

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
Research Project on Hungary

"A" INTERVIEW

Interview Guide

Sections:

- (O) Instructions and Format
- (R) The Revolt of 1956
- (W) Personal Life and Work Experience
- (S) Social Problems and Education
- (G) Government, Party, Police
- (C) Communications
- (I) Ideology, Attitudes, and Opinions
- (X) Conclusion

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTRODUCTION AND INSTRUCTIONSPurpose of "A" Interview

Type "A" is an oral depth interview of about two days' length, to be given to several hundred refugee respondents. While factual information is sought in some of the questions (personal experience, arrests, budget, etc.), in this type of interview we are equally interested in the subjective elements and even in the respondent's bias and distortions. I.e., far from dismissing answers because of apparent bias, we will seek to determine, at a later stage, whether certain patterns of attitudes, values, and expectations can be associated or correlated with specific social groups. The composition of the sample of respondents for "A" interviews will be determined by a stratified grid which will take into account socio-economic, age, ecological and other variables. The purpose of this mode of selection is to provide as diverse a group of respondents as possible.

The overall purpose of this questionnaire is to elicit information and opinions on six major areas. In addition to the respondent's experiences in and knowledge and opinions of the Revolt of 1956 (Section R), these areas--relating to the entire period since 1944--are: his personal career, living conditions, and work record (Section W); social change, education, family, friends, religion (Section S); his experience with government, party, police, army, and mass organizations (Section G); communications and propaganda (Section C); and his personal opinions

and "ideology" in political and related fields (Section I). There will be an opportunity to probe other areas not specifically provided for.

For various reasons it may be desirable from time to time to rotate the order of the sections. This should be done with the consent of the scheduling officer only.

#### Interview Procedures and Techniques

Type "A" interview consists of six formal sections (R,W,S, G,C,I) and a conclusion (X). Each section has its own introduction which seeks to set forth the emphasis or purpose of a given set of questions. It is hoped that the total interview can be completed in about four or five sessions of about two-and-one-half hours each--one in the morning and one in the afternoon--on consecutive days. The emphasis in the first half is on personal experience, in the second on political questions.

The interview questionnaire presented here is the skeleton of the conversation. Except as otherwise indicated, it is important --for a variety of reasons--to ask all questions, and in the sequence given. Each question is intended to introduce a new segment of experience or attitudes and must be explored further by means of additional probes. These will of course vary from case to case. Some such probes are indicated in the interview guide. The interviewer himself will wish to introduce additional ones as the need arises. We can thus distinguish between

- (1) Questions: Spelled out in this guide;
- (2) Probes suggested in this guide;
- (3) Probes and additional questions improvised by the interviewer.

Obviously, probes which would be duplications of earlier questions or which are not applicable in the given case, should not be asked.

We attach great importance to informality of interview conditions, close rapport between interviewer and respondent and spontaneity of response. Anything conducive to these ends deserves consideration. The respondent may have been interviewed, interrogated, or cross-examined before--in Hungary as well as after his flight--and may be tired or skeptical of interviews. In addition to the information which the Project as a whole and the contact men individually will have conveyed to the respondents, the interviewer himself is responsible for explaining the nature and purpose of the questions to the respondent and for putting him at ease. Tact, understanding, and often improvisation are imperative for a successful and truthful interview.

The questions are designed to give the respondent an opportunity to voice first what is uppermost in his mind, without having his thoughts or reactions channeled in any direction. The interviewer should try to keep the respondent in this spontaneous frame of mind as long as possible. He should allow ample time for replies. To encourage the respondent to continue, brief follow-up phrases, such as "Yes?" or "What do you mean?" or "Can you give me an example?" can be very helpful. It is crucial for the interviewer to use neutral expressions and avoid leading questions or

hints as to the way "he wants" the respondent to answer. The interviewer should not be satisfied with glib generalities where specific answers are called for.

Never suggest an answer. If the respondent does not understand a question, it should be repeated slowly. He should be given time to consider its meaning.

The interviewer should be thoroughly familiar with the questions, so that he need not pause in order to read the next question for himself or stumble over the interview guide. In so far as possible, the wording given in this guide should be used. The questions must be read naturally, in a conversational manner. Each new question should appear to grow naturally from something that preceded it. It is important to cultivate a climate of conversation, not interrogation.

If the respondent, on his own, touches upon a question that will come up later in the interview, he should be allowed to complete his statements, which the interviewer must record. When the question is reached in the standard context, the interviewer should decide whether further clarification or probes are called for. If appropriate, reference to the earlier statement should be made to avoid annoyance at being asked the same question again.

No questions should be omitted by the interviewer, even where the reply seems obvious. If appropriate, an introductory remark may be made such as "I think I know what your answer will be, but would you tell me...."

If a respondent refuses to answer a given question, indicate that it is certainly his right to do so, and mark this fact in the record. Likewise, if a given question is not applicable, try to notice this before asking it. If a respondent claims not to know the answer to a question, the interviewer should decide whether to accept this at face value or whether to probe further. Sometimes a "don't know" conceals inhibition, lack of articulateness, or timidity. Probes such as "Well, what do you think might happen?" or "Do you have any opinion?" or "What would your guess be..." may be helpful.

At times, to clarify a point it is useful for the interviewer to restate in his own words what he has understood the respondent to mean and to ask whether this is correct. It is important for the interviewer to have a fair and clear understanding of the respondent's statement. On the other hand, the interviewer must guard against striving for logic or consistency where, in the perception and attitudes of the respondent, there is none.

Perhaps the greatest art of interviewing is the use of probes. Never be satisfied with the initial reply of the respondent. There are always logical, situational, exceptional and other queries that can--and should--be raised. It is important to encourage the respondent to relax and think out aloud, and to maintain his confidence, by being an interested, patient, and sympathetic listener. It is equally important to pursue the latent meaning of answers by additional probes--without, however, deprecating the respondent's

"contradictions" or ignorance and without making him feel embarrassed or threatened.

One serious problem to be aware of is post-escape bias. Unwittingly escapees, once they are abroad, acquire opinions and information which they did not possess before leaving Hungary. There is no certain formula to guard against this; the interviewer's awareness of this phenomenon should help. At times it is useful to caution the respondent not to give information or opinions which he did not have before his escape. We are substantively interested above all in what happened in Hungary, not so much in trends in the emigration itself.

#### Note-taking

The ideal--never to be attained--is a verbatim transcript of the interview. The best possible procedure is note-taking by the interviewer and subsequent transcribing of the notes. The only alternative would be to record the entire interview and then have it transcribed and translated verbatim. Various considerations make this procedure impossible. There is the obvious dilemma of the extent to which detailed note-taking slows down and disrupts the casual nature of the interview. Practice alone will suggest the best balance. Experience does show that (1) note-taking during the interview is substantially more valuable than attempts to recall answers after the interview, or any of its sessions, is completed; and (2) transcribing of the notes the same day is substantially more valuable than later recording.

Wherever possible, the interviewers are urged to take as close to verbatim notes as they can--either in Hungarian or in English, or both, whichever is easier and speedier. If notes are taken in English, the interviewer should certainly record such key words in Hungarian which convey either "flavor" or subtle shades of meaning. Answers should not be summarized or edited.

#### Recording the Interview

Interviewers will record their notes on the dictating machine, if possible immediately after each session, while the answers are still fresh and detail can be filled in on the basis of the notes.

At the outset each interviewer will get instruction in the use of the dictating machine from a member of the staff. Please do not try to use the machine without this instruction.

When starting an interview, and also when starting each new tape, please state:

- (a) your name
- (b) the local code number of your respondent
- (c) the section about to be dictated,

then proceed to contents of interview. Read number and letter of question, but not the question, and proceed with the response. If you have changed the wording in any of the questions or have added probes, dictate this additional material, and indicate that the typist should put it in parentheses. Then proceed with the answer to your probe or to the revised question.



All dictation is to be done in English. Hungarian phrases and terms may be used if they add color or if the interviewer cannot readily think of the English equivalent. Please spell all Hungarian words, proper names, and other unusual or difficult words (pronounce each word before spelling). Also please indicate punctuation and paragraphing. At the end of each tape, please indicate if section which has been dictated is complete or is to be continued on another tape.

Please keep all of your notes until after the transcription is complete and you have proofread the complete typewritten interview.

At the conclusion of the interview, the interviewer is encouraged to dictate any other comments or remarks he may wish to make about the respondent, the interview, or broader hypotheses that come to mind.

#### Forms, Face Sheet, and Ratings

The interviewer will wish to secure, in the course of the interview, certain facts about the respondent and form certain judgments about him. The interviewer should remain aware, during the interview, of the need for these pieces of information. They amount to two kinds: (1) Face Sheet data, and (2) Interviewer's Ratings.

With the papers on each respondent, the interviewer will find a blank form called a Face Sheet. In transcribed form, it will be

at the top of the entire interview transcript and will offer the analyst a synopsis of the "vital statistics" of the respondent. A sample Face Sheet is attached. Some of the information can be readily derived from the questions in the interview. Some may need special asking, either in the course, or else at the end, of the interview if the information has not been obtained earlier. Interviewers will fill in the form at the completion of the interview. Another form (to be known as Interview Record) will ask the interviewer to summarize the type, time, and place of interview, respondent's code number, interviewer's initials, and other related information. Finally, on the Rating Form, the interviewer will be asked to rate each respondent with regard to (1) rapport, (2) veracity, (3) cooperativeness, and (4) compliance. A sample Rating Form is attached.

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NOTE:

This interview guide is being issued in Hungarian and English versions. The English wording of questions is a literal re-translation from the Hungarian.

Introductory Remarks

The following is suggested as the kind of introductory statement that the interviewer is urged to make to the respondent, in a conversational tone, upon first meeting him. To avoid awkwardness, the interviewer need not introduce himself by giving his name, as if to request respondent to offer his name.

As you maybe already know, this research project has been established for the purpose of learning about Hungary. What we are interested in is what has happened since the second World War. How people reacted to what has happened. What was what they liked and what was they disliked, and why they did certain things.

This research, which is exclusively of a scientific character, is being conducted by Columbia University, one of the leading American universities. Owing to its scientific character, it does not propose either to justify or to refute any given thesis. It is independent from any political group or organization. It is not a government enterprise, not an emigre activity. Nor do secret military informations fall within the sphere of our interest.

