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December 14, 1960

Professor Henry L. Roberts
The Russian Institute
Columbia University
431 West 117th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Professor Roberts:

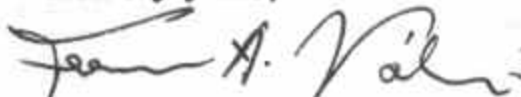
Lately, I discovered another piece of the CURPH interviews which had been lent to me, one that I failed to return to Mrs. Fontana last year.

In returning this document, I wish to express my gratitude to you for having kindly consented to allow me to examine and use this material for the purposes of a study on Hungary that I am pursuing in the above Center. Due acknowledgment of your permission to utilize your material will be given when it comes to the publication of this research work. I shall cite only numbers of interviews, except where the interviewee expressly wrote under his name, as in the Heltaí Report.

I am now slowly approaching the completion of this study, which I hope will then be published by Harvard University Press in the series of the Harvard Center for International Affairs, like the one written by Zbig Brzezinski.

I shall be very glad to have an opportunity of seeing you when again in New York some time early next year, and then I may tell you more about this study, and also my future plans.

Sincerely yours,



Ferenc A. Váli

Enclosure

STRONG AND WEAK POINTS OF THE REGIME--79 interviews

This question was not in the pretest version of the interviews. It should be noted that many time the interviewers mixed the basic question and sub-questions indiscriminately, which is understandable because "cohesive" and "disruptive" forces are much less difficult to comment on when simplified into "strong points" and weak points".

As might be expected, answers to this question show all respondents are antagonistic to the regime, and feel strongly that the Communist regime was an oppressive, alien, entity, with no ~~xxxxxx~~ interest in the welfare of the Hungarian people.

Strengths: It seems significant that only about one fourth of the respondents identify Soviet support or the presence of Russian troops as one of the strengths of the regime. Results seem consistent with the events of October, 1956, as the most frequently mentioned strengths of the regime were "the terror" or more specifically the AVH and its informer system, and the Communist monopoly of authority in all organizations. Their antagonism at the time of the interview was apparently still focussed primarily on those Hungarians who were part of this system, and only secondarily on the Soviet Russian support of the party-government apparatus.

Weaknesses: Here again, even more definitely, the pattern of dissatisfaction seems to be directly primarily at the regime itself. Only five out of 79 respondents indicate they feel that a government weak point is its inability to exist without Russian support. The most frequently mentioned weaknesses are:

- (1) that the regime is without popular support
- (2) that contradictions, falsifications, lies, etc. alienate the people
- (3) the low standard of living alleged.

There is ample evidence that most respondents trace the alien nature of the regime to Soviet influence in their responses to other questions. Yet it is interesting that this particular probe produced such a weak showing for the element of Soviet domination and interference, and such strong pattern of emphasis on domestic weaknesses--lack of popular support, the tissue of lies, and the low standard of living. Perhaps the element of flattery here is far lower than in other, more controversial questions; the fact is that it could hardly be a controversial question, since an emigre was interviewed because he was an emigre. This may mean that the attitude pattern which suggests itself here is more objective and closer to reality. On the other hand, if the revolution had started as a reaction to Soviet action instead of an incident where AVH men were the villains, the response pattern might have been very different.

A cursory review indicates there is no obvious breakdown of particular response elements with recognizable age, class or occupational groups. Even those who mentioned low wages, or generally low living standards, etc., are a mixed group--an orthodox bishop, an independent seamstress, an agronomist, a young state farm worker, a sales clerk, etc.

Perhaps the key item among "weak points" is the fact that 22 respondents mention lies and distrust as a source of lack of confidence between other groups: the regime and the people, the regime and civil servants, Communist dissension, ~~xxxxx~~

STRONG AND WEAK POINTS OF THE REGIME -- 79 interviews

I. STRONG POINTS: The table below summarizes responses to Section G, question 18, 18a. It should be noted that interviewers evidently considered the main question identical with the subquestions, and mixed them indiscriminately. The wording of the question was:

Revised "G" question 18: Well, now, everything considered, what would you say were the strong points and which the weak points of the regime.

18a: What were some cohesive forces?

Response category	Code	#
The terror	1	13
Same plus AAVH and informer system	12	2
Same plus general atmosphere of distrust	12 0	1
Same, with statement principles of Lenin definitely not a cohesive force	12 0 M	1
Terror and Soviet Support	14	1
Same, plus Communist monopoly of authority in all organizations	145	1
Terror and all embracing control, political supervision, monopoly of authority (general sense of all-pervasiveness of Communist control)	15	3
Terror, informer network, atmosphere mistrusts, flexible application threats, talks, and propaganda with terror	152 0	2
Lethargy of the people and terror	11L	2
Under Stalin, brutality with purpose	18	1
Terror and terror for the terrorizers	12	1
The reign of terror and complete financial dependence of the citizens which made everybody vulnerable # 551 economist	1F	1
The AVG/AVH and the informer system	2	2
Same plus atmosphere of distrust, suspicion	2 0	2
AVH, informer system, and presence of Soviet troops	23	3
Same plus party dictatorship and concentration camps	235P	1
Same without mention of Soviet troops	25P	1

Response Category	Code	#
AVH and informer system and the Communist party	25	4
AVH and informer system, plus Soviet troops, and social reforms and ability to deceive the people	237Q	1
AVH, collectives and state farms (235--state farmer)	2K	1
Soviet Troops in country directly intimidated people and indirectly made them think they should be realists and back the winner	<u>3</u> 3L	<u>3</u> 1
The Russians are there (referring to post-revolution)	3R	1
Soviet troops and perfect security control	35	1
Soviet troops and regime's monopoly of armed force	36	1
Soviet support	4	6
Communist party, its monopoly of authority and control	5	3
(Post-revolution) Communism a strong dictatorship and can't be overturned, well organized and communists hope to rule forever # 525	5R	1
Monopoly of armed force and achievement of social and economic reforms	67	2
Achievement of social justice and economic reforms	7	2
Mail service and cigarettes relatively cheap. Regime assured terrific sports possibilities and this received with satisfaction and pride by Hungarians. Brilliant existence possible for first-class athletes. # 223	7A	1
Strength was that it successfully monopolized in Eastern Europe certain progressive programs--Land Reform, "Nationalization and promise of human rights (Catholic Marxist # 413)	7E	1
Social reforms and anti-Fascism	78	1
No strengths, all a sham	9	1
Built on human baseness and apparently this a strong pillar	B	1
Evasive, don't know, or meaningless	V	2
Not asked	-	7

Most frequently mentioned strong points	Code	#
The terror (undefined)	1	29
AVH and informer system	2	21
Communist party dictatorship with monopoly of authority in all organizations and the "system" of controls	5	19
Presence of Soviet troops	3	12
Soviet support (general reference, undefined)	4	8
Economic and social reforms	7	8

STRONG AND WEAK POINTS OF THE REGIME --79 interviews

II. WEAK POINTS: The table below summarizes responses to Section G, question 18 and 18b, which interviewers mixed indiscriminately. No similar question was asked in pretest interviews.

"G" Revised question 18: Well, now, everything considered, what would you say were the strong points and which the weak points of the regime?

18b: What were some disruptive forces?

