

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.

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.

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?

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[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?

[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?

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[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?
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.]

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.

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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?

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

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.

UNDERLINED QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED: OTHERS ARE OPTIONALInterview GuidePOLITICAL 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.]

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[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?

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[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?

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[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 1945]?
 - 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?

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[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?

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[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?

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

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[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?

If your defense was...
did you have a lawyer?

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[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 tombbizalmi 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?

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[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?

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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. 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?

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17. Are there any ways for a Hungarian citizen to circumvent or ignore official orders?
- a. Did you manage to protect your own interests in defiance of official decrees? If so, can you give an example?
 - b. Can a peasant fail to deliver all the grain he is supposed to? If so, how?
 - c. 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?
 - d. Suppose a worker wants to get a better-paying job elsewhere, in another town. How would he go about it?
 - e. 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?
- a. What were some cohesive forces?
 - b. 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?
- a. What forms did it take after 1948?
 - b. What groups were most hostile to the regime? Why?
 - c. What groups were least hostile? Why?
 - d. Do you think opposition increased or decreased in 1953-55?
 - e. Do you think it increased or decreased in 1955-56?

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[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?
- l. How do you explain the emergence of the Petöfi Circle and of MERESZI?
- m. 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.]

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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.

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

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?

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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?

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[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?

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[5 continued]

- 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?

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8. Take your own wages (salary) in 1956.

- a. What was your nominal pay?
- b. What was your actual pay?
- c. Did you have additional sources of income?
[PREMIUMS, OTHER JOBS, INHERITANCE, ALLOWANCES,
ETC.]
- d. How much did deductions amount to?
[I.E., DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GROSS AND TAKE-HOME
PAY DUE TO TAXES, COMPULSORY LOANS, UNION
DUES, INSURANCE, ETC.]
- e. Did you have any savings? Where from?

[PLEASE GET SAME INFORMATION ON OTHER MEMBERS OF THE RESPONDENT'S
FAMILY (HOUSEHOLD).]

9. Now let's see how you spent your money.

- a. How much did you spend on housing? [PER MONTH
PER HOUSEHOLD, OR FOR SINGLE PERSON LIVING ALONE;
INDICATE IF OWN HOUSE, RENTED HOUSE OR APARTMENT,
OR ROOM.]
- b. How were dwelling conditions? [CROWDING,
SHARING OF SPACE; HOW MUCH PER PERSON?
APPLIANCES, PLUMBING]
- c. How much did you (your household) spend on
food? On the average, how much time did you
(your wife, your mother) spend waiting in
queues? Did the availability of food vary a
good deal? On what items in particular?

How much did you (your household) spend per year
on each of the following:

- d. Clothing and footwear
- e. Fuel, electricity, gas, telephone
- f. Alcoholic drinks and tobacco
- g. Education
- h. Amusement and recreation (theater, sports)
- i. Services (haircuts, laundry)
- j. Newspapers, books, magazines
- k. Medical and dental care, medicines
- l. Transportation and travel
- m. Taxes [SPECIFY WHICH]

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[9 continued]

- u. Did your household have any other, unusual expenditures last year?
 - v. 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?
 - w. 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?
 - 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 [maszket] 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.]

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)?

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(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?

SECTION "I"

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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?
- a. Than in 1946?
 - b. Than in 1950?
 - c. Are there great differences in what clothes and footwear are available to different people today?
15. Did industrial production increase in Hungary since 1945?
- a. /IF YES: / As a result of what?
 - b. In what branches?
 - c. Do you think this is a good or a bad thing for the Hungarian economy?
 - d. 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?
- a. What should be the part of trade unions?
 - b. How independent should they be of the government?
 - c. How compulsory should membership be?
 - d. In your opinion, who should manage (run) a factory?
 - e. To whom should management be responsible?
17. What do you think of the collective farms?
- a. Are all good (bad)?
 - b. What do you think of the state farms?
 - c. 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.

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(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?

SECTION "I"

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(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?

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(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 Veres</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>Masaryk</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>Mindszenty</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

(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?

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.

Interview Guide

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.]

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?
- 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.]

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?
- 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?
- 17. 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?
- k. Suppose you had a friend who became a minor Party official. Would this have affected your friendship? Why?

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 views in this matter?)

20. Has Communist rule affected your life?

- a. Were all faiths hit equally or not? Why?
- b. Do you think the Communists tried to stamp out religion or are it for their own ends? What makes you think so?
- c. What about the people who were? Do you think they were sincere? How were they?
- d. What did the Party do to [L. O. L. A. F. I. V. E. N. F. A. I. T. H.] clerics?
- e. What did it do to practicing 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?
- h. Did you attend church services? How often?
- i. What sort of people attended church services (less) frequently?
[PROBE FOR "L. O. L. A. F. I. V. E. N. F. A. I. T. H." HERE. NOTIFY HERE.]
- j. Do you think government policy was just or differently? (Probe for "L. O. L. A. F. I. V. E. N. F. A. I. T. H." HERE. NOTIFY HERE.)

[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, criterions of decorum?

[THIS SHOULD BE REMOVED ACCORDING TO THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENT; FOR INSTANCE, IN CASES OF LESS EDUCATION, OF PEASANTS, ETC.: a jó modor, szívelyesség, 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.]

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

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.

Interview Guide

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?

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[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?

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW GUIDE

[4 continued]

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

Ratings

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.

"B" INTERVIEW

PRELIMINARY VERSION: OUTLINES

General Information

The following statements describe, in a preliminary way, how the topics envisaged for the various "B" interviews are divided and circumscribed. They include, for each "B" interview series, a brief statement of purposes, some examples of problems and an outline of areas of inquiry, and an indication of personnel needs.

These statements are neither exhaustive nor mandatory. They are to be considered guides to planning and thinking, the underlying assumption being that "B" interviews will be unstructured or open-ended conversations, largely with expert informants. Given the variety in the informants' background, no rigid pattern of questions can be provided in advance, nor will the exact experience of the individual informant always be known in advance of the interview. Thus the success of the interview will depend overwhelmingly on the experience and competence of both interviewer and informant.

B 1 INTERVIEWS: POLITICAL AFFAIRS

The series of interviews to be conducted under this heading aims at a broad coverage of political developments in postwar Hungary. They include different institutions and will strive to fill factual gaps in our knowledge as well as to provide some understanding of group relations involving political life, mass organizations, government, law and terror.

Requirements: Informants needed for this series should be largely persons with first-hand experience in political life, Party, government, police, or law. Preferably, they should include a few men from different institutions and from different layers of the official hierarchy. They should include officials as well as victims of the police and courts. Examples of suitable B 1 informants are:

- Secretaries of primary Party organizations
- Officials of any government ministry
- Higher officials of local and municipal government
- Propagandists or activists of the Youth League
- Personnel of the uniformed police and of the AVH
- Persons who were subjected to arrest, trial (public or secret), and jail and/or camp sentences since 1946
- Any members of the central apparatus of the Party or any mass organization

Judges, attorneys, state prosecutors

Members of parliaments and councils

Others politically active, such as newspaper reporters and radio men.

Suggested Problem Areas:

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: Actual, as distinguished from formal, position and operation; its place in postwar Hungary; its historical background; pre-war, war years, different trends; postwar coalition; Moscovites and indigenous Communism; national Communism;

Composition of the Party; recruitment; admission; easter; procedures; reality of membership; what did it mean to be a Party member; in goods, in prestige, in immunity, in commitment, in terms of career and advancement; distinctions between rank-and-file and cadres or activists; motives of membership and activism.

The operation of a Party organization; what does it do, and how; Central organization and relation with regional and local units.

Differences within the Party; relative competence and interests of Party personnel; tactical and ideological differences; the Party leadership; personalities, status, reputations.

Party and Government.

Party and Police.

Party and Economy.

Party and Army.

The Hungarian Party and Moscow, Cominform and satellites [see also B9].

Relation of Party to factory workers, to farm hands, to white-collar.
 Activists: who, why, what positions?
 Who were the "good Communists"?
 Who has to be a member, and who wanted to be?
 The Party in 1948 and in 1956: what has changed?
 The Party during and since the crisis of 1956 [see also B 7].

MASS ORGANIZATIONS, DISZ, etc.: Analogous questions, including
 Organization
 Operation
 Motivation of membership
 Differentiation, stratification, and opposition within
 Relation to other institutions
 Vitality, spirit, power position

POLICE AND TERROR: Police organization; Ministry of Justice; uniformed and secret police; organization and operational trends and changes; personnel; who are the members, the leading officials? motives for joining? Examples. Differences of outlook and aims among members. Conflicts within police apparatus. Conflicts with other institutions, Party, government. Changes in Party and government attitude toward police. Role of Russian advisers, tactics, training.

The courts: reorganizations; significance and role of; Ministry of Justice; procuracy; changes in functions of lawyers and courts; administrative punishment; influence of Soviet law, theory and practice; relation to police and AVH; dictation of decisions; personnel in judicial and legal professions; changing status and place of institutions and personnel.

The purges and political terror: reconstruction of major arrest waves; first-hand testimony on treatment, "preparation," pre-trial investigations, closed trials, confessions; actual guilt vs. prophylactic arrests; zigzags. Prisons and camps: first-hand testimony on conditions, treatment, statistics, variations in locale and time. Stratification and rationales of arrest waves and stratification of prison populations.

The changing place of the police; relations at top level of government; indices, if any, of demoralization in police apparatus; apoliticals vs. fanatics; the police, the courts, the AVH and the Revolt of 1956.

GOVERNMENT: High-level decision making; relative role of cabinet, Party leadership, Moscow, others; Autonomy of operation of government and economic officials; formal and informal elbow-room and inhibitions; official and factual "bosses." Secondary and primary decision-making; centralization.

Parliament, People's Democracy, elections: significance, effect.

Institutions: (a) adoption of Soviet forms, procedures, and (b) failure to adhere to Soviet model, and why.

POLITICAL "FEVER CURVE": How did the population (and "insiders") see the ups and downs in political tensions and relaxations since 1944. Problems of LOYALTY and adjustment: Overt behavior vs. "genuine" attitudes. Hierarchy of expectations; hierarchy of satisfactions; hierarchy of grievances and tensions. PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS: who, why, when, how. Extent to which life was "politicized." Opinion-soliciting mechanisms within system.

DEVELOPMENT OF OPPOSITION: when, how, by whom; (a) within legitimate groups; (b) outside of them, especially in top leadership and bureaucracy (upward mobile group).

B 2 INTERVIEWS: THE ARMY

The series of brief interviews to be conducted under this heading aims at the collection of information on a few selected problems relating to the military establishment in postwar Hungary. These interviews will definitely not cover matters of specifically military intelligence nature, such as location of troops, military installations, nature of weapons, etc. These interviews are concerned about (1) morale and loyalty problems in the Hungarian army; (2) the influence and status, if any, of Soviet and Soviet-trained personnel; (3) the extent, forms, and effectiveness of political and police controls in the armed forces; and (4) the attitude and behavior of the armed forces on the eve of and during the Revolt of 1956.

Requirements: Informants needed for this series are largely persons with first-hand experience in the Hungarian military establishment since 1945. If possible, the sample should include a number of higher officers as well as some junior officers and enlisted men; some professionals and some draftees; a few older men and some younger; members of different branches of service; and personnel assigned to or trained in the USSR.

Suggested Problem Areas: A list of suggested questions will be supplied before actual interviewing begins. B 2 interviews will be relatively short and may be added as one additional session to an A or another B interview.

B 3 INTERVIEWS:
SOCIAL PROBLEMS

This series of interviews is intended to provide sociological data on trends in postwar Hungary, both as autonomous social developments, and as clues to--and results of--political processes.

Requirements: In this series, unlike all other B interviews, most of the informants will not be experts but will, in accordance with the desires of the interviewers, be chosen from the pool of respondents available for A interviews. Exceptions to this will be made for the following groups, some of which should be included in the sample of informants: Members of ethnic minorities; professional social welfare and "case workers"; sociologists, criminologists, and persons professionally concerned with juvenile delinquency; The sample should definitely include persons of different social and age groups, if possible some members of the "new elite," of different professions, and some individuals who were significantly upward and downward socially mobile since the war. Further specifications are to be determined at a later date in accordance with interviewer plans.

Suggested problem areas: The following are merely suggestive of some of the questions to be discussed here and need further elaboration.

Social change, social mobility, and social stratification: causes, process, impact, differentiation; government policy and social change; adjustment to new social group and declassified elements. The new upward mobile: the new elite, the young professionals and intelligentsia, the new managerial stratum, university students, et.c. The new downward mobile: the former aristocracy, gentry, middle class, kulaks, artisans, etc. Extent and ease of mobility; variations in time.

How "classes" view each other; traditional class concepts vs. new perception of status and prestige differences. Indices of class differences.

The new elite: who, how, how manifested, how maintained; open class or caste; qualifications, values, goals, and motivations.

Status, rank, and titles: changes since 1944.

Family: change in role of family, parental authority; change in attitude toward women, children. Changes, if any, in mores, values, inter-personal relations. Trends in crime, juvenile delinquency. Friends and small group relationships.

Ethnic and other minorities. Policy toward and treatment of; reaction on the part of minority members. Jews; Swabians and Volksdeutsche; Slavs; others.

A community under Communist rule: what the new regime has meant (a Hungarian "Middletown in transition").

B 5 INTERVIEWS: THE INTELLIGENTSIA

The series of interviews to be conducted on this subject aims at an investigation of several types of problems, which may be summarized as follows:

- (a) Who are the intellectuals and how do they live
- (b) Intellectual currents and ideas
- (c) Political attitudes and aspirations of the intelligentsia.