What we want is above all the truth. Most of us here tried to follow the events in Hungary, so that we know certain facts or at least we believe we know them. Therefore I am convinced that you will have many interesting things to tell us. It goes without saying that you can talk of anything with us with the greatest frankness. In order to be able to judge things correctly, first we have to know the facts, regardless of whether they are pleasant or unpleasant.

As you know, we do not care whether or not we know the names of the people we talk with. We do this partly for your sake, that is to dispel your possible worries in this respect, and partly in order not to have even a shadow of suspicion fall on ourselves. Also you are entirely free to refuse to answer any question to which you do not wish to reply for any reason. Please feel free to tell me if you wish to take a break or if you have any other observation to make.

I hope you won't mind if I take notes as we talk. This is necessary in order to retain exactly what I hear and thus have the full benefit of your experience for our work.

Before we get started, if you have any questions you want to ask, I shall try to answer them to the best of my ability.

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Mint talán már tudja, ez a mi tudományos kutató csoportunk azzal a céllal létesült, hogy Magyarországot minél jobban megismerje. Az érdekel bennünket, hogy mi történt a második világháború óta. Hogyan reagáltak az emberek mindarra, ami történt, mi az ami tetszett nekik, mi az, ami nem, és hogy miért tettek bizonyos dolgokat.

Ezt a kutató munkát, amely kizárólag tudományos jellegű, Amerika egyik legtekintélyesebb egyeteme, a new-yorki Columbia egyetem végzi. Tudományos jellegénél fogva nem kíván semmilyen előre felállított tételt sem igazolni, sem megcáfolni. Független minden politikai csoporttól vagy szervezéstől. Nem állami kezdeményezés és nem emigrációs tevékenység. Titkos katonai információk sem esnek érdeklődési körébe.

Az igazságot akarjuk megismerni. Itt majdnem mindannyian igyekeztünk követni a magyarországi eseményeket, úgy hogy ismerünk bizonyos tényeket, vagy legalább is azt hisszük, hogy ismerjük őket. Eppen ezért meg vagyok győződve arról, hogy Önnek sok érdekes mondani-valója lesz számunkra. Azt talán fölösleges is mondanom, hogy bármiről a legnagyobb nyíltsággal beszélhet velünk. Ahhoz, hogy helyesen ítélhessük meg a dolgokat, először ismernünk kell a tényeket, függetlenül attól, hogy azok kellemesek-e, vagy kellemetlenek.

Amint tudja, nekünk mindegy, hogy ismerjük-e vagy sem az emberek nevét, akikkel beszélgetünk. Ezt részben az Önök kedvéért, illetve esetleges aggodalmainak eloszlatására tesszük, részben pedig azért, hogy ránk még a gyanu árnyéka se hárulhasson. Úgyisint, teljes szabadságában áll megtagadni a választ bármely kérdésre, amelyre bármilyen oknál fogva nem éhajt válaszolni. Kérem, nyugodtan szóljon, ha egy kis szünetet kíván tartani, vagy bármi más észrevétele van.

Remélem, nem zavarja, hogy jegyezni fogom beszélgetésünket. Ez szükséges, hogy pontosan lerögzíthessem a hallottakat, és így az Ön tapasztalatait a legnagyobb mértékben értékesíthessem tudományos kutatásunk számára. Mielőtt hozzakezdenénk, ha volna valami kérdése, igyekezni fogok tőlem telhetőleg válaszolni rá.

## SECTION "S"

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

-1-

Social Status, Education, Family, and Religion ("S")Introduction

The present section aims at personal information of a sociological sort. In several distinct but related areas it seeks to learn about the respondent's levels of accomplishment and aspiration--for instance, in education, career, and social status. In addition, it strives to determine the respondent's image of the society around him: How did he view his friends, his neighbors, his fellow workers? Where did he place himself on the social ladder? Was he socially "mobile", and if so, in what direction, and what were his goals? Finally, some picture of the individual's beliefs and experience in such fields as religion and family relations is desired--both as clues to social change in Hungary and as data relevant for an understanding of the respondent.

UNDERLINED QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED; OTHERS ARE OPTIONAL.

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## EDUCATION

1. What schooling did you have in Hungary?

- a. When did you attend school? For how long?
- b. Did you attend public or parochial school?
- c. Did you attend school after 1945? If so, please describe it.
- d. Did you attend any evening school or special technical school?
- e. What made you choose this school (these schools)?

[AT THIS POINT WE SHOULD HAVE, IN OUTLINE FORM, A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION.]

*Noting previous school*

2. [IF APPLICABLE] Did you feel you had received (you were getting, you would get) as much schooling as you wanted?

- a. How much schooling did you want?
- b. Why did you (did you not) want to go to the university?
- c. Do you think your life might have been different if you had had more schooling? If yes, in what ways?
- d. What sort of student were you--average, below average, above average?
- e. Did you have the same opportunity as everyone else to receive an education?

3. [IF APPLICABLE] Were there subjects that were compulsory for political reasons? If yes, which?

- a. What courses did you like, and what courses did you dislike?
- b. Did you have any Russian-language courses?
- c. Were there "ideological" subjects, such as dialectical materialism? What did people think of them?
- d. What about national defense training?
- e. Was sports training "politicized"?

4. What do you think were the main objectives of education for Communism in the schools?

- a. What was stressed--efficiency, social justice, compliance, or something else?
- b. How effective do you feel was education for Communism in the schools?
- b2. What about the teachers?
- c. How did school children feel about Communism?
- d. What did they like about it?
- e. What did they dislike about it?



[4 continued]

- f. Do you think this has changed in the last ten years?
- g. In what ways are youngsters today different from those in your days?
- h. Has education for Communism changed the attitude of children? If so, toward whom and what?
- i. At what age do you think it is most (least) effective?

[IF RESPONDENT SHOWS CONSIDERABLE FAMILIARITY WITH HUNGARIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, HE MAY BE RECOMMENDED FOR SPECIAL "B" INTERVIEW ON EDUCATION.]

## FAMILY AND FRIENDS:

5. Now let's talk a bit about your family. What was your father before the Communist take-over? [IF RELEVANT INFORMATION HAS BEEN SECURED IN SECTION "W", IT NEED NOT BE REPEATED HERE.]
  - a. Did your father change jobs after 1945?
  - b. What did you think about his job?
  - c. How much schooling did he have?
  - d. Before 1945, were there any servants (maids) in your family? If so, until when? How do you feel about it?
  - e. Did your family (household) own any property? If so, what happened to it?
  - f. When you were a child, compared with most people, were you better off or worse off?
  - g. When you were a child, how many people were there in your family (household)?
  - h. What happened to these people?
  - i. As of 1956, did any relatives live with you? Why?

[5 continued]

- j. When we speak of family, who really should be included in it?

[FOR PEASANT RESPONDENT: household]

- k. Did your social origin help you or hurt you in Hungary in the past ten years?

6. Were you married when you were in Hungary?

- a. What kind of work did your wife (husband) do?
- b. How long have you been married?
- c. How many children did you have?
- d. How old was your oldest child in 1956?

[IF RESPONDENT HAD A CHILD OVER 17 YEARS OLD IN 1956, ASK QUESTIONS 7-10; IF RESPONDENT HAD NONE, ASK QUESTIONS 11-13.]

7. Generally speaking, did you and your wife (husband) get along pretty well with your children?

- a. Do you think this changed any since 1945?

8. Did you talk to your wife (husband) and children about political matters?

- a. What sort of things were said?
- b. Did this change in the course of time?

9. Did you and your wife ever have trouble with your child(ren) over their education?

- a. What about the kind of work they wanted to do?
- b. What about the friends they had?
- c. What about politics?
- d. What about religion?
- e. What about sex education?
- f. Anything else?



10. Did any other authorities or persons exert any influence on your child(ren)?
  - a. Was there any competition with the parents' authority over the children? If so, how was it resolved?
11. Generally speaking, did you (and your brothers and/or sisters) get along pretty well with your parents?
12. Did you ever talk to your parents about political matters?
  - a. What sort of things were said?
  - b. Were there any changes in this in the course of time?
13. [IF APPLICABLE] Have you had any trouble with your parents over your education?
  - a. What about the kind of work they wanted to do?
  - b. What about the friends they had?
  - c. What about politics?
  - d. What about religion?
  - e. What about sex education?
  - f. Anything else?
14. Can you describe your family life in the last few years?
  - a. How close was your family?
  - b. How typical do you think this was?
  - c. What did you do with your leisure time?
  - d. What sort of things did you do together with your (wife, children, parents)?
  - e. How much time did you spend together?
  - f. What sort of things would you have liked to do that you couldn't?

[14 continued]

- g. Were you free to do what you wanted with your leisure time? If not, what controls or pressures were there on it?

(15) Do you feel/think that since 1945 family ties have loosened or tightened?

- ✓ a. Can family members trust each other?
- ✓ b. Are they more dependent on each other than before?
- ✓ c. Are children growing estranged from their parents ~~or~~ not?
- ✓ d. Is this equally true of town and country?
- ✓ e. Have there been any changes in the ways of rearing children?
- ✓ f. Has there been any change in the attitude toward divorce? In the number of divorces?

(16) Do you think relations between boys and girls have changed in Hungary in the last ten years?

- a. What about the age at which people marry? Was there a change in recent years?
- ✓ b. Have courtship and marriage patterns changed? What about the role of parents in this?
- c. What do you think about it?
- ✓ d. Was there more loose sexual behavior than there used to be? If so, why? What forms does it take?
- ✓ e. Was there any prostitution?
- ✓ f. In your opinion, were the Communists more strict or less strict about sexual matters than the authorities before? In what ways?
- ✓ g. What do you think about birth control? How widespread do you think it is?

[16 continued]

- h. Do you think the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed? Are there many?
- i. Do you think the status of women has changed in Hungary since the war? If so, can you give examples? Is it a good thing or a bad thing?

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Do you think the general state of morals has changed in Hungary in the last ten years?

