. I base my views of Yugoslav conditions on foreign radio broadcasts and some newspaper articles which have not been confirmed.

E. The Communists gained control of China because the US failed to give sufficient support to General Chiang Kai-shek. It is probably true that Communist China enjoys much more independence from Moscow than the other Communist satellites. They fully realize their own importance to Moscow and know that the Soviet Union cannot risk losing their support.

I think present relations between Great Britain and India are satisfactory, although the people of India are not able to forget some of the unpleasant memories of British colonial occupation.

Both the closing of the Suez Canal by Nasser and the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt are acts of political gangsterism. The Suez crisis, in my opinion, did have an undesirable influence on the developments in Hungary. Had the invasion of Egypt not occurred, I think that the Soviet Union would not have re-occupied Hungary on November 4.

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

I do not think that the idea of war is very popular in Western Germany. Even the unification of Germany means a great economic burden to Western Germany. They would not start a war even in the interest of unification.

I do not think that Western Germany rearmament has offensive aims. In my estimation, the armed forces of Western Germany are weaker than those of Great Britain. They are probably equal to the armed forces of France or will be in the near future if rearmament continues. I think that the length of military service in Western Germany is two years.

Without question, the Soviet troops were by far more unpopular as occupation troops in Hungary. The German officers and enlisted men were better disciplined.

G. I think that the compromise reached in Potsdam can be attributed to the victory of the Labor Party at the elections which took place simultaneously with the Potsdam Conference. Major Atlee, after a visit to Moscow, changed his views considerably toward Soviet Communism. But the British Labor Party was never able to repair the damage which it caused at the Potsdam Conference. Today the British Labor Party is the most right-winged and the most moderate of the all the European Socialist parties. Its foreign policy and domestic economic policy can be accepted. For example, the British Labor Party today does not insist on nationalization at all costs.

From the point of view of a higher standard of living, the countries mentioned could be listed as follows: Western Germany, Great Britain, Italy, The Soviet Union, Greece and Egypt.

H. After the first few months of my stay in the US, I was surprised most by the fact that I was not surprised at all. After the first few days of life in America, I

was surprised by the large number of small family homes, the dazzling lights of the advertisements, and the high quality of cheap food which the Americans ate.

I think that the foreign policy of the US is very hesitating and indecisive. America has adopted an anti-Communist ideology, is conducting anti-Communist propaganda but without diplomatic results. The US foreign policy is constantly plugging gaps. It is not enough to curb Soviet expansion. It is necessary exterminate Communism to the roots.

There are only two possibilities left opened to the US. One is complete and sincere friendship with the Soviet Union or complete and speedy rearmament, economic boycott, and an offensive attitude toward the Soviet Union.

I think that in the near future the policy of the US in connection with Eastern and Central Europe would be to convince the Soviet Union of the futility of occupying surrounding countries in this era of atomic war. Once the Soviet Union has agreed to the creation of a neutral bloc in Central and Eastern Europe the US should do everything possible to gain political and cultural influence in these countries and later, to establish military bases there against the Soviet Union. This would be giving the Soviets a taste of their own medicine, using the formula which was highly praised by Lenin, "Once step back to take two steps ahead."

I think that the US government should give economic aid and loans to Poland and Yugoslavia. If the US, in the near future, does not intend to solve the pending problems of Eastern and Central Europe by force, then, it should recognize and maintain diplomatic relations with the Kadar government. Otherwise, Hungary would be deprived of even that assistance which the present Polish government receives from the US.

Hungarians have always been a very hospitable people and they would like to see Western visitors in their country. The Western world should also get a first-hand knowledge of Hungarian conditions and Hungarian culture by visiting the country. I think tourists and artists or

intellectuals are much better visitors than politicians would be. I think before going to Hungary a prospective visitor should be given a briefing in Hungarian history and the political situation in Hungary. They should be told to see everything for themselves.

There is an enormous demand in Hungary for Western publications. The only way to get Western publications into Hungary is to reach a cultural agreement with the present Hungarian government.