(Note: answers indicate 18b was translated "destructive" not "disruptive", IN SOME CASES.)

Response Category	Code #	#
Government alien to, or did not have the support of, the population	Ø	10
Same, plus government couldn't trust its own people, civil servants, etc.	Ø2	1
Same, plus regime couldn't exist without Soviet help, and enumeration of abuses	Ø24J	1
Same, plus economic failures and disincentives, and lack of skilled, loyal men	Ø247K	1
Leaders lived on Communist Olympus, far from masses, regime totalitarian, anti-human, terror a weakness because hurts individual dignity, and ends justify means principle led to failure of economy and of terror # 413	Ø1J	1
Out of 2.9 9 million Hungarians, 8.9 anti-regime and anti-Russian	Ø4	1
Hatred of the regime and the Russians by the people	Ø4H	1
Hatred of the the regime by the people	ØH	4
Prevalent hopelessness, and Communism, which is alien to the soul of the Hungarian people # 223	Ø2	1
Hatred of the people and economic failure	Ø7H	1
Same but milder	Ø7	1
Lack of faith in it by nation, and regime lies	Ø8	1
Hatred of people and stupidity of young kaders # 565	ØKH	1
Terror and atmosphere of distrust	1	2
Terror and lies	18	1
Inability to exist without presence of Soviet troops after revolution	2	1
Same plus		

Response Category	Code	#
Even party members and civil servants couldn't be trusted and few were convinced believers	2	3
Inability to exist without Soviet support	4	X
Same plus patterned in image of hated foreign power and couldn't provide bare minimum of existence	47	1
Failure to successfully indoctrinate the people and in execution of orders	5	2
Dissension among Communists	6	2
Same plus economic failure	67	2
Dissension among Communists plus contradictions (between word and deed or fact)	68	2
Dissension among Communists after Stalin's death	68	2
Economic failure, low living standard	7	5
Same plus lies, and awareness growing of Russo-Hungarian trade # 236	78T	1
Economic failure, lies, and street demands of university youth before revolution	78R	1
Lies and low wages	78	1
Flood of lies, contradictions theory and propaganda and practice, corruption	8	3
Same, which discredited great ideals of social justice #118	8Z	1
Hypocrisy developed to such a high degree, that the regime was unable to tell who was on whose side. People learned to play games, though some fooled by provocateurs	8G	1
All weakness without terror and (Russian support)	9	2
No answer XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	-	1
Evasive, don't know, or meaningless answer	V	5

CROSS INDEX OF MOST COMMON ELEMENTS	CODE	#
<u>WEAKNESSES OF THE REGIME:</u>		
Government alien to the people and their interests, regime had no popular support, etc.	Ø	26
Lies, corruption, and contradictions produced popular dissatisfaction	8	14
Low standard of living, economic failure	7	14
Couldn't exist without Soviet support	4	5
Dissension and wavering among Communists	6	8
Couldn't trust its own people in party and government	2	6

ADMISSIBILITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES (Exceptions)

To present a true picture of all exceptions and qualifications, the table below has been adjusted in coding to reflect 32 unsolicited exceptions made in answer to preceding questions on the need for and the right to organize political parties. This was done only for the 43 respondents who were not asked this question. The result ~~and table~~ gives the most comprehensive picture of all 108 respondents' attitudes toward the general topic of the admissibility of political parties.

Revised question 2b: Would you make any exceptions to this?

Pretest question 2c: Would you make any exceptions from this rule?

Note: the question implies "any exceptions to every person's ~~admitted~~ right to organize a political party?", which was the preceding question.

Response category	Code	#
Parties aiming at dictatorial rule excluded without specification of parties	1	8
Same plus strong sense of danger from foreign-dominated party	1F	1
Dictatorship-seeking parties excluded, but Communists admitted and limitations on # of parties preferred	178	1
Dictatorship-seeking parties excluded, limitations on # of parties needed because of Hungarian nature, and two-party ideal like England and US seen as evolving from multi-party system; criminal and abnormal persons denied the right #413	189HUM	1
Right extremists excluded, Communists not mentioned or admitted	2	2
Same plus need for limitation of multi-party system	28	1
Communists excluded or singled out as problematic, right extremists not mentioned	3	9
Same plus danger of foreign-dominated party	3F	2
Communists excluded, right extremists not mentioned, plus need for limitation of # of parties	38	1
Same plus grounds of Hungarian character and reference to US (flattery)	38HU	1
Same plus specific reference to two-party system as ideal	389EU	1
Communists excluded, right extremists not mentioned, and vague reference to two-party system of gov't and opposition as preferred form	39	1

Response Category	Code	#
Communists excluded, right extremists admitted, but no need for parties	4/2	1
Both right and left extremists (including Communists) excluded	5	4
Same, plus strong sense of foreign domination of Hungarian Communist Party	5F	1
Same, plus exclusion of mentally unbalanced persons	5M	1
Right and left extremes excluded, but after democracy takes hold in Hungary they can be permitted	5HD	1
Right and left extremists excluded, multi-party system with # limited preferred, plus no kingdom, and reference to post-revolution parties too numerous	58RK	
Right and left extremists excluded, but Nagy/Gomulka type Communists admitted, plus preceding response that "many people drew conclusion that workers' councils would replace political parties	5/WRN	1
Both right extremists and Communists specifically mentioned as admissible--"the Hungarian people has learnt much in the past 20 years" but No Habsburgs, and preference for limited multi-party system	68HK	1
Distinction between personal and probable national preference--Hungarians want a lot of parties, I prefer two, plus admission of both right and Communist extremists in a multi-party system	689H	
"If a country deserves an Arrow Cross or Communist party it should have them " # 551 (no exceptions)	6Z	1
Communists admitted, right extremists left unmentioned	7	3
Same, but dictatorship seeking parties excluded, though in Communist case, it's better not to force it underground #118	71	1
Communists admitted, with confidence of defeat in free elections	7D	1
Communists admitted, with confidence that they would be defeated in free elections without foreign interference and support	7FD	
Same plus preference for two-party ideal	79FD	1
Communists admitted, with prohibition later as in Germany	7FG	2
Number of parties in a multi-party system restricted or controls cited which prevent formation or survival of too many parties (success in elections, legal requirements, etc.)	8	10
Same plus reference to Austria	8A	
Same plus derogatory reference to # of post-revolution party leaders--ambitious, too many parties not necessary	8R	

REVISED question 2a: Do you think all people should be free to organize or join political parties as they wish?
PRETEST question 2a: Is it your opinion that all people should have the right to organize political parties?

1. Remarks on interview structure:

Twenty-eight of these responses were (in pretest) initial responses on the subject of political parties. Though it was ~~XXX~~ felt necessary to separate the answers in the tabular format, the following differences in the pattern of responses should be noted:

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- a. About one third of the respondents to the revised interview were not asked this question, or did not answer. In the pretest version of the interview, all 28 respondents answered it.
- b. A larger proportion of complex answers, particularly preferences for a limited multi-party system, were given in the pretest interviews, because this was an initial response.
- c. Though the highlights noted below were roughly similar in both initial (pretest) responses and secondary (revised) responses) on this topic of political parties, a separate listing of pretest answers is given in the tabular summary. The narrative analysis below was based upon the consolidated pretest and revised interview responses.