Requirements: Informants needed for this series (who will often be suitable for other B interviews, too) should be largely intellectuals of various backgrounds and experiences. There should be as many members as possible of key groups, such as the Petöfi Circle, MEFESZ, etc. There should be some variety in generations, i.e., older intellectuals as well as some who received their higher education since World War II. The sample should include men and women who held responsible positions, such as scientists and philosophers; administrators, including newspaper editors, university deans; government officials, such as a section head in the Ministry of Culture; and free professionals and "bohemians"--writers, poets, literary critics, musicians, actors. There should be at least a few "declassed" intellectuals, e.g., former aristocrats who became teachers, etc.

Suggested Problem Areas: The following are a few of the types of problems to be investigated.

Who is the intelligentsia; social and personal background of old and new intellectuals; conflict of generations, if any; social status of the professionals and intellectuals; career opportunities and limitations; common characteristics and variations, differentiations within the group.

Intellectual currents: pre-1944 ideas; reaction, conservatism, reformism; varieties of socialist and communist thought and experience; Titoism, Trotskyism and other radical mutations; existentialism, pragmatism; contact with Western thought since World War II. What appealed to whom, and why? Relevance of systems of ideas and intellectual currents to the Hungarian scene. The Soviet and satellite influence and contacts. Nationalism as an intellectual trend. The content of indigenous intellectual thought. Sources of ideas and beliefs.

Political attitudes and changes in the course of time; patterns and variations; idealism, cynicism; adjustment and opposition; material conditions and "not by bread alone." The atmosphere and flavor of intellectual life: drabness or vitality. Intellectual life within the licit circle; camouflaged opposition; philosophy and literature as ersatz politics? The political function and fate of the intelligentsia: sell-out or hold-out; the captive mind--myth or reality? Nuclei of autonomous thinking; the Petöfi Circle; who, when, why, what, and how; Irodalmi Ujsag and public expression of heterodoxy. Inhibitions and breakdown of barriers; the effect of events on the intellectuals, e.g., Zhdanov, Tito, Stalin's death, Imre Nagy (1953-55), etc. Dilemmas and choices. The role and fate of individuals (e.g., Lukacs, Acsel...).

The intellectuals and the antecedents of the Revolt [see also B 7].

CURPH "B" INTERVIEW: B 6 PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

B 6 INTERVIEWS: EDUCATION AND YOUTH

The series of interviews to be conducted under this heading aims at two distinct, though related, areas of inquiry:

- (a) higher education in postwar Hungary, and
- (b) student life and youth, as a social and political factor.

Requirements: Informants needed for this series should be largely persons with first-hand experience in education or student life. Suitable informants are, e.g.:

College administrators, officers, employees;
 Personnel of Ministry of Higher Education;
 Teachers in universities and other institutions of higher learning;
 Students, in particular active members of university student organizations.

Suggested Problem Areas: In order to forestall a shallow investigation into the entire wide field of education, attention is to be focused on higher education alone. The following are among the problems of interest:

Organization and administration of higher education; government agencies and their relation to universities; organization of each institution of higher learning; relations among universities and with other educational institutions; actual, as distinguished from formal, relations.

Financing, equipment, plant, laboratories, libraries; establishment of new institutions.

Students: Admissions policy and practice, recruitment, screening, stipends and tuition problems, fees; political desiderata and selectivity;

Teachers: Recruitment and training; living conditions and salaries; political desiderata and selectivity;

Faculty, Faculty-student, and Student relations; social status, rank, titles of the "educated".

Methods of instruction, curriculum, changes in courses, procedures, and emphasis.

Quality of education; caliber of teachers and students; variations and prestige patterns within one school and within Hungary; comparison with earlier and with foreign higher education.

Political elements in higher education; official and unofficial controls; dialectical materialism and other ideological courses; Russian language;

political role of sports and para-military training; political considerations in polytechnical vs. liberal arts or humanities programs; choice of courses and careers; political incidents in school experience; political discrimination in educational opportunities.

Political profile of faculty, administration, and student body.

Contacts with Western literature, science, personnel; studies of foreign languages.

Student life; well-being of students; attitudes and interests of students; their evolution in recent years; youth organizations; formal and informal groups; Communist Youth organizations and educational institutions; their role; political content and interests, aspirations, and attitudes of students.

The role of youth and students in the events of 1956. [See also B 7.]

Indoctrination through formal education, courses, text books, etc.: how, what, how successful.

NOTE: Knowledgeable informants from other phases of education may be included in this series, e.g., a high school principal, a secondary student leader, the head of the education section of a municipal government.

CURPH "B" INTERVIEWS: B 7 PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

B 7 INTERVIEWS: THE REVOLT

This series of interviews seeks to fill gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the events of 1956. It takes for granted the available body of factual information on the course of the Revolt and its suppression. It does not strive for material to write a history of the Revolt. Nor does it seek to document, with names, dates, and places, instances of heroism--or of deportations or of atrocities. Its emphasis is on a number of social and intellectual as well as institutional trends which the Revolt brought into focus.

Requirements: Informants needed for this series cannot be reduced to any common denominator. On the one hand, they are men and women who had something to do with the general climate that led up to the events of October--or who witnessed, saved, or recorded it. On the other hand, they are those who participated in the events in key spots or who had particular insight at various levels--from the Parliament Building to the radio station to the university, and for that matter, throughout Hungary. Suitable informants include, e.g., members and leaders of workers' councils; members of the Petöfi Club; student leaders active in the Revolt; Party and Government officials.

Suggested Problem Areas: A familiarity on the part of interviewer and respondent with the general course of events is assumed. The following merely suggests a few additional dimensions.

Long-range factors behind the Revolt.

Specific events leading up to Revolt; spontaneity vs. preparedness of events; alternative channels of change; fate and collapse or reorganization of Hungarian control institutions: Party, police, AVH, government apparatus, army.

Emergence of leadership: who, how, when; pattern of authority and prestige.

Latent political structure; variations in aims, implicit and explicit; expectations and discussions during the Revolt. Personalities. Typology.

Institutional development: Role of workers' councils; relation to Party, trade unions, etc.; contact and cohesion among revolutionary groups; students and workers; strike movement; workers and peasants; intellectuals; the churches; emergence of new institutions and bodies.

Soviet control mechanisms; behavior, timing, extent of Soviet leadership; rank-and-file Soviet troops; incidents.

Role of Party, Army, Police in the revolt
Role of different social, age, and other strata in the revolt
Why Hungary, not other satellites?

The aftermath; the exodus; the new regime.

B 8 INTERVIEWS: ECONOMY

This series of interviews is intended to shed fresh light on various economic problems on the basis of expert testimony by individual informants conversant with a given branch or facet of the Hungarian economy. It does not strive for an integrated or exhaustive description or working model of the economy but rather hopes to fill gaps and correct errors and misconceptions.

Requirements: Informants needed for this series should be largely specialists of various descriptions. (One exception to this are peasants who will be asked to describe operations of a collective farm.) The following categories are suitable B 3 material:

Industrial managers, foremen, directors, statisticians, purchasing agents; collective farm chairman, brigadiers, book-keepers, MTS personnel; employees of economic ministries, planning board, central statistical office, and specialists connected with them; personnel engaged in domestic and foreign trade; banking, finance, and money specialists or employees; retail tradesmen and individual economic entrepreneurs; teachers of economics.

Suggested areas of inquiry: To a greater extent than in other fields, the nature of the interview will be determined by the informant's experience and the interviewer's skill and knowledge. The following may be some of the problems investigated.

Planning; centralization and decentralization; rigidity, realism, and dogma in economic planning; over-all and local planning; bases of calculations and errors; alternatives of investment, production, consumption; practical difficulties in implementation of plans; extent of Soviet influence and coordination; relation of management to Central Planning Board.

Collectivization of agriculture; zigzags of policy, variations of attitude; who are the beneficiaries, who the victims? Economic, social, political effects. Operation of a farm; personnel and inter-personal relations; "farm biographies" since the war; problems of depletion and soil deterioration; collective and state farms; small holdings and large estates.

Economic relations with the Soviet orbit; real value of ruble; prices in intra-bloc trade, conversion and credit arrangements; mixed and joint-stock companies; "Russification," if any, of the economy.

Industrial management; decisions at the plant level.

The socialized and the private sectors.

Economic grievances of the population; variations, content, intensity.

Standards of living, household budgets, income and spending patterns.

Industry etc. before and after 1945; comparison of working conditions,

intensity of labor, incentives, innovations.

Falsifications of reports and statistics; corrective factors.

Trends in the government's economic policy and variations.

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Falsifications of reports and statistics; corrective factors.

Trends in the government's economic policy and variations.

CURPH "B" INTERVIEWS: B 9 PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

B 9 INTERVIEWS: HUNGARY AND THE SOVIET UNION

The series of interviews to be conducted in this series seeks to explore the actual nature of Soviet-Hungarian relations since 1944. Since it is unlikely that refugee informants can add substantially to our knowledge of the formal aspects, interviews will concentrate primarily on the informal, unpublicized, and interpersonal aspects of the problem.

Requirements: Informants needed for this series should be individuals who had personal contact with Soviet personnel. The following would be among the most suitable informants for B 9 interviews:

Officers, cadets, students, and specialists assigned to, stationed in, or trained in the USSR;

Diplomatic personnel and others in the Hungarian government who met or negotiated with Soviet representatives;

Party and police officials who had first-hand experience in contacts with Soviet counter-numbers or advisers or superiors;

Economic officials, particularly those involved in foreign trade, loans, and mixed Soviet-Hungarian enterprises, who had direct relations with Soviet officials;

All those who had dealings with other satellite governments;

Representatives at international gatherings and organizations;

Deportees to the USSR, persons arrested by Soviet agencies in Hungary, and prisoners of war returned from the USSR.

A separate category, to be interviewed along different lines, consists of former Soviet soldiers and others who defected in or through Hungary.

Suggested Problem Areas: Some of the questions to be investigated in this series are suggested below.

Soviet personnel in Hungary or dealing with Hungarian affairs: diplomatic, military, economic, secret police and uniformed police, TASS and other news personnel, Cominform personnel; officials in Moscow; secret informants and informers working for Soviet agencies; others. Who, why, and what. Actual functions and formal assignments. Hierarchy and coordination among Soviet officials dealing with Hungarian matters. Personalities and differences in attitude and "line."

With whom in Hungary did Soviet personnel deal; whom did they influence, pressure, control, make suggestions to. Techniques and procedures in dealings. Changes in the course of time. Examples.

Cultural, educational, propaganda, ideological pressure and coordination; "exchange" programs; Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Society and related

activities; visits by VIP's; intellectual and scientific contacts.

Military coordination with Soviet armed forces and Warsaw Pact.

Soviet economic policy, exploitation, coordination, dictation, and concessions, if any.

Attitudes of Soviet personnel toward Hungary and Hungarians; personal contacts; differences among individuals, civilians and military, high and low officials, at different times, etc.

Hungarian attitudes toward Soviet personnel; differentiations and changes in time.

Relations with other satellites.

Role of Soviet organizations, personnel, advisers in Hungarian police, purges, trials; deportations to USSR; forced labor in and for the USSR.

Uranium mines and the USSR.

Coordination with Soviet action in international organizations, such as UN, WFTU, international "peace" movement.

Behavior of Soviet personnel in the 1956 revolt.

B 10 : OTHER INTERVIEWS

Interviews in this rubric are to be conducted whenever particularly interesting informants turn up whose knowledge or experience should not be passed up but whose field cannot or should not be fitted into any of the other series of interviews.

By the very nature of this category, no outline or list of problems can be suggested. One group of informants who may be included in this series of "targets of opportunity" are those concerned with cultural life and media of communications, such as a movie producer, an editorial writer. Another group may include informants who personally knew an individual of interest, e.g., a neighbor of George Lukacs.

Assignment to the B 10 category will be made by the Scheduling Office on an ad hoc basis.

This preliminary version of the questionnaire applies to those "A" interviews 100 through 139.

"A" INTERVIEW

PRELIMINARY VERSION

Sections:

(O) Instructions and Face-Sheet Data Form

(R) The Revolt of 1956

(L/W) Personal Life Experience, Economic
Conditions, and Work Record

(S/F) Social Problems, Education,
Friends and Family

(G) Government, Party, Police, Army

(C) Communications

(I) Ideology, Attitudes, and Opinions

(X) Conclusion and Other

**This preliminary version of the questionnaire applies to
those "A" interviews 100 through 139.**

INTRODUCTION AND INSTRUCTIONSPurpose of "A" Interview

Type "A" is an oral depth interview of about one day's 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 respondents for "A" interviews will be selected from various sources and backgrounds so as to minimize bias in selectivity of sample. At the same time, the composition of the sample will be determined by a stratified grid previously agreed upon, which will take into account socio-economic, age, ecological and other variables.

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, these areas--relating to the entire period since 1944--are: his personal career, living conditions, and work record; social change, education, family, friends, religion; his experience with government, party, police, army, and mass organizations; communications and propaganda; and his personal opinions and "ideology" in political and related fields. There will be an opportunity to probe other areas not specifically provided for.

Interview Procedures and Techniques

Type "A" interview consists of six formal sections and a conclusion. Each section has its own introduction which seeks to set forth the empha-

the or purpose of a given set of questions. It is hoped to administer the total interview in two sessions of about two or two and one-half hours each--one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. The emphasis in the first is on personal experience, in the second on political questions.

The interview questionnaire here presented 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 questionnaire. The interviewer himself will wish to introduce additional ones as the need arises. We can thus distinguish between

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

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 to put him at ease. Trust, understanding, and often improvisation will be 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.