The people at home never liked Hungarian emigrants. However, it would not make much difference if Hungarians in exile would be connected with such activities as informing prospective visitors to Hungary and sending publications home.

It is deplorable that Hungary refused to accept any Marshall aid. I do not know the political conditions for granting Marshall aid, but I think there were not many political strings attached to economic benefits.

The primary purpose of the Marshall Plan was to stabilize European economy which had been disrupted by war. This also meant political backing to the governments in power at that time against the Communists. In every respect the Marshall Plan was an ingenious one.

In 1950 the US got involved in the Korean war to stop Soviet expansion in Asia. The US government wished to document its intentions and strength with respect to further attempts of Soviet expansion.

J. In the autumn of 1956, at the time when Imre Nagy issued his proclamation, the UN should immediately have formed a committee of observers and sent them to Hungary. Preparations should have been made for the earliest possible transportation of international police troops to Hungary to maintain order. There was ample opportunity to do all this within the one week when the Russians withdrew from Budapest. The big Western powers should have adopted their standpoints weeks earlier.

I do not think there is any hope of effective UN action with respect to Hungary.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDE TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. There is no one whom I could term the greatest living Hungarian today. There is no public figure in Hungarian politics who would merit this title. Perhaps Mr. Sulyok, to a certain extent...but he is an emigrant and is not at home. Also, I have modified my opinion of him slightly since the publication of his recent book.

B. Imre Nagy, in my opinion, is a Communist by conviction -- an idealistic Communist -- and an honest Hungarian patriot. Perhaps he was the most realistic of all Hungarian Communist leaders. He would have been the only eligible leader in case of national Communism. I do not think he is very much inclined toward a democracy in the Western sense.

Cardinal Mindszenty is the most popular ecclesiastic figure in Hungary. His political views are very rigid; because of the ratio of other religious denominations in Hungary and because of the republican form of government Christian Socialism does not have a very bright future in Hungary.

Laszlo Rajk was a capable top Communist who had dictatorial tendencies. I am not entirely convinced of his allegiance to Moscow.

Erno Gero is the worst, most fantastic, ecstatic type of Communist leader. Neither physically nor psychologically is he fit to resume leadership in the Hungarian Communist Party. He is the willing servant of Moscow under every circumstance. He has no loyalty to Hungary whatever.

Janos Kadar is a semi-intelligent fellow. His conduct before the revolution reflects certain human traits but these have disappeared entirely since the revolution.

President Eisenhower is a very popular man here in the US. I expected more of him as a soldier. He has not fulfilled the pledges he has made after Stalin's death and at time of his inauguration. He let himself be swept by world events.

Secretary General Hammarskjold has committed an omission at the time of the Hungarian crisis which will never be forgotten in world history. What makes his omission even greater is that he refuses to admit it.

State Secretary Dulles makes very good speeches on US foreign policy but fails to substantiate his programs with action.

Prime Minister Eden is an old hand at the diplomatic game. He should have never attempted to solve the Suez problem by force. This is an indelible blemish on his 20-some years of public service.

President Truman's foreign policy against the Soviet Union was much firmer than that of the Eisenhower administration. Once or twice during the Truman administration Hungarians at home thought that the time of reckoning with the Soviet Union is approaching rapidly. My view on these statesmen has not changed basically since my departure from Hungary.

Mikoyan is the most talented member of the Soviet politburo.

Nehru is very popular but his views on the Hungarian revolution were very irreligious.

I had deep sympathy for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. He should have received more effective aid from the West.

Ferenc Nagy is basically an honest man, but as a practical politician he made blunder upon blunder. One of his greatest mistakes is that he failed to give an ideological program to his party.

President Roosevelt is the greatest statesman of the US, but he was gravely mistaken in his judgement of the Soviet Union and Stalin.

Chancellor Adenauer is an ingenious chairman, statesman and diplomat. He is somewhat of a gambler in his foreign policy but history will tell whether he was right or wrong.

