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HUNGARY AND THE 1956 UPRISING

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## Introductory Note

The following material is taken from a recently issued report on Hungarians and the Hungarian uprising. This report, prepared by International Research Associates, Inc. of New York City, is based on interviews conducted under its supervision in Austria in December 1956.

This study involving approximately one thousand personal interviews was carried out by twenty interviewers and on a grander scale than that which formed the basis for Audience Analysis Special Reports Nos. 6 and 10. Thus, several questions have been explored for better and for worse which were not included in this section's study. Moreover, by the circumstances under which this section contacted Hungarian refugees, the Audience Analysis study employed self-administered questionnaires rather than personal interviews which are often more effective.

Nevertheless, there is a surprising similarity between the major findings of this study and the Audience Analysis Section study. Much of the material in this report corroborates what was provided in this section's special reports of last January.

This material is presented without comment. Further details are available at the offices of the Audience Analysis Section. Thanks are expressed to Mr. Elmo C. Wilson of International Research Associates, Inc., for permission to reproduce excerpts of this report.

## HUNGARY AND THE 1956 UPRISING

Personal Interviews with 1,000  
Hungarian Refugees in Austria

Prepared by:

International Research Associates, Inc.  
Empire State Building, New York 1, N.Y.

February, 1957

### The Sample

Statistical information on the distribution of the total population of Hungary was available at the time the field work began, for three major variables: sex, age and religion. The respondents were therefore selected with a view to achieving a sample which would fully match the total population of Hungary with respect to these known distributions. The following tables show the results of this sampling approach.

	<u>Total Hungarian Population+</u>	<u>Sample Population</u>
<u>SEX:</u>		
Male	48 %	47 %
Female	<u>52</u>	<u>53</u>
	100 %	100 %
 <u>AGE:</u>		
16 - 20 *	10 %	10 %
21 - 29 *	21	21
30 - 49	37	40
50 - 64	21	26
65 and over	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>
	100 %	100 %

\* These categories apply to the sample population. The categories for the total Hungarian population are not exactly comparable, being 15 - 19 and 20 - 29.

+ Sources: Sex and Religion data from Hungarian Statistical Pocket Book, Vol. 16, 1956 and Vol. 14, 1947, published by Hungary, Central Statistical Office. Age data as of Dec. 31, 1955 from Statistical Review, published by Hungary, Central Statistical Office, Oct. 1956.

<u>RELIGION:</u>	<u>Total Hungarian Population</u>	<u>Sample Population</u>
Catholic	66 %	69 %
Other	<u>34</u>	<u>31</u>
	100 %	100 %

The selection of the actual respondents was made on the basis of lists of refugees kept by the respective camp administrations. Each interviewer was assigned a quota of interviews to conduct with the various sex, age and religion sub-groups whose distribution among the general population of Hungary was known.

A total of 1,007 personal interviews were conducted in twenty refugee camps in and around Vienna between December 6 and December 14, 1956.

### Expectations About Western Help

The puzzling circumstance that the Hungarians were willing to risk an armed uprising in the face of overwhelming odds, and that in doing so they could actually have believed -- at least for a short moment -- that they might succeed, is explained by one simple fact: they apparently believed that the West would come to their assistance. There is evidence that no other reason was more powerful than this belief, in making the attempt to liberate the country seem feasible in the eyes of the Hungarians.\* Aid from the West in general, and from the United States in particular, was universally expected during the uprising.\*\* How such a belief could have taken root so strongly and universally is explained at least partly by references to the content of Western broadcasts beamed at Hungary in the past. One-third of the refugees volunteered the view that Western broadcasts and propaganda in general had led the Hungarians to believe that aid would be forthcoming. More significantly, when asked directly whether American broadcasts had given the impression that the United States was willing to fight to save Hungary, fully half of the respondents gave affirmative answers, and only a little more than one-third of them denied it. A higher than average degree of acceptance of this view was found

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\* A question item presenting several possible explanations for the Hungarians' willingness to fight the regime and the Russians showed that "Encouragement from the West" ranked as less important than other factors such as "the example of Poland" and "The Rehabilitation of Rajk". It is clear from other evidence, however, that "Expectation of Western help" (regardless of whether this expectation was or was not a result of active Western encouragement) played an extremely important part.

\*\* About three-fourths of the respondents said that "military assistance" was expected.

among the very young, the workers, those with middle level education, the high income group, and among the men in general, i.e., precisely among the groups whose members were most likely to be actively involved in the uprising.

### Attitudes Toward the West

The fact that there is a great deal of disillusionment about the Western and United States' governments' attitudes towards the uprising is further corroborated by the finding that the majority of the respondents expressed the opinion that the people now in Hungary felt bitter about the United States and the West, as a result of the November events. On the other hand, it is true that only slightly less than half stated that the Hungarians still had friendly feelings toward the United States and the West. Since expectation of help from the West, and particularly from the United States, was universal among these refugees, it is reasonable to infer that about half feel the Hungarians are friendly toward the United States despite their disappointment that aid was not forthcoming, whereas the remaining half believe that as a result of the disappointment, bitterness now takes precedence over friendliness in Hungarians' feelings toward the United States.

