

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

THE RUSSIAN INSTITUTE
431 WEST 117TH STREET

January 15, 1959

Professor Schuyler C. Wallace
School of International Affairs
429 West 117th Street

Dear Schuyler:

I am enclosing ^{original and} three copies of my letter to Cleon Swayzee respecting a supplementary grant from the Ford Foundation for the completion and termination of the Hungarian Project. I should be most grateful if you would send this along the appropriate University channels.

Sincerely,


Henry J. Roberts
Director

January 15, 1959

Mr. Cleon O. Swayzee
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Cleon:

I am sorry to be slow in writing you concerning a supplementary grant from the Ford Foundation for the completion of the work of the Columbia University Research Project on Hungary. The principal reason for the delay has been our negotiations with the other agencies also working on the Hungarian question. These, however, have turned out quite satisfactorily; I think a meeting of minds has been achieved and I can now make a reasonably concrete proposal and request.

All of us involved have felt that available, or likely funds would not permit any large undertaking or the initiation of new activities. Rather it is a matter of completing work now in progress and of assuring its publication in an appropriate form in the near future. The device we have hit upon is a two (or possibly multi) volume report under a single general title. This would enable us both to give some unity to our findings and also to allow for necessary flexibility in treating the subject matter and establishing a time-table of publication. As it stands now we contemplate, as a general title, something like Hungary, 1945-1956 (perhaps a more attractive label can be found.) The first volume under this title, with the tentative heading "Communist Rule and National Revolt" would deal chiefly with historical, political and institutional matters and would be chiefly the responsibility of the Columbia group. This volume is currently in preparation. We hope to have a completed draft by the end of the spring semester and, if all goes well, a text ready for submission for publication by the end of the summer. The second volume, with the tentative heading "Social Change and Individual Response" would be chiefly concerned with problems of individual and group

behavior under the Communist regime and would be mainly the responsibility of the scholars in the other agencies, i.e., the psychologists and sociologists at Rutgers, Cornell, etc., (who would, however, make full use of the materials and findings of the Columbia Project.) Because of the time-consuming methods required to process the material in this volume, we estimate that its preparation would probably take another year but I would hope for publication of this second volume in late 1960 or early 1961. Both volumes would be under the general editorial responsibility of the groups which organized the meeting you attended last June.

In addition to these two volumes, which are our principal concern right now, there might usefully be a third volume dealing with the flight, resettlement and adaptation of the Hungarian refugees. This, however, is completely beyond the scope of the Columbia project and its financing would be from a different source.

I might add that there are already in progress several dissertations making use of the materials (e.g., on communist party structure and on the agrarian question). If these turn out well they might also be considered for publication as additional volumes, but here again the financing of such works would be through different channels.

In other words our request for a supplementary grant is only to enable us to prepare the first two volumes and to put the archives in order for permanent use.

I have appended to this letter a draft of the titles, introduction and contents of the two volumes. They will give you a more complete picture of what we have in mind.

The amount we are requesting is \$24,000. The estimated expenditures, which are presented in the attached budget, are based on our calculations at Columbia regarding the production of the first volume together with an estimate from the other agencies on the costs of the second volume. You will note that we are not allowing a great deal for publication costs, but I think it likely that a study of this character will not require full subsidy from a press.

It is difficult, of course, to be sure of the accuracy of such estimates, but it is clearly our responsibility to see the project through within these limits.

If there is a surplus following the appearance of these two volumes it would be returned to the Foundation.

I should like to add a word about the delay in winding up this project, a delay that has been most unwelcome to all concerned. The difficulty has been, in part, one of manpower and of time, especially for those of us in the project with other academic responsibilities. But even last summer, when Dallin, Zinner and I spent a great deal of time on the material, we made much less headway than we had hoped for. There is no question but that this type of source material is exceptionally hard to organize and analyze; indeed, I believe that there is a whole methodological field, lying somewhere between history, political science and sociology, that needs development. But more than this, we have constantly found ourselves facing some profoundly difficult theoretical questions, questions that go to the heart of political analysis. In fact, it is these very difficulties that have maintained my interest and enthusiasm: I am persuaded that we are in touch with some extremely important issues concerning the nature of totalitarianism, the causes for revolutionary upheavals, and the condition of the human individual. If we can, at the end, shed light on these, the effort will have been well worth it.

If you have any further questions concerning the project, I shall be happy to try to answer them. We should, of course, be pleased to hear of the Foundation's response to this request as early as is feasible, since our budget this spring clearly depends on the availability of this supplementary grant.

Sincerely,

Henry L. Roberts
Chairman
CURPH Executive Committee

HLR:hg
Encl.

Annex 1

Proposed Budget for Hungarian Research Project

January 1, 1959 - September 1, 1960

Salaries and research stipends

Executive secretary, 1 Jan, '59-1 Sept. '59 @ \$325 a mo.	\$ 2,600
Research associates, (\$6,000 for Vol. I, \$8,000 for Vol. II)	14,000
Research assistants, (for translating, indexing, and preparation of archive)	6,000
Typists and clerical	4,000
Rent, through September 1, 1959	1,850
Equipment, postage, social security, etc.	1,050
Travel	500
Publication	7,000
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Total	37,000
Remaining from first grant	13,000
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Requested supplementary grant	24,000

Annex B (1)

(Facing Title page)

HUNGARY, 1945-1956

Studies prepared under the sponsorship of
Columbia University Project on Hungary
Cornell Medical School
The East European Institute
Rutgers University
Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology

General Editorial Board:

(Listing one person from each of above)

Vol. I (1959)

Vol. II. (1960)

△ Vol. III.

etc.