In so far as possible, the wording given in the questionnaire should be used. Wherever possible, do not elaborate on the wording. 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 questionnaire, so that he need not pause in order to read the next question for himself or stumble over the interview guide. 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 you 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, make a note if a given question is not applicable. 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" merely 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 terms that 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.

Note-taking and Recording the Interview

The ideal--never to be attained--is a verbatim transcript of the interview. Except for audiophonic recording, which this Project does not intend to use, this requires note-taking by the interviewer and subsequent transcribing of the notes. 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. Answers should not be summarized or edited. Additional probes and any change in the phrasing of questions should be noted by the interviewer (in parentheses) preceding the answer. Questions and probes listed in this questionnaire need not be read in the record but can be referred to by letter and number only.

Interviewers will record their notes on the dictating machine the same day, if possible immediately after each session, while the answers are still fresh and detail can be filled in on the basis of the notes. Breaks between sessions should last at least one hour, preferably longer.

When recording, interviewers will start with interview number and code and indicate other information required about respondent and place and time of interview. Start off contents of interview with section title, read letter and number of each question, then the answer; then the relevant probes from this guide and additional probes suggested by interviewer

prior to each answer.

All records are to be made in English, with the use of Hungarian phrases and terms wherever they add color, or the interviewer cannot readily think of the English equivalent. Please spell Hungarian and other foreign terms for the benefit of the typists.

At the conclusion of the record, 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. It will be well for the interviewer to bear in mind 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, since, 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, perhaps at the end of the interview if the information has not come up 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. A sample Interview Record form is attached.

In addition (as repeated in the instructions for the Conclusion),

the interviewer will be asked to rate each respondent with regard to (1) rapport, (2) veracity, (3) cooperativeness, and (4) compliance.

Introductory Remarks

The following is suggested as the kind of introductory statement that the interviewer is urged to make to the respondent upon first meeting him. To avoid awkwardness, the interviewer need not give his name as if to request respondent to offer his own. (The following statement will be given in Hungarian in the interview guide.)

As you know, this Project has been established specially to learn about Hungary--what has happened since the second World War, how people feel about it, what they liked and disliked, and why they did certain things.

This Project is being conducted by Columbia University, one of the leading American universities, in New York, and the study is quite a scientific one. It has no special axe to grind or point to prove or disprove. It is not connected with any political group or organization. It is not a government enterprise, and it is not an emigré affair.

What we want to find out above all is the truth. Most of us have tried to follow and understand events in Hungary, so that we know certain facts or think we know them. But people like you have much to tell us, I am sure. Above all, I should like you to be quite honest with us. You know, it is a bit like being a doctor; before one can form a competent judgment, one must have all the facts, regardless whether they are pleasant or unpleasant.

You know that we are not asking for the names of the people we talk with. This is partly for your own protection, partly to clear us of any suspicions. You don't have to answer any question you don't want to, for whatever reason. But I trust we can talk about a good many things today. Do tell me whenever you want to take a break or anything else.

You won't mind if I write down some things as we talk? I really have to, in order to remember some of the things we discuss and to get the full benefit of your experience.

Before we get started, if you have any questions you want to ask me, I'll be happy to try and answer them.

The Revolt and Its Antecedents
(" R ")

Instructions

This is the first section of the actual interview. The interviewer will need to be particularly cautious and tactful here. If necessary, he will want to go slow 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" as as to settle down to a less affective interview situation later on, and in this manner establish better rapport and greater veracity. At the same time, the respondent's views of and experience in the Revolt of 1956 are of real substantive interest to the Project. 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.

[FOR PRETEST: Interviewers are asked to communicate their comments about the advisability of launching into the subject of the Revolt this early in the interview.]

Interview Guide

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

[The question is intentionally vague so as to let the respondent structure it as he sees fit. No effort should be made to interrupt the stream of what appears significant to the respondent.]

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

- a. What was beginning and what were the phases of its "incubation"?
- b. Did Stalin's death have anything to do with the process? If so, what?
- c. Did the first incumbency of Imre Nagy contribute? If so, what?
- d. Did the reconciliation of Moscow with Tito have anything to do with it? If so, what?
- e. Did the 20th Congress of the Russian party [January 1956] have anything to do with it? If so, what did you know about it at the time?

- f. What about the events in Poznan [June 1956]? Did you know about them? What was their impact?
- g. What about the replacement of Rakosi? What did you think about it at the time?
- h. Was there any particular point at which you might have said: this is the real turning-point? If so, when?
- i. Before the Revolt took place, did you have any feeling that a big political change was imminent? If so, what made you think so, and when was it?

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

- [a. Probe for specific attitudes and motives of people.
- b. Probe for specific conditions.
- c. Why do you think the Revolt occurred when it did-- not sooner and not later?

4. Do you think the people who started the Revolt had a definite goal in mind?

- [a. If so, what was it? How do you know?
- b. If not, what did they do it for?
- c. Do you think different people had different goals?
- d. Do you think the people who joined later had the same goals as those who started it?
- e. Can you think of anything the people were against?
- f. Can you think of anything the people were for?
- g. What would have been the most popular slogans during the Revolt?
- h. What was meant by national independence?
- i. Do you think the Revolt was anti-Communist?
- j. If yes, explain how come Communist joined in it.
- k. If no, explain.
- l. Suppose Soviet troops had not intervened. What do you think would have happened in Hungary?
- m. Would you have been satisfied with a development like that in Poland?
- n. What participants had personal purposes in mind?
- o. What people opposed the Revolt? Can you give examples from your own experience?

5. What can you tell me about the actual events of the Revolt from your personal experience?

- [a. Did you have any part in the Revolt?
- b. If neither participant nor eye-witness: What did you hear about the events then? How and from whom?

[*** Questions 6-9 are for participants and eye-witnesses only.]

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

- [a. Strive for brief chronology of personal experiences.
- b. Why did you do as you did?
- c. How did you find out about different ways in which you could participate?
- d. What did you expect to be the consequences of your own involvement?
- e. What did you expect to be the consequences if you had not been involved?
- f. Where were you involved?

7. [If eye-witness] Tell me something about what you yourself saw.

- [a. Did you see any fighting between Hungarian, Russian troops, AVOS, or police? If yes: who, against whom, when, where, behaved how?
- b. Did you see any instances where soldiers fought half-heartedly, deserted, or defied their orders? If so, Describe.
- c. Did you witness any mob violence? If so, describe.
- d. Anything else?

8. [Only if actual fighter] Now please tell me about the action you saw.

- [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)? Was it formed spontaneously?
- c. Who joined it? Was anybody recruited? Was anybody allowed to join? Who decided who could?
- 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, who was he? What was his background, politics, 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. How much did you know about what other groups were doing in the Revolt?
- k. How did you communicate with other units?
- l. Did you exchange information or intelligence with anyone?
- m. Did your group discuss plans or objectives with anyone?
- n. In the dealings among various revolutionary groups, who had the greatest authority? Why?
- o. Were there any conflicts or disagreements among the rebels? If so, detail.
- p. How did student and worker groups get along?
- q. Did you group have any contact with any of the following: workers' groups; army units; student groups (MEFESZ and others); intellectuals; clergy; peasants; revolutionary council; other organizations?

9. [Only if a non-fighting participant] How did you participate in the Revolt?

- [a. In demonstrations?
- b. In strikes?
- c. In helping fighters with supplies or other ways?
- d. Remove Red emblems and Russian symbols?
- e. Preparing or distributing leaflets?
- f. Membership in a revolutionary council?
- g. Other?
- h. Describe just what you did.
- i. Why did you do this sort of work?
- j. [If rural] What impact did the events have on the village?

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

- [a. What part did the newspapers play? Did you read any?
- b. What did people think of various papers?
- c. What did you learn by word-of-mouth? From whom?
- d. Did you listen to the radio? Domestic or foreign? What stations? What did you learn in this way?
- e. Did you learn anything over the telephone? If so, what?
- f. Compared with earlier days, which media were more important for you in getting the facts, and which were less important?
- g. Can you make a distinction between getting the facts locally and getting national news?

11. What was the fate, during the Revolt, of the old government and Party institutions? How effective were they? Can you give me some examples from your own experience?

- /a. What happened to the Party organization? The central apparatus? The local (primary) organizations? Their offices and buildings? Their personnel?
- b. The police?
- c. The AVH?
- d. The courts.
- e. The army.
- f. The trade unions.
- g. Local government (councils), municipalities.
- h. Central government, ministries.
- i. The churches.
- j. In substance, what institutions collapsed and what institutions and control mechanisms remained intact?
- k. Which organizations were used by rebel groups to further their own ends?
- l. What new kinds of organizations emerged during the Revolt that had not existed before?
- m. What was the background of the Workers' Councils? What did they do? Who ran them?
- n. What sort of government structure would have emerged from the Revolt, do you think?

12. How did the Soviet troops behave during the whole crisis?

- /a. Did you see any yourself?
- b. Were there any differences of behavior among them?
- c. Had you expected this?
- d. What about Soviet civilian officials in Hungary?
- e. Were there any defections or discontent among them?
- f. Do you think Soviet personnel had definite instructions on what to do during the crisis?
- g. How much influence do you think the Soviet officials exerted in Budapest? (Differentiate: Before October 23, during the crisis, after November 4, 1956.)
- h. 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?

13. When did you decide to leave Hungary?

- /a. What made you decide, after all?
- b. Did you discuss your decision with anyone else?
- c. Did you have any plans for getting by persons who might detain you--border guards, AVH, Soviet troops?
- d. What did you expect would happen to you after you got out?
- e. Did you think of doing anything other than leaving Hungary?

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

- /a. Do you think it was a useful thing?
- b. Do you think it could have succeeded? If so, how?
- c. If it were again October 23, what would you do differently from the way you did then?
- 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? /Probe for Maléter, Kovács, Tildy, etc./
- g. Who do you think was the hero of the Revolt?
- h. Could you rank the following groups according to the degree of their participation in the revolt:

Skilled workers
Unskilled workers
Collective farmers
Non-collectivized peasants
White-collar people
Students
Intellectuals and writers
Soldiers
Any other groups?

- i. Did you expect the young people to play the part they did? Why?
- j. Did you expect the students to play the part they did? Why?
- k. What do you think was the part of the Petöfi Club? Were you surprised by it? Why?
- l. What about the part of the peasantry?

15. /Interviewer: Please make note if respondent is particularly conversant with special facets of the Revolt or the situation in Hungary after November 4, 1956, and recommend him promptly for special "B" interview./

Work and Life 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 may not be applicable to individual cases. Thus a student may have had no relevant work experience; in his case, the school or study group is the closest corresponding experience to investigate. A housewife who has never had formal employment will need to have certain questions rephrased. In some cases hypothetical cases may have to be introduced. Thus instead of "What career did you have in mind for yourself?" one may have to ask, "If you had been working, what sort of job...." Some of the questions may be particularly inapplicable to peasant respondents. Here care must be taken to substitute relevant variants, as we are much interested in peasant experiences too.

Questions

1. Now tell me a little about yourself.

- a. What is your occupation? (Be specific)
- b. What was your father's occupation?

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

/for each/

- a. Where did you work?
- b. Just what did you do?
- c. What was your title, position, rank?
- d. How long did you have that position?
- e. Was it a large organization? An efficient one?
- f. Tell me about the place you worked at.

3. /Concentrate on a key job--held longest or most recently or most typical./
How was this work--pretty good? /Open-ended lead into discussion of job satisfaction, working conditions, salaries and wages, relations with fellow-workers, standards of living./
- a. What did you like about it?
 - b. What did you dislike about it?
 - c. What about the other jobs you had?
/Concentrate on recent period./
4. What was your wage /salary/? Probe for average yearly earnings in, say,
- a. 1946;
 - b. 1950;
 - c. 1955;
 - d. What was your base pay?
 - e. What deductions were made?
 - f. What premiums did you receive?
 - g. Did you make money from any other sources?
 - h. How did your pay compare with that of people who had other types of jobs?
 - i. How did your pay compare with that of others who did the same kind of work?
5. /Again the key job selected for Question 3 above/
How many hours a day did you work?
- a. What were your official working hours?
 - b. How many days a week did you work?
 - c. Overtime? Was overtime paid for?
 - d. Were there any holidays? Did you get paid vacations? How many days?
 - e. How did this compare with other jobs you had?
 - f. How strict was the discipline of coming on time?
 - g. Was there a "ten minutes earlier" movement?
 - h. Any punishment for lateness, absenteeism?
What punishment?
 - i. Norm system and attitudes toward it?
 - j. Can you remember when changes occurred in the norm system and how they were carried out?
 - k. Speed-up system?
 - l. Piece work?

6. What were the working conditions?

- a. Technical conditions
- b. Hygienic conditions, crowding, etc.
- c. Equipment
- d. Quality of products or service
- e. How did you go to work? How long did it take you?

7. What about the people you worked with?

- a. Their age, education, economic, social status
- b. Relations with peers, superiors, subordinates
- c. Did you make friends with any of your colleagues (fellow-workers)?
- d. How frank were people with each other?
- e. Did you have more in common with people who did the same kind of work as you did?
- f. Did you meet any of your colleagues (fellow-workers) socially, privately?
- g. Did you discuss politics with any of them?
- h. Did you have a Party organization at your place of work? /Leave details for Section "G"/. If yes, what did it do?
- i. If yes, was there a difference at work between the Party members and non-Party people?
- j. What was the relationship between the workers and the Party?
- k. Did the workers trust the Trade Union?
- l. How did the Trade Union function?
- m. What changes did the Trade Union undergo since 1945?
- n. Do you know anything of the activities of the mediation boards?
- o. What was the "shop triangle" like and how did it function?
- p. Could an expert get ahead even if he was not politically reliable?
- q. What if he was politically neutral?
- r. Were incompetent people advanced because of political connections?
- s. Did this sort of thing vary between 1946 and 1956? If so, how?
- t. Was there any political screening (káderezés); were there any secret sections, AVO people, or informers at your place of work? If so, who were they and what did they do?
- u. What is your opinion of the Workers' Councils?
- v. How did they function?