- a. Can you give examples of low morals from your own experience?
- b. Is there much stealing? If so, by whom, and for what reasons?
- c. Is there much bribery (graft, embezzlement)? If so, by whom, and for what reasons?
- d. What about hooliganism? Who are the so-called hooligans, and what do they want?

18. Now I should like to talk about friends. Can you think of one of your closest friends in Hungary. When and how did you first meet him (her)?

- a. What kind of work did he (she) do?
- b. Was his (her) age and social background the same as yours?
- c. What sort of things did you do when you were together?
- d. Did you ever discuss politics?
- e. Did your friendship change in any way in the last few years?
- f. [IF APPLICABLE] Are you still friends?
- g. What sort of thing do you value most in a friend?
- h. Was it easy to make friends?
- i. How would you describe the circle of friends you had?

[18 continued]

j. What did it mean to have a friend?

[IF NON-COMMUNIST:]

k. Suppose you had a friend who became a minor party official. Would this have affected your friendship? Why?

[IF COMMUNIST:]

l. How many Communists and how many non-Communists were there among your friends?

#### RELIGION

19. Do you mind if we talk a little about your religious background? What was your parents' religion?

a. Did all the members of your family have the same attitude toward religion or did some differ from the rest?

b. What about yourself? (What are your personal attitudes in this matter?)

20. Has Communist rule affected religious life?

a. Were all faiths affected equally or not? Why?

b. Do you think the Communists tried to stamp out religion or use it for their own ends? What makes you think so?

c. What about the "peace priests"? Do you think they were sincere? Who were they?

d. What did the party do to [INSERT A GIVEN FAITH] clerics?

e. What did it do to practising laymen?

f. Could one freely attend church services?

g. Did any one stay away from church because of fear or because he got into trouble?

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- h. Did you attend church services? How often?
- i. What sort of people attended church more  
(less) frequently? Why did people attend church?  
/PROBE FOR VARIATIONS BY AGE, SOCIAL GROUP,  
TIME, MOTIVATION./
- j1. Do you think different faiths adjusted  
differently to the regime? If so, why?
- j2. How did people of different denominations  
get along?

[20 continued]

- k. Do you think religion is more or less important to young people than it was to their parents? Why?
- l. What part do you think the church played in fostering political opposition in the last five or six years? How? Can you give any examples?

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

21. Suppose that, while you were still in Hungary, a capable young person whom you knew and trusted had asked your advice on what occupation he should seek. What one occupation would you have told him would be the best to aim at?
- a. Why that occupation?
- b. What kind of things would you have told this person were important if he wanted to advance in his line of work?
- c. What kinds of people do you think had the best chance to get to be [INSERT OCCUPATION NAMED BY RESPONDENT] in Hungary?
22. Suppose you were asked to make a list of the groups of people in Hungary whom you regarded as best off and worst off under the Communists. What groups would you name, and in what order would you put them?
- a. Which of these groups would you say you belonged in?
- b. Which of these groups would you have liked to belong in?
- c. How did athletes fare? ("sports talents")
- d. How did artists fare?
23. What social classes would you say exist in Hungary today?
- a. How can you tell?

## [23. continued]

- b. Do you feel that this represents a significant change since the war? If so, due to what?
- c. Is this good or bad?
- d. Does class background divide (raise barriers between) people?
- e. Do you think people are socially more or less equal than they used to be?
- f. Is this good or bad?
- g. What about the way people deal with each other: have there been any changes in manner, etiquette, ~~criteria of decorum?~~ criteria of politeness?

[THIS SHOULD BE RECORDED ACCORDING TO THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENT; FOR INSTANCE, IN CASES OF LESS EDUCATION, OF PEASANTS, ETC.: a jo modor, szivelyesség, stb. tekintetben.]

ANTI-SEMITISM

24. Do you think any minority groups in Hungary have suffered more than others under Communism? If so, which and why?

- a. Do you think any minority groups have benefited more than others under Communism? If so, which and why?

25. How were the Jews affected by the Communist regime?

- a. What was the attitude of the Jews toward the regime?
- b. What was the role of the Jews in the government and Party?
- c. Did you have any Jewish acquaintances? If so, what was their attitude toward the regime?
- d. How did Jews behave during the Revolt?
- e. What was the general attitude toward the Jews in Hungary?

[25 continued]

- ✓ f. Did it change since 1945?
- g. Do you think there was more or less anti-Semitism than before the war? Why?
- h. What do you think about the future of the Jews in Hungary?
26. [INTERVIEWER SHOULD FEEL FREE TO PURSUE ANY RELEVANT QUESTION THAT SUGGESTS ITSELF ON THE BASIS OF THE PRECEDING MATERIAL IN THIS SECTION.]



CONCLUSION ("X")Instructions

This is the final and most flexible part of the interview. There is hardly any rigid pattern of questions to follow here but merely the general exhortation to the interviewer to pursue targets of opportunity. Some of the possible areas are suggested below.

Upon termination of the interview, the interviewer is asked to give an assessment of the respondent and to make any additional comments that appear pertinent.

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1. I have been asking you all sorts of questions. I wonder if you have any questions you want to ask me.
  - a. What do you think about the conversations had together?
  - b. How much interesting material do you think we will be able to collect through such conversations?
  - c. What are some things you would urge us to beware of?
  - d. Do you think we shall get honest answers or not?

[1. continued]

e. What do you think I should have asked you but didn't?

2. Let's see what other things you know about that we have not yet really talked about.

a. Do you ever intend to go back to Hungary?

3. You know our aim is to get as much information on Hungary and the Hungarian situation as possible. In this connection, do you have any suggestions for our Project?

a. Any documents (official or other documents, photographs) or other materials that the Project might be interested in having or knowing about?

b. Have you written or do you plan to write any manuscript on the basis of your experiences?

c. Do you have any suggestions of other people whom we ought to interview? [IF SO, DO NOT RECORD THEM BUT PASS ON TO SCHEDULING OFFICE.]

4. Thank you very much for your help. Let us just see whether any paper work remains.

a. Have you been paid for your expenses?

[4 continued]

- b. [GIVE RESPONDENT FORM WITH PROJECT ADDRESS.]
- c. [CHECK IF DATA FOR FACE SHEET ARE COMPLETE.]

Rating

AFTER COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW, INTERVIEWER IS ASKED TO FILL OUT ATTACHED RATING FORM AND, IN ADDITION, READ INTO THE RECORD A PARAGRAPH GIVING HIS INFORMAL, IMPRESSIONISTIC PORTRAIT OF THE RESPONDENT--HIS PERSONALITY, GOALS, MOTIVATION, "WHAT MAKES HIM TICK."

Rating to be stapled to this.

RATING FORM

Local Code No. \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ 1962

Absolute Code No. \_\_\_\_\_ (to be supplied by GURPH office)

Interview Type: A ☐ B ☐

1. All four categories below, rate on a scale from 1 to 10:

- 1-2 Very bad
- 3-4 Mediocre
- 5-6 Fair
- 7-8 Good
- 9-10 Excellent

In each case, please also check appropriate box if "1" or "10" are called for.

31(1) RELATIONSHIP:

How good is rapport between interviewer and respondent?

\_\_\_\_\_ Check if exceptional: "1" ☐ "10" ☐

Any particular questions which produced awkwardness or blocks?

32(2) FRANKNESS:

How frank do you believe the respondent to have been?

\_\_\_\_\_ Check if exceptional: "1" ☐ "10" ☐

Any particular questions on which you doubt his veracity?

33(3) COOPERATIVENESS:

How cooperative was respondent?

\_\_\_\_\_ Check if exceptional: "1" ☐ "10" ☐

34(4) COMPLIANCE/FLATTERY:

How much do you feel respondent was trying to answer questions in what he thought was the "desired" or "desirable" way?

\_\_\_\_\_ Check if exceptional: "1" ☐ "10" ☐

HUNGARIAN AREA SPECIALISTS: Various leading specialists in Hungarian affairs will be invited to co-operate on a part-time or full-time basis in the planning and interviewing program. Among those who have indicated their support are Stephen Kertesz, Notre Dame University; and Paul Keczkemeti, the RAND Corporation. Others to be approached include Alexander Eckstein, Harvard University; and Andrew Jaszi, University of California. Several younger scholars with a knowledge of Hungarian affairs are being considered as interviewers.

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND METHODOLOGY: It is planned to use as consultants and part-time staff members specialists in interviewing methods and techniques as well as broader sociological and social science problems. In addition to Messrs. Glock and Lazarsfeld (listed above as members of the Executive Committee), it is hoped to secure the services of Raymond A. Bauer, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Ivan D. London, Brooklyn College; Siegfried Krakauer, New York, and Paul Massing, New York.

#### APPENDIX B: TYPES OF INTERVIEW

Three basic types of approach are contemplated - Types A and B being oral "depth" interview, and Type C being a written questionnaire.

##### TYPE A

This interview, based on an "open-ended" questionnaire, will be given to a stratified sample of respondents. The sample would take primary account of differences in age, socio-economic status, and urban/rural variations. Subsidiary attention would be paid to sex, religious, national and political differences, as well as date and type of defection and place of present residence.

Type A interview would be administered, after careful screening of respondents' basic "vital statistics," as a first step in intensive interviewing. It is to consist of

(a) a biographical account of the individual's experience since 1944, with special emphasis on his contacts with the regime, the impact of the system and his reactions, the processes of control and his responses to them, political experience and change, the individual's occupation, education, and social status, his religious experience (and national, if appropriate), his work situation, family and friends, as well as the general problem of loyalty and attitude toward authority;

(b) an interview on the events of 1956 - what, when and how - including the individual's own experience and his exodus, both factual and motivation;

(c) an examination of opinions and attitudes in a series of questions following a prepared guide with greater rigidity than (a) and (b) - (for purposes of subsequent comparability) - including such areas as the individual's ideology; political comments on Hungary, past and future; Communism, Russia, America; political programs; judgements of regimes and personalities; motivation and outlook; non-political interests, social responsibility; estimate of own status in society; opinion of attitudes and opinions of other groups. These replies can presumably be correlated to biographical data provided above under (a). If necessary, a written questionnaire could be substituted for this part of the interview.

This interview will cover a large area of broad interests but will include a minimum core of "must" questions, to be

supplemented according to the special interests or experience of the individual respondent.