Stalin is one of the greatest figures in history. He is a dictator and a tyrant. Both as an economist and a soldier he was unintelligent.

Malenkov is a bureaucrat in the Soviet politburo.

Generalissimo Franco is a great national hero in Spain. Many things about him are reminiscent of Governor Horthy (his reluctance to cede power to the Spanish royal family).

Bevan is less popular than Gaitskill.

Khrushchev is a very talented, very cunning and a very ruthless successor to Stalin. He was able to derive some lessons from Stalin's mistakes.

Molotov is fanatical Stalinist in the politburo.

Ollenhauer's policy is more realistic than Adenauer's.

Churchill is the greatest statesman of our times. It is too bad that he is not ten years younger.

### XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. The persons who fled Hungary during and after the Hungarian revolution in 1956 were those who lived nearer the border, who were less bound by family ties, who took part in the demonstrations and fighting and feared retaliation, and finally, people who since long ago were not satisfied with the political and economic conditions at home and availed themselves of this opportunity to leave Hungary for a better and easier life abroad.

I do not know what the ratio was of the various age groups and social classes among the refugees. It would be extremely vital to prepare statistics on these figures and to make them public.

The people who stayed at home were those who were unable to leave the country either because they resided far from the border or were too old to undertake such an attempt, or who were tied by family or property. Many people remained due to patriotism applying the words of the Hungarian national anthem -- "Here you must live and here you must die."

I know several people who had an opportunity to leave Hungary but chose to remain. For example, there is my ex-wife. Before my departure from Hungary I asked her to come with me and to bring our son. She refused to come stating that she, as a doctor, had to remain to take care of the wounded.

If everyone were able to come West, then the conduct of people at home would depend largely on whether Communism remained or not in Hungary. If Communism were to remain then about 60 per cent of the people now at home would depart. If Communism were abolished, about 80 per cent of the present refugees would return to Hungary.

I think the people at home cannot thank Providence enough that we were able to leave Hungary. They, of course, are sorry for having lost 170,000 Hungarians. But life continues to go on as before.



B. At home, I heard about the Hungarian National Council and that it was composed of anti-Communist and anti-Fascist Hungarian politicians in exile. We at home knew that the chairman of the Hungarian National Council was Father Varga. It was a good feeling to know that there was an organization outside Hungary which was capable of representing us. But we never thought of the Hungarian National Council as a factor which could play an important role in Hungarian domestic politics once the situation changed.

Since my arrival in the US I had been in contact with the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Association. I have heard about the Assembly of Captive European Nations but do not know anything about ~~xxxx~~ its program. The MHBK is a Fascist organization operating in Austria and Germany comprised of Hungarian Fascist officers. I have always disliked soldiers who take part in politics.

I have heard about the International Peasants Union here in the US.

Bela Varga is the chairman of the Hungarian National Council. At one time he was the chairman of parliament in Hungary. He belonged to the Smallholders' Party and was one of its ~~original~~ founders. He was forced to flee to the West in 1947 or 1948.

Tibor Eckhardt is the original founder of the Smallholders' Party. I remember him ~~xxxx~~ when I was a boy in Hungary. He is a very capable politician and I have high regard for him.

I have heard about Imre Kovacs over Radio Free Europe. He was one of the members of the brain-trust in the Hungarian Peasant Party.

I have heard about Imre Szelig only here in the US.

Charles Peyer was one of the leaders of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. He died about the time of the Hungarian revolution.

Miklos Kallay is an honest Hungarian patriot who opposed the Germans.

Zoltan Pfeiffer is popular because of his opposition to the Communist Party.

Istvan Barankovics is highly regarded at home as an honest politician. He lacked either the courage or the possibility to make use of the results his party achieved in the elections.

I would let the Hungarian people decide by a referendum whether or not Otto of Hapsburg should return to the Hungarian throne. I am somewhat disinclined to recognize the Hungarian governments after 1945 as the representatives of Hungary.