There is evidence, however, that the feelings of bitterness and disillusionment apply only to the official attitude of Western governments toward the Hungarian events, at least as far as the refugees themselves are concerned. The fundamental sympathy for the West and what the West stands for, the feeling of community and identity with the West, remains whole, as is corroborated by several findings.

Thus, for example, the majority of the respondents stated that they wanted a Western type of democracy established in Hungary at the time of the uprising, while only a few showed preference for the Yugoslav or Polish versions of Communism, and none named the USSR as a model they wanted to imitate. The overwhelming majority expressed a very good or a good opinion about both the United States as a country, and about President Eisenhower. Great Britain, France and Poland were runners-up among the countries, Imre Nagy and Eden among the political leaders. The USSR, Rakosi and Kadar were almost unanimously disliked; Yugoslavia and Tito were rated a little more bad than good, and India and Nehru elicited indifference more than anything else.

Other evidence of favorable opinions about the United States can be inferred from the statements, made by the majority, that the United States will end up as stronger than the USSR if the two countries remain in peaceful competition for 25 years, and that the United States has the greater military strength. On the other hand, it may be that these opinions are a reflection of wishful thinking on the part of the respondents, the majority of whom believe there is 70-100 percent probability that a world war will break out within three of four years.\*

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\* Interestingly, Hungarian refugees in Austria interviewed in 1951 were almost universally of the opinion that a world war was inevitable, or at least, very likely.

There is widespread feeling that the Hungarian workers are worse off than the French and the Yugoslav workers; but better off or about the same as the workers in Soviet Russia. Opinions differ in comparing the lot of Hungarian and Polish workers, although more respondents think the Polish workers are better off than take the opposite view. In other words, the picture of the workers' situation in non-Communist countries is a favorable one, and within the Communist area it appears linked with the degree of dependence from the Soviet government apparatus: the Russian workers, being under its immediate control are worst off; the Hungarians, ruled by Soviet puppets, are better off than the Russians, but somewhat worse off than the partly emancipated Poles and much worse off than the independent Yugoslavs. Characteristically, the skilled workers in the sample express the strongest feelings along those lines.

### Sources of News: Before and During the Uprising

Almost nine out of ten respondents named foreign broadcasts as their source of news before the uprising, while one out of five mentioned balloon leaflets. Regime media -- radio and the press - commanded very sizeable audiences, too: about two out of five refugees reported using them as a source of news. Almost three out of ten named "other people" which may mean the oral dissemination of news coming from abroad.\*

Listening to foreign broadcasts for the news was most common among the older people, those in the medium and high education level, those in the upper middle and upper income brackets, and in the professional business, white collar and skilled labor groups. Regime media were used as a source of news by a larger proportion of those under 30 years, the better educated, the students and the professionals, than of the other subgroups in the sample.

Foreign broadcasts were relied upon more than other media as a source of news about events inside Hungary before the uprising; fully four out of five respondents placing most reliance on this service. Reliance on the foreign radio in this respect was highest among the better educated and the better off groups. The only other sources relied on heavily by more than a handful of respondents were "other people" and balloon leaflets. The majority of the respondents explained their reliance on foreign sources in terms of their truthfulness as opposed to Communist lies. With respect to news about events outside Hungary, the same pattern of responses emerges as for domestic events. Some changes were made in this picture by the uprising. Slightly fewer people reported relying heavily on foreign broadcasts as a source for domestic events, while two new media emerged -- the insurgent radio and the insurgent press; each of these media was relied on heavily as a source of news about Hungarian developments by about half the respondents; it emerged most strongly among those under 30, the better educated, the higher income levels and the male respondents in general.

However, the foreign radio maintained its position as the most relied upon source of news about events abroad, while the proportion who relied on the insurgent media in this respect was reduced by half.

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\* In 1951, more than half of the Hungarian refugees exposed themselves to the domestic press and three out of four listened to the domestic radio.

More than four out of five respondents had radio sets in working order in their homes in Hungary. The proportion of radio owners was highest among the better off, the better educated, and among the professionals, the white collar and the skilled labor groups. \*

Among the radio owners, nine out of ten could listen to shortwave broadcasts, but less than half of them could get long-wave broadcasts on their sets. As many as nine out of ten refugees reported that they had listened to some foreign broadcasts during the last year. This proportion includes people who did not own radio sets and who listened to the foreign radio in other people's homes. \*\*

Three foreign stations were listened to by the majority of these refugees: almost nine out of ten listened to RFE, more than seven out of ten to VOA, and six out of ten to BBC. Radio Vienna, Vatican and Belgrade were the only other foreign stations listened to by more than one out of ten respondents. Only a handful reported having listened to the Communist stations - Moscow and Prague.\*\*\*

The RFE audience was fairly evenly distributed among all sample sub-groups. Listening to the VOA was higher among the professionals and lower among the very young, the least educated, the unskilled workers, and the housewives. BBC appears to have appealed principally to the best educated, the very young, and the high income people in the sample.

The RFE listeners were somewhat more likely to listen to that station frequently than were the respective listeners of VOA and BBC, despite the fact that RFE broadcasts appear to have had a somewhat less clear reception than VOA and considerably less clear than BBC. The degree of satisfaction of the listeners with RFE programs was considerably lower than the degree of satisfaction among both the BBC and the VOA listeners.