It is contemplated that preliminary drafting of an interview outline and guide will begin forthwith and that within six weeks the "pre-testing" of the preliminary questionnaire will be completed in the New York area. On the basis of these tests - and simultaneous training of interviewers - the necessary revisions will be introduced prior to the start of more extensive interviewing.

#### TYPE B

In addition to the above interview - valuable, it is hoped, both for the substantive information and attitudes secured, and for its susceptibility to systematic ("statistical") analysis - a number of interviews are to be conducted, regardless of the individual's "sample slot," to elicit information and attitudes from particularly "interesting," informed or important individual refugees. They are to be selected (a) on the basis of the recommendation of the TYPE A interviewer, as he runs across respondents who are suited for further interviewing; (b) on the basis of individual "procurement," regardless of whether or not they have received or are to receive TYPE A interview; and (c) for special projects or subjects of interest which individuals on the staff of the Hungarian Interview Project or associated with it hope to pursue, e. g., church-state relations; ethnic conflicts; state planning procedure; the role of Soviet personnel; the operation of a local Party unit.

In individual cases, with the consent of the project office, manuscripts may be commissioned from individual informants after interviewing under Type B.

#### TYPE C

A further source of information is the written questionnaire. This would be an effort to cast a wide net to obtain comparable information from a larger number of individuals than could be reached through oral interviews. It is suggested that this procedure be seriously weighed after pre-testing and examining the early findings: it is relatively cheaper to administer but more difficult and expensive to analyze; its relative merit may depend on the extent to which oral interviews prove adequate; and it may be restricted to such areas of factual information, such as a personal budget questionnaire, as are susceptible to quantitative analysis but are not available from government or published sources.



## SECTION "G"

-1-

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

Government and Politics("G")Instructions

This section is intended to probe into the political experience of the individual. In substance, it should produce the respondent's "loyalty profile": How politicized was he and the society he lived in; what were the grievances and tensions he was aware of; what were his attitudes toward the regime; and how did they evolve?

In addition, we are interested in obtaining information about the respondent's perception of the locus of authority and power, the function of various mass organizations, the motives for joining or not joining them, and the ability of the individual to "operate" within (or in spite of) the system.

Finally, it is hoped to secure factual data on arrest frequencies among respondent's acquaintances and relatives, and details on specific instances of terror and other police activities.

Probably the most "ticklish" question is that of having the respondent "admit" membership in any Communist organizations, such as the Party or one of its affiliates. Here the interviewer must use his judgment; if necessary, he can substitute "why would one join the Party" for "why would you join the Party" on the assumption that this formula would eliminate the hurdle of personal confession yet bring out a projection of personal attitudes.

UNDERLINKED QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED: OTHERS ARE OPTIONAL

Interview Guide

## POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

1. Have you been interested in politics? Why?
  - a. Compared with other interests, how important have political developments been to you?
  - b. Has your interest varied in the course of time?  
 [DIFFERENTIATE PRE-1944, 1945-1948, SINCE 1948, NOW]

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[1 continued]

- c. Have you ever participated in political action of some sort? If so, when [WHAT YEARS] and in what form?
2. Can you trace for me, step by step, how you felt about the political system as it emerged after World War II and developed during the following years?
- a. Did you sympathize with any political party prior to 1948? If so, which and why? If not, why not?
- b. Did your father belong to any political party?
- c. Did your political views change at all since 1945? If so, in what ways and why?
- d. What were your feelings about the Communist Party before 1948?
- e. What determined your initial attitude toward Communism?
- [CHECKLIST: Family traditions,  
Other political leanings,  
Knowledge of Bela Kun regime,  
Communist and Soviet policy  
prior to 1944,  
Experience with them in 1944-45]
- f. If you had to choose among the following descriptions of your political attitude since 1948, which comes closest to your own case?
- (i) Never interested in politics;  
(ii) Always against regime;  
(iii) Was willing to give Communists a try but became disappointed in them [IF SO, WHEN? WHY?]  
(iv) Had mixed feelings, approving some things but disapproving others [WHAT THINGS?]  
(v) Basically pro-Communist [WHY?] until [WHEN? WHY?]  
(vi) None of the above descriptions fit [EXPLAIN].
- g. Do you think other people felt the same way? Who did? Who did not? Why?

[2 continued]

h. In spite of their many grievances, just about the whole population obeyed the authorities until October 1956. How do you explain this?

1. What do you know about the use of loyalty dossiers [Kader]? How effective were they in keeping people in line?

3. If you think back to day-to-day life in Hungary a few years ago, what were the main grievances you had?

[FIRST LET RESPONDENT SPONTANEOUSLY LIST AREAS OF GRIEVANCE.]

a. Here are some types of complaints we have heard about. Can you tell which three of these were the most important for you?

[SHOW RESPONDENT LIST]

- (i) Interference with family life
- (ii) Interference with religious life
- (iii) Inadequate housing
- (iv) Disagreement with political ideas
- (v) Inadequate food
- (vi) Fear of arrest and terror
- (vii) Violation of national dignity and traditions
- (viii) Boredom and drabness
- (ix) Interference with civil rights
- (x) Inadequate opportunity to get ahead
- (xi) Inadequate professional recognition
- (xii) Presence of Soviet troops
- (xiii) Distortion of facts by regime
- (xiv) Overtaxation
- (xv) Overwork.

b. Which three of these were the least important for you?

c. Which were the most important for the intellectuals?

d. Which for the peasants?

e. Which for the workers?

f. These grievances and complaints--how acutely did one feel them on an average day? Can you give examples?

[3 continued]

- g. Did one talk about them with others? If so, with whom? If not, why? Did this vary in time?
- h. Could you try to do something about them? What, why?
- i. Were there any little annoyances that got on one's nerves? If so, what were they?
- j. In compensation, what were some things that provided satisfaction, gratification, or relief?

GOVERNMENT, PARTY AND MASS ORGANIZATIONS

(4.) Who was the real power in Hungary?

- a. What makes you think so?
- b. What role did the Council of Ministers play as compared with the Party?
- c. Who ran the government [since 1948]?
- d. What was the role of parliament?
- e. Why did the Communists hold elections?
- f. Was there a bureaucracy? How did it compare with pre-1944 Hungary?
- g. Was there much graft? Why? Can you give examples?
- h. What sort of people went into government service?
- i. What sort of people became professional army officers? What were the advantages of being one?
- j. What sort of people became managers?

5. Next I should like to talk about the DISZ (Youth League).  
Were there advantages in belonging to it?

- a. Were there drawbacks?
- b. Did one have to join?

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[5 continued]

c. What ways were there not to join?

d. Did you belong?[IF A MEMBER:]e. When and how did you join?

f. What were your duties? Your position?

g. Could you describe your work in the DISZ and your attitude toward it?

h. How much time did it occupy?

[IF A NON-MEMBER:]

i. Could you have joined?

j. Did non-membership later affect your life or career?

k. Who ran the DISZ?

6. Now about the Party. What did it mean to be a Party member?

a. Who had to be a member?

b. Who wanted to be a member?

c. What are the rights and duties of membership?

d. Can you think of some people you knew who joined? If so, when and why did they join?

e. What did being a member do to people? Do you think some people changed after becoming Party members? If so, in what way? When?f. What about Communists who became dissatisfied: on what grounds did they turn "sour"?

g. What sort of position could one attain without being a Party member?

h. Were you a member?

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[6 continued][IF PARTY MEMBER:]

- i. When and how did you join?
- j. Why did you join?
- k. Were your expectations fulfilled? Please explain.
- l. Did your attitude toward the Party change later on? If so, when and why?
- m. How much time did it occupy? What did you do in the Party or for the Party? Did you have to?
- n. How was the Party organized on the lower (cell) level?
- o. Can you describe some Party meetings you attended?

[CONSIDER RECOMMENDING RESPONDENT FOR "B" INTERVIEW ON PARTY AFFAIRS][IF NON-MEMBER:]

- p. Could you have joined?
- q. Did non-membership later affect your life or career?

[FOR ALL:]

- r. Who ran the Party?
- s. What do you think about some of the leaders?
- t. Do you think Party policy remained the same or did it change? If the latter, when, how, and under what impetus? What did you think of it?

7. Did you belong to any other organizations or societies?  
[SINCE 1950]

[FOR EACH:]

- a. What sort of people were the members?
- b. How large an organization was it?



[ continued ]

- c. What was its purpose?
- d. Why and when did you join it?
- e. What did you do as a member?
- f. How did you feel about it?
- g. What did people think of the mass organizations?  
Were there any exceptions?
- h. How "close" were the members to one another?
- i. Can you describe the leaders of the organization--their background, age, education, occupation, motives?
- j. Did the organization do anything illegal?
- k. Do you think there were secret informers among the members? If so, how do you know this? What did they do? What was the attitude toward them?
- l. How did the mass organizations function?
- m. How did workers feel about the trade unions?

1 (8) How many Hungarian Communists do you think really believed in Communism as such--nearly all, about half, or very few?

1 (9) How do you think groups such as the Youth Movement became transformed from a stalwart Communist organization into a center of opposition?

## POLICE AND TERROR

(10) We have heard a lot about Communist terror. Just how does it manifest itself?

- a. Does one have to suffer it oneself to be aware of it?
- b. What do you know of the work of the AVH?  
Why was it formed? What was its task?

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[10 continued]

- c. Do you know about any of the departments of the AVH?
  - d. Do you know anything about the system of informers, agents, agent provocateurs, pressure methods, and denunciation established by the AVH?
  - e. How were people recruited into the AVH?
  - f. What was their social, age, political, religious background?
  - g. What privileges did members of the AVH possess?
  - h. Were they immune from persecution?
  - i. Can you compare regular AVH personnel and secret informers?
  - j. What were the relations between the AVH and the police?
  - k. What were the relations between the AVH and the Party? Who do you think had more authority?
  - l. Did you know any police chiefs? If so, what happened to them?
11. Were you or any close friend of yours ever arrested [since 1945]?
- a. If so, can you give me some details about the case that produced the greatest impression on you.
- [WHO, WHEN, ON WHAT GROUNDS. IF TRIED, ON WHAT CHARGES, CONDUCT OF INVESTIGATION AND TRIAL, SENTENCE, HOW AND WHERE SERVED. INTERESTING RESPONDENTS WITH FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE MAY BE RECOMMENDED FOR "B" INTERVIEWS.]
- b. Can you give me a brief list of specific arrests you can think of among your circle of acquaintances?