I was brought up in the Horthy era ~~at~~ at a time when even the opposition had respect for the admiral. I thought it was a great insult to Hungary when the Germans captured him and took him away.

My views on these organizations and people have not changed since my departure from Hungary.

The Hungarian politicians in exile achieved some results for Hungary but not much. Strife and petty jealousies among their prestige considerably. Had they been willing to bury their differences and cooperate with each other they might have achieved much more. It is a great misfortune for Hungary that the Hungarian people did not have such an outstanding statesman with good contacts toward the UN as, for example, the Czechs had after World War I in the person of Masaryk who had vast influence in the League of Nations.

I did not think much about the politicians in exile during the revolution. In between the two phases of the revolution I expected that they would press for a speedier resolution by the UN.

C. I know many people who went West after 1945 and later returned to Hungary. I left Hungary in 1945 and returned in 1946 to complete my university studies and to be reunited with my parents who ~~had~~ had remained here. I know from experience that the ~~was~~ vast number

of people who had returned to Hungary from Austria in Germany did so under the influence of the reassuring news received from home. Everybody returned who did not have a Jew or a Communist on his conscience.

I heard about the 1953-54 redefection campaign launched by the Hungarian Communists. I do not know of any cases where they lured people home and later did not keep their promises. I do not think that the present Hungarian government will resort to such action. The people at home were inclined to regard those who returned from the West as insane.

D. I think that the people at home are very interested in every bit of news they can get about the life of the refugees in their new homes. The people of home should be told that life of the exiles is not a very easy one. They should realize that every plant, animal, or human being alike has to suffer the undesirable effects caused by the change of environment.

The Hungarian refugees now living in America and in other Western European countries should do their best to convince the people that the stories about Communism which they are disinclined to believe are true and not exaggerations. They should let the world know what methods the Soviets apply to suppress other people and they should arouse the people from their present political inactivity and helplessness.

I do not wish to join any exile organization.

In my opinion all pre-1948 Hungarian political parties lacked ideology. They also lacked the foreign support which the Communist Party readily received from the Soviet Union.

I do not know anything about the activities of the Hungarian political parties in exile.

I knew about the revival of the political parties during the revolution. As a democrat, I approved of this although I realized that it was dividing the Hungarians at a very critical time when unity ~~would~~ would have been essential.

I do not think that the groups that went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary and participate in the revival of the parties.

E. I cannot yet decide whether I will go back to Hungary or not. This is something that can be decided only after my son has been able to leave Hungary.

In principle I would want my children to learn Hungarian while they are staying in the US.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. I listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts, especially to Radio Free Europe. I would have also listened to BBC and to Radio Paris but their broadcasts were less frequent and it was easier to get the RFE broadcasts.

These programs were jammed. The degree of jamming varied. In general it was very tedious to listen to these programs because of the jamming. Sometimes it was entirely impossible to get reception.

The long wave broadcasts were jammed most of all. Reception on the 60-meter band was probably the best.

I always listened to the Hungarian broadcasts of the foreign radios. I listened to these broadcasts every night and if there was something exceptionally interesting going on I listened to the morning broadcasts also. We always discussed the foreign radio broadcasts among friends and colleagues. I know of cases where the Szabad Nep circles, created to discuss the political columns of the Szabad Nep everyday, discussed instead the foreign radio broadcasts of the previous evening or night.

I listened to the foreign radio broadcasts over my own radio mostly alone but sometimes in the company of my family. I was careful not to tune the radio too loudly but did not take any special precautions otherwise.

It was dangerous to listen to foreign radio broadcasts inasmuch as a person caught listening to them was considered politically unreliable and was liable to be deported. It was not a criminal offense to listen to foreign radio broadcasts but it was considered a crime to talk about them. Very often, the secret police accusing someone of spreading gathered from foreign radio broadcasts would not be interested in the person's denial, but forced him to confess. This danger in itself did not deter people from listening to foreign radio broadcasts. They were deterred mostly by their bitterness and disillusionment because of the inactivity of the West. In

the last months before the revolution, every one listened openly to Western broadcasts. One of the Pstofi Circle debates it was demanded that the government cease the jamming of foreign radio stations.