Furthermore, although seven out of ten RFE listeners regarded that station's broadcasts as generally reliable, both BBC and VOA were rated higher on the score of reliability. Eighty-five percent and ninety percent were the figures for VOA and BBC on this issue. This difference is especially significant, since RFE has been openly criticized for allegedly having implied in its broadcasts that the West would help the uprising or even for having encouraged the Hungarians to revolt against their oppressors. It is impossible to discern how much of this attitude toward the reliability of RFE broadcasts reflects feelings that existed in Hungary before and during the uprising and how much of it may be just hindsight or familiarity with criticism leveled against RFE in the West.\*\*\*

\* In 1951, only 56 per cent of the Hungarian refugees owned radio sets at home.

\*\* In 1951, four out of five Hungarian refugees reported that they had listened to foreign broadcasts. However, the majority did so in the homes of other people.

\*\*\* In 1951, VOA was the foreign station with the largest audience among the Hungarian refugees -- three out of four listened to it. About three out of five listened to RFE and BBC, and one in three listened to Madrid.

There were some differences within each group of listeners. The better educated respondents, those who had high incomes and the professionals were somewhat more critical of VOA and RFE programs, than were the other listeners. In the case of RFE, the broadcasts were regarded as unreliable by twice as many respondents in those three subsegments of the sample as in the rest of the sample.

The general motivations for listening to Western broadcasts revolve around the concept of truth and reliability of the news broadcast. More than half the respondents stated that they listened because the Western radio gave truthful news or because the Communist media failed to do so. Another fourth of the sample stated that they wanted information which the Western radio was providing about events abroad; such statements carry the implication that the domestic media gave an unsatisfactory coverage of world news also from the point of view of reliability. The desire to hear broadcasts from which hope for liberation could be derived, which in the past appeared to be one of the principal motivations for listening, was expressed by fewer than one in ten respondents, which is not surprising after the acid test of recent events. \*

Only about one-third of all radio listeners volunteered some criticism about Western broadcasts other than the criticism discussed in preceding paragraphs. Among those who did express objections to Western broadcasts, more than half (15 per cent of all radio listeners) questioned the veracity and the reliability of the broadcasts; about one quarter criticized the fact that promises of help had been made which later proved unfounded; a sizeable number also blamed the Western broadcasts for their "agitation", by which they meant encouragement to action against the regime. As might be expected, criticisms were expressed by a much larger proportion of the best educated, the high income group and those between 21 and 29 years old than is true of the sample as a whole.

More than half of those listening to foreign broadcasts reported that there were obstacles to listening, aside from the problem of reception. Practically all of them explained those obstacles in terms of the danger resulting from the fact that listening to Western broadcasts was considered a reprehensible action by the regime. However, most of those reporting obstacles were agreed that they cut down their listening only somewhat or hardly at all.

As many as nine out of ten listeners reported that they had discussed things heard over the Western radio with people outside their immediate families, most of them on frequent occasions.

Almost nine out of ten respondents knew about Western balloon leaflets, but only a little more than half of those had actually seen or read them. Personal exposure to leaflets was highest among farmers and somewhat higher among the inhabitants of Western Hungary than among the rest of the sample. Of those who knew about balloon leaflets, two-thirds considered the balloon operation important as a source of information, while one-fourth thought it was not important. The latter felt that the discontinuance of the operation would not make any difference to the Hungarian people, whereas the former believed that the Hungarians would be sorry to see it stopped.

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\* In 1951, more than one-third of the Hungarian refugees listened to foreign broadcasts to get hope for liberation. The same proportion wanted news in general. Almost a third listened in order to hear the truth.



Question 7: "Before the uprising, what groups or individuals were influential in keeping alive the spirit of opposition to the Soviets?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
<u>THE INTELLECTUALS</u>	11
Only the intellectuals	
Brain-workers and their associations	
Scientists	
Intellectuals - they wrote more freely	
<u>THE WRITERS - THE PETÖFI CIRCLE</u>	13
The artists, writers from among the intellectuals	
The writers' association	
The Petofi Circle	
The Association of Hungarian writers, Déri, Tardos	
Vares	
Journalists	
Literary magazines	
Papers and writers	
Writers in their paper	
<u>THE WORKING CLASS</u>	11
The working class	
Workmen	
Workmen who were not party members	
The discontented workmen	
The workmen, for they wanted higher wages	
The miners in Tatabanya and Komlo, where they have the best coal	
Groups of workmen within the DJSZ	
<u>THE STUDENTS - THE UNIVERSITIES - THE PROFESSORS</u>	9
<u>CARDINAL MINDSZENTHY - THE CATHOLIC CHURCH</u>	3
<u>THE GOVERNMENT, RAKOSI, GERÖ</u>	2
Rakosi, Gerö and their friends	
The dictators	
The government itself	
<u>POLITICAL PRISONERS</u>	1
Once convicted, you were an enemy of the Russians	
Those who were prisoners	
Those who were convicted for political reasons, and their families, those who had been prisoners of war in Russia	
The persecuted	
Those who had experiences in camps	