[1 continued]

c. Did you know reliably about any physical abuse of anyone arrested? If so, can you tell me about it?

d. What sort of people got arrested?

[PROBE FOR CRITERIA: SOCIAL GROUPS, PERSONALITY TRAITS, POLITICAL VS. NON-POLITICAL CAUSES, EXTENT OF CULPABILITY, ETC.]

e. Do you know any cases where the hazbizalmi or toebbizalmi had anything to do with the arrest?

f. How could one get in touch with people under arrest?

g. Do you know about any prisons, concentration and forced labor camps?

h. What do you know about forced deportations? What was the fate of the deportees?

12.

[IF RESPONDENT HIMSELF WAS UNDER ARREST] I should like to ask a little more about your prison experience.

a. When were you arrested?

b. What was the charge against you?

c. How long did the investigation last?

d. Where were you in custody, awaiting trial?

e. What was your daily food?

f. Were you maltreated? (Please give details.)

g. Did you get any insight into the work of the investigating organs during the course of the investigation? (Network of spies, informers, etc.)

h. Were you sentenced?

i. Did you know the date of your trial beforehand?

j. Could you choose your defense counsel?

k. If your defense counsel was appointed officially, did you have a chance to talk to him?

## [12 continued]

1. What was your sentence? Who sentenced you?
  - m. How much of your sentence did you serve?  
Your time in prison: list prisons, penitentiaries, concentration camps, hard labor camps,
  - n. Do you remember other prisons or hard labor camps?
  - o. What do you know of health service in prisons?
  - p. What disciplinary measures were employed against prisoners?
  - q. How did you settle down after your release?
  - r. Were you under police supervision?
  - s. Where and at what intervals did you have to report?
  - t. Did you ask for rehabilitation?
  - u. Were you morally or financially rehabilitated?  
(If yes, how?)
13. If you were asked to advise someone how to steer clear of trouble with the secret police, what would you tell him?
- a. Are there any safe professions?
  - b. Does it help to be politically active in the Party?
  - c. Do personal connections help? If so, with whom?
  - d. Does a good class background help?  
Can one conceal an unfavorable one?
  - e. Does it help to have money?
  - f. If one knows how to keep one's mouth shut, is one likely to escape trouble?
  - g. Are there any religious or national groups who are more likely to court trouble?

(14) Were there any important fluctuations in the extent and forms of terror?

- a. Were there any waves of purges you can recall?
- b. Did you notice any change in 1953?
- (c) What was the situation in 1956?

## OTHER POLITICAL ISSUES

(15) How important do you think was the Soviet Union in Hungarian affairs?

- a. What decisions were taken in Moscow, and what in Hungary?
- b. How did you know?
- c. In what ways did you feel evidence of Soviet pressures? [DISTINGUISH DIRECT AND INDIRECT]
- d. Did you have any contact with Soviet personnel? If so, tell me about them--how they behaved, what sort of people they were.
- e. In what areas of life [branches of economy, professions, levels, etc.] was Soviet influence most pronounced, in which least?
- f. Which Hungarian agencies had Soviet advisors or other Soviet personnel assigned to them?

(16) How do people manifest their feelings under the Communists?  
~~Could people under the Communists manifest their feelings?~~

- a. Do they conceal any of their sentiments? If so, why?
- b. Can you give any examples from your own experience?
- c. With whom could you be frank, and with whom less so?
- d. What sort of things would you be more candid about, and about what things least?
- e. Did things vary in this respect in the last ten years?

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

17. Are there any ways for a Hungarian citizen to circumvent or ignore official orders?
- Did you manage to protect your own interests in defiance of official decrees? If so, can you give an example?
  - Can a peasant fail to deliver all ~~the grain~~ he is supposed to? If so, how?
  - Suppose a person working in Budapest in a government office is transferred to a distant village. Can he do anything to have the transfer cancelled? How would he go about it?
  - Suppose a worker wants to get a better-paying job elsewhere, in another town. How would he go about it?
  - Suppose a university student is barred from continuing his studies because of his father's social background. He wants to get the decision reversed or circumvented. How can he go about it?

## OPPOSITION

18. Well, now, everything considered, what would you say were the strong points and which the weak points of the regime?
- What were some cohesive forces?
  - What were some disruptive forces?
19. Finally, I want to ask you something about opposition to the regime. What opposition was there, and how was it expressed?
- What forms did it take after 1948?
  - What groups were most hostile to the regime? Why?
  - What groups were least hostile? Why?
  - Do you think opposition increased or decreased in 1953-55?
  - Do you think it increased or decreased in 1955-56?

[19 continued]

- f. Do you think opposition was a personal matter, or were there any organized opposition groups?
- g. Did you hear of any opposition within the Party itself?
- h. In the army?
- i. Among students?
- j. Among writers?
- k. Was there any sabotage or slow-down?
- ①. How do you explain the emergence of the Petöfi Circle and of MEESZ?
- ③. Did you know of the activities of the intellectuals [in 1955-56]? What did they have in mind?
- n. [TO THE EXTENT THAT THIS WAS NOT DONE IN SECTION "R" AND IT SEEMS WORTH WHILE HERE, INTERVIEWER SHOULD FEEL FREE TO SURVEY RESPONDENT'S KNOWLEDGE AND OPINIONS OF ANTECEDENTS OF REVOLT OF 1956 IN TERMS OF POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL FERMENT.]

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

The Revolt and its Antecedents("R")Instructions

In this, the first section of the actual interview, the interviewer will wish to be particularly tactful. If necessary, he will want to go slowly and (unlike elsewhere in the interview) even depart momentarily from the standard order of questions.

The purpose of this section is twofold. On the one hand, it is hoped to elicit some spontaneous comments from the respondent about what is uppermost in his mind and to permit him to "blow off steam" so as to settle down to a less emotional interview situation later on, and in this manner permit better rapport and greater frankness. At the same time, the Project is interested both in the respondent's experience in the Revolt of 1956 and in his image of it. It may be well to bear in mind that certain facets of the antecedents of the Revolt will also be covered in other contexts later in the interview. We can assume that the basic facts of the Revolt are known. On the other hand, particularly qualified informants should be recommended for a special "B" interview on the Revolt.

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

UNDERLINED QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED; OTHERS ARE OPTIONAL

Interview guide

1. What do you think we ought to know about events in Hungary?

[THE RESPONDENT SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO STRUCTURE HIS REPLY AS HE WISHES. NO EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO INTERRUPT THE STREAM OF WHAT HE CONSIDERS SIGNIFICANT.]

2. I should like first to discuss the Revolt. When do you think the whole thing started?

- a. Was there any "incubation" period before the outbreak?
- b. What events during the last few years contributed to it?

[CHECKLIST FOR INTERVIEWERS' USE:

- (i) Stalin's death;
- (ii) Imre Nagy's Premiership, 1953-55;
- (iii) Reconciliation of Moscow with Tito;
- (iv) 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party;
- (v) Poznan events (June, 1956);
- (vi) Replacement of Rákosi;



[2b continued]

(vii) Rajk funeral;

(viii) Gomulka's return to power (October 19, 1956) ]

- ✓ c. Looking back to events, was there any particular point at which you could have said: this is the real turning-point?
- d. Before the Revolt took place, did you have any feeling that a big change was imminent? If so, when, and what made you think so?
- ✓ e. What do you think was the part played by the writers in the events leading up to the Revolution?
- f. Was there any change in the "atmosphere" of Hungarian publications [before October, 1956]? If so, in what publications in particular? [PROBE FOR Irodalmi Újság, Szabad Nép.]
- g. Did any articles, poems, lectures particularly impress you? If so, which?

✓ 3. In your mind, then, what were the major factors leading to the Revolt?

- a. Why do you think the Revolt occurred when it did--not sooner and not later?

## [3 continued]

- ✓ b. We have often heard about the efficient controls which the Soviets imposed in the countries they ruled. How come the whole system was allowed to collapse so easily?
- ✓ c. What do you think was in the minds of the people who staged the demonstration of October 23?
- ✓ d. How did it turn from a demonstration into a fight?
- e. Do you think different people had different purposes in mind on October 23?
- f. What people opposed the Revolt? Can you give me any examples from your own experience?
- g. What people were neutral?
- ✓ h. What were the most popular slogans during the Revolt? As the Revolution progressed, were additional slogans formulated?

[TRY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE OBJECTIVES.]

- i. Do you think the Revolt was anti-Communist?
- j. What do you mean by anti-Communist?

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[3 continued]

✓ k. [IF "YES" TO "1"] How come some Communists joined the Revolt?

l. Were there some reactionaries among the rebels?

m. Suppose Soviet troops had not been brought in. What do you think would have happened in Hungary?

4. What did you do between October 23 and November 4?

[THE REPLY CAN BE A FREEWHEELING, CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT. WE ARE INTERESTED IN PERSONAL MOTIVES, SUCH AS FEAR, ELATION, IDENTIFICATION, PARTICIPATION. TRY TO GET RESPONDENT TO RECONSTRUCT ATTITUDES AND FEELINGS HE HAD THEN. IF FACTUALLY NOVEL OR IMPORTANT MATERIAL COMES TO LIGHT (particularly if respondent was in a center of revolutionary activity other than Budapest), RECOMMEND FOR "B" INTERVIEW.]

a. Did you see any fighting between Hungarians, Russian troops, AVOs, or police? If so, whom, when, where?

b. Did you see any instances where Hungarian troops deserted their units or defied their orders?

[4 continued]

- c. Did you witness any mob violence? If so how did you feel about it at the time?

5. [IF A NON-FIGHTING PARTICIPANT] How did you participate in the Revolt?

- a. In demonstrations?
- b. In strikes?
- c. Did you help the fighters in any way? (food supply, ammunition, medicine, etc.?)
- d. Remove Red or Russian emblems?
- e. Preparing or distributing leaflets?
- f. Membership in a revolutionary council?

6. [IF ACTUAL FIGHTER] I should like to ask you something about the action you saw. Did you fight alone or belong to a group?