I think that the foreign radio broadcasts are extremely vital for the people in Hungary for their political and cultural orientation. The BBC broadcasts were probably the most reliable and impartial. The Voice of America programs were very interesting; the RFE broadcasts were the most frequent and the most interesting from the Hungarian point of view because not only its domestic news service but also because of its commentaries.

I was not able to check the reliability of the foreign news broadcasted over these radios but I felt that they were reliable. In connection with domestic news there were many errors and mistakes but this did not deprive the broadcasts of their credibility. The really interesting broadcasts exceeded by far the instances where news reports had been distorted. These distortions were mostly accidental. The news of events behind the scenes and the political past of some of the top Communist figures and news of events in the other Peoples' Democracies were extremely interesting.

However, I deplored the lack of knowledge of Marxism in the attacks on Communist ideology and economic policy. These attacks could have been more effective if they had not been so general compared to the exact precision of Communist ideology. High level Marxist criticism of the Communist system would help to give ideological orientation to many people who are sometimes blinded by the Marxist theories. It took me almost two years to see clearly and to find the denials to Marxist theory on economic questions.

Before the revolution the foreign radio broadcasts served to spread information among the people at home -- information of a nature which would not be available from the Hungarian Communist press or would be available only in the Communist version. In the first stage of the Hungarian revolution a foreign radio broadcasts served to increase our enthusiasm by telling us of the reactions of the Western world to our revolution and the great

sympathy which we have achieved. But the foreign radio broadcasts did not serve any practical purpose and did not give any advice to the freedom fighters. Such technical advice was not even necessary.

I do not think it is true that RFE or radio (Western) broadcasts served to incite the people of Hungary to revolt against Communism. Only untelligent and people who are abnormally inclined toward the fantastic could have given Western radio broadcasts such an interpretation. My experience is that the people at home do not consider RFE and the other Western radio stations to be the proper source for giving political instructions nor were the people at home willing to accept such instructions. Many people used foreign radio broadcasts as a narcotic -- as a means of escaping reality. They spent their days in unfounded unrealistic dreaming and often became the victims of the AVH. For this very reason any political action in Hungary is possible only on Hungarian initiative, on the initiative of the Hungarian intellectuals who are still at home.

I think that RFE should continue its broadcasting into Hungary. It should do so with greater energy and with an expanded program. However, RFE should broadcast its news with more impartialness and conduct its propaganda against Communism with a sounder knowledge of Marxism and Leninism. I know, for example, that the RFE programs had their effects on the AVH personnel itself. A friend of mine who was interned in the camp at Kistarcsa told me on one occasion that the guard complained, "If we touch you with only one finger RFE will immediately threaten us."

I think that after the lesson of the revolution the AVH personnel at home is more inclined to heed the warnings of RFE.

B. I heard about the initials NEM over RFE, but it remained only a phrase. The time was not ripe for this when it was launched. It should have been started in 1948-49, or never at all. A resistance movement would

have been of use then but after 1950 individual resistance did not have much sense -- nor did it bring results.

I have heard about the 12 Demands over RFE. I never heard of the 12 Demands in leaflet form. It could be seen that the 12 Demands were drafted by politicians and not by economic experts.

C. I have never encountered any RFE leaflets but I have heard about them. There were people who read them but it was extremely dangerous to talk about this or to pass such leaflets. There were persistent rumors that such leaflets existed. Many people were arrested because of possessing such leaflets. The Communist press also mentioned the fact that Americans were sending in propaganda material to Hungary with the aid of balloons.

The extremely grave consequences of possessing or passing such leaflets deterred many people from talking about them or passing on but it did not deter people from picking up and reading such leaflets. I am not aware of any change in the danger of possessing or passing leaflets during the various years of Communism.