2. Highlights of analysis:

- a. Approximately one third of all respondents gave simple affirmative answers to the question. An additional ~~1/3~~ ^{revised} gave theoretical or functional justifications as to why all should have the right to organize and join.
- b. Of 25 respondents who answered the question and qualified their answer by unsolicited exceptions, only one distinguished the right to join from the right to organize a political party. Since this seems too low, it is possible that the phrase "to join" was often omitted from the question by interviewers. No one objected to the right to join per se.
- c. Of the 28 respondents who were not asked this question, 20 had already limited the right to organize a political party in the response to the question on the need for political parties. This was done by showing a preference for a limited number of parties, or by specific exclusion of extreme right or left or dictatorship-seeking parties. In addition to these 20, another 2 respondents limited the right in the same way.
- d. **THUS 40 OF 108 RESPONDENTS MADE UNSOLICITED EXCEPTIONS TO THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE POLITICAL PARTIES.**
- d. Among the 29 new exceptions to the right to organize political parties, six respondents justified this limitation on the grounds of Hungarian peculiarities and political immaturity or ~~selfishness~~ ambition.
- e. Seven respondents to the revised questionnaire were slightly inconsistent. They gave unqualified affirmative answers, though they were among the 20 who had already expressed limitations on the right by specifically excluding Communist, extreme right, or dictatorial parties, or by a preference for limitations on the number of parties in a multi-party system. Their answers were thus pure verbalizations.

Admissibility of Political Parties(right)

The table below summarizes responses to Section I question 2 (pretest) and question 2a (revised). This is a consolidated list containing initial and secondary responses on the topic of political parties. For a separate table showing responses only for the 28 pretests, see appendix 1. These were shown separately, in addition to being incorporated in the list below, because they were initial responses.

PRETEST question 2 : Is it your opinion that all people should have the right to organize political parties?
 Revised question 2a : Do you think all people should be free to organize or join political parties as they wish?

Response category	Code	#
Parties aiming at dictatorial rule excluded without specification of parties	1	2
Same plus strong sense of Soviet influence on Hungarian Communist Party	1F	1
Right extremists excluded, Communists left unmentioned or admitted	2	1
Communists excluded, right extremists not mentioned xx	3	2
Communists excluded, right extremists admitted	4	1
Both right extremists and Communists admitted, with trust in Hungarian voter in free election	6HD	1
Communists admitted, right extremists not mentioned	7	2
Same plus trust Hungarians in free elections, though number of parties has to be limited	78HD	1
Number of political parties favored, but restricted to a few (3-10), with controls often cited which would prevent the formation or survival of too many parties--election test, legal or procedural requirements, etc.	8	5
Same plus "no kingdom" and reference to revolution's parties#106	8RK	1
Two-party system preferred	9	1
Against political parties	φ	8
Same plus "above-it-all" attitude because in Hungary parties just bring discord (# 125)	φZ	1
"Only to those predestined for this. As a matter of fact I think it better if there are no parties at all and a ministerium(runs the country)..."	φZ	1

Response Category	Code	#
Mentally deranged persons should be prohibited from organizing political parties (one mentions Hitler)	M	3
Right to join should not be restricted, but right to organize should, because of the economic peril of many political fractions # 221	J	1
Right to organize should be restricted in this part of the world (East Europe) "In this part of the world anti-human philosophies epidemic..." # 442 "East Europeans not mature enough, would be 1000 parties..." # 100	BQ	2
Communists excluded, limitation on number of parties needed, two-party system like US/England ideal, plus low estimation of Hungarian political maturity # 559	389HU	1
Same <u>without</u> two-party ideal, with flattery for US/England # 112 <i>108</i>	38HU	1
Limitation on number of parties needed, with United Nations supervision during a temporary probational period # 112	8HUN	1
because they fan hate Limitation on number of parties needed, two-party system of worker and intellectual parties suggested, # 22	89WIQ	1
Don't know	S	1
Unqualified affirmative	X	35
Affirmative, plus argumentation why on theoretical grounds	Y	2
Same plus parties should be permitted only on grounds of social justification or functional value, as development of leaders	V	2
Question not asked, answer refused or intelligible	-	28
<hr/>		
Cross index of most frequent response elements	Code	#
<hr/>		
Unqualified affirmative	X	35
No answer	-	28
Limitation on number of parties preferred	8	10
Against all parties	E, #	10
Strong sense of ethnic peculiarity, usually with derogatory opinion of political maturity Would exclude Communist party	3	5

APPENDIX-PRETEST RESPONSES
Admissibility of Political Parties (Right)

This table is included as a separate appendix because in the pretest version of the interviews, it was the first question on the topic of political parties. It should be compared with both the consolidated table for answers on this particular question, and 9th initial responses to question 2 of the revised interviews for the general patterns in initial responses.

PRETEST 2: Is it your opinion that all people should have the right to organize political parties?

Response category	Code	#
Unqualified affirmative	X	10
Mentally deranged persons should be prohibited	M	1
Parties aiming at dictatorial rule should not be permitted	1	1
Against all parties (or for a one party system)XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX		
Same plus strong sense of foreign domination of Hungarian CP without specific mention	1	1
Against all parties	Ø	2
Same plus ^{# 206} "above-it-all" attitude because parties just bring discord in Hungary #125	ØQH	1
"Only to those predestined for this...better if no parties all...ministerium run country # 134	ØZ	1
Affirmative, but admissibility of parties justifiable only on basis of social or functional value, such as developing leaders	V	2
Affirmative, plus argumentation why on theoretical grounds	Y	2
Don't know # 112	S	1
Limitation on number of parties needed,	8	4
Same plus no king and reference to post-revolution ^{89 WIQ} parties	SRK L	1
Limitation on number of parties needed, with flattery for US/England and low estimation of Hungarian political maturity plus exclusion of Communists	38UH	1
Limitation on number of parties with United Nations supervision of probationary period, with sense of Hungarian tendency to too many parties	SHUN	1
Limitation on number of parties needed because they fan hate, plus suggestion of 2-party system with worker and intellectual party	^{ØTWIQ}	

Admissibility of Political Parties (Need) -- 78 respondents

Pretest question 2: Do you think there is a need for political parties?

Following is a summary of highlights of the analysis:

- a. Approximately 30 % of all 78 respondents gave unqualified affirmative responses. An additional 10 per cent added general discussion of why there is a need for political parties on theoretical or functional grounds.
- b. The largest single group of qualified responses⁽²⁰⁾ indicated a preference for a multi-party system, with some ~~form~~ of control over the number of parties through election tests, procedural limitations, etc. See also responses to question 2 of the pretest, which was the first question on political parties put to approximately one-fourth of all "A" interview respondents for a similar high incidence of preference ~~for~~ a multi-party system. Consolidation of these two types of initial responses would indicate that approximately 30% of all respondents volunteered this preference for a limited number of parties.
- c. Approximately twelve per cent of the respondents to this question gave negative responses. With a few exceptions, these were not mere evasions. The degree of aversion to any political parties varied widely from disinterested or ignorant (by youths) to extreme populist/syndicalist rejections. Numbers of these interviews are listed in the tabular summary for further reference and comparison with other "I" section answers. Only two out of 28 pretest respondents gave this type answer as their initial reaction, in answer to the more specific query "Should everyone have the right to organize a political party," adjustment down to about 10% of all 108 respondents would be a more accurate estimate of the size of this group.
- d. Only one respondent answered the question by suggesting exclusion of the Communist party specifically, though four more respondents excluded parties aiming at dictatorial rule. More frequently, (5 respondents), there was a statement specifically admitting the Communist party. (Compare this with the adjusted summary of answers to question 2b (pretest 2c) in which 25 exclusions and only 12 admissions of the Communist Party appear.)
- e. Six respondents of the 78 indicated that they favored a two-party system. From the context of the interviews, my impression is that this is merely verbalizing, flattery, or statement of a theoretical ideal. Some support for this judgment can be seen in the fact that none of these respondents coupled this type of answer with a reference to Hungarian "national character" or political immaturity, though six respondents who preferred the multi-party system justified this preference and the need for limitations on this basis.

ADMISSIBILITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The table below summarizes responses to Section "I" question 2 in 78 Revised version "A" interviews. Pretest interviews contained no comparable question. For fuller sample of the code used for this question, and for questions on the right to organize political parties and exceptions thereto, see tabular summary of question 2b (pretest 2c) on "exceptions."

Response category	Code	#
Parties aiming at dictatorial rule excluded	1	3
Same plus strong sense of Soviet domination of Communist Party	1P	1
Communist Party specifically admitted, right extremists left unmentioned	7	2
Same plus statement that Communists would be defeated in elections, preference for multi-party system based on post-Revolutionary groups, with evolution into a one-party system run by a "brain trust" (unstructured interview # 425).	78/RDB	1
Communist Party admitted, but to be prohibited later as in Germany, plus strong sense of foreign domination of Hungarian CP, and multi-party preference (#204)	78FG	1
Communist Party admitted on grounds of weakness in free elections	78D	1
Preference for multi-party system, (with number of parties restricted by elections tests, procedural or legal means, etc.)	8	8
Same plus inconsistent restriction of parties aiming at dictatorial rule while CP admitted	871	1
Preference for multi-party system plus rejection of king restoration and strong sense of Hungarian political immaturity	8KH	2
Multi-party system preferred with Communists excluded	8J	
Multi-party system preferred, based on revolutionary organs (workers' council, etc.)	8R	2
Same, but with strong comments on need for limitation of the number of parties because of Hungarian political immaturity -- "not a party for each village"	8HR	2
Multi-party system preferred with strong sense of Hungarian political immaturity -- "not a party for each village"	89 H	1
Multi-party system preferred with strong sense of Hungarian political immaturity -- "not a party for each village"		

Response Category	Code	#
Multi-party, Hung. immaturity, plus evolution to 2-party	89HU	1
Two-party system preferred as abstract ideal	9	4
Same plus US example (flattery?)	9U	1
Against political parties or for one-party system	Ø	5
Same plus strong sense of foreign domination of CP	ØF	3
Same plus "above it all" attitude because parties lead to discord (# 445/87)	ØFQ	1
Unqualified affirmative, brief and unrevealing	X	23
Same, but with confidence in Hungarian voter specifically mentioned	XH	1
Affirmative answer, with theoretical and practical justification why parties are needed	Y	8
Same plus strong sense of Hungarian peculiarity	YH	1
Admissibility of political parties made dependent on a social justification or need, such as to develop leaders	V	2
Question not asked	-	1
Evasive reference to "many people thought workers councils would replace political parties"	WR	1

Cross-Index of Most frequent response elements in qualified answers	Code	#
Multi-party preference, with 3 of parties limited	8	20
Communists admitted	7	6
Against parties	Ø	10
For two-party ideal	9	6
Strong sense of nationality, usually with derogatory opinion of nation's political immaturity	H	8
Against one-party rule	1	4

100 A	122 A	156 A	201 A	223 A	245 B	301 B	401 A	433 B	455 B	485 B	506 A	523 A	601 B
101 A	123 A	157 A	202 A,B	224 A	246 B	302 B	402 A	434 B	456 B	481 B	501 B	524 A	602 B,B
102 A	124 A	158 A	203 A	225 A,P	247 B	303 B	403 A	435 B	457 B	482 B	502 B	525 A	603 B
103 A	125 A	159 A	204 A	226 A	248 B	304 B	404 A	436 B	458 A,B	483 B	503 B	526 B	604 B
104 A	126 A	160 A	205 A	227 A	249 B		405 B	437	459 B	484 B	504 B	527 B	605 B
105 A	127 A	161 A	206 A	228 A	250 B		406 A	438 B	460 B	485 B	505 B	528 B	606 B
106 A	128 A		207 A	229 A	251 A,B		407 A	439 A	461 B	486 B	506 B	529 A	607 B
107 A	129 A		208 A	230 A,Z	252 B		408 A	440 B	462 B	487 B	507 B	530 B	608 B
108 A	130 A		209 A	231 A	253 B		409 B	441 B	465 B		508 B,B	531 B	609 B
109 A	131 A		210 A	232 B	255 B		410 B	442 A	466 B		509 B	532 B	610 B
110 A	132 A		211 A	233 A			411-416B	443 B	467 B		510 B	533 B	611 B
111 A	133 A		212 A	234 A			412 B	444 B	468 B		511 B	534 A	612 B
112 A	134 A		213 A	235 A			413 A	445+487 _a	469 B		512 B	535 A,B	613 B
113 A	135 A		214 A	236 A			414 B	446 B	4700 B		513 B	536 A	614 B
114 A	136 A,B		215 A	237 A			425 B	447 B	471 B		514 B	537 A	615 A
115 A	137 A		216 A,Z	238 A			426 A,B	448 B	472 A,B		515 B	538 B	616 A,B
116 A	139 A		217 A	239 A			427 A	449 B	473 A		516 B	539 B	617-618B
117 A	151 A		218 A	240 B			428 A	450 B	474 B		517 B	540 A	619 B
118 A	152 A		219 A	241 B			429 A	451 B	475 A		519 A,B	541 A	620 B
119 A	153 A		220 A	242 A			430 A	452 B	476 B		520 A	542 B	621 B
120 A	154 A		221 A	243 A			431 B	453 B	477 B		521 B	543 B	622 B
121 A	156 A		222 A	244 A			432 B	454 B	478 B		522 B	544 B	623 B
												599	624 B