8. We spoke of your ~~own~~ job(s) a few minutes ago. Why did you change positions? /Or, if not applicable: For what reasons would you have changed your job?/

- a. What possibilities were there for changing jobs?
- b. If you had been free to choose your work, what kind of job would you have picked for yourself?
- c. Why?
- d. Explore whether any of these are factors in career goals:

Family tradition
Status and prestige
Material regards
Social utility
Convenience
Responsibility
Lack of responsibility
Other reasons

- e. Did your choice of a career change as you grew up? If so, what other jobs had you had in mind for yourself?
- f. Did you think you had a chance to be successful in Hungary?
- g. Do you think all people want to succeed or get ahead?
- h. Do you? Why?
- i. Suppose you get the sort of living conditions you like, -- what would you spend your money on, what would you strive for?
- j. Do you think your ideas on this have changed since you left Hungary? If so, in what ways? What were they before?
- k. If you had stayed in Hungary, would you have wanted your children to do the same kind of work as you did? Why?

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

- a. How many members of your family (household) were working? Why and why?
 - b. How did your living conditions change since the war?
 - c. What sort of things could you afford to buy, and what couldn't you afford?
- /If respondent has filled in Budget Questionnaire, substitute for the following probes a review of his entries on that blank./

/ 9 continued /

d. Breakdown of your salary (and/or that of immediate family):

- i. Wages or salary;
- ii. Other sources of income;
- iii. Deductions, taxes, compulsory loan, insurance, etc.
- iv. Net take-home pay.

e. How much did you spend on housing? (Indicate if own house, rented house or apartment, or room)

f. Dwelling conditions: crowding, sharing; appliances, plumbing

g. How much did you spend on food? On the average, how much time did you (your wife, your mother) spend waiting in queues?

h. How much did you spend on clothing?

i. What sort of things did you buy in state stores, and what things through private sources (markets, black market, private peasants, etc.)?

j. How much did you spend on fuel, electricity, gas?

k. Did you have any difficulty getting these services?

l. How much did you spend on medical and dental care?

m. What benefits were connected with your job (vacation, insurance, medical care)?

n. How much did you spend on recreation or entertainment (radio, movies, cigarettes, drinking, newspapers, books, sports, vacation, etc.)?

o. What else did you spend money on?

10. Did you feel you personally (your family, household) were getting a fair income?

a. Did you feel you were being exploited?

b. Did you feel Hungary as a whole was being exploited?

c. If yes, by whom?

d. What changes took place in the actual situation of the workers?

e. What was your attitude toward peace loans?

f. What did you think about reparation payments?

g. Were there any compulsory lectures or training programs you had to participate in?

11. What was your general attitude toward the development of the Hungarian economy?
- Was it growing the way it should?
 - Was anything wrong with it?
 - If so, what?
 - What about the economic situation in Hungary before 1944: was anything wrong with it?
 - Do you think what happened after 1944 was an improvement? In what ways? In what respects? Why?
 - What did you think about the Three-Year Plan (1947-1949)?
 - What about the Five-Year Plan begun in 1950?
 - What about the economic policy of Imre Nagy (1954-55)?
 - Did you know about any discussions in the government or Party about how much consumer goods to produce?
 - How were things in the last year before the revolt materially--better or worse? Explain.
12. Among the various complaints people had, how important do you think material conditions were?
- How important were they for you?
 - What other complaints were more (equally) important?
 - For what groups of people in particular?
 - At your place of work, did the workers (employees) have any plans against the government before the Revolution of 1956?
 - In what ways did the discontent of the workers manifest itself?
 - How did the workers actually behave during the Revolution?

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.

Interview Guide

1. What schooling have you had in Hungary?

- [a. When did you attend school? For how long?
- b. I.e., your highest grade was ... ?
- c. You graduated from ... ?

2. [If applicable:] Did you have any schooling after 1944?

- [a. If so, can you please describe it--what, why, how?
- b. Did you attend any evening school?
- c. Did you attend any special or technical school?
- d. Did you attend any military training courses?
- e. Did you attend any political training courses?
- f. What made you choose these schools (courses)?
- g. Did you have any choice? /missing in Hungarian

Questionnaire/

3. [Only applicable to respondents who were in school or college in October 1956]

Did you feel you would get as much schooling as you wanted?

- [a. How much schooling did you want?
- b. What made you feel that you wanted (did not want) to finish school (college)?
- c. What made you feel that you would (not) be able to finish it?

[If applicable:] Did you feel that you received as much schooling as you wanted?

- a. If not, how much would you have liked?
- b. Why did you not get as much as you would have liked?
- c. [If applicable:] Why did you (not) want to go to college?
- d. [If applicable:] Do you think your life might have been different if you had had more education (gone to college)? If yes, in what ways?

Ideally, what would you have liked to study?

- a. Why?
- b. Why didn't you?
- c. Have your opinions on this changed since then?
- d. What about your choice of career?

What sort of student were you--good, mediocre, poor?

- a. Why?

Did you have the same opportunity as everyone else to receive an education?

- a. Explain.
- b. Did anyone have privileges in this regard? If so, who?

Were there any compulsory subjects in school?

- a. If so, what were they?
- b. What was your reaction to them?
- c. What about Russian language courses?
- d. What about ideological subjects (dialectical materialism)?
- e. What about National defense training?
- f. What about sports?

How effective do you feel was Communist education?

- a. Did it change the attitude of children?
If so, toward what? Toward whom?
- b. Did it inculcate Communist ideals effectively?
- c. Did it inculcate Communist slogans effectively?
- d. Can you give examples from among your acquaintances?
- e. At what age do you think it is most (least) effective?
- f. In what ways?

INTERVIEWER: If respondent shows considerable familiarity with Hungarian educational system, consider recommending for special interview on education.]

0. Now a bit about your family. What (social) group of the population did your family belong to before the Communist take-over?

- [a. What about your mother's family?
- b. What about your wife's family?

1. What (social) group did they belong to after the Communist take-over?

2. What was your father's regular job?

- [a. Did he change jobs since 1944? If so, why?
- b. How long did he work at each job?
- c. What do you think about his job?
- d. How much schooling did he have?
- e. What did he think about your career?

3. How did your family live when you were a child? In comparison with most people, were you better off or worse off?

- [a. How did it change later on?

4. How many people were there in the family in which you grew up?

- [a. What happened to them later?
- b. As of 1956, did you relatives live with you?
- c. If so, why?

5. Who else in your family worked?

- | | | |
|------------------|---|---------------------------|
| [a. Mother? |) | [For each, if applicable, |
| b. Grandfathers? |) | repeat Questions 12 a-d.] |
| c. Siblings? |) | |
| d. Others? |) | |

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

[a. Explain why.

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?

RESPONDENT HAD A CHILD OVER 17 YEARS OLD IN 1956. ASK QUESTIONS 18-23;
NOT, ASK QUESTIONS 22-25.]

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

[a. Do you think this changed any since 1944? Why?

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

- [a. If yes: ~~was~~ with whom?
- b. What sort of things were said?
- c. If no: why not?

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. Anything else?
- f. Why do you think your child(ren) felt the way they did?

Is there anything you could have done to make your child(ren) respect you more?

- a. What organizations and persons exerted influence on your children?
- b. What was the situation regarding the conflicting influences of parents and authorities?

Generally speaking, did you (and your brothers and/or sisters) get along pretty well with your parents?

Did you ever talk to your parents about political matters?

- [a. If yes, what sort of things were said?
- b. If no, why not?

[If applicable:] Have you ever had trouble with your parents over your education?

[a-e: Repeat probes from Question 20 above.

Is there anything your parents should have done that would have made you respect them more?

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 spare 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 with your spare time that you could not?

Do you feel that since 1945 family ties have loosened or tightened?

- [a. Explain why.
- b. Can family members trust each other?
- c. Are they more dependent on each other than before?
- d. Are children growing estranged from their parents?
- e. Is this equally true of town and country?

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

- [a. If so, how? changed during the last 10 years?
- b. What about the age at which people marry? Has this ✓
- c. Have marriage or courtship patterns changed?
- d. What do you think about it?
- 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? Explain.
- g. [Optional:] What do you think about birth control? How widespread do you think it is?
- h. Do you think the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed? What is it? Are there many?

Now I should like to talk about friends. Can you think of one of the closest friends you had before leaving Hungary. When and how did you first meet him (her)?

- /a. What kind of work did he(she) do?
- b. What was his(her) age? Social background?
- c. What sort of things did you often 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. Suppose you had a friend who became a Party official. Would this have affected your friendship. Why?

Incidentally, I failed to ask you 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?

Has Communist rule affected religious life?

- /a. If yes, in what ways?
- b. Were all faiths hit equally or not? Explain.
- c. What about other denominations?
- d. Why do you think the Communists interfered with religious life?
- e. Do you think they tried to stamp it out or use it for their own ends? What makes you think so?
- f. Was the persecution of /insert a given faith/ directed against all believers or only the leaders (bishops, priests, pastors...)?
- g. Could you worship freely in your church?
- h. /Optional:/ How often did you attend church?
- i. What about other people? /Probe for variations by age, social group, time, motivation./
- j. What do you think of the new church leaders ("peace priests")?
- k. Do you think different churches adjusted differently to the regime? If so, how?
- l. Do you think religion is more or less important to young people than it was to their parents? Why?

32. How has Communist rule affected the Jews in Hungary?

- /a. What do you think was the Jews' attitude toward the regime?
- b. How did the Jews behave during the Revolt?
- c. What do you think should be the future status of the Jews in Hungary?

33. 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 group would you name, and what order would you put them in?

- /a. Which of these groups would you say you belonged in?
- b. Which of these groups would you have liked to belong in?

34. 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 just that occupation?
- b. What kinds of things would you have told this young 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 Question 34 in Hungary?

Government and Political Experience ("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 on 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 and semi-statistical 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 organization, such as the Party or even 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.

Interview Guide

1. Have you been interested in politics?

- a. In what way? Why?
- b. As an on-looker (newspaper reader, observer) or as one who likes to do things?
- c. Compared with other interests, how important have political developments been to you?
- d. Have you ever participated in political action? If so, when and in what form? [Probe if he includes mass organizations and voting here.]
- e. Compared with others around you, how interested were you in politics--more or less? Why?
- f. Did this vary, say, between 1946 and 1956?

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

- a. If you were still in Hungary, which of the following would be the most important complaints of yours, and which the least important:

[2a continued]

- (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) Anything else?

- b. Which of the above would you say were the most important for the intellectuals?
- c. Which for the peasants?
- d. Which for the workers?
- e. Which for the students?
- f. What about Communists who became dissatisfied: on what grounds did they turn "sour"?
- g. These grievances and complaints we talked about--how acutely did one feel them on an average working day? Can you give examples?
- h. Did one talk about any of them with others? If so, with whom? If not, why? Did this vary in time?
- i. Could one try to do something about them? If so, what? Did you? If not, why?

3. 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? What did you do for it? If not, why not?
- b. Did your father belong to any political party?
- c. If you had to choose among the following descriptions, which comes closest to your own case:
 - (i) Never interested in politics;
 - (ii) Always in favor of regime;
 - (iii) Always against regime;
 - (iv) Once in favor, but turned against it (when?);
 - (v) In favor of some things, against others (What things?)
- d. Did your attitude toward the Communist system change at all since 1945? If so, in what ways and why?
- e. Do you think many other people felt the same way? Who did? Who didn't? Why?
- f. In spite of their many--and apparently just--complaints, just about the whole population remained loyal until October 1956. How do you explain this? /Probe for view of authority, opportunity for effective action, efforts at opposition./

4. Who was the real power in Hungary?

- a. What makes you think so?
- b. [If respondent mentions Moscow] And within Hungary itself?
- c. [If respondent mentions an individual] Any particular group or organization?
- d. [Probe for image of Party-police-government relationship.]

5. Who ran the government?

- a. What was the role of parliament?
- b. What was the role of elections?
- c. Did local government have any authority? If so, how much? If not, who made the decisions for it?
- d. Compared with pre-1944 Hungary, was there much "red tape"?
- e. Was there much graft and bribery? Why? Can you give examples?
- f. What sort of people went into government service--say, to become ["civil service"] officials in a ministry?
- g. What sort of people became army officers? What were the advantages of being one?

6. Next I should like to talk about the Communist Youth League. What were the advantages of belonging to it?

- a. What were the drawbacks?
- b. Did most of the young people you knew, join?
- c. What pressures did one feel to join?
- d. What ways were there not to join?
- e. What reasons were there not to join?
- f. Did you belong?
- [If member:]
 - g. When and how did you join?
 - h. What were your duties and position?
 - i. What advantages did membership bring you?
 - j. What disadvantages did it entail?
 - k. How much time did it occupy? In what ways?

[If non-member]

- l. Could you have joined?
- m. Did non-membership later affect your life or career?
- n. What sort of people joined?
- o. What did being a member do to people?
- p. What influence could a rank-and-file member have on the policy or conduct of the organization?
- q. Who runs it?