[IF GROUP MEMBER:]

- a. What group(s) were you with?
- b. What was the origin of the group? Did it grow out of any existing group [army, students, workers]?
- c. Who joined it? Was anybody recruited? Was anybody allowed to join? Who decided who could?

[6 continued]

- d. What later became of your group members?
- e. What sort of supplies and arms did the group have? Where from?
- f. How was the group organized? Was there any discipline?
- g. Was there any leader? If so, what was his background, politics, military experience? How did he become the leader?
- h. From your experience, what sort of person showed the most initiative for leadership?
- i. How were decisions made in your unit?
- j. Did you discuss plans or exchange information with anyone?

✓ 7. Among the various revolutionary groups, who had the greatest authority? Why?

- a. Were there any conflicts or disagreements among the rebels? If so, detail.
- b. How did students and workers get along during the Revolution?
- c. Did you have any contact with any of the following: workers' groups; army units; student organizations?

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[7 continued]

- d. Did you have any contact with any of the following: intellectuals; clergy; peasants; revolutionary council.

✓ 8. How did Soviet troops behave during the whole crisis?

- a. Were there any differences of behavior among them? [GET SPECIFIC FACTS OR DETAILS]
- b. What about Russian students in Budapest?
- c. What about Chinese and other foreign students?
- d. What about Soviet civilian officials in Hungary?
- e. Do you know of any defections by Russians during the Revolt? [GET SPECIFIC FACTS OR DETAILS]
- f. How much influence do you think Soviet authorities exerted in Budapest? [DIFFERENTIATE: PRIOR TO OCTOBER 23, DURING CRISIS, AFTER NOVEMBER 4, 1956.]

✓ 9. During the Revolt, how did you find out about the course of events?

- a. What part did the newspapers play? Did you read any? If yes, which?
- b. What did you learn by word-of-mouth? From whom?
- c. Did you listen to the radio? Domestic or foreign? What stations? What news did you hear in this way?

[9 continued]

- d. During the revolution, which media were more important for you in getting the facts, and which were less important?

10. What was the fate, during the Revolt, of the old Government and Party institutions? How did they function?

Can you give me some examples from your own experience?

- ✓ a. In substance, what institutions collapsed and what institutions (and controls) remained intact?
- ✓ b. What happened to the Party? The local (primary) organizations? The Party offices? Their personnel?
- c. The uniformed (blue) police?
- ✓ d. The AVH?
- e. The courts?
- f. The army?
- g. Central government, ministries?
- h. Local "councils"?
- i. The churches?
- j. Which organizations did the rebels use to further their own ends?
- k. What new kinds of organizations emerged during the Revolt?



## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[10 continued]

1. What was the background of the Workers' Councils? What did they do? Who ran them?
- m. What sort of government structure would have emerged from the Revolt, do you think?

J

11. Now that it's all over, have you had any further thoughts about it?

- a. What do you think, was it a useful thing or not?
- b. Do you think it could have succeeded?
- c. Had you expected any help from the West? If yes, on what basis? In what form?
- d. Why do you think it happened in Hungary, not in one of the other satellites?
- e. What do you think of Imre Nagy?
- f. What other individuals were important?

[CHECKLIST FOR INTERVIEWER:

Maleter,

Kiraly,

Aczel,

Lukacs,

Tildy,

Dudas.]

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[11 continued]

g. Could you rank the following groups according to the degree of their participation in the Revolt:

- (i) Workers
- (ii) Peasants
- (iii) Intellectuals
- (iv) Soldiers
- (v) Youth (students, young workers)
- (vi) Irresponsible elements
- (vii) Anyone else?

h. Did you expect the university students to play the part they did?

12. When did you decide to leave Hungary?

- a. What made you decide after all?
- b. Did you discuss it with anyone else?
- c. Did you think of doing anything other than leaving Hungary?

[IN CONCLUSION, ALLOW RESPONDENT TO TELL HOW HE LEFT HUNGARY AND WHAT HE HAS DONE SINCE, IF HE SEEMS ANXIOUS TO TALK.]

## SECTION "W"

-1- no

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

Work Experience and Economic Conditions ("W")Instructions

This section is to provide a general summary of the respondent's career. It begins with a broad, unstructured question about himself, where he should be given an opportunity to keep talking about himself as long as he wishes. Then it is important systematically to fill in the gaps and proceed in the order indicated by the questions below, referring to his own work experiences and related data which would help us "place" this individual within Hungarian society.

In addition to helping us understand the respondent, this section should elicit information about material conditions in Hungary and their change over the course of time; about the respondent's perception of economic conditions and opportunities, and about family budgets: how people made and spent money, and what they could afford to do at different times since 1944.

Some of the questions, particularly on work experience, may not be applicable to individual cases. Thus students, housewives, and some others who were never employed will not be able to answer some of the questions in this section. The general policy to follow is: (1) for the interviewer to decide, on the basis of prior information and Questions 1-2 in this section, whether Questions 3-5 are applicable; (2) if not, delete individual questions (such as job satisfaction and working hours), but (3) ask household questions (such as average income) by inquiring about other members of respondent's family. For students, school or study group is the closest corresponding experience to investigate in Question 4. Obviously, for peasant respondents some probes will not be applicable and need not be asked. Care should be taken to substitute relevant variants wherever possible.

UNDERLINED QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED; OTHERS ARE OPTIONAL.

Interview Guide

1. Now tell me about yourself. What did you do in Hungary?
  - a. What is your primary occupation?  
SEEK WHAT RESPONDENT CONSIDERS HIMSELF TO BE,  
AND WHAT HE DID IN HUNGARY, NOT NOW.

2. Please tell me about the jobs you held in Hungary. Start with the first and enumerate them in order.

/FOR EACH:/ a. Just what did you do?

b. What was your position (rank)?

c. How long did you have this position?

d. Were you promoted?

e. Tell me about the place (organization, company, firm) you worked at.

f. What did it do? Was it a large organization? an efficient one?

g. Do you mind telling me what it was?

3. /INTERVIEWER SHOULD SELECT ONE KEY JOB FROM QUESTION 2-- PREFERABLY THE MOST "TYPICAL," OR ELSE THE MOST RECENT, IN HUNGARY / How did you like this job?

[THIS SHOULD BE A I D INTO A FREEWHEELING DISCUSSION OF JOB SATISFACTION, WORKING CONDITIONS, STANDARDS OF LIVING, RELATIONS WITH FELLOW-WORKERS, WHICH CAN BE FURTHERED BY SUCH PROBES AS THE FOLLOWING.]

a. What did you like about it?

b. What did you dislike about it?

c. How did it compare with other jobs you had?

d. What were the working conditions?

[CHECKLIST FOR INTERVIEWER:

Technical conditions

Hygienic conditions

Crowding

Equipment, obsolescence

Quality of products or service.]

e. How did you go to work? How long did it take you?

f. How many hours a day did you work?

[3. continued]

- g. How many days a week did you work?
- h. Did you work overtime? If so, how were you paid for it?
- i. Were there legal holidays? How many?
- j. Were there paid vacations? How long?
- k. Did this vary from job to job?
- l. Was there any punishment for lateness and absenteeism?
- m. Can you remember changes introduced in the norm system, and how were they carried out?
- n. What about the speed-up system?
- o. What benefits were connected with your job?  
[INSURANCE, VACATION, MEDICAL CARE, FREE TICKETS?]

4. What about the people you worked with?

- a. What sort of people were they?  
[AGE, EDUCATION, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS]
- b. How did people get along at work?  
[DIFFERENTIATE RELATIONS WITH PEERS, SUPERIORS, SUBORDINATES]
- c. Did you meet any of your colleagues (fellow workers) privately, socially?
- d. Did you discuss politics with any of them?  
[PROBE FOR CHANGES, e.g., IN 1956]
- e. Was there a difference at work between Party members and non-Party people?
- f. How did the trade union operate?
- g. Did the union undergo any changes since 1945?
- h. Did you encounter the work of the "mediation committees"?
- i. Was there a "shop triangle"? If so, how did it operate?

[4 continued]

- j. Could a specialist get ahead even if he was not politically reliable?
- k. Were any incompetent people advanced because of political connections?
- l. Did political officials interfere with operations? Were instructions handed down that ran counter to rational operations? If so, was it possible to remonstrate?
- m. Did all this vary much between 1948 and 1956?
- n. Who were the good kader?
- o. What were the criteria for someone's being a kader?
- p. Were there any secret sections or AVO informers at your place of work? If so, what sort of people were they and what did they do? Can you give any examples?

5. What possibilities were there for changing jobs?

- a. Why did you change positions? [OR, IF NOT APPLICABLE: Under what circumstances would you have changed your job?]
- b. If you had been free to choose your work, what kind of job would you have picked for yourself? Why?

[CHECKLIST OF FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO CHOICE OF CAREER GOALS:

Family tradition  
Status and prestige  
Material rewards  
Social utility  
Convenience  
Responsibility  
School guidance

- c. Do you think you had a chance to be successful in Hungary?

[5 continued]

did

- d. In general, ~~do~~ you think people want to succeed or get ahead?

what would you  
spend your money  
on, and

- e. Suppose you got the sort of living conditions you like--what would you do with your leisure time?

- f. What were your ideas of this before you left Hungary?

- g. If you had stayed in Hungary, would you have sent your children to do the same kind of work as you did? Why?

6. How well off do you think you (your family) were since the war?

- a. How did your living conditions change since the war?
- b. What sort of things could you afford to buy, and what couldn't you afford?
- c. Did you feel you personally (your family, household) were getting a fair income?
- d. Did you feel you were being exploited? If so, by whom? What do you mean by "exploited"?

7. I should like to know more about how people made and spent money.

- a. What was your wage (salary) in  
(i) 1947 (after currency reform),  
(ii) 1952,  
(iii) 1955?

[TRY TO DETERMINE AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS]

- b. How did your pay compare with that of people who had other types of work?
- c. How did your pay compare with that of others who did the same kind of work?
- d. How many members of your family (household) were working? Why?