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
<u>EVERYBODY, ALL THE PEOPLE</u>	14
The thought was alive in everybody	
Every honest Hungarian	
Everybody could feel the unbearable situation	
All the people	
The greatest part of the population	
The masses	
The whole population except party officials and district councils	
All Hungarian classes	
No groups, all the people	
All people were one, no influence was necessary	
There was no influence necessary	
All rational people in the whole country	
It was general, a common will of the people	
 <u>IMRE NAGY, THE GROUP AROUND IMRE NAGY</u>	 1
 <u>THE PEASANTS</u>	 2
 <u>THE YOUTH</u>	 1
The new, Russian-educate generation	
The youth	
 <u>FOREIGN BROADCASTS, RADIO FREE EUROPE</u>	 1
Western radio	
Radio	
Foreign broadcasts	
"Radio Free Europe"	
 <u>THE AVO TERROR</u>	 7
AVO	
Police	
The AVO and their role of terror	
The secret police	
Terror	
 <u>THE RUSSIANS</u>	 4
The Russians have stolen only in Hungary	
The Russians themselves (through their conduct)	
The Russian activity since 1945	
The aversion against the Russians, because the Russians maintained the oppression - Their policy forced on us	

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
<u>THE COMMUNIST PARTY</u>	6
The Communists	
The party	
The leading Communists	
 <u>OTHER GROUPS OR INDIVIDUALS</u>	 5
The parents did not let their children be educated into communists	
Rudolf Földran from the Milsoc Executive Committee	
The influence of the schools,	
 <u>NO PARTICULAR GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL</u>	 2
 <u>DO NOT KNOW - NO ANSWER</u>	 19
  TOTAL PERCENT	  112 +
  TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	  (1007)

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+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to more than 100 %  
since some respondents gave more than one answer.

Question 10: "Do you think the Hungarian people expected aid from the West, and from the U.S., in the uprising, or don't you think so?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Yes	96
No	3
Don't know	1
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS (1007)	

If "Yes, expected aid":

Question 10a: "What do you think led the Hungarian people to expect such aid?"

	<u>Total</u>	Respond. to question (96% of Total)
	%	%
<u>"RFE" BROADCASTS</u>	7	8
Free Europe		
Free Europe said that we should be patient for the West would help		
Free Europe always strengthened the hope		
Broadcasting of Free Europe		
The news broadcasts of Free Europe		
Free Europe promised free elections		
Promises of Free Europe		

FOREIGN - WESTERN BROADCASTS - FOREIGN BROADCASTS AROUSED HOPE FOR AID 19 20

Foreign broadcasts  
 Encouragement by the radio  
 Various broadcasts constantly stirred the population up  
 Encouraging news  
 The Western radio  
 Many promises were made by radio  
 The broadcasts assured that we can count on liberation  
 The radio promised too much  
 The broadcasts gave the impulse

	<u>Total</u>	Respond. to question (96% of <u>Total</u> )
	%	%
<u>WESTERN PROPAGANDA</u>	10	10
We were encouraged by the West The Western politicians' speeches Foreign promises The population endured until that moment, because the West promised aid Foreign governments' declarations America always emphasized that she will support us Western propaganda		
<u>HUNGARY'S CONFIDENCE IN THE UN</u>	5	5
Confidence in the UN Because Hungary was a member of the UN People expected more influence of the UN upon the Russians The UN actions We expected military assistance from the UN		
<u>HUNGARY ALONE COULD DO NOTHING, THEREFORE WE BELIEVED IN WESTERN AID AND ASSISTANCE</u>	7	7
For the Hungarian people knew they alone could not win a war of independence Alone we were not strong enough against the Russians We were little and we rightly expected aid from the big powers against another big power We did not believe in our own power The Hungarian army was not well armed, but the Russians were For the people had neither arms nor ammunition		
<u>HUNGARY IS PART OF ANTI-COMMUNIST WEST</u>	18	19
Because the West does not want Communism either We thought the West knew Communism in Hungary could now be nipped in the bud The West is anti-Soviet bloc The West is anti-Soviet too Because the West wants to destroy world Communism For Hungarian people know the Soviets to be a great enemy of all the West It was not only Hungary's fight History and civilization binds the country to the West and not to the Slav countries It was an opportunity to overthrow world Communism		

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Respond.</u> <u>to</u> <u>question</u> <u>(96% of</u> <u>Total)</u>
	%	%
<u>HUNGARY IS PART OF ANTI-COMMUNIST WEST</u> (continued)		
The Western and Hungarian aims are the same Owing to the old antagonism between East and West		
<u>WEST THE ONLY SOURCE OF HELP</u>	21	21
Only the West can help This had been our only hope for years I don't know, but one could expect help from the West alone Because the West alone could liberate the country I had the feeling, that the West would not abandon us One expected help from educated people against the barbarians We considered this to be natural They knew that the West would help a small country Expected moral aid from the West The West was considered to be friendly Human feelings against barbarism Because they like us		
<u>IMRE NAGY APPEAL TO THE WEST FOR HELP</u>	1	1
Imre Nagy's call to the world Imre Nagy's call (to the world) on the 4th of November		
<u>OTHERS</u>	6	6
Because Americans live better than we do We believed that through these events the other Iron Curtain countries would be liberated too We thought America or England would attack Moscow by air		
<u>DON'T KNOW - NO ANSWER</u>	6	6
TOTAL PERCENT	100 +	104 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)	(965)

+ Percentages, based on number of cases

Question 10b: "How about military aid from the West and the U.S. - do you think the Hungarian people expected that in the uprising?" (Addressed to the respondents who thought the Hungarian people expected aid from the West in the uprising.)