I do not know the contents of these leaflets. I have never seen any. However, it is an undeniable fact that such leaflets are sent into Hungary. I think that such leaflets are useful but exceptional care should be taken in drafting them. The people who drafted these leaflets forgot that there was no underground in Hungary. When organized individuals could not achieve changes which they individually desired as a political advisory service, the leaflets were worthless. Very often the leaflets would give some advice or suggest some change which would have been acceptable to the Communists but due to the fact that it came from RFE it was entirely out of question.

I have not heard of any leaflets thrown into Hungary during the revolution.



I think that RFE should continue sending such leaflets into Hungary but the purpose of these leaflets should be to spread information and not to give political advice. It should not be used to incite against Communism. The people at home know better what Communism is in practice than the persons who wrote these leaflets. Any arguments contained in the leaflets can never be used by anyone at home because it immediately would reveal the source of these views. But these leaflets can contain facts about persons and events which would discredit the present regime. All of this should remain within the limits of good taste.

To think it would be advisable to stress in these leaflets the possibilities of getting material aid and loans from the West, what could be achieved with such loans and aid, and political harmlessness of such loans and aids. Also it would be good to provide material on samples of collective farming in Yugoslavia, Denmark, and the US. Authentic statistics reflecting the standard of living in Hungary and in the Peoples' Democracies in Germany, the US, and the Soviet Union should also be included in these leaflets. Details about the activities of the AVH which came to light during the revolution should not be forgotten. Facts discrediting the present Communist leaders would be very valuable. One thing that should not be told in these leaflets is the strife among the Hungarian politicians in exile.

D. The primary purpose of all Western organizations broadcasting news and sending leaflets into Hungary is to weaken Soviet influence. This in itself is unnecessary because the Soviet Union is spreading the best possible propaganda against itself. Therefore, it is enough to state the facts and refer them to the sound judgement of the people at home.

Since the Hungarian revolution I am convinced that the Western organizations are broadcasting information and sending leaflets behind the Iron Curtain countries merely out of sympathy for the people concerned. I think that this is one of the methods of Cold War.

The BBC restricts itself only to broadcasting straight information; VOA, in a certain degree, broadcasts propaganda. Sometimes RFE gives the impression of direct political interference. For example, there are the 12 points, political advice, etc. Hungarians at home never recognize the authority of RFE to do this.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

The most important thing to teach your child is character. This includes sincerity, an ethical sense for right and wrong, and honesty. Children should also be taught love and respect and order.

It is necessary to discipline children but physical punishment should not be a general rule for this. It should be used only in exceptional cases and should be judged individually in the case of every child.

From the respect of discipline, both boys and girls should be treated alike.

Discipline should be the most strict in the earlier years of a child. It should become lax gradually and parents should appeal more to the sense and prudence of the child. Parents should direct the lives of their children without interfering too much.

I was nine years old when I broke a window and was spanked by my father.

I think both parents punish children in Hungary. In each family, probably, one parent turns out to be more severe than the other. In general, children are punished by the less severe parent but in exceptional cases they sent to the more severe parent. I do not think that in the case of children 6 years old or older, the person of the parent who administers punishment differs to the age, sex, or social class of the child.

I think that physical punishment is abolished for both boys and girls at the age of 15 or 17.

Punishment in general ceases only when the children cease to be supervised by their parents. This is probably at the age of 20.

I think that physical punishment in the lower social classes is more spontaneous and probably more severe. On the other hand, the children of the peasants and the industrial workers leave home sooner than the children of the intelligentsia.

I do not think that Communism has changed the frequency or the kind of parental punishment. The only change it has brought about is probably that parental ceases at an earlier age.

Under Communism physical punishment of schoolchildren was abolished. But in the last two years before the revolution the Communists realizing the undesirable effects of their educational program, were more inclined to disregard and leave unpunished cases where teachers applied physical punishment against schoolchildren.

The traits that I admire most in a friend are sincerity, the uniformity of opinion, a sense of humor and a willingness to make sacrifices in behalf of a friend.

I do not think that friendships had been very much influenced by Communism.