New Tan charts to be included ✓

Dave Winter

V = Have copy

25

Revised

File O - don't have, don't need

100 A	122 A	156 A	201 A	223 A	245 B	301 B	401 A	433 B	455 B	485 B	500 A	523 B	601 B
101 A	123 A	157 A	202 A	224 A	246 B	302 B	402 A	434 B	456 B	481 B	501 B	524 A	602 B
102 A	124 A	158 A	203 A	225 B, Z	247 B	303 B	403 A	435 B	457 B	482 B	502 B	525 A	603 B
103 A	125 A	159 A	204 A	226 A	248 B	304 B	404 A	436 B	458 A, B	483 B	503 B	526 B	604 B
104 A	126 A	160 A	205 A	227 A	249 B		405 B	437	459 B	484 B	504 B	527 B	605 B
105 A	127 A	161 A	206 A	228 A	250 B		406 A	438 B	460 B	485 B	505 B	528 B	606 B
106 A	128 A	162 A	207 A	229 A	251 A, B		407 A	439 A	461 B	486 B	506 B	529 A	607 B
107 A	129 A	163 A	208 A	230 A, Z	252 B		408 A	440 B	462 B		507 B	530 B	608 B
108 A	130 A	164 A	209 A	231 A	253 B		409 B	441 B	463 B		508 B, B	531 B	609 B
109 A	131 A	165 A	210 A	232 A	254 B		410 B	442 A	464 B		509 B	532 B	610 B
110 A	132 A	166 A	211 A	233 A	255 B		411-415B	443 B	465 B		510 B	533 B	611 B
111 A	133 A	167 A	212 A	234 A			412 B	444 B	466 B		511 B	534 A	612 B
112 A	134 A	168 A	213 A	235 A			413 A	445 A, B	467 B		512 B	535 A, B	613 B
113 A	135 A	169 A	214 A	236 A			414 B	446 B	468 B		513 B	536 A	614 B
114 A	136 A, B	170 A	215 A	237 A			415 A	447 B	469 B		514 B	537 A	615 A
115 A	137 A	171 A	216 A	238 A			416 A, B	448 B	4700 B		515 B	538 B	616 A, B
116 A	138 A	172 A	217 A	239 B			417 A	449 B	471 B		516 B	539 B	617-618B
117 A	139 A	173 A	218 A	240 B			418 A	450 B	472 A, B		517 B	540 B	619 B
118 A	140 A	174 A	219 A	241 B			419 A	451 B	473 A		518 A, B	541 B	620 B
119 A	141 A	175 A	220 A	242 A			420 A	452 B	474 B		519 A, B	542 A	621 B
120 A	142 A	176 A	221 A	243 A			421 B	453 B	475 A		520 A	543 B	622 B
121 A	143 A	177 A	222 A	244 A			422 B	454 B	476 B		521 B	544 B	623 B
			223 A	245 A			423 B	455 B	477 B		522 B	545 B	624 B
			224 A	246 A			424 B	456 B	478 B		523 B	546 B	

Total 106 interviews

Z - Zimmerman stuff

Prohibits 2. Do it your opinion that all people should be allowed their to org. P.P. a why to have important c any exceptions

Revised Qu. 2a: "Do you think all people should be free to organize or join political parties as they wish?"

Qu. 2b: "Would you make any exceptions to this?"

Code field I 3, lower half

<u>Type of Response</u>	<u>Code Symbol</u>
Parties aiming at dictatorial rule excluded without specification of parties	1
Right extremists excluded or singled out as special problem, Communists either left unmentioned or admitted	2
Communists excluded or singled out as problematic, right extremists not mentioned <i>or admitted</i>	3
Communists excluded or singled out, right extremists admitted	4
Both right extremists and Communists/ ^{or right-left} xxx specifically excluded or singled out	5
Both right extremists and Communists specifically mentioned as admissible	6
Communists admitted, right extremists left unmentioned	7
Number of political parties restricted to a plurality of parties (more than two), <u>or</u> controls cited which would prevent the formation or survival of too many parties (success in elections, legal xxx requirements for party founding, etc.) + <i>Sometimes limited membership</i>	8
(Note: If the numerical restriction appears to be meant as a means to exclude the Communist Party, double-code)	
Two-party system desired	9
Against political parties or for one-party system	0
Against any exceptions or restrictions, unqualified <i>yes/no/Not sure</i>	X
Against any exceptions with argumentation why (unless the argumentation is meant to establish the admissibility of Communists or right extremists, in which case the answer should be classified accordingly)	<i>as not E then good/bad</i> Y
Admissibility of a political party made dependent on a social justification or need, <i>or functional value</i>	<i>as not known</i> V
Answer to qu. 2 (or qu. 1, where applicable) repeated	<i>as not known</i> R
Qu. not asked, answer refused, unintelligible, or obliterated	-

2/20

All have strong opinion

13

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------|
| 244 | yes | F |
| 227 | yes including Communists | X |
| 228 | Yes - in Hungary gov. a political - Kucsera | XHR |
| 229 | Yes, but not strongly - 4-6 OK. Gov may cause many would be party leaders, & not because there were many diff. programs | Y4 |
| 231 | Yes but one has to be careful, with the Hungarian nation - 30 Christian parties in the revolution | NHV |
| 232 | - yes | X |
| 233 | yes - several | Y4 |
| 234 | If United Europe, no need for parties. But we Hungary - could prob. not have w/o a lot of parties. I believe 2 great parties are needed one govt & one opposition, but most a lot | N2H |
| 235 | No need "window dressing" type of pp. approval those which will represent real interests of the people | W |
| 236 | Yes | X |
| 237 | Yes | X |
| 242 | Of course | X |
| 238 | Yes - if have many, no dictatorship | Y4 |
| 243 | Yes, since none are infallible | Y4 |
| 251 | (yes) Govt would of course the government would be unified in one hand. We must have at least 2 parties to prevent control & opposition in govt. It should be a coalition govt in which opposition party represented also be represented - 32 yr old actor/poet, of long labor in Hungary (but see observations favorable comment 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.) | W
2
to focus |

Protect 2 & beyond 2 a

- Rte to org's point p.p.

71

125	No - (quote	NH ✓
126	Don't know	X
127	Yes - but except people propagating views rejected by the population.	Y P J
128	Yes - usually pp - peaceful state & citizen - no world hater	Y H
131	Yes - progress	Y U ✓
133	In free indep. country, all free org pp - if no violence vs govt or other parties or classes	Y V ✓ (1)
134	Only to whoever is <u>predestined</u> for this. A matter of fact, I think it's better if no parties at all & a minister takes care of those things	FF ^{undecided} (unclear)
135	Yes, ideally, but leadership should be in hands of people who are capable	6
136	Yes	X
137	"	X
138	Yes - yes w/ exception	X
153	No - VS cause always quarrels & debates, even if free	Q
155	Yes -	X
156	Yes, think so, helps to help people together - 16 yr old	? T
158	No! 21 yr old - not interested/knowledgeable	(N)
159	Several parties are to be seen Yes - as in Austria - several	Y H
160	If like USA, yes	? 7
401	Yes would allow every party	Y 2
403	Yes, but 2 enough	X
404	Yes	X
427	Yes	X
442	In the part of the world Unimaginable - anti human philosophies epidemic in the part of the world	NE

Q#	Response	Notes	Mark
500	Yes	2/2a Indiv. not to form & join	
558	No	Communist Party should be allowed. as Hungary where a small group pulled power by terror	NC ✓
559	No	Hungarians like very much to desert & scatter 2 party or Communist Hung party (including CP)	NHR
616	Yes		X
152	Yes	except mentally deficient	5
226	Yes	but ... economic - ? - discontinue of failure state	8
221	Not for	economic peril but all to join freely	J
220	Yes	coalition govt best	4
219	Yes	3 or 4 (including Communists)	#(?)
218	Yes	for opinion always divided & 1 party may create healthy political situation - depend on measures whether join or not if sensible	✓ Check
217	Yes	but 2 best	2
215	Naturally		X
214	Yes	including Communists but not fascists or racists	X
213	No	fasc/CP	NEC
212	Yes	except extreme at < > >	N(F) ✓
211	Yes		X
210	Yes	except Communists, because they undermine any form of govt not being	NC ✓
209	Yes		X
208		All should be fascists org. Since Hung do good job in elect. Old Horthy slogan of people not really false	YH
207	Yes	including Communists	X
205	No	regulator needed - extreme at & overall #	NE
204	Yes	2 Hung - 3 polit parties - election should decide	NH
203	Yes		X
201	Delicate?	- danger is too many factions	D