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Yes	77
No	19
Don't know	4
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(965)

Question 11: "Do you think the American broadcasts gave the impression that the U.S. was willing to fight if necessary to save Hungary, or did not they give that impression?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Yes	50
No	38
Don't know	12
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 12: "What kind of government did you want to see established in Hungary at the time of the uprising - one like Poland, like Yugoslavia, like the U.S.S.R., Britain, Sweden, the U.S., Austria - or did you want some other kind?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Poland	1
Yugoslavia	2
U.S.S.R.	-
Britain	2
Sweden	12
U.S.	22
Austria	40
Other kinds of governments	20
Don't know	4

TOTAL PERCENT 103 +  
 TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS (1007)

Question 14: "Do you think the Western nations were glad to see an uprising in Hungary, or were they against it?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Glad to see it	92
Against it	2
Don't know	6

TOTAL PERCENT 100  
 TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS (1007)

Question 17: "If the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. settle down to competition without war for the next twenty five years, which of the two do you think will end up as the stronger?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
U.S.	86
U.S.S.R.	5
Both equally strong	2
Don't know	7

TOTAL PERCENT 100  
 TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS (1007)

Question 18: "Everything considered, which country do you think has the greater military strength - the U.S. or Russia?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
U.S.	80
Russia	11
Don't know	9

+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to more than 100 since some respondents gave more than one answer.



TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 20: "Do you think workers in the cities of Hungary are better off or worse off than similar workers in Yugoslavia?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Better off in Hungary	4
Worse off in Hungary	69
About the same	14
Don't know	15
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 20a: "In what way do you think the Hungarian workers are worse off?" (Asked of those who answered "worse off in Hungary" to Question 20)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Respond.</u> <u>to question</u> <u>(69% of Total)</u>
	%	%
<u>RATE OF WAGES</u>	23	34
The Yugoslavs earn more		
Less salary		
Yugoslav workers get more pay		
In Yugoslavia the workers get		
full wages		
Wage increase was only promised		
 <u>STANDARD OF LIVING</u>	 14	 21
Better living conditions in		
Yugoslavia		
We work for nothing		
They live at least 10 per cent better		
than we do		
A higher social standard		
Yugoslav workers get everything		
cheaper		
A better relation between salary		
and prices		

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Respond.</u> <u>to question</u> <u>(69% of Total)</u>
	%	%
<u>PRODUCTION QUOTAS</u>	6	8
Hard quotas at work		
High quotas		
The exaggerated speed at work		
<u>FOOD SHORTAGES - HOUSING DIFFICULTIES</u>	1	2
<u>THE ECONOMIC SITUATION (GENERALLY)</u>	2	3
<u>THE POLITICAL SITUATION (GENERALLY)</u>	2	2
<u>ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION</u>	5	7
The Russians take everything away		
Owing to exportation of goods to		
foreign countries		
The Russians seized upon everything		
in the country		
There are no raw materials		
Hungary is completely exploited		
<u>INDUSTRIALIZATION OF YUGOSLAVIA</u>	1	1
Modern industry - better		
industrialized agriculture in		
Yugoslavia		
Better results in industry		
<u>MORE FREEDOM IN YUGOSLAVIA</u>	15	22
They have more freedom		
No terror in Yugoslavia		
Men work freely in Yugoslavia		
<u>NO PROPERTY - NO SECURITY</u>	1	1
<u>NO PROPER GOVERNMENT</u>	2	3
We had no honorable leaders		
They had better politicians		
<u>A DIFFERENT KIND OF COMMUNISM</u>	2	3
In Yugoslavia there was a patriotic		
communism - in Hungary a Soviet communism		

	<u>Total</u> %	Respond. to question (69% of Total) %
<u>INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRY</u>	4	5
Yugoslavia is a sovereign country No Russian command		
<u>OTHER REASONS</u>	4	5
Unemployment Nobody could be worse off I heard from a friend who went to Yugoslavia last summer The farmers were better off in Yugoslavia		
<u>NO ANSWER</u>	1	2
TOTAL PERCENT	83	119
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)	(690)

Question 24: "Before the uprising, had you any contacts with people from other Communist countries - did you see any people from those countries, or talk to anyone, or get letters from anyone?"

	<u>Total</u> %
Yes	18
No	80
Don't know	2
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 24a: "What kind of contacts did you have, and from what country, (with people from other Communist countries)?"  
(Asked of those who answered "yes" to Question 24)

	<u>Total</u> %	Respond. to question (18% of Total) %
<u>RELATIVES - FRIENDS - ACQUAINTANCES</u>	7	42

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Respond.</u> <u>to question</u> <u>(18% of Total)</u>
	%	%
<u>RUSSIAN PRISON CAMP EXPERIENCE (OWN)</u>	1	5
<u>CONTACT WITH OTHER RUSSIAN PRISONERS</u>	1	3
<u>OWN TRAVEL</u>	2	11
I was in Czechoslovakia		
I was in Rumania		
Direct contact by traveling to Bulgaria and Poland		
Visit in Slovakia		
<u>VISITING FOREIGN ARTISTS - ATHLETES</u>	1	4
<u>OTHER VISITING FOREIGNERS</u>	x	2
<u>THROUGH CORRESPONDENCE</u>	5	28
<u>OTHER CONTACTS</u>	2	13
<u>DON'T RECALL - NO ANSWER</u>	1	6
TOTAL PER CENT	20 +	114 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)	(181)

## II. COUNTRIES

Rumania	5	30
Yugoslavia	2	11
Czechoslovakia	7	42
Poland	1	8
Bulgaria	1	8
USSR	4	24
Other Communist countries - e.g. China, DDR	x	2
No country named	2	8
TOTAL PER CENT	22 +	134 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)	(181)

+ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

x Less than one-half of one per cent.