7. Now about the Communist Party. What does it mean to be a member?

- a. Who has to be a member?
- b. Who wants to be a member?
- c. What are the rights of membership?
- d. What are the duties of membership?
- e. Can you think of some people you knew who joined?

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When, why, did they join, and who were they?

f. Were there people who wanted to become members but could not? Why?

g. Did you belong?

[If member:] h. When and how did you join?

i. Why did you join--what were the drawbacks and what the advantages?

j. Did your attitude toward the Party change later on? If so, in what ways?

k. How much time did it occupy? In what ways?

[If respondent is interesting or knowledgeable on Party affairs, recommend for "B" interview.]

[If non-member:]

l. Could you have joined?

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

n. What sort of people joined?

o. What did being a member do to people?

p. Who do you think ran the Party? At the local level?

q. What influence do you think the Party had in the Hungarian government?

r. In the police?

s. In the army?

t. In the trade unions?

u. In religious bodies?

v. Did you belong to any other mass organizations?

a. Which?

b. Why did you join them?

c. Describe those you know.

d. How did people feel about different organizations?

e. What organizations or societies did you belong to, say, after 1950?

[For each mentioned in e:]

f. Who were the members? How large an organization was it?

g. Why did you join? When?

h. What did you do--attend meetings? what else?

i. What was the goal of the society?

j. How "close" were the members to one another?

k. Can you describe the leaders of the group--their background, age, education, occupation, their motives?

l. Do you think there were secret informers among the members? Why? If so, what did they do? How did you know?

m. Did the group do anything illegal? If so, what and how?

n. On the whole, how do you think people felt about belonging to any of these organizations?

o. Which were approved of, and why? By whom?

p. Which were disapproved of? By whom? Why? [E.g., purpose, police, practice, or personalities? Boredom? Pointlessness? Duress?]

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

- a. What do you think was the effect of Communist indoctrination (propaganda, education, training) on youth?

What sort of people belonged to the AVH?

- a. How were they recruited?
- b. What was their social, age, political background?
- c. Were members immune from persecution?
- d. Would you distinguish between regular AVH "full-timers" and secret informants? How would you compare them?

Were you or any relative or close friend ever arrested (since 1944)?

- a. If so, when, who, on what grounds?
- b. Get details if tried, charges, conduct of investigation, sentence, how and where served.
- c. Can you give me a brief list of specific cases of arrest you can think of among your acquaintances and relatives?
- d. Tell me a little more about the case that produced the greatest impression on you.
- e. Did you know reliably about physical abuse and atrocities of anyone arrested? If so, give me some details, please.
- f. What sort of people got arrested? Probe for categories: social groups, personality traits, extent of innocence or culpability, political vs. non-political.
- g. Were there waves of purges that you were aware of? If so, what were they, do you recall?

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?
- 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?

Can you compare the operation of the courts, the uniformed police, and the secret police?

- a. In were you more likely to get justice? Why?
- b. How did these institutions get along with each other?
- c. Do you think there was discontent among members of the AVH, too? Why?

4. Were there any important fluctuations in the extent and forms of terror?

- a. If so, when and what were they?
- b. Did you notice any change in 1953?

Interviewer: Please recommend for "B" interview all respondents with unusual personal arrest, prison, purge, or terror experiences./

5. 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 advisers or other Soviet personnel assigned to them?

6. Do you think people under Communism behave in accordance with the way they feel?

- 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?

7. Are there any ways for a Hungarian citizen to circumvent or ignore official orders?

- a. Are there any laws you can disobey and get away with it?
- b. Did you manage to protect your own interests in defiance of official decrees? If so, can you give an example?
- c. Can a peasant fail to deliver all the grain he is supposed to? If so, how?
- d. Suppose a person working in Budapest in a government office is transferred to a distant village. Can he do anything to have the transfer canceled? How would he go about it?
- e. Suppose a worker wants to get a better-paying job elsewhere, in another town. How would he go about it?
- f. 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?

What sort of a person ahead in Hungary these days? /don't structure it./

Now, finally, I want to ask you something about opposition to the regime. From what you know, how would you describe it? What opposition was there, and how was it expressed?

- a. What forms did it take in the last ten years?
- b. What groups were most hostile to the system? Why?
- c. What groups were least hostile? Why?
- d. Do you think opposition increased or decreased after 1953?
- e. Do you think opposition was a personal matter, or were any groups organized? If the latter, what groups and when?
- f. Did you hear or know any of any opposition in the Party itself? in the Army? among students? among writers? (all this before October 1956)
- g. What expressions did opposition take?
- h. What about political jokes?
- i. What about slow-down and willful sabotage (e.g. not learning the Russian language?)
- j. Was there any ideological disagreement within Party circles? If so, who, when, and what about?
- k. Could any opposition be organized? Why?
- l. How do you explain the emergence of MRWESZ and the Petöfi Circle?

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.

Interview Guide

1. Where did you used 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—say, in 1955. During one month, would you have read any newspapers or magazines? /Or: how often did you read newspapers and magazines?/
 - a. What newspapers? What magazines?
 - b. How regularly?
 - c. Why did you read these?
 - d. What sections did you read?
 - e. Did you read editorials?
 - f. What particular feature(s) did you like about it?
 - g. What particular feature(s) did you find most interesting?
 - h. Were wall newspapers used in your locality?
 - i. How did they compare with the regular newspapers?
 - j. What kind of news did they carry?
 - k. Did you ever see foreign publications?
 1. If so, when and where?
 - m. What did you think about them?

3. During the same average month, would you go to the movies? How often?

- a. Where would you go?
- b. What did you prefer to see? Why?
- c. How much political content was there?
- d. How did you like the movies?
- e. Did you see any foreign films?
- f. If so, when was this, and what were they?
- g. Did you go to the theater?
- h. If so, where and how often?
- i. Do you think the theater changed in recent years? If so, in what ways?

4. Did you read any books?

- a. If no, why not?
- b. If yes, about how many did you read in a year?
- c. What titles, for instance?
- d. Why would you read them?
- e. How would you choose them?
- f. Did you ever have difficulty getting those you wanted? If so, can you give me examples?

5. Did you listen to the radio?

- a. If no, why not?
- b. If yes, did you have a set yourself? What kind?
- c. To what stations did you listen? Why?
- d. To what programs in particular? Why?
- e. How many hours a day? What time of day?
- f. Where did you listen?
- g. What was your favorite (domestic) program?

6. Did you listen to any foreign station?

- a. If no, why not?
- b. If yes, to which?
- c. Why?
- d. How often, what hours?
- e. What did you think of them?
- f. What about the reliability of foreign broadcasts?

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7. Did you go to any lectures or meetings?

- a. If no, why not?
- b. If yes, to which?
- c. Did you want to or did you have to?
- d. How often did you go?
- e. On what subjects were they?
- f. Who arranged them?
- g. How long would they last?
- h. How did the audience react?
- i. Were questions asked? If yes, what kind?
- j. Can you describe how such a meeting (lecture) took place?

8. Did you get any information by word-of-mouth?

- a. If yes, what sort of information was it?
- b. From whom, for instance?
- c. Can you give me some examples?
- d. Was this sort of news more or less reliable than other sources?
- e. Were these facts or false rumors?
- f. What sort of rumors do you recall hearing?
- g. Where did you hear them?
- h. In your locality, where did people usually gather to talk about the news?
- i. Were there some people who usually seemed to know a good deal about what went on?
If so, who were they, and how did they know?
- j. Would you be more likely to discuss current events at home, at work, at a ~~restaurant~~ restaurant, or elsewhere? Why?
- k. Were there any individuals one would seek out to talk to because they had special information?
(E.g., prisoners of war, people who returned from jail or camps?)
- l. Did you ever run across any "illegal" publications?
If so, what were they?

9. If you wanted to get reliable news about events in the Hungarian Party, where would you go to find out?

- a. Suppose you wanted foreign news, where would you go?
- b. Suppose you wanted sports news, where would you go?
- c. Suppose you wanted economic news, where would you go?

10. How much of the information which you found in newspapers did you consider credible?
- How could you tell what to believe and what not to believe?
 - Did the reliability of the press decrease or increase in the course of time?
 - What kind of information was most reliable?
 - What kind of information was least reliable?
 - Were some newspapers or some radio stations considered more trustworthy than others? Which?
 - Did you ever read Irodalmi Ujsag? Did you read it regularly?
 - If yes, why? What impressed you about it?
11. Do you feel that people tried hard to find out what really went on?
- What sort of people did?
 - What sort of people didn't?
12. In summary, where did you usually get most of your news?
- Why?
 - During the Revolt, where you get most of your information about what went on?
 - Did you know what was happening in other towns?
13. Did you know about forced labor camps in Russia?
- If yes, how? What?
 - What about germ warfare in Korea?
 - Who started the Korean war?
 - Was Laszlo Rajk guilty?
 - What about German rearmament?
 - What about the Berlin riots of 1953?
 - What about emigré activities abroad?

INTERVIEWER: The above are examples suggestive of questions which the interviewer may want to improvise or revamp, in order to obtain an idea of how well the informant was informed (if possible, before leaving Hungary), how aware he was of current events, and to what extent his image of the world was distorted.

Political Opinions, Attitudes, and Ideology ("I")Introduction

This section seeks to elicit from the individual respondent his own opinions and attitudes on a variety of political, social, and ideological questions. These 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 (but not otherwise) interviewer may reword the question of original reading proves to be barren; such changed wording should be recorded. Extensive probing for "why's" and "how's" is encouraged.

The 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 it should be."

Questions and Probes

1. Suppose the present Hungarian regime were removed. What things in the present system would you be sure to change?

[Press for specific items; for each, why?]

- a. What things would you want to keep under another regime?

[Press for specific items; for each, why?]

2. Do you think that all people should be free to organize political parties?

[a. Why?

b. How important do you think this is?

c. Would you make any exceptions?]

3. Do you think that all people should be free to say anything they want, or should the government be able to forbid certain things?

[a. Why?

b. Should people be forbidden to say things detrimental to the state? Why?]

4. Do you think that all people should be free to participate in meetings?

a. Even if their purpose is to attack the government?

[a. Why?

b. How important do you think this is?

c. Would you make any exceptions?]

e. In what circumstances is an armed uprising against the government justified?

[Do not suggest 1956 Revolt unless respondent does.]

5. In some countries the state controls heavy industry, such as coal and steel. Are you in favor of such controls?

[a. Why?

b. Distinguish between state ownership and state guidance.

c. If not in favor, what are alternatives?

d. Is private profit bad?

6. In other countries the state controls light industry--say, clothing manufacture. Are you in favor of such controls?

[a. Why?

b. Distinguish between different forms of control.

c. If not in favor, what are alternatives?]

7. Should there be any state monopolies?

[a. Why?

b. If yes, which?

c. What sort of monopolies are bad?]

8. What do you think about government planning?

[a. Why?

b. Distinguish between theory and practice.

c. Distinguish between Soviet and Hoxian experience.

d. If in favor of planning: Are there any dangers in it?

e. Explore variations in rigidity, compulsion, scope.

SECTION "I"

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW

PRELIMINARY VERSION

-3-

9. In many countries, the government owns transportation and communications, such as railroads, telegraph, and airplane lines. Are you in favor of it or against it?

[a. Why?

b. Any differences among the 3 cited?
Any exceptions?]

10. In some countries, the government guarantees work for everyone. Are you in favor of this or against it?

[a. Why?

b. If in favor: Are there any dangers in this?
c. What price would you be willing to pay to be
guaranteed a decent standard of living?]

11. More broadly, are there any areas of human life in which the government (state) should not interfere?

[a. Why?

b. Give examples.]

12. Do you feel that a citizen has certain duties toward his state?

[a. If no: Why?

b. If yes: Which?

c. Paying of taxes?

d. Military service?

e. Obeying orders and laws?]

f. Is this true of any government?

13. Do you think that your opinion on any of the questions we have discussed in this section have changed since you left Hungary?

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

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW

PRELIMINARY VERSION

14. Earlier we spoke of some fields in which you feel no drastic changes would be needed. Do you feel that medical care in Hungary has improved in the last twenty years?

- [a. If yes, has quality of care increased?
- b. can certain groups of the population afford it better today? Which?
- c. personal physician vs. clinics?
- d. health insurance?
- e. any exceptions?
- f. If no, what makes you think so?
- g. can you give examples from your experience?

15. Does the Hungarian citizen today have more opportunity to visit the movies or attend theater and concerts than twenty years ago?

- [a. Why?
- b. Did you?
- cc Does it matter whether or not the opportunity is greater?
- d. Who in the population has (or has not) such opportunity?
- e. Do people take advantage of it?
- f. Distinguish among availability, ability to afford, and time to do so.

16. Does the present Hungarian citizen eat better than in

- a. 1940
- b. 1946
- c. 1950 ?

- [d. What differences in food available among different groups of the population?
- e. Who are most favored and who least?

17. Does the present Hungarian citizen clothe himself better than in

- a. 1940
- b. 1946
- c. 1950 ?

- [d. Why do you think so?
- e. What differences among groups of the population?

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW

PRELIMINARY VERSION

18. Did industrial production increase in Hungary since 1945?

[a. Why?

- b. Do you think this is a good thing for the Hungarian economy as a whole?
- c. Do you think anything should have been done differently about this?

19. Now, so far as agriculture is concerned, what would you say should be done with collective farms if the present regime is ever modified or overthrown?

[a. Should collectives be allowed to remain, side by side with private farms?