Y = yes
 E = excessive
 A = negative

Project 2 and Revised 2a - Rt to org & join

123	yes, but should be free, free choice principle, voluntary join	X
122	Trouble if too many parties, ^{for both} white 2 - intellectual, 1 worker	9 - don't know
121	Yes	X
120	Yes - of course <u>no</u> a wide parties with dictatorial aim	Y2
119	I worry index should have it to form pp	X
118	By all means Yes	X
118	Definitely - no	X
117	Yes within limits of rationality	11
115	yes	
113	Yes if he asks for it & finds adequate adherents	A
112	No. Can't be done in Hungary - parliament something should decide & probational provincial basis at first Hungarian extremists	NH ✓
110	Naturally	X
109	Yes, all	X
108	Yes, but many disadvantages to ^{many small groups} no - it won't place, people will volunteer to be elected, but I'm not believer in proportional representation (? in terms of social groups?)	26
106	Dummy resolution NO - mentioned - 100 diff. opinions yes	1/R
104	Yes	X
103	Yes	X
102	(NO) Only those of mental health. Newspapers like Hutter should be prohibited Only parties	151
100	All human goals should be allowed to org freely Western countries everybody has the right - EEC not mature enough	NE
1		

Section 2 Protest 2 and Revised 2a 77 replies

Protest 2. In it your opinion that all people should have the right to organize political parties?

Revised 2a. Do you think all people should be given the right to organize or join political parties as they wish?

Response Category	Code	#
Simple Yes, or other affirmative	Y	29 ✓
Simple No	N	1 ✓
Yes, but (or No) Communist Party should be forbidden	NC	2 ✓
Yes, but (or No) Fascist (or extreme) parties should be forbidden	NF	2 ✓
Yes, but no fascist or Communist parties should be allowed	NFC	1 ✓
Yes, but (or No) This can't be done in Hungary. Parliament or some other group ^{or elections} should decide and parties should be on a probational / provisional basis at first. Hungarians are extremists	NH	4 ✓
" + 2 party system ideal # 5590234	NH2	2
Quote # 228 Kucsera	NHK	1
But this part of the world unimaginable - anti human philosophies epidemic / E Europe not mature enough	NE	2

Category	Code	#
Yes within limits of nationality	1	1 ✓
Yes, but 2 is enough/best	2	2 ✓
Yes, but of course no <u>one</u> party with <u>dictatorial</u> aims	3	1 ✓
Yes, ^{with} party best with stipulation 3-6, several, or many, etc.	4	6 ✓
Yes, if he seeks for it and finds an adequate number of adherents	A	1 ✓
Yes, but (or No) mentally deficient/unhealthy should be prohibited (#108 mentioned Hitler)	5	2 ✓
Yes, but leadership should be in hands of people who are capable ^{#135} (or a brain trust #426)	6	2 ✓
If like the USA, yes	7	1 ✓
(Yes) In a free independent country, all should be free to organize political parties, if none of the parties could advocate violence against the lawful government or other parties of classes of the population (#133)	8	1 ✓
(Check) #122 - trouble, if too many, faster rate, 2 best, 1 worse & 1 intellectual	9	1 ✓

Yes, but they should be discontinued if fail in elections ^{#226} D L

During revolution, no - weakened it cause 100 diff pp, ^{#106} R L

All should be free to organize political parties, & our
poor Hungarians could do a good job in elections. YH L

The old Horthy dogma of the people are not ready
is false # 208 H

Economic or confused

A very delicate question - the danger is too many
fractures (# 201) D L

Yes I think so, they help to keep people together ^{#158} T L

Yes, but there are many disadvantages, too many
small groups, so I'll try to say no. I believe in
having right man in right place & that best
people will volunteer to be elected, but I'm a
great believer in proportional representation ^{#158} C6 L

Of course the government would be unified in
one hand. We must have at least two parties
to permit control & opposition in govt. It should
be a coalition govt in which the opposition
party would be represented. # 251 C2 L

Everyone should have it to organize cause weaker country, but all shall have it to join T L

Yes, but there is no need for "window-dressing"
type parties. I approve of those which will
represent the real interests of the people W L

(continued from page 1)
missiles #218

Y1

Don't Know

X

No Dis. agent it because they always lead to
guerrilla & debates even if free #153

NQ

134

S

132

U

133

✓

77

	a	b	c
100	—	—	—
101	—	—	—
102	(a) Everything can be sold if needed. Unnecessary prod → low	Gov/ple SC OK	—
103	—	SC if anything in this approval	recommend prod. Tech & ind.
104	Of our material → gov't SC necessary (quote if enough long)	—	—
106	+	Hug. - State capitalizing like State advisor (to HVRW)	State <u>advisor</u> , but not for legal aid
108	—	—	—
109	In am. they like H harmful for working class → abuse	No real control except price control	Free production & with exceptions, free market is best solution
110	Yes, govt statistics, measure production (R)	—	—
112	Must have govt strength & power for these things Govt advice, uniform conditions price control, no state distro, govt. Co. for setting downing, populat	SC must be carried out under system of centralization	—
113	In healthy econ, prod follows needs consumers - self control is sufficient avoid change over prod	DK	Adequate central politics
115	—	R	For SC w/oldest prohibitions & force
116	see (b)	Can't DK distinguish	private management
117	—	State capitalist - See Hoover Report - Inst. Gen. Italy.	—
118	Just because overproduction & uncoordinated production	DK	agree? R

a

120	Clathing because of poor qual.	I know only 2 forms - complete ownership + char. toward the consumer	Should remain in PO
121	Case excludes free competition of produced goods suffers	SC can start in retail & distribution new enterprises - subsidy	Free production & trade
122	—	—	—
123	—	—	—
124	R	Only 2 way - complete SC	DIK
125	—	Tax policy only 2 way	I must follow natural needs of pop.
127	1st ind. esty - underlying principle is SC over principal industry	Outright ownership or compromise, with PO & state certain amt of control & direct	—
131	Not of grt importance	Complete, only in imp matters or just general lic	Recomm these industries remain in private hands, complete healthy for the state Some supervision
128	Not tech of state, prov. not better	Govt can send govt inspector director which may be excessive state intervention. Govt should merely supervise & guide industry	Some supervision
133	In theory, SC → improvement but not in practice	—	—
134	For SC - less comp. & higher wages	DIK	—
135	State designated DEPTs of unbr better represent their interests than enterprises	DIK	—
136	— per 6	SC can start & cont. subsidizing factories like perfume & factory waste	Alternative is prov. emp.
137	Endeavor pers. initiative in field where much needed labor ending function of the state	DIK	Low small shops of Artisans should have govt to develop STATE SHOULD PAVEWAY for their assistance

Protest answers.