Question 26: "Now, we are still interested in how you received news in Hungary before and during the uprising. Which of the sources on this card did you get news from before the uprising?" (Show CARD) (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Regime press	38
Regime radio	45
Underground press	4
Underground radio	3
Foreign publications	4
Foreign radio	86
Balloon - leaflets	21
Other people	28
Some other sources	2
Don't know	3
TOTAL PERCENT	234
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 27: "Which of the sources did you rely on most for the news of what was happening inside Hungary before the uprising?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Regime press	4
Regime radio	4
Underground press	3
Underground radio	3
Foreign publications	2
Foreign radio	80
Balloon - leaflets	10
Other people	15
Some other sources	3
Don't know	7
TOTAL PERCENT	131
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 27: "Which of these (sources) did you rely on most for the news on what was happening inside Hungary before the uprising?"

Question 27a: "Why?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Respond.</u> <u>to question</u> <u>(93% of Total)</u>
	%	%
<u>NEWS WAS TRUTHFUL</u>	41	44
Objective reports because the truth was said Considered them to be correct I trusted them		
<u>HUNGARIAN SOURCES TOLD LIES</u>	13	14
Radio Budapest did not say the truth As the official announcements were untrue		
<u>NEITHER DOMESTIC NOR FOREIGN SOURCES</u>	1	1
With regard to domestic events, both sources were unreliable One could not rely on anybody		
<u>FOREIGN SOURCES GAVE HOPE</u>	4	4
Told about a better life Hope for help I thought they would come to help		
<u>FOREIGN SOURCES WERE BETTER INFORMED</u>	3	4
They knew what would happen They brought new reports		
<u>FOREIGN SOURCES TOOK ANTI-COMMUNIST STAND</u>	2	2
As they are against the Soviets They said one has to fight for liberty		
<u>OTHER REASONS</u>	5	5
<u>NO OPINION - DON'T KNOW - NO ANSWER</u>	26	27
TOTAL PERCENT	95 +	101 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)	(936)

+ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Question 27: "Which of the sources did you rely on most for the news on what was happening inside Hungary before the uprising?"

To Question 27a: "Why?"

(Shown for respondents to whom foreign publications and foreign radio were most important.)

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Number of mentions</u> %
News was truthful	48
Hungarians sources told lies	15
Foreign sources gave hope	4
Foreign sources took anti-Communist stand	2
Other reasons	2
No answer	26
TOTAL PERCENT	101 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(816)

(Shown for respondents to whom balloon leaflets were most important)

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Number of reasons</u> %
News was truthful	42
Hungarian sources told lies	17
They gave hope	7
They were better informed	3
They took anti-communist stand	4
Other reasons	5
No answer	23
TOTAL PERCENT	101 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(97)

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+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to more than 100 since some respondents gave more than one answer.

Question 28: "Which of the sources did you rely on most for the news of what was happening outside Hungary before the uprising ?"

	<u>TOTAL</u> %
Regime press	2
Regime radio	3
Underground press	2
Underground radio	1
Foreign publications	3
Foreign radio	84
Balloon-leaflets	8
Other people	11
Some other sources	1
Don't know	9
 TOTAL PERCENT	 124 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 28a: (If different answer from Question 27) "Why ?"

	<u>TOTAL</u> %
<u>TRUTHFUL - OBJECTIVE - RELIABLE - ONE COULD TRUST THEM</u>	3
Because of their reality It was certainly true - what they told	
<u>BETTER INFORMED - BROUGHT THE LATEST NEWS</u>	1
They knew better the events happening in foreign countries	
<u>OTHER REASONS</u>	1

+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to more than 100 since some respondents gave more than one answer.



	<u>TOTAL</u> %
<u>NO OPINION - DON'T KNOW - NO REASON</u>	1
<u>ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS 27 and 28 THE SAME</u>	94
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 29: "Which of the sources did you rely on most for the news of what was happening inside Hungary during the uprising ?"

	<u>TOTAL</u> %
Regime press	3
Regime radio	8
Insurgent press	44
Insurgent radio	57
Foreign publications	2
Foreign radio	75
Balloon-leaflets	5
Other people	14
Some other sources	2
Don't know	4
TOTAL PERCENT	214
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

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+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to more than 100 % since some respondents gave more than one answer.

Question 30: "Which of the sources did you rely on most for news of what was happening outside of Hungary during the uprising?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Regime press	1
Regime radio	4
Insurgent press	21
Insurgent radio	29
Foreign publications	3
Foreign radio	82
Balloon-leaflets	4
Other people	10
Some other sources	1
Don't know	6
TOTAL PERCENT	161 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 31: "Did you have a radio in working order in your home in Hungary?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Yes	84
No	16
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

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+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to more than 100 % since some respondents gave more than one answer.