- b. Should all collectives be abolished?
- c. If so, what should happen to the land?
Should it be distributed to the peasants?
Should some be distributed and some not?
If so, who should decide?
- d. What should happen to the cattle and inventory?
- e. Would you favor returning to a strip system? /missing in H/
- f. Should any estates be restored to their former owners?
- g. Should the land be restored to all smallholders and "kulaks" who lost it?
- h. Can collective farms be administered for the benefit of their members?
- i. Who can benefit from collective farms?

20. What would you do with machine-tractor stations?

- [a. Would you keep them in government ownership?
- b. Would you sell or transfer them to individual farms?
- c. If you would dissolve them, what would you do with tractors and other machinery?
- d. Has anything been wrong with the way they have operated? If so, what?
- e. Do you think it is desirable to mechanize agriculture?

21. In factories or work shops, what part do you think workers should play in deciding what is done and how it is done?

- [a. What should be the part of labor unions?
- b. How independent should they be of the government?
- c. How compulsory should membership be?
- d. How onerous is union membership?
- e. How true has this been in Hungary in the last ten years?

- f. What purpose, if any, can workers' councils have?
 - g. How did they actually arise? For what purpose?
Whose idea was it? Who ran them?
 - h. How successful do you think they can be?
 - i. To whom should management be responsible?
22. If the present regime were overthrown, what should be done with Party members?
 - a. Should all be treated alike?
 - b. Leaders?
 - c. Petty officials?
 - d. Rank-and-file members?
 - e. Youth League members?
 - f. What about AVA and police personnel?
 - g. What other groups should get special attention?
 - h. With regard to the above, what actually happened during the events of October-November 1956?
23. What do you think about the organization of Hungarian education--not the substance of courses, but the system as a whole and the attention paid to education?
 - a. How did it compare with the system before 1944?
 - b. What about opportunity to study?
 - c. Was this good or bad?
 - d. How important is it to get an education?
24. 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 and denominations? If so, which?
 - c. Should churches receive financial support from the state?
Why?
 - d. Should religious instruction be re-established in the schools?
 - e. Should the Churches have any say in educational matters?
25. Now let us talk about Hungary for a minute. What do you think have been some of Hungary's most important contributions to Western culture and world history?

26. What governments in Hungary were popular?

- [a. How did Hungary fare under the Habsburgs?
- b. Why did some people then emigrate to the United States and Canada?
- c. Did Hungary have a feudal society?
- d. Was this good or bad? In what ways?
- e. What was life like under the Horthy regime? (Politically, materially, etc.)
- f. Was there much inequality in Hungary before 1944?
- g. Should Hungary have fought in World War II? Why?
- h. By comparison with what happened before and after, how was the period between 1944 and 1947? Explain.

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

- [a. If so, does it differ from the German?
- b. from the Russian?
- c. from the American?
- d. If so, do you think it has changed as a result of the last ten years?
- e. ~~Was there any difference in character among the various social classes in Hungary?~~
- Are there any differences in character among Hungary's social classes?

28. In Hungary's relations with some of the neighboring countries, some people in the past have stressed territorial revendications. Do you think borderlines are important?

- [a. If yes, in what ways?
- b. If no, why not?
- c. Do you think the Hungarian people have any rightful claims to territory beyond the present borders?
- d. If yes, which, and why?
- e. Do you think any other people threaten Hungary's present territory?
- f. Do you think there is a natural conflict between Magyars and any other people?
- g. If yes, which and why?
- h. If no, among what people is there?
- i. How do Magyars and Slovaks get along?) [Differentiate:
- j. How do Magyars and Rumanians get along?) within Hungary
- k. How do Magyars and Austrians get along?) or within
- l. How do Magyars and Yugoslavs get along?) neighbor states
- m. How do Magyars and Jews get along?
- n. Are Jews Hungarians?

29. On Hungary's relations with her neighbors, it has sometimes been suggested that some sort of regional federation or alliance would be useful. What do you think about that?

- [a. If yes, explore extent of federation
- b. purpose and scope
- c. Explore extent of Hungarian leadership in it
- d. Any distinction between Balkan, Danubian, and East European combination?

30. How as far as the Russians are concerned, what do you think about them 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?
- d. Have you got to know any of them well?
- e. What was the feeling toward them when they entered Hungary in 1944?
- f. What was the feeling toward them, say, between 1948 and 1953?
- g. What was the feeling toward them in 1956?

31. You know in general terms what Marxism stands for? What do you think of it?

- [a. What appeals to you in it?
- b. What elements don't make sense?
- c. How do you know about it?
- d. Did you study it? Where, how much?
- e. What changes have Hungarian Communists made in it?
- f. Explore critical judgment, faith, rationality.
- g. Was Lenin a good Marxist?
- h. Was Stalin?
- i. Are the Social-Democrats Marxists?
- j. Do you think one can be a Marxist and a democrat?
- k. What do you think it means to be a democrat?
- l. When was Hungary a democracy?
- m. Is Tito a Marxist, a democrat?

32. We just talked about Tito. Do you know the term National Communism? What do you think it means?

- [a. Do you think there were National Communists in the Revolt last October?
- b. If yes, who were they? What did they hope for?
- c. What do you think of Gomulka's policy?
- d. Is he a Communist?
- e. Do you think some Communists are honest Hungarian patriots?

33. Suppose Imre Nagy had stayed in power. Do you think conditions would have improved?

[a. What sort of a system do you think he was aiming at?

34. Tell me just in a word whether each of the following, in your mind, is good or bad:

- [a. Socialism
- b. Colonialism
- c. Class struggle
- d. National (Popular) front
- e. Imperialism
- f. Peace movement
- g. Capitalism
- h. Bourgeoisie

[Explore each: why? what do you mean by it?

35. What do you think other Hungarians would think of these questions?

36. 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 people have been getting more or less than they deserve:

- [a. Workers
- b. Collective farmers
- c. Small-holders
- d. Kulaks
- e. Government employees
- f. Professionals [e.g., teachers, lawyers, doctors]
- g. Students
- h. Artists and Actors
- i. Party members
- j. Priests
- k. Tradesmen
- l. Artisans.

37. As far as you know, which of these groups [in Q. 36] were better off and which were worse off before 1944?

[If opinion is not first-hand, try to ascertain sources of respondent's image of pre-Communist society]

38. 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 Bureaucracy
- d. Party and non-Party people
- e. Government employees and others
- f. Peasants and 'peace priests'
- g. City folk and country people

h. Do you think this always was and will be so?

- i. Prior to 1946, aristocracy and intelligentsia?
- j. Prior to 1946, aristocracy and workers
- k. Prior to 1946, landlords and smallholders?

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

[a. Who would fight against it?

[Let respondent structure conditions and enemies in war.]

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.

Interview Guide

I have been asking you all sorts of questions today. I wonder if you have any questions you want to ask me.

- [a. What do you think about this interview?
- b. How much interesting material do you think we will be able to collect in this manner?
- c. What are some things you would urge us to beware of?
- d. Do you think we shall get honest answers?
- e. What do you think I should have asked you but didn't?

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

- a. Do you ever plan to go back to Hungary?

Do you have any suggestions for our Project?

- [a. Any documents 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. [Interviewer should determine whether he wishes to recommend this respondent for a specialized "B" interview.]
- d. Do you have any suggestions of other people whom we ought to interview?

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

- [a. Have you been paid for your expenses?
- b. Have you turned in your Budget Questionnaire?
[not applicable on Pre-Test]
- c. [Give respondent form with Project address
[not applicable on Pre-Test].]

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."

"A" INTERVIEW

PRELIMINARY VERSION

Sections:

- (O) Instructions and Face-Sheet Data Form
- (E) The Revolt of 1956
- (L/W) Personal Life Experience, Economic Conditions, and Work Record
- (S/F) Social Problems, Education, Friends and Family
- (G) Government, Party, Police, Army
- (C) Communications
- (I) Ideology, Attitudes, and Opinions
- (X) Conclusion and Other

This preliminary version of the questionnaire applies to those "A" interviews 100 through 139.

INTRODUCTION AND INSTRUCTIONS

Purpose of "A" Interview

Type "A" is an oral depth interview of about one day's 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 respondents for "A" interviews will be selected from various sources and backgrounds so as to minimize bias in selectivity of sample. At the same time, the composition of the sample will be determined by a stratified grid previously agreed upon, which will take into account socio-economic, age, ecological and other variables.

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, these areas--relating to the entire period since 1944--are: his personal career, living conditions, and work record; social change, education, family, friends, religion; his experience with government, party, police, army, and mass organizations; communications and propaganda; and his personal opinions and "ideology" in political and related fields. There will be an opportunity to probe other areas not specifically provided for.

Interview Procedures and Techniques

Type "A" interview consists of six formal sections and a conclusion. Each section has its own introduction which seeks to set forth the empha-

or purpose of a given set of questions. It is hoped to administer the total interview in two sessions of about two or two and one-half hours each--one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. The emphasis in the first is on personal experience, in the second on political questions.

The interview questionnaire here presented 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 questionnaire. The interviewer himself will wish to introduce additional ones as the need arises. We can thus distinguish between

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

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 to put him at ease. Trust, understanding, and often improvisation will be 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

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW PRELIMINARY VERSION

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.

In so far as possible, the wording given in the questionnaire should be used. Wherever possible, do not elaborate on the wording. 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 questionnaire, so that he need not pause in order to read the next question for himself or stumble over the interview guide. 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

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 you 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, make a note if a given question is not applicable. 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" merely 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 terms that 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 and 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.

Note-taking and Recording the Interview

The ideal--never to be attained--is a verbatim transcript of the interview. Except for audiophonic recording, which this Project does not intend to use, this requires note-taking by the interviewer and subsequent transcribing of the notes. 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. Answers should not be summarized or edited. Additional probes and any change in the phrasing of questions should be noted by the interviewer (in parentheses) preceding the answer. Questions and probes listed in this questionnaire need not be read in the record but can be referred to by letter and number only.

Interviewers will record their notes on the dictating machine the same day, if possible immediately after each session, while the answers are still fresh and detail can be filled in on the basis of the notes. Breaks between sessions should last at least one hour, preferably longer.

When recording, interviewers will start with interview number and code and indicate other information required about respondent and place and time of interview. Start off contents of interview with section title, read letter and number of each question, then the answer; then the relevant probes from this guide and additional probes suggested by interviewer

rior to each answer.

All records are to be made in English, with the use of Hungarian phrases and terms wherever they add color, or the interviewer cannot readily think of the English equivalent. Please spell Hungarian and other foreign terms for the benefit of the typists.

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

Terms, 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. It will be well for the interviewer to bear in mind 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, since, 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, perhaps at the end of the interview if the information has not come up 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. A sample Interview Record form is attached.

In addition (as repeated in the instructions for the Conclusion),

the interviewer will be asked to rate each respondent with regard to (1) rapport, (2) veracity, (3) cooperativeness, and (4) compliance.

Introductory Remarks

The following is suggested as the kind of introductory statement that the interviewer is urged to make to the respondent upon first meeting him. To avoid awkwardness, the interviewer need not give his name as if to request respondent to offer his own. (The following statement will be given in Hungarian in the interview guide.)

As you know, this Project has been established specially to learn about Hungary--what has happened since the second World War, how people feel about it, what they liked and disliked, and why they did certain things.

This Project is being conducted by Columbia University, one of the leading American universities, in New York, and the study is quite a scientific one. It has no special axe to grind or point to prove or disprove. It is not connected with any political group or organization. It is not a government enterprise, and it is not an emigré affair.

What we want to find out above all is the truth. Most of us have tried to follow and understand events in Hungary, so that we know certain facts or think we know them. But people like you have much to tell us, I am sure. Above all, I should like you to be quite honest with us. You know, it is a bit like being a doctor; before one can form a competent judgment, one must have all the facts, regardless whether they are pleasant or unpleasant.

You know that we are not asking for the names of the people we talk with. This is partly for your own protection, partly to clear us of any suspicions. You don't have to answer any question you don't want to, for whatever reason. But I trust we can talk about a good many things today. Do tell me whenever you want to take a break or anything else.

You won't mind if I write down some things as we talk? I really have to, in order to remember some of the things we discuss and to get the full benefit of your experience.

Before we get started, if you have any questions you want to ask me, I'll be happy to try and answer them.

The Revolt and Its Antecedents
(" R ")

Instructions

This is the first section of the actual interview. The interviewer will need to be particularly cautious and tactful here. If necessary, he will want to go slow 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 affective interview situation later on, and in this manner establish better rapport and greater veracity. At the same time, the respondent's views of and experience in the Revolt of 1956 are of real substantive interest to the Project. 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.

[FOR PRETEST: Interviewers are asked to communicate their comments about the advisability of launching into the subject of the Revolt this early in the interview.]

Interview Guide

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

[The question is intentionally vague so as to let the respondent structure it as he sees fit. No effort should be made to interrupt the stream of what appears significant to the respondent.]

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

- [a. What was beginning and what were the phases of its "incubation"?
- b. Did Stalin's death have anything to do with the process? If so, what?
- c. Did the first incumbency of Imre Nagy contribute? If so, what?
- d. Did the reconciliation of Moscow with Tito have anything to do with it? If so, what?
- e. Did the 20th Congress of the Russian party [January 1956] have anything to do with it? If so, what did you know about it at the time?

- f. What about the events in Poznan [June 1956]? Did you know about them? What was their impact?
- g. What about the replacement of Rakosi? What did you think about it at the time?
- h. Was there any particular point at which you might have said: this is the real turning-point? If so, when?
- i. Before the Revolt took place, did you have any feeling that a big political change was imminent? If so, what made you think so, and when was it?

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

- [a. Probe for specific attitudes and motives of people.
- b. Probe for specific conditions.
- c. Why do you think the Revolt occurred when it did--not sooner and not later?