8. We are interested in knowing more about the way people in Hungary made and spent money. What I should like to do is to give you this form and have you fill it out at your leisure. Please bring it back tomorrow. [INTERVIEWER WILL HAND RESPONDENT A BLANK BUDGET QUESTIONNAIRE (2 pages).] Could you please try to indicate the income and expenses of all other members of your family (household), too? If you cannot recall the exact figure, try to make as good a guess as you can.
9. Let me just ask you a few things in addition to those on the form. What were dwelling conditions like? [CROWDING, SHARING OF SPACE; HOW MUCH PER PERSON? APPLIANCES, PLUMBING.]
- a. On the average, how much time did you (your wife, your mother) spend waiting in queues? For what items?
  - b. In general, did the availability of food vary a good deal. On what items in particular?
  - c. How much of the household's income was spent in state stores, in peasant markets, on black markets, and what sort of things were bought in each?
  - d. Did all this vary much from 1948 to 1956?

[9 continued]

- n. Did your household have any other, unusual expenditures last year?
  - o. How much of the household's income was spent in state stores, in peasant markets, on black markets, and what sort of things were bought in each?
  - p. Did all this vary much from 1948 to 1956?
10. In general, how did you feel [what did you think?] about the development of the Hungarian economy?
- a. Was it a healthy development?
  - b. Was anything wrong with it?
  - c. What about the economic situation in Hungary before 1941?
  - c2. And between 1941 and 1944.
  - d. Do you think the changes in the economy after 1944 were an improvement or a deterioration? In what ways?
  - e. Did you hear of any discussions in the government or Party about how much consumer goods to produce?
  - f. What about the re-emergence of the private sector [maszek] in the last few years?
  - g. How were things in the last year before the revolt, materially--better or worse? Explain.
11. Among the various complaints people had, how important do you think material conditions were?
- a. How important were they for you?
  - b. What other complaints were more (equally) important?
  - c. For what groups of people in particular?
12. [INTERVIEWER SHOULD FEEL FREE TO PURSUE ANY RELEVANT QUESTION THAT SUGGESTS ITSELF ON THE BASIS OF THE PRECEDING MATERIAL IN THIS SECTION.]

## SECTION "C"

-1-

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

Communications and Propaganda ("C")Introduction

The purpose of this section is to learn about the various sources of information and news media--formal and informal--to which the given respondent was exposed and to determine how he assessed them and how he responded to them. We are, furthermore, interested in the extent to which he was informed about news events and the extent to which his image of the world was distorted. Finally, here as elsewhere, we want to probe into the effectiveness and limitations of indoctrination and propaganda.

UNDERLINED QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED; OTHERS ARE OPTIONAL.

Interview Guide

1. Where did you use to get most of your information about what was happening in the world?
  - a. Which of these sources were the most important for you?
  - b. Which was the next most important?
2. Please think of a typical month when you lived in Hungary. During one month, would you read newspapers or magazines?

[IF RESPONDENT ASKS "WHEN," ASK FOR A RECENT MONTH BUT ALSO ASCERTAIN VARIATIONS]

  - a. What newspapers? What magazines?  
[ASK FOR SPECIFIC TITLES]
  - B. How regularly?
  - c. Why did you read these?
  - d. What particular feature(s) did you like about it?
  - e. Were wall newspapers used in your locality?
  - f. How did they compare with the regular newspapers?

[2 continued]

- g. Did you ever see foreign publications?
  - h. If so, which, when, and where?
  - i. What did you think about them?
  - j. Did you ever run across any "illegal" publications? If so, where, and what were they?
3. During the same average month, would you go to the movies?  
How often?
- a. What did you prefer to see? Why?
  - b. Were they mostly entertainment, educational, political, or something else?
  - c. Did you see any foreign films?
  - d. If so, when was this, and what were they?
  - e. Did you go to the theater?
  - f. If so, how often? What sort of plays did you see?
4. Did you read any books?
- a. About how many did you read in a year?
  - b. What titles, for instance?
  - c. Why would you read them?
  - d. Did you ever have difficulty getting those you wanted? If so, can you give me examples?
  - e. Who were your favorite writers (poets, novelists)?  
Why?
  - f. Did you read any Western authors? What titles?
  - g. Did public libraries carry the books you wanted?

5. Did you listen to the radio? [DOMESTIC]

- a. If no, why not?
- b. If yes, did you have a set yourself?  
What kind?
- ~~c. Did you listen to domestic stations?~~
- d. To what programs in particular? Why?
- e. How many hours a day? What time of day?
- f. Where did you listen?

6. Did you listen to any foreign station?

- a. To which? Why?
- b. How often, what hours?
- c. What did you think of them?
- d. What about the reliability of foreign broadcasts?
- e. Do you know of any cases of punishment for listening to foreign broadcasts?

(7) Did you get any information by word-of-mouth?

- a. If yes, what sort of information was it?
- b. From whom, for instance?
- c. Was this sort of news more or less reliable than other sources?
- d. What sort of rumors do you recall hearing?
- e. Where did you hear them?
- ~~f. In your locality, where did people usually gather to talk about the news?~~
- g. Were there some people who usually seemed to know a good deal about what went on?

[7 continued]

- h. Would you be more likely to discuss current events at home, at work, at a club or restaurant, or elsewhere? Why?
- i. A good deal of political talk used to go on in coffee houses. Is this still so?

8. How much of the information which you found in newspapers did you consider reliable?

- a. What kind of information was most reliable?
- b. What kind of information was least reliable?
- c. Did the reliability of the press decrease or increase in the course of time?
- d. How could you tell what to believe and what not to believe?
- e. Were some newspapers or some broadcasts considered more trustworthy than others? If so, which?
- f. Did you ever read Irodalmi Ujsag? What did you think of it?
- g. Did you read Szabad Nep? How often? What did you think of it?
- h. Did you read Hetfoi Hirlap? How often? What did you think of it?

9. Do you feel that people tried hard to be well-informed?

- a. What sort of people did?
  - b. What sort of people didn't?
10. I'd like you to tell me briefly what you knew (before leaving Hungary) about each of the following, and what you thought about it.
- a. The dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

[10 continued]

- b. Who started the Korean War?
- c. What about germ warfare in Korea?
- d. What about West German rearmament?
- e. "Free Europe" balloons?
- f. What about the Berlin riots of 1953?
- g. What about the "summit meeting" in Geneva?
- h. What about emigre activities abroad?

[OUR INTEREST IS IN EXTENT OF RESPONDENT'S INFORMATION,  
ITS ACCURACY, AND EXTENT OF DISTORTION, IF ANY, OF  
HIS IMAGE OF THE WORLD.]



MW. Set 2

SECTION "I"

-1-

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

Political Opinions, Attitudes and Ideology ("I")

Introduction

This section seeks to elicit from the individual respondent his personal opinions and attitudes on a variety of political, social, and ideological questions. The answers need not be related to facts. Some of the questions will require a measure of sophistication superior to that evinced in earlier sections of the interview. Wherever essential, interviewer may reword the question if responses prove to be inadequate. Such changed wording should be recorded. Extensive probing for "why" and "how" is encouraged.

This section can usually be introduced by a brief remark, such as "Now I should like to ask your opinion about Hungary as it is-- or rather, as you believe it should be."

Interview Guide

- ✓ 1. Suppose the present system in Hungary were removed. What in the present system would you be sure to change? / PRESS FOR SPECIFIC ITEMS AND REASONS

- ✓ a. What would you want to keep under another regime? / PRESS FOR SPECIFIC ITEMS AND REASONS

- ✓ b. What features of the present regime would you say are generally accepted?

- 2. Do you think there should be political parties?

- a. Do you think all people should be free to organize or join political parties as they wish?

- b. Would you make any exceptions to this?

- 3. Do you think all people should be free to say anything they want, or should there be some limits to it?

- a. If there should be some limits, what sort of things should be forbidden (suppressed)?

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

(3.contd.)

- b. Who should decide what to allow and what not to allow?
  - c. Should people be forbidden to denounce the government?
  - d. Should people be forbidden to say things detrimental to the state?
- 4. Do you think that all people should be free to participate in meetings?
  - a. /IF YES:/ Even if their purpose is to attack the government?
  - b. In what circumstances is an armed uprising against the government justified? /INTERVIEWER SHOULD NOT HIMSELF SUGGEST EVENTS OF 1956./
- 5. What changes do you think need to be made in the economic system of Hungary? /PROBE FOR SPECIFIC ITEMS AND REASONS/
- 6. In some countries, as you know, heavy industry--such as steel and coal--is nationalized. Are you in favor of this?
  - a. /IF NOT:/ What type of ownership would you favor?
  - b. Should any factories be restored to their former owners? Why?
  - c. Is private profit good or bad?
  - d. Are you in favor of a state bank or private banks?
  - e. Should there be any state monopolies?
  - f. What sort of monopolies are bad?
  - g. What about trading monopolies like Közért?

7. In some countries, as you know, light industry--such as clothing manufacture is nationalized. Are you in favor of this?
- a. /IF NOT:/ What type of ownership would you favor?
8. What do you think about government planning?
- a. Is the idea itself good or bad?
- b. How has it worked out?
- c. /IF IN FAVOR OF PLANNING/ Just how far should it go?
- d. Who should decide what to produce and what prices there should be?
9. In general, are there any areas of human affairs in which the state should not interfere? /PROBE FOR SPECIFIC EXAMPLES./
10. Do you feel that a citizen has certain duties toward the state? /PROBE FOR SPECIFIC EXAMPLES./
- a. What about paying taxes? How much should one be taxed?
- b. What about military service?
- c. What about obeying orders and laws?
- d. Is this true of all laws and orders?
- e. Does the government have any duties toward the citizen? If so, what?
11. I should like to ask you what has happened in different fields of life in Hungary. Do you feel that medical care

(11. contd.)

in Hungary has improved since the war?

- a. Can any groups of the population afford it better today?
- b. Can all groups of the population afford it equally today?
- c. Can you compare private physicians with state health services?
- d. What can you say about the health insurance plans?
- e. Can you give any examples from your own experience?

12. Does the Hungarian citizen today have more opportunity to go to the movies or attend the theater and concerts than before the war?

- a. Did you?
- b. Do people take advantage of it?
- c. Who among the population has (has not) such opportunity?
- d. Do people have time to go as often as they would like?
- e. Do people have money to go as often as they would like?