Question 31a: "Could you get short-wave broadcasts on your radio of not?"

31b: "How about long-wave broadcasts? Could you get them on your radio or not?"

	<u>Short Wave</u> %	<u>Long Wave</u> %
Yes	74	39
No	8	40
Don't know	2	5
TOTAL PERCENT	84 +	84 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)	(1007)

Question 32: "During the past year, before you left Hungary, did you listen to any foreign radio broadcasts or not?"

	<u>TOTAL</u> %
Yes	90
No	10
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 32a: "Why did not you listen to any foreign broadcasts (during the past year, before you left Hungary)?"

(Asked of those who answered "No" to Question 32)

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Respond. to question (10% of Total)</u> %
Had no radio	3	30
Could not receive foreign broadcasts	2	19

+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to less than 100% since results are shown only for respondents who had radios in working order.

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Respond.</u> <u>to question</u> <u>(10% of Total)</u> %
Because I was in prison, arrested	1	7
For fear, it was forbidden	x	4
Had no opportunity	1	16
Other reasons	1	7
No answers	2	17
TOTAL PERCENT	10	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)	(96)

Question 33: "Which one of the foreign radio stations listed on this card did you hear during the post year, before you left Hungary?" (Show CARD)

(Question addressed to the listeners of foreign radio broadcasts)

	<u>TOTAL</u> %
Radio Belgrade	11
Radio Prague	2
Radio Moscow	5
Radio Vienna	19
BBC	67
VOA	82
RFE	96
RIAS	3
Vatican Radio	13
AFN	3
TOTAL PERCENT	301 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(911)

x Less than one-half of one percent.

+ Percentages, based on number of respondents, adds to more than 100 % because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Question 34a: "How often did you hear the foreign radio stations?"

(Question addressed to listeners of foreign radio broadcasts)

	<u>Fre-</u> <u>quently</u> %	<u>Occasion-</u> <u>ally</u> %	<u>Rarely</u> %	<u>D.K.</u> %	%	<u>TOTAL</u> No. *
Radio Belgrade	18	22	60	-	100	99
Radio Moscow	24	29	45	2	100	42
Radio Vienna	46	29	22	3	100	171
BBC	67	23	10	-	100	613
VOA	67	23	10	-	100	743
RFE	81	13	6	-	100	873
RIAS	32	32	26	10	100	31
Vatican Radio	17	30	50	3	100	115
AFN	31	35	23	11	100	26

Question 34b: "Do you remember what language or languages you heard the foreign radio stations in?"

(Question addressed to listeners of foreign radio broadcasts)

	<u>Hun-</u> <u>garian</u> %	<u>Eng-</u> <u>lish</u> %	<u>German</u> %	<u>Other</u> <u>lan-</u> <u>guages</u> %	<u>D.K.</u> %	%	<u>TOTAL</u> No. *
Radio Belgrade	89	1	1	10	2	103 +	99
Radio Moscow	88	-	7	10	2	107	42
Radio Vienna	57	2	59	1	4	123	171
BBC	99	6	3	1	1	110	613
VOA	99	3	2	1	-	105	743
RFE	99	1	2	-	-	102	873
RIAS	29	-	58	3	13	103	31
Vatican Radio	95	1	2	1	4	103	115
AFN	54	34	12	4	11	115	26

\* The bases for each station represent the number of respondents who reported that they listened to that station within the past year.

+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to more than 100 % since some respondents gave more than one answer.

Question 34d: "In general, do you think the programs of the foreign radio stations were good, fair or poor?"

(Question addressed to listeners of foreign radio broadcasts)

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u> **	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> *	
	%	%	%	%	%	No.
Radio Belgrade	34	47	11	8	100	99
Radio Moscow	-	21	77	2	100	42
Radio Vienna	83	12	-	5	100	171
BBC	82	14	-	4	100	613
VOA	81	17	-	2	100	743
RFE	64	32	3	1	100	873
RIAS	71	23	3	3	100	31
Vatican Radio	68	22	2	8	100	115
AFN	69	19	-	12	100	26

Question 34e: "Did you think the (foreign) news broadcasts were generally reliable or not reliable?"

(Questions addressed to listeners of foreign radio broadcasts)

	<u>Generally reliable</u>	<u>Not reliable</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	
	%	%	%	%	No.
Radio Belgrade	37	34	29	100	99
Radio Moscow	-	95	5	100	42
Radio Vienna	85	2	13	100	171
BBC	91	2	7	100	613
VOA	85	3	11	100	743
RFE	69	21	10	100	873
RIAS	87	3	10	100	31
Vatican Radio	79	3	18	100	115
AFN	77	-	23	100	26

\* Bases for each station represent the number of respondents who reported that they listened to that station within the past year.

\*\* The number of respondents who answered that the programs of foreign radio stations they had listened to in the past year were "poor", was too small to warrant a tabulation of the reasons for being so rated.