5. Do you think the people who started the Revolt had a definite goal in mind?

- [a. If so, what was it? How do you know?
- b. If not, what did they do it for?
- c. Do you think different people had different goals?
- d. Do you think the people who joined later had the same goals as those who started it?
- e. Can you think of anything the people were against?
- f. Can you think of anything the people were for?
- g. What would have been the most popular slogans during the Revolt?
- h. What was meant by national independence?
- i. Do you think the Revolt was anti-Communist?
- j. If yes, explain how some Communist joined in it.
- k. If no, explain.
- l. Suppose Soviet troops had not intervened. What do you think would have happened in Hungary?
- m. Would you have been satisfied with a development like that in Poland?
- n. What participants had personal purposes in mind?
- o. What people opposed the Revolt? Can you give examples from your own experience?

6. What can you tell me about the actual events of the Revolt from your personal experience?

- [a. Did you have any part in the Revolt?
- b. If neither participant nor eye-witness: What did you hear about the events then? How and from whom?

- f. What about the events in Poznan [June 1956]? Did you know about them? What was their impact?
- g. What about the replacement of Rakosi? What did you think about it at the time?
- h. Was there any particular point at which you might have said: this is the real turning-point? If so, when?
- i. Before the Revolt took place, did you have any feeling that a big political change was imminent? If so, what made you think so, and when was it?

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- b. If not, what did they do it for?
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[*** Questions 6-9 are for participants and eye-witnesses only.]

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

- [a. Strive for brief chronology of personal experiences.
- b. Why did you do as you did?
- c. How did you find out about different ways in which you could participate?
- d. What did you expect to be the consequences of your own involvement?
- e. What did you expect to be the consequences if you had not been involved?
- f. Where were you involved?

7. [If eye-witness] Tell me something about what you yourself saw.

- [a. Did you see any fighting between Hungarian, Russian troops, AVOS, or police? If yes: who, against whom, when, where, behaved how?
- b. Did you see any instances where soldiers fought half-heartedly, deserted, or defied their orders? If so, Describe.
- c. Did you witness any mob violence? If so, describe.
- d. Anything else?

8. [Only if actual fighter] Now please tell me about the action you saw.

- [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)? Was it formed spontaneously?
- c. Who joined it? Was anybody recruited? Was anybody allowed to join? Who decided who could?
- 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, who was he? What was his background, politics, 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. How much did you know about what other groups were doing in the Revolt?
- k. How did you communicate with other units?
- l. Did you exchange information or intelligence with anyone?
- m. Did your group discuss plans or objectives with anyone?
- n. In the dealings among various revolutionary groups, who had the greatest authority? Why?
- o. Were there any conflicts or disagreements among the rebels? If so, detail.
- p. How did student and worker groups get along?
- q. Did you group have any contact with any of the following: workers' groups; army units; student groups (MEFESZ and others); intellectuals; clergy; peasants; revolutionary council; other organizations?

9. [Only if a non-fighting participant] How did you participate in the Revolt?

- [a. In demonstrations?
- b. In strikes?
- c. In helping fighters with supplies or other ways?
- d. Remove Red emblems and Russian symbols?
- e. Preparing or distributing leaflets?
- f. Membership in a revolutionary council?
- g. Other?
- h. Describe just what you did.
- i. Why did you do this sort of work?
- j. [If rural] What impact did the events have on the village?

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

- [a. What part did the newspapers play? Did you read any?
- b. What did people think of various papers?
- c. What did you learn by word-of-mouth? From whom?
- d. Did you listen to the radio? Domestic or foreign? What stations? What did you learn in this way?
- e. Did you learn anything over the telephone? If so, what?
- f. Compared with earlier days, which media were more important for you in getting the facts, and which were less important?
- g. Can you make a distinction between getting the facts locally and getting national news?

11. What was the fate, during the Revolt, of the old government and Party institutions? How effective were they? Can you give me some examples from your own experience?

- /a. What happened to the Party organization? The central apparatus? The local (primary) organizations? Their offices and buildings? Their personnel?
- b. The police?
- c. The AVH?
- d. The courts.
- e. The army.
- f. The trade unions.
- g. Local government (councils), municipalities.
- h. Central government, ministries.
- i. The churches.
- j. In substance, what institutions collapsed and what institutions and control mechanisms remained intact?
- k. Which organizations were used by rebel groups to further their own ends?
- l. What new kinds of organizations emerged during the Revolt that had not existed before?
- m. What was the background of the Workers' Councils? What did they do? Who ran them?
- n. What sort of government structure would have emerged from the Revolt, do you think?

12. How did the Soviet troops behave during the whole crisis?

- /a. Did you see any yourself?
- b. Were there any differences of behavior among them?
- c. Had you expected this?
- d. What about Soviet civilian officials in Hungary?
- e. Were there any defections or discontent among them?
- f. Do you think Soviet personnel had definite instructions on what to do during the crisis?
- g. How much influence do you think the Soviet officials exerted in Budapest? (Differentiate: Before October 23, during the crisis, after November 4, 1956.)
- h. 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?

13. When did you decide to leave Hungary?

- /a. What made you decide, after all?
- b. Did you discuss your decision with anyone else?
- c. Did you have any plans for getting by persons who might detain you--border guards, AVH, Soviet troops?
- d. What did you expect would happen to you after you got out?
- e. Did you think of doing anything other than leaving Hungary?
if so, what?

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

- /a. Do you think it was a useful thing?
- b. Do you think it could have succeeded? If so, how?
- c. If it were again October 23, what would you do differently from the way you did then?
- 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? /Probe for Maleter, Kovacs, Taldy, etc./
- g. Who do you think was the hero of the Revolt?
- h. Could you rank the following groups according to the degree of their participation in the revolt:

Skilled workers
Unskilled workers
Collective farmers
Non-collectivized peasants
White-collar people
Students
Intellectuals and writers
Soldiers
Any other groups?

- i. Did you expect the young people to play the part they did? Why?
- j. Did you expect the students to play the part they did? Why?
- k. What do you think was the part of the Petöfi Club? Were you surprised by it? Why?
- l. What about the part of the peasantry?

15. /Interviewer: Please make note if respondent is particularly conversant with special facets of the Revolt or the situation in Hungary after November 4, 1956, and recommend him promptly for special "B" interview./

Work and Life 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 may not be applicable to individual cases. Thus a student may have had no relevant work experience; in his case, the school or study group is the closest corresponding experience to investigate. A housewife who has never had formal employment will need to have certain questions rephrased. In some cases hypothetical cases may have to be introduced. Thus instead of "What career did you have in mind for yourself?" one may have to ask, "If you had been working, what sort of job...." Some of the questions may be particularly inapplicable to peasant respondents. Here care must be taken to substitute relevant variants, as we are much interested in peasant experiences too.

Questions

1. Now tell me a little about yourself.

- a. What is your occupation? (Be specific)
- b. What was your father's occupation?

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

/for each/

- a. Where did you work?
- b. Just what did you do?
- c. What was your title, position, rank?
- d. How long did you have that position?
- e. Was it a large organization? An efficient one?
- f. Tell me about the place you worked at.

3. /Concentrate on a key job--held longest or most recently or most typical./

How was this work--pretty good? /Open-ended lead into discussion of job satisfaction, working conditions, salaries and wages, relations with fellow-workers, standards of living./

- a. What did you like about it?
- b. What did you dislike about it?
- c. What about the other jobs you had?
/Concentrate on recent period./

4. What was your wage /salary/? Probe for average yearly earnings in, say,

- a. 1946;
- b. 1950;
- c. 1955;
- d. What was your base pay?
- e. What deductions were made?
- f. What premiums did you receive?
- g. Did you make money from any other sources?
- h. How did your pay compare with that of people who had other types of jobs?
- i. How did your pay compare with that of others who did the same kind of work?

5. /Again the key job selected for Question 3 above/
How many hours a day did you work?

- a. What were your official working hours?
- b. How many days a week did you work?
- c. Overtime? Was overtime paid for?
- d. Were there any holidays? Did you get paid vacations? How many days?
- e. How did this compare with other jobs you had?
- f. How strict was the discipline of coming on time?
- g. Was there a "ten minutes earlier" movement?
- h. Any punishment for lateness, absenteeism?
What punishment?
- i. Norm system and attitudes toward it?
- j. Can you remember when changes occurred in the norm system and how they were carried out?
- k. Speed-up system?
- l. Piece work?

6. What were the working conditions?

- a. Technical conditions
- b. Hygienic conditions, crowding, etc.
- c. Equipment
- d. Quality of products or service
- e. How did you go to work? How long did it take you?

7. What about the people you worked with?

- a. Their age, education, economic, social status
- b. Relations with peers, superiors, subordinates
- c. Did you make friends with any of your colleagues (fellow-workers)?
- d. How frank were people with each other?
- e. Did you have more in common with people who did the same kind of work as you did?
- f. Did you meet any of your colleagues (fellow-workers) socially, privately?
- g. Did you discuss politics with any of them?
- h. Did you have a Party organization at your place of work? /Leave details for Section "G"/.
If yes, what did it do?
- i. If yes, was there a difference at work between the Party members and non-Party people?
- j. What was the relationship between the workers and the Party?
- k. Did the workers trust the Trade Union?
- l. How did the Trade Union function?
- m. What changes did the Trade Union undergo since 1945?
- n. Do you know anything of the activities of the mediation boards?
- o. What was the "shop triangle" like and how did it function?
- p. Could an expert get ahead even if he was not politically reliable?
- q. What if he was politically neutral?
- r. Were incompetent people advanced because of political connections?
- s. Did this sort of thing vary between 1946 and 1956? If so, how?
- t. Was there any political screening (káderezés); were there any secret sections, AVO people, or informers at your place of work? If so, who were they and what did they do?
- u. What is your opinion of the Workers' Councils?
- v. How did they function?

8. We spoke of your own job(s) a few minutes ago. Why did you change positions? /Or, if not applicable: For what reasons would you have changed your job?/

- a. What possibilities were there for changing jobs?
- b. If you had been free to choose your work, what kind of job would you have picked for yourself?
- c. Why?
- d. Explore whether any of these are factors in career goals:

Family tradition
Status and prestige
Material regards
Social utility
Convenience
Responsibility
Lack of responsibility
Other reasons

- e. Did your choice of a career change as you grew up? If so, what other jobs had you had in mind for yourself?
- f. Did you think you had a chance to be successful in Hungary?
- g. Do you think all people want to succeed or get ahead?
- h. Do you? Why?
- i. Suppose you get the sort of living conditions you like, -- what would you spend your money on, what would you strive for?
- j. Do you think your ideas on this have changed since you left Hungary? If so, in what ways? What were they before?
- k. If you had stayed in Hungary, would you have wanted your children to do the same kind of work as you did? Why?

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

- a. How many members of your family (household) were working? Why and why?
 - b. How did your living conditions change since the war?
 - c. What sort of things could you afford to buy, and what couldn't you afford?
- /If respondent has filled in Budget Questionnaire, substitute for the following probes a review of his entries on that blank./

/ 9 continued /

- d. Breakdown of your salary (and/or that of immediate family):
- i. Wages or salary;
 - ii. Other sources of income;
 - iii. Deductions, taxes, compulsory loan, insurance, etc.
 - iv. Net take-home pay.
- e. How much did you spend on housing? (Indicate if own house, rented house or apartment, or room)
- f. Dwelling conditions: crowding, sharing; appliances, plumbing
- g. How much did you spend on food? On the average, how much time did you (your wife, your mother) spend waiting in queues?
- h. How much did you spend on clothing?
- i. What sort of things did you buy in state stores, and what things through private sources (markets, black market, private peasants, etc.)?
- j. How much did you spend on fuel, electricity, gas?
- k. Did you have any difficulty getting these services?
- l. How much did you spend on medical and dental care?
- m. What benefits were connected with your job (vacation, insurance, medical care)?
- n. How much did you spend on recreation or entertainment (radio, movies, cigarettes, drinking, newspapers, books, sports, vacation, etc.)?
- o. What else did you spend money on?

10. Did you feel you personally (your family, household) were getting a fair income?

- a. Did you feel you were being exploited?
- b. Did you feel Hungary as a whole was being exploited?
- c. If yes, by whom?
- d. What changes took place in the actual situation of the workers?
- e. What was your attitude toward peace loans?
- f. What did you think about reparation payments?
- g. Were there any compulsory lectures or training programs you had to participate in?

11. What was your general attitude toward the development of the Hungarian economy?
- Was it growing the way it should?
 - Was anything wrong with it?
 - If so, what?
 - What about the economic situation in Hungary before 1944: was anything wrong with it?
 - Do you think what happened after 1944 was an improvement? In what ways? In what respects? Why?
 - What did you think about the Three-Year Plan (1947-1949)?
 - What about the Five-Year Plan begun in 1950?
 - What about the economic policy of Imre Nagy (1954-55)?
 - Did you know about any discussions in the government or Party about how much consumer goods to produce?
 - How were things in the last year before the revolt materially--better or worse? Explain.
12. Among the various complaints people had, how important do you think material conditions were?
- How important were they for you?
 - What other complaints were more (equally) important?
 - For what groups of people in particular?
 - At your place of work, did the workers (employees) have any plans against the government before the Revolution of 1956?
 - In what ways did the discontent of the workers manifest itself?
 - How did the workers actually behave during the Revolution?

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--as clues to social change in Hungary and as data relevant for an understanding of the respondent.

Interview Guide

What schooling have you had in Hungary?