13. Does the Hungarian citizen today eat better than before the war?

- a. Than in 1946?
- b. Than in 1950?
- c. Are there great differences in what food is available to different people today?

14. Does the Hungarian citizen today clothe himself better than before the war?
- Than in 1946?
  - Than in 1950?
  - Are there great differences in what clothes and footwear are available to different people today?
15. Did industrial production increase in Hungary since 1945?
- /IF YES: / As a result of what?
  - In what branches?
  - Do you think this is a good or a bad thing for the Hungarian economy?
  - Do you think anything should have been done differently about this?
16. In factories or work shops, what part do you think workers should play in deciding what is done and how it is done?
- What should be the part of trade unions?
  - How independent should they be of the government?
  - How compulsory should membership be?
  - In your opinion, who should manage (run) a factory?
  - To whom should management be responsible?
17. What do you think of the collective farms?
- Are all good (bad)?
  - What do you think of the state farms?
  - What should be done with the collective farms?

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

(17.contd.)

- d. Should some collectives be dissolved and others be maintained? If so, who should decide?
- e. If so, should some or all the land be distributed? If so, to whom?
- f. Should there be a limit on land-holding? Why? If so, how much?
- g. Should all the land be returned to private ownership?
- h. Should the land be restored to all kulaks who were expropriated?
- i. Should any estates be returned to their former owners?
- j. If collectives are dissolved, what should happen to the livestock, the equipment, the buildings?
- k. If collectives are dissolved, should there be any other type of cooperatives? If so, what kind?
- l. Should the state help agriculture? If so, in what way?
- m. What would you do with the machine-tractor stations?
- n. Would you keep in government ownership?
- o. Would you sell or transfer them to individual farms or to collectives?
- p. If you would dissolve them, what would you do with their machinery?
- q. Do you think it is desirable to mechanize agriculture?

18. What should be the relations between the church and the state?

- a. Should the churches be completely independent of the state?
- b. Should there be any difference on this among different faiths? Explain.

(18. contd.)

- c. Should churches receive financial support from the state? Why?
- d. Should churches play a part in public education? Just what?
- e. Should the teaching of religion be restored in the schools?
- f. Would you send your children to public school or denominational school?

19. If the present regime were overthrown, what should be done with Party members?

- a. Should all be treated alike?
- b. What should be done with the leaders?  
/PROBE FOR INDIVIDUALS, TOO/
- c. With petty officials?
- d. With rank-and-file members?
- e. Youth League members?
- f. Members of the AVH?
- g. Members of the police?
- h. What actually happened to these (above) groups during the events of October-November 1956?

20. Now let us talk about Hungary's past for a minute. What do you think have been some of Hungary's most important contributions to culture and world history?

21. Do you think there is a Hungarian national character?

- a. If yes, does it differ from the German?
- b. Does it differ from the Russian?



(21.contd.)

- c. Does it differ from the American?
- d. Do you think it has changed in the last ten years?
- e. Are there any differences in character among Hungary's social classes?
- f. Were there such differences before 1945?

22. When in the 20th century did Hungary have the best government?

- a. How did Hungary fare in the monarchy?
- b. Why did some people then emigrate to the United States and Canada?
- c. Did Hungary have a feudal society? If so, until when?
- d. Was this good or bad? Why?
- e. What was the effect of the Communist rule in 1918-19?
- f. Was there much or little social and/or economic inequality in Hungary before 1945?
- g. In general, what do you think of the Horthy regime?
- h. Should Hungary have fought in World War II or stayed neutral? Why?
- i. How does the period between 1945 and 1948 compare with the years before and after? Explain.

23. In Hungary's relations with some of the neighboring countries, there used to be some feeling about territorial claims. Do you think borderlines are important?

- a. If yes, in what ways?
- b. Do you think the Hungarian people have a rightful claim to territory beyond the present borders? If yes, to which? Why?

(23.contd.)

- c. Do you think any other people threaten Hungary's territory or part of it?
- d. Do you think there is a natural conflict between Magyars and any other people? If yes, which and why?
- e. How do Magyars and Slovaks get along?
- f. How do Magyars and Rumanians get along?
- g. How do Magyars and Austrians get along?
- h. How do Magyars and Yugoslavs get along?

24. What is the answer to the problems Hungary has to face as a small state?

- a. It has sometimes been suggested that some sort of regional alliance or federation would be useful. What do you think of that?  
/DISTINGUISH BETWEEN DANUBIAN, EAST EUROPEAN, EUROPEAN, BALKAN BLOC./
- b. If yes, whom should it include, and how should it operate?
- c. What should be Hungary's part in it?
- d. /IF BROAD EUROPEAN FEDERATION:/ Should Russia be a party to it?
- e. What do you think of population exchanges with neighbor states?

25. What do you think about the Russians as a people?

- a. Are there different kinds of Russians?
- b. Do you think some are good and some are bad?
- c. Are they all Communists?

SECTION "I"

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

-9-

(25.contd.)

- d. Have you got to know any of them well?
- e. What was the feeling toward them when they entered Hungary in 1944?
- f. Did you have any experience with them?
- g. What was the feeling toward them, say, between 1948 and 1953?
- h. And after 1953?

26. Now with regard to Marxism, what do you think of it?

/EXPLORE CRITICAL JUDGMENT, FAITH, RATIONALITY/

- a. Does anything in it appeal to you or not?
- b. Do any elements (not) make sense?
- c. What changes have Hungarian Communists made in Marxism?
- d. Was Lenin a good Marxist?
- e. Was Stalin a good Marxist?
- f. Are the Hungarian Social-Democrats Marxists?
- g. Do you think one can be a Marxist and a democrat?
- h. What do you think it means to be a democrat?
- i. When was Hungary a democracy?
- j. Is Tito a Marxist? Is he a democrat?

27. We just talked about Tito. What does the term National Communism mean to you?

- a. Do you think there were National Communists in the revolt last October?
- b. If yes, who were they? What were they after?

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

(27.contd.)

- c. What do you think of Gomulka's policy?
  - d. Is he a Communist?
  - e. Do you think some Communists are Hungarian patriots?
28. Suppose Imre Nagy had stayed in power after the Revolution. Do you think conditions would have changed?
- a. What sort of a system do you think he was aiming at?
  - b. Suppose the Russians had not invaded. Do you think he would have remained at the head of the government?
29. Now tell me, just in a word, whether each of the following, in your mind, is good or bad:
- |                                      |                           |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. <u>Socialism</u>                  | h. <u>Peter Veras</u>     |
| b. <u>Colonialism</u>                | i. <u>Kulak</u>           |
| c. <u>Class struggle</u>             | j. <u>Trotsky</u>         |
| d. <u>National (Popular) front</u>   | k. <u>Magaryk</u>         |
| e. <u>Imperialism</u>                | l. <u>Chiang Kai-shek</u> |
| f. <u>Capitalism</u>                 | m. <u>Anna Kethly</u>     |
| g. <u>Bourgeoisie (Middle class)</u> | n. <u>Mindazenty</u>      |
30. Today, what Party would win in free elections in Hungary?
- a. Who would be the most popular leader?
31. Sociologists find that often various groups get different rewards from society--some people get more than they deserve, others get less. I would like to mention some groups to you, and you tell me whether you think, since 1948, these groups have been getting more or less than they deserve:
- a. Workers
  - b. Collective farmers
  - c. Smallholders
  - d. Kulaks

## CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

(31.contd.)

- e. Government employees
- f. Professionals
- g. Party members
- h. Tradesmen
- i. Artisans.

32. As far as you know, which of these groups were better off and which were worse off before 1948? /DO NOT RE-READ LIST FROM QUESTION 31 BUT LET RESPONDENT TELL SPONTANEOUSLY./

- a. Do you approve or disapprove of some of these changes? Which?

33. Do you think that the interests of the following groups in Hungary coincide or conflict:

- a. Workers and Peasants
- b. Workers and Intellectuals
- c. Toilers and Government employees
- d. Party and non-Party people
- e. City folk and country folk
- f. Clergy and laity?
- g. Prior to 1945, aristocracy and intelligentsia?
- h. Prior to 1945, aristocracy and workers?
- i. Prior to 1945, landlords and smallholders?
- j. Prior to 1945, landlords and farm hands (landless peasants)?

34. Some people feel that the United States and the Soviet Union are equally dangerous. What were some of the things that concerned you about the United States before you left Hungary?

35. Suppose there were a war in which Hungary was engaged. Who in the population would fight for the present regime?

/LET RESPONDENT STRUCTURE CIRCUMSTANCES OF WAR./

a. Who would fight against it?

36. Do you think your opinion on any of the questions we have discussed today has changed since you left Hungary?

a. If yes, which, and in what way?

FACE SHEET: "A" AND "B" INTERVIEWS

1. Local code number                      1a. Absolute code number
2. Name or cover name, if any
3. Residence at time of interview, if volunteered
4. Age
5. Male                      Female
6. National origin
7. Religious preference
8. Parents' religion
9. Marital status
10. Children, if any: number: ages (sometimes answered as 11.)
11. Occupation (as of 1956)
12. Former occupation, if any
13. If married woman, husband's occupation
14. "class origin" (sometimes answered as 13.)
15. Military service (if yes, final rank and date)
16. Travel abroad (if yes, where and dates)
17. Check if prisoner of war in world war II
18. Check if active fighter in 1956 revolt
19. Educational level (give highest): if university, specify which
20. Major residence in: (Budapest, other urban, rural)
21. Most recent residence in Hungary in:
22. Province or area of origin in Hungary (Megye)
23. Political preference or affiliation, if volunteered
24. Date of departure from Hungary
25. Residence since emigration
26. Plans to migrate further (if yes, where to)



27. Was spouse, if any, interviewed on this Project? If yes,  
local code number

28. Interviewed by any other Project? If yes, which

29. Other salient experiences

There is no question number 30.

The following four questions are to be evaluated by the numerical  
code: 1-2, very bad; 3-4 mediocre; 5-6, fair; 7-8, good; 9-10  
excellent.

31. Rapport between interviewer and respondent.

32. Frankness of respondent.

33. Cooperativeness of respondent.

34. Compliance/flattery, i.e., answers in "desired" way.