6. There are countries where the state controls light industry, such as clothing manufacture. Do you approve of it?
- Why
 - What different forms are there of state control
 - If you do not approve of state control (guidance?) of light industry, what do you propose instead?

Special Code symbols for problems

- Reference to Maugk-type private enterprise, with 5-15 employees in creative work. M
- ^{only} Specific small industries (relative field) should be free S
- Whole field of 'light' industry free of state interference ^{go up!} F
- LI free for liberal reasons FL
- LI free for bourgeois capitalist class privilege reasons C
- Individual, independent personally entered (voluntary, eventual), I
- Anarchic opposition to govt & ∴ favors private A
- Reference to producers co-ops - P
- In "Y" answers, signal to indicate for C and also:
 - grounds of initiative & competition (self-oriented) + initiative !
 - anti-bureaucratic + free enterprise efficiency
- Definition of "light industry" in unusual terms, not referring to goods N
- Defines LI
- Combination of LI & artisans - Z
- Support deep anti-capitalist with cap limit income D
- A = populist ^{top} leveler - chauvinist? P

7a

11.8	Ownership based on pp & vol. association (see 6B - all except mammoth plants should be restored)		2L
12.3	This should be the domain of private enter - more competition & eager for cheaper better production - - ?? (not answer to 7a (in 6b. All except HI		9(3)
151	6b - indemnification, no restoration + some types small crops 7a - return diff see 6b - approve competition private & state ^{coll. int.} after indemnify former owners)		P
153			R
154	No. 2100 for 7a -		-
155	(See 6B - restore to PO - textile & lumber)		-
156			-
158	6B - D/K 7a H/A		H
159	I am for a balance 30		-
160	(in 6b - some fac's returned - textile, lignite & many others	Overhead Lenses	-
161			-
152	(in 6b - no return		-
201	No - Essentially for PE but not liberally & not for lay industries		-
202	Some small industries ^{T. 10} after specific studies 5-100-500 employees		-
203	-		-
204	(6b - firm & many small plants to former owners 7a(-)		-
205	7a(-) 6b - very small ent should be returned to p. int - no sense to divide up ent w 3 workers)		-
206	Don't ? should be decided from pt of view of pub. interest!		R
207	I am for p. int. (6b - shops to 500 employees returned to PO		79
208	See 7 and 6b - no large ind to former owners		

(2a)

Own. prob.

209	6b - Generally not	-
210		-
211		-
212	6b - Some should be returned, not very large & socialized	-
213		-
214	6b - no couldn't be done w/ other cooperation - 1 owner impossible	-
215	Difficult - favor permit initiative but fear return prop to PO - favor indemnity (not directly asked)	-
217	6b - Under certain reqs, yes	-
218		-
219		-
220	6b - Small fac. shops should be returned to former owners	-
221	Do would return them to former owners (6b with brother <u>1000</u>)	-
222		-
223		-
224		-
225	6-7-8 - 9-31-32	-
233	6b - Return or compensate - monthly sum, \$ up to 100 return through plants	-
234	^{no} 6a - comp. between at & private owned - w/ competition consider has no safeguards for quality 6b - flat no, but owner get state loan to persist on foot 8c - no planing LI & trade	Other (60)
235	Dorgan. I favor pow. ent.	5

7a

236	Let its ownership be decided by free comp, ownership passing to the most efficient entrepreneurs	
237		-
238		-
242	Permit PO by foreign capital & manage others than crops, not return plants to former owners	
243	Feasibility pt of view - not gen. principle ^{some things do vary} (but not return)	
401		-
402		-
403		-
404		-
406		-
407	408, 413, 427	-
551	for 6b - pub's good	
558	6b - retiv. > in fac to 200 employees - qual improve	5
	7a free trade serves progress	
559	HI SO with workers sharing the stocks, Sm Ind should flourish on a private basis. If SI depends, stock to workers	P

OWNERSHIP OF LIGHT INDUSTRY** 106 interviews

NOTE: The tabular summary of answers and the narrative below are based not only on the answer to this particular question, but on the question in context. In seven cases where no answer was given, a "derived" answer was inserted in the tabulation after consideration of the answers to question 6 (pretest 5), which asked if any nationalized factories should be returned to former owners (in sub-question 6b). Also, twenty-five of the complex answers, indicated in the tabulation by two or more code symbols, reflect comments made in answer to the preceding question 6. Most of these "expanded" answers were inserted in the group coded 5, where respondent gave a simple negative answer. This technique was believed necessary and desirable because it gives a truer picture of the pattern of responses in context.

Briefed question 4: In certain countries, as you know, light industry--such as the clothing manufacture--is nationalized. Do you approve of this?

Pretest question 6: There are also countries where the state controls light industry, such as the manufacture of clothing articles. Do you approve of it?

1. Significant highlights of the tabulation of responses to this question are:

- a. Answers confirm the fact that the Hungarian word for industry used in the interview guide (ipar) evidently has a broader meaning than the English word "industry." Though light industry is an imprecise, generic term in Hungarian, numerous respondents extend it to small shops and artisans, even tailor shops.
- b. The ninety-five interviewees who responded to this question on state control of light industry show a sharp split in opinion. Fifty-four respondents generally favor various degrees of state ownership, and forty-one respondents favor private ownership on varying grounds. Below this broad split on whether light industry should be owned by the state or private owners, there is considerable variation in the content of the responses. See the tabular summary. This may not be significant, as random selection of examples could be expected in a question of this type.
- c. It seems highly significant that half of the 106 interviewees definitely favor state ownership of light industry. Included in the 54 respondents in this group are 13 who favor full state ownership. Several of these 13 specifically reject the Communist or Soviet type of state ownership and control, and several indicate a desire for an ideal type of "worker's control" or "social ownership." Despite the Communist experience, the ideal of the abolition of privilege-through-private--ownership evidently still has strong theoretical appeal. Tabulation of the occupational background of these 13 respondents follows:
 - Office clerk
 - Students
 - Teachers
 - Unskilled worker
 - Technician in textile factory
 - Seamstress
 - Ex-Parliament member
 - Bookkeeper
 - Truck Driver
 - Agronomist

Ownership of light industry (cont.)

It is obvious the bulk of these respondents are from low-income groups. In addition to the extreme statist view expressed by these 13 respondents, 29 more would make size the major determinant of private vs state control and ownership. (Respondents mixed the terms guidance, control, ownership). Twenty indicated they feel private ownership should be limited to industry employing 50-500 workers. Nine more would set lower limits in the range of 10-50 workers, with mention of artisans, tailor shops, and similar sub-industrial or non-industrial examples. This I presume is similar to the MASEK or 'private sector' permitted by the Hungarian Communist regime. Since "size" ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~measured in terms of~~ ^{was} ~~workers, rather than in the volume of business, or the total profits, or the total capitalization in assets and facilities, this~~ ^{was} again confirms the strength of the appeal of an ideal workers state.