Annex B (2)

(Sample Title Page)

HUNGARY 1945 - 1956

VOLUME I

COMMUNIST RULE AND NATIONAL REVOLT

Prepared by Paul E. Zinner, Alexander Dallin,
Henry L. Roberts, [etc.] assisted by staff of
Columbia University Project on Hungary, [plus
others involved in the particular volume]

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1959

Annex B (3)

(Sample title page)

HUNGARY 1945 - 1956

VOLUME II

S O C I A L C H A N G E
A N D
I N D I V I D U A L R E S P O N S E

Prepared by L.E. Hinkle, Edmund Stillman,
[etc.] assisted by staffs of East European
Institute, Society for Investigation of
Human Ecology, [plus others involved in
the particular volume.]

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1960

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

(To serve as preface for each volume)

Following the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in November 1956, more than two hundred thousand Hungarians fled from their country to Western Europe or the United States. In the course of 1957 several private American research groups undertook relatively extensive projects in connection with this unprecedentedly massive exodus. The central interests of these groups varied: some were concerned chiefly with gathering historical or political data, others with questions of individual or group behavior, others with the dislocating effects of the flight itself. These differing interests led to the employment of differing types of interviews and questionnaires; they also brought into play a wide range of scholarly disciplines: political science, history, economics, sociology, psychiatry, and medicine.

But while the various projects did not have identical interests they were, after all, dealing with information gained from the same group of human beings, the Hungarian refugees. More than that, after some comparison of preliminary conclusions, it was discovered that the findings tended to supplement one another in a quite remarkable fashion. What the psychologist had learned was of great interest to the historian, what the political scientist saw as a political process provided a valuable framework to the inquiries of the sociologist. From this it was not difficult to reach the conclusion that collaboration in organizing and publishing at least part of the products of the various projects would permit a beneficial division of labor and also give a richer and more complete analysis of contemporary Hungary, its inhabitants, and their vicissitudes.

The present series of studies represents the fruit of this collaboration. Published under the general title, Hungary, 1945-1956, each volume, while dealing with a particular set of questions, is part of the larger whole.

It is appropriate here to express thanks for the generous financial support of the following foundations, which made possible the individual and cooperative work of the associated projects:

[List of foundations]

Table of Contents

HUNGARY, 1945-1956

Vol. I. Communist Rule and National Revolt

Vol. II. Social Change and Individual Response

Vol. I

1. The Explosion

A brief chronicle of the revolution, from October 23 to Nov. 5 - to set the stage, and raise problems

2. Background

- a. Before 1945
- b. 1945-1948
- c. Hungary and the Soviet Orbit

3. The System of Command: Party and Government

4. The System in Operation

- a. Coercion
- b. Persuasion
- c. Production and Incentives
- d. Armed Forces

5. The Role of the Intellectuals

6. Trouble in Paradise, 1953-1956

To cover the developing crisis from the death of Stalin, through the Nagy regime, down to outbreak of revolt

7. Anatomy of Revolution

Analysis, rather than chronology, of the revolution as a political and social event

8. The Aftermath

From suppression of revolt to Nagy execution

9. Conclusions, lessons, etc.

Appendices:

- Description of materials used
- Tables
- Bibliography

Vol. II

Part I. Society in Transition

1. Social structure and stratification
Social engineering as a totalitarian tool; social change and social stability, horizontal and vertical mobility; the emergence of a new class structure, conflicts and cohesiveness, privileges and stigmata. (Possibly also brief sketches of classes or strata, e.g. the working class, the peasantry---subdivided as seems necessary---the old middle class, the "new class".)
2. Standard of living
Measurement and meaning.

Part II. The System and the individual

3. Deprivations and gratifications
Sources of tensions, frustrations, insecurity; the role of fear and anxiety; material vs. non-material grievances, affronts to national dignity, the importance of myths and symbols; hierarchy of felt deprivations.
4. Evasions and loopholes
Adjustment and accomodation between the system and the individual, islands of autonomy, mitigating elements, informal pluralism vs. official monolithism, favors, favortism, blast, etc...
5. Political typology
Communists and non-Communists; the appeals of Communism (to whom, when, for what reasons); quotients of political loyalty; cadre groups, passive types, freedom fighters.

Part III. Special issues

6. Social groups: formal and informal
Mass organizations; family; friends. New patterns and old values; the family as a focus of tradition and resistance; criteria of friendship, etc...
7. Social, political and national attitudes
Changing mores; sex, education, religion; anti-semitism; minorities and the problem of tolerance, nationalism; the image of the good society.
8. The Youth as a special problem
Education, indoctrination, organization, expectations and behavior.

IX. RESEARCH PROJECT ON HUNGARY

Donor: The Ford Foundation

Amount of Grant: \$185,000

Overhead: ~~\$23,750~~ ~~rev~~ \$11,500 + ~~cont~~ \$2,832.74 = Total \$14,332.74

Purpose: Interview and analysis project of recent Hungarian refugees for the purpose of publication of a book and a number of scholarly articles. It is believed that this study will provide a source of information about Hungary and Hungarian affairs which would otherwise not be available to Western Scholars.

Staff: Professors Henry L. Roberts, Alexander Dallin, Paul Zinner

Administrative staff: Andre Varchaver, Assistant Director
Robert Fischelis, Executive Officer

Europe interviewing staff: Paul Zinner
Stephen Borsody
Stephen Gorove
Nicholas Nyary
Judith LeBovit
Marian Low
Leslie Laszlo
Anthony E. Jasay
August Molnar
John Kosa

Part-time interviewing staff in New York:
6 interviewers

Duration of grant: 18 months To 2 years