Question 37: "Why did you listen to Western broadcasts ?"  
(Asked of all radio listeners)

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
<u>TO GET THE TRUTH - TO GET RELIABLE TRUSTWORTHY NEWS</u>	34
I wanted to know the truth	
Objective news	
Because there I was certain to hear the truth	
Without propaganda	
Seemed to be credible to me	
I found the reports more honest than those of	
Radio Budapest	
Do not tell lies	
<u>HUNGARIAN BROADCASTS TOLD LIES - WERE UNRELIABLE</u>	21
Because of the lies of the Hungarian broadcasts	
Here everything was a lie	
The Hungarian radio had given untrue statements	
about the Western and the Eastern world	
The local radio was completely influenced by the	
Soviet government and therefore unreliable	
Radio Budapest told lies	
<u>TO GET INFORMATION - ORIENTATION</u>	23
To be well informed	
The events were of interest to me	
Wanted to get information on foreign affairs	
from more than one source	
Because of the Western information	
I was interested in the political situation	
In order to increase my knowledge	
I was interested in world news	
To be able to consider the general events	
In order to learn about new things from beyond	
the "Iron Curtain"	
<u>GENERAL INTEREST</u>	4
Was interested in Western news	
Was interested in Western opinion	
Was interested in the development	
Was interested in the opinion about us	
<u>WANTED TO COMPARE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SOURCES</u>	1
To compare with the Hungarian sources	
Wanted to know the difference between the West	
and Hungary	
I compared it with the Hungarian broadcasts	
To make comparisons with the Hungarian radio	

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
<u>TO GET HOPE</u>	8
I was waiting for the promised liberation Got the only help from them It gave us spiritual comfort and hope Expected help from the West We expected rescue Believed and hoped in that The desire for a better standard of living I wanted to calm myself	

<u>FOREIGN STATIONS WERE BETTER INFORMED</u>	2
In order to get recent news To receive more exact news We had no exact information The only source of reliable news	

<u>THE HUNGARIAN NEWS CASTS WERE UNINTERESTING - BORING</u>	
The Hungarian radio was not interesting I considered the stereotype nonsense of Radio Budapest to be boring Hungarian radio uninteresting	

<u>OTHERS</u>	5
Because I only understand German I did not like Communism We were angry with the Russians Because we were discontented with our fate	

<u>NO OPINION - DON'T KNOW - NO ANSWER</u>	2
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TOTAL PERCENT	102 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(911)

Question 38: "What particular Western programs or radio personality did you like best?"  
(Asked of all Radio listeners)

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
COLONEL BELL (RFE)	4
GALLICUS (RFE)	11
REFLECTOR	4
<u>HANGYA - HANGYA JANI - HANGYA JARE (RFE)</u>	2

+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to more than 100 % since some respondents gave more than one answer.



	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
ANDREW MARTIN (BBC)	7
<u>ALEXANDER MARAI - MAZAI</u>	2
Alexander Marai Mazai	
<u>OTHER PERSONALITIES</u>	5
Granzius Balint Garda Tomas Skabo Balint	
VOA PROGRAMS (IN GENERAL)	3
BLACK VOICE - BLACK SOUND - BLACK LIST (RFE)	5
UN DISCUSSIONS - SESSIONS	x
SPEECHES OF FOREIGN STATESMEN (EISENHOWER - EDEN)	x
RELIGIOUS SERVICES	1
MUSICAL PROGRAMS	10
NEWS	22
POLITICAL COMMENTARIES	4
RFE PROGRAMS (IN GENERAL)	4
<u>BBC PROGRAMS (IN GENERAL)</u>	3
London's broadcast BBC - program The style of BBC - broadcasts	
LIKED ALL PROGRAMS	3
OTHER REASONS	5
LIKED NONE IN PARTICULAR	x
DON'T KNOW - NO ANSWER	35
TOTAL PERCENT	130 +
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(911)

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+ Percentages, based on number of cases, add to more than 100 % since some respondents gave more than one answer.

Question 40: "Do you happen to recall any instances where your view on something was changed by what you learned from a Western broadcast ? What were they ?"

( Asked of all radio listeners )

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
THERE HAVE NOT BEEN SUCH INSTANCES	13
DO NOT REMEMBER - DON'T KNOW	50
IRRELEVANT ANSWERS	3
PERTINENT ANSWERS	6
NO ANSWER	28
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(911)

Question 41: "Did you ever happen to talk over what you heard in Western broadcasts with other people outside your family ?"

(Asked for all radio listeners)

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Yes - frequently	70
Yes - occasionally	19
No - never	9
Don't know	2
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(911)

Question 43: "Did you ever hear of the Western balloon-leaflets?"

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Yes	88
No	12
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(1007)

Question 43a: "Did you ever actually see or read a balloon-leaflet?"  
(Asked of respondents who had heard of the balloon-leaflets)

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Yes	54
No	46
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(884)

Question 43b: "Do you think the balloon-leaflet operation has been important as a source of information and news for the Hungarian people?"  
(Asked of respondents who had heard of the balloon-leaflets.)

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Important source	65
Not important	22
Don't know	13
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(884)

Question 43c: "If the leaflets were discontinued, do you think the Hungarian people would be glad or sorry, or would not they care much either way?"

(Asked of all respondents who had heard of balloon-leaflets.)

	<u>TOTAL</u>
	%
Glad	1
Sorry	66
Would not care	19
Don't know	14
TOTAL PERCENT	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	(884)