26 respondents

- d. The largest single group of respondents was those/who gave simple unqualified negative answers, indicating they didn't approve of state control of light industry. However, as is evident from the table, and note 2 above, 14 of these persons had already qualified their answer in some way. Though of doubtful validity, all answers mentioning free enterprise catchwords like "private initiative" "competition insures quality up and cost down", etc. were lumped together in the last item in the tabular summary. The 29 respondents in this group may have been engaging in flattery of American interviewers, or may have sincerely believed what they said. But the main significance, it would seem, would be in the fact that they gave fairly long answers using these catchwords, ~~whereas~~ as opposed to the 54 respondents favoring state control, who displayed very little or no understanding of free-market economy.
- e. Responses to this question were considered against a background of certain problems on which the question might shed some light. These are cited below with comment:
- (1) Does the ideal of "producers coops" in light industry seem to have any appeal?
 Comment: see 1c above. Only three respondents mention/ this "producers coop" specifically.
 - (2) Are answers detached and arbitrary, or are respondents personally interested?
 Comment: Few respondents dealt with the problem of reprivatization in this question. Generally respondents spoke as personally interested consumers, not as former or potential future free enterprisers. Analysis of answers to pretest 5d, revised 6c and 7a should give better-defined attitude patterns on the question of return of property to former owners and/or establishment of privately-owned light industry.
 - (3) What reflection of Nagy's 1953 "New Course" is evident, that is, to what extent did the Nagy premiership succeed in disassociating ~~consumer satisfaction~~ and private enterprise from ~~consumer satisfaction~~ (consumer satisfaction)
 Comment: Very little evidence in the material so no answer possible. No respondent volunteered any reference to Nagy or the New Course, increased state investment, increased retail turnover, etc., or the speed-up in development of light industry which were keystones in Nagy's policy. Even the MASEK was not mentioned specifically. Some possible traces of Nagy slogans were noted. In the 13 answers coded B, for instance, many respondents mentioned phrases like "solution of this problem depends on the specific conditions in the country concerned." Responses coded B stressed the need for state control over export trade, which might reflect Nagy's insistence on more rational, profitable, exchange of commodities, with emphasis on developing better quality and bigger quantities of goods for export, including exchange with Western countries. The fact that half of the respondents favored very extensive state control could be construed as a result of Nagy's success

Ownership of light industry (cont.)

in persuading many Hungarians that his brand of Communism would be acceptable. However, the body of answers to this question is so poor in direct evidence that no firm estimate of the Nagy regime effect is possible from it alone, and speculation such as that above is really an exaggeration of traces into something approaching well-defined traits and patterns, and really not justified.

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OWNERSHIP OF LIGHT INDUSTRY -- 106 interviews

The table below summarizes responses to pretest question 6 and revised question 7. Twenty-seven of the responses coded below were derived from preceding question pretest 5 or revised 6 to give a truer picture of attitudes on this question. See explanatory note at beginning of narrative summary.

Pretest 5: In certain countries, as you know, light industry--such as clothing manufacture--is nationalized. Do you approve of this?

Pretest 6: There are also countries where the state controls light industry, such as the manufacture of clothing articles. Do you approve of it?

Response category	Code	#
Light Industry should be publicly owned (often phrased as "socially owned") just like heavy industry	1	5
Same plus opposition to private ownership on grounds that state ownership insures higher wages, lower prices, or generally better living standards	1W	3
Light industry should be under "social ownership" with worker's control, in a kind of industrial producers cooperative (ex-parliament member # 152)	1P	1
State should own light industry to avoid over-production--# 110 (uncertain 18-yr-old music student)	1IR	1
Everything should be under state's absolute powers, with example of Cuban sugar industry, and concession that firms under 200 workers could be privately owned #112	17ZE	1
In theory, state could own light industry, but in practise it didn't work out in Hungary, so private ownership best, but state should control export industries	15TER	1
Prefer social ownership like heavy industry, but no sense to state owning enterprises with three people	18	1
Except for highways, railroads, and arms, private industry generally better	2	1
Light industry should be privately owned as a matter of democratic principles	3	1
Same plus even such large factories as Goldberger (former textile export), Pamutipar, Kistext, etc. should be in private hands (hotel manager) XXXXXXXXXX	30	1
Against state ownership; competition leads to lower costs (Seamstress-- # 123)	39	1
I favor private ownership regulated by law in a mixed economy	4M	1

Response Category	Code	#
Light industry should be privately owned, unqualified simple negative answer	5	12
Same plus "laissez-faire" comment and occasional emotional mention of Communist abuses	5L	
Simple no, but state should control export industries	5N	1
Simple no, but qualified by answer to preceding question-- favors private initiative, return of factories under 500 workers to former owners, and indemnity to other owners	579	2
Same without mention of initiative or competition	57	1
Private ownership better in interest of workers	5W	1
Simple no, but inconsistent with previous answer to 6b: "State capitalism (not like the Soviet kind) is more efficient than private capitalists, and thus egotistical conceptions of private capitalists avoided."	5D	1
No, but favor industrial producers' coops, and encouragement of private ownership by foreign capitalists	5FF	1
Yes, small businesses with 50-100 workers should be returned because they could compete with state enterprise and check state monopolies	67	
Favors competition between state and private firms to insure quality safeguards for consumer	67	1
Same, plus small industry to 20 workers for quality goods	68φ	
Competition between state firms, and between them and small private firms	6X	1
Private ownership should be limited to small enterprises not over a certain size (generally 200 workers, one mentions 500, one mentions 1000)	7	12
Same plus grounds that quality and selection higher in privately owned industry	7φ	2
Firms with less than 100 workers could be returned, but owner should get no excess profits at expense of workers and he should have (workers') committee to decide and supervise #233	7WF	1
"Competition very healthy as long as industries not too big, if so, they should be state controlled. Hard for me to conceive, how it can be, that here in the US light and heavy industry both in private hands and yet living standard highest in world. Interesting to know how living standard would change if gov't took over bigger factories in both." # 136	79US	1
Private ownership should be limited to small firms of sub-industrial size, such as tailor shops, etc. (comparable to MASZEK?)	8	3

Response Category	Code	#
Same, plus mention of need for competition, and "tailor should be independent, so he can put my taste into clothes"	8φ	1
Light industry should be developed by private initiative	9	1
Same, plus emphasis on free competition, better quality and quantity for consumer, and ultra-liberal attitude. One mentions state should subsidize light industry to get it started	9/L	2
Light industry should be privately owned in the interest of better service to the public, quality, diversity, and more flexible adaptation to the demands of the market	9	9
Don't know or evasive, meaningless answer, or answer refused	R	8
Evasive comment like: this question should be settled in the public interest, sometimes with expansion containing discussion on economic grounds, but generally in favor of extensive state control	RY	6
Same plus previous answer to 6b favoring private ownership of firms up to 10 workers, or 50 workers	RYB	1
φ 407 (chauffeur)--Disapprove, and this question theoretical because never put in practice anywhere!!! (JLB interview)	RT	1
Question not asked, and answers to previous and subsequent questions so brief or inconclusive as to make it impossible to derive any opinion	-	11
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Cross index of most frequent response elements	Code	#
In favor of varying degrees of state control	1-4-6-7-8-R	54
In favor of private ownership on varying grounds	2-3-5-9-φ	41
Simple negative answers, implicitly anti-government	5	26
Private ownership should be limited to factories not over a certain size, with relatively small # of workers	7	20
Evasive answers, with pro-state bias implicit	R	15
Sub-industrial MasZek enterprise only form favored	8	8
Awareness and mention, or commitment to, western-style liberal values in reasoned answers	φ-9-M-C-L	29