- [a. When did you attend school? For how long?
- b. I.e., your highest grade was ... ?
- c. You graduated from ... ?

[If applicable:] Did you have any schooling after 1944?

- [a. If so, can you please describe it--what, why, how?
- b. Did you attend any evening school?
- c. Did you attend any special or technical school?
- d. Did you attend any military training courses?
- e. Did you attend any political training courses?
- f. What made you choose these schools (courses)?
- g. Did you have any choice? /missing in Hungarian Questionnaire/

[Only applicable to respondents who were in school or college in October 1956]
Did you feel you would get as much schooling as you wanted?

- [a. How much schooling did you want?
- b. What made you feel that you wanted (did not want) to finish school (college)?
- c. What made you feel that you would (not) be able to finish it?

[If applicable:] Did you feel that you received as much schooling as you wanted?

- [a. If not, how much would you have liked?
- b. Why did you not get as much as you would have liked?
- c. [If applicable:] Why did you (not) want to go to college?
- d. [If applicable:] Do you think your life might have been different if you had had more education (gone to college)? If yes, in what ways?

Ideally, what would you have liked to study?

- [a. Why?
- b. Why didn't you?
- c. Have your opinions on this changed since then?
- d. What about your choice of career?

What sort of student were you--good, mediocre, poor?

- [a. Why?

Did you have the same opportunity as everyone else to receive an education?

- [a. Explain.
- b. Did anyone have privileges in this regard? If so, who?

Were there any compulsory subjects in school?

- [a. If so, what were they?
- b. What was your reaction to them?
- c. What about Russian language courses?
- d. What about ideological subjects (dialectical materialism)?
- e. What about National defense training?
- f. What about sports?

How effective do you feel was Communist education?

- [a. Did it change the attitude of children? If so, toward what? Toward whom?
- b. Did it inculcate Communist ideals effectively?
- c. Did it inculcate Communist slogans effectively?
- d. Can you give examples from among your acquaintances?
- e. At what age do you think it is most (least) effective?
- f. In what ways?

INTERVIEWER: If respondent shows considerable familiarity with Hungarian educational system, consider recommending for special interview on education.]

Now a bit about your family. What (social) group of the population did your family belong to before the Communist take-over?

- [a. What about your mother's family?
- b. What about your wife's family?

What (social) group did they belong to after the Communist take-over?

What was your father's regular job?

- [a. Did he change jobs since 1944? If so, why?
- b. How long did he work at each job?
- c. What do you think about his job?
- d. How much schooling did he have?
- e. What did he think about your career?

How did your family live when you were a child? In comparison with most people, were you better off or worse off?

- [a. How did it change later on?

How many people were there in the family in which you grew up?

- [a. What happened to them later?
- b. As of 1956, did you relatives live with you?
- c. If so, why?

Who else in your family worked?

- | | | |
|------------------|---|---------------------------|
| [a. Mother? |) | [For each, if applicable, |
| b. Grandfathers? |) | repeat Questions 12 a-d.] |
| c. Siblings? |) | |
| d. Others? |) | |

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

[a. Explain why.

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?

RESPONDENT HAD A CHILD OVER 17 YEARS OLD IN 1956, ASK QUESTIONS 18-21;
NOT, ASK QUESTIONS 22-25.]

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

[a. Do you think this changed any since 1944? Why?

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

- [a. If yes: with whom?
- b. What sort of things were said?
- c. If no: why not?

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. Anything else?
- f. Why do you think your child(ren) felt the way they did?

Is there anything you could have done to make your child(ren) respect you more?

- a. What organizations and persons exerted influence on your children?
- b. What was the situation regarding the conflicting influences of parents and authorities?

Generally speaking, did you (and your brothers and/or sisters) get along pretty well with your parents?

Did you ever talk to your parents about political matters?

- [a. If yes, what sort of things were said?
- b. If no: why not?

[If applicable:] Have you ever had trouble with your parents over your education?

[a-e: Repeat probes from Question 20 above.

Is there anything your parents should have done that would have made you respect them more?

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 spare 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 with your spare time that you could not?

Do you feel that since 1945 family ties have loosened or tightened?

- [a. Explain why.
- b. Can family members trust each other?
- c. Are they more dependent on each other than before?
- d. Are children growing estranged from their parents?
- e. Is this equally true of town and country?

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

- [a. If so, how? changed during the last 10 years?
- b. What about the age at which people marry? Has this ☒
- c. Have marriage or courtship patterns changed?
- d. What do you think about it?
- 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? Explain.
- g. [Optional:] What do you think about birth control? How widespread do you think it is?
- h. Do you think the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed? What is it? Are there many?

Now I should like to talk about friends. Can you think of one of the closest friends you had before leaving Hungary. When and how did you first meet him (her)?

- /a. What kind of work did he(he) do?
- b. What was his(her) age? Social background?
- c. What sort of things did you often 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. Suppose you had a friend who became a Party official. Would this have affected your friendship. Why?

Incidentally, I failed to ask you 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?

~~What about your family?~~

- b. What about yourself?

Has Communist rule affected religious life?

- /a. If yes, in what ways?
- b. Were all faiths hit equally or not? Explain.
- c. What about other denominations?
- d. Why do you think the Communists interfered with religious life?
- e. Do you think they tried to stamp it out or use it for their own ends? What makes you think so?
- f. Was the persecution of /insert a given faith/ directed against all believers or only the leaders (bishops, priests, pastors...)?
- g. Could you worship freely in your church?
- h. /Optional:/ How often did you attend church?
- i. What about other people? /Probe for variations by age, social group, time, motivation./
- j. What do you think of the new church leaders ("peace priests")?
- k. Do you think different churches adjusted differently to the regime? If so, how?
- l. Do you think religion is more or less important to young people than it was to their parents? Why?

How has Communist rule affected the Jews in Hungary?

- /a. What do you think was the Jews' attitude toward the regime?
- b. How did the Jews behave during the Revolt?
- c. What do you think should be the future status of the Jews in Hungary?

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 what order would you put them in?

- /a. Which of these groups would you say you belonged in?
- b. Which of these groups would you have liked to belong in?

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 just that occupation?
- b. What kinds of things would you have told this young 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 Question 34 in Hungary?

Government and Political Experience ("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 on the respondent's perception of the locus of authority and power, the functioning 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 and semi-statistical 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 organization, such as the Party or even one of its affiliates. Here the interviewer must use his judgment; if necessary, he can substitute "why would one join the Party" for "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.

Interview Guide

Have you been interested in politics?

- a. In what way? Why?
- b. As an on-looker (newspaper reader, observer) or as one who likes to do things?
- c. Compared with other interests, how important have political developments been to you?
- d. Have you ever participated in political action? If so, when and in what form? [Probe if he includes mass organizations and voting here.]
- e. Compared with others around you, how interested were you in politics--more or less? Why?
- f. Did this vary, say, between 1946 and 1956?

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

- a. If you were still in Hungary, which of the following would be the most important complaints of yours, and which the least important?

[2a continued]

- (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) Anything else?

- b. Which of the above would you say were the most important for the intellectuals?
- c. Which for the peasants?
- d. Which for the workers?
- e. Which for the students?
- f. What about Communists who became dissatisfied: on what grounds did they turn "sour"?
- g. These grievances and complaints we talked about--how acutely did one feel them on an average working day? Can you give examples?
- h. Did one talk about any of them with others? If so, with whom? If not, why? Did this vary in time?
- i. Could one try to do something about them? If so, what? Did you? If not, why?

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? What did you do for it? If not, why not?
- b. Did your father belong to any political party?
- c. If you had to choose among the following descriptions, which comes closest to your own case:
 - (i) Never interested in politics;
 - (ii) Always in favor of regime;
 - (iii) Always against regime;
 - (iv) Once in favor, but turned against it (when?);
 - (v) In favor of some things, against others (What things?)?
- d. Did your attitude toward the Communist system change at all since 1945? If so, in what ways and why?
- e. Do you think many other people felt the same way? Who did? Who didn't? Why?
- f. In spite of their many--and apparently just--complaints, just about the whole population remained loyal until October 1956. How do you explain this? /Probe for view of authority, opportunity for effective action, efforts at opposition./

Who was the real power in Hungary?

- a. What makes you think so?
- b. If respondent mentions Moscow? And within Hungary itself?
- c. If respondent mentions an individual? Any particular group or organization?
- d. Probe for image of Party-police-government relationship.

Who ran the government?

- a. What was the role of parliament?
- b. What was the role of elections?
- c. Did local government have any authority? If so, how much? If not, who made the decisions or it?
- d. Compared with pre-1944 Hungary, was there much "red tape"?
- e. Was there much graft and bribery? Why? Can you give examples?
- f. What sort of people went into government service--say, to become "civil service" officials in a ministry?
- g. What sort of people became army officers? What were the advantages of being one?

Next I should like to talk about the Communist Youth League. What were the advantages of belonging to it?

- a. What were the drawbacks?
- b. Did most of the young people you knew, join?
- c. What pressures did one feel to join?
- d. What ways were there not to join?
- e. What reasons were there not to join?
- f. Did you belong?
- If member:
 - g. When and how did you join?
 - h. What were your duties and position?
 - i. What advantages did membership bring you?
 - j. What disadvantages did it entail?
 - k. How much time did it occupy? In what ways?

If non-member:

- l. Could you have joined?
- m. Did non-membership later affect your life or career?
- n. What sort of people joined?
- o. What did being a member do to people?
- p. What influence could a rank-and-file member have on the policy or conduct of the organization?
- q. Who runs it?

Now about the Communist Party. What does it mean to be a member?

- a. Who has to be a member?
- b. Who wants to be a member?
- c. What are the rights of membership?
- d. What are the duties of membership?
- e. Can you think of some people you knew who joined?

When, why, did they join, and who were they?
f. Were there people who wanted to become members but could not? Why?

g. Did you belong?

[If member:] h. When and how did you join?

i. Why did you join--what were the drawbacks and what the advantages?

j. Did your attitude toward the Party change later on? If so, in what ways?

k. How much time did it occupy? In what ways?

[If respondent is interesting or knowledgeable on Party affairs, recommend for "B" interview.]

[If non-member:]

l. Could you have joined?

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

n. What sort of people joined?

o. What did being a member do to people?

p. Who do you think ran the Party? At the local level?

q. What influence do you think the Party had in the Hungarian government?

r. In the police?

s. In the army?

t. In the trade unions?

u. In religious bodies?

Did you belong to any other mass organizations?

a. Which?

b. Why did you join them?

c. Describe those you know.

d. How did people feel about different organizations?

e. What organizations or societies did you belong to, say, after 1950?

[For each mentioned in e:]

f. Who were the members? How large an organization was it?

g. Why did you join? When?

h. What did you do--attend meetings? what else?

i. What was the goal of the society?

j. How "close" were the members to one another?

k. Can you describe the leaders of the group--their background, age, education, occupation, their motives?

l. Do you think there were secret informers among the members? Why? If so, what did they do? How did you know?

m. Did the group do anything illegal? If so, what and how?

n. On the whole, how do you think people felt about belonging to any of these organizations?

o. Which were approved of, and why? By whom?

p. Which were disapproved of? By whom? Why? [E.g., purpose, police, practice, or personalities? Freedom? Pointlessness? Duress?]

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

- a. What do you think was the effect of Communist indoctrination (propaganda, education, training) on youth?

What sort of people belonged to the AVH?

- a. How were they recruited?
- b. What was their social, age, political background?
- c. Were members immune from persecution?
- d. Would you distinguish between regular AVH "full-timers" and secret informants? How would you compare them?

Were you or any relative or close friend ever arrested (since 1944)?

- a. If so, when, who, on what grounds?
- b. Get details if tried, charges, conduct of investigation, sentence, how and where served.
- c. Can you give me a brief list of specific cases of arrest you can think of among your acquaintances and relatives?
- d. Tell me a little more about the case that produced the greatest impression on you.
- e. Did you know reliably about physical abuse and atrocities of anyone arrested? If so, give me some details, please.
- f. What sort of people got arrested? Probe for categories: social groups, personality traits, extent of innocence or culpability, political vs. non-political.
- g. Were there waves of purges that you were aware of? If so, what were they, do you recall?

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?
- 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?

Can you compare the operation of the courts, the uniformed police, and the secret police?

- a. In were you more likely to get justice? Why?
- b. How did these institutions get along with each other?
- c. Do you think there was discontent among members of the AVH, too? Why?

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

- a. If so, when and what were they?
- b. Did you notice any change in 1953?

Interviewer: Please recommend for "B" interview all respondents with unusual personal arrest, prison, purge, or terror experiences./

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 advisers or other Soviet personnel assigned to them?

Do you think people under Communism behave in accordance with the way they feel?

- 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?

Are there any ways for a Hungarian citizen to circumvent or ignore official orders?

- a. Are there any laws you can disobey and get away with it?
- b. Did you manage to protect your own interests in defiance of official decrees? If so, can you give an example?
- c. Can a peasant fail to deliver all the grain he is supposed to? If so, how?
- d. Suppose a person working in Budapest in a government office is transferred to a distant village. Can he do anything to have the transfer canceled? How would he go about it?
- e. Suppose a worker wants to get a better-paying job elsewhere, in another town. How would he go about it?
- f. 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?

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What sort of a person ahead in Hungary these days? /don't structure it./

Now, finally, I want to ask you something about opposition to the regime. From what you know, how would you describe it? What opposition was there, and how was it expressed?

- a. What forms did it take in the last ten years?
- b. What groups were most hostile to the system? Why?
- c. What groups were least hostile? Why?
- d. Do you think opposition increased or decreased after 1953?
- e. Do you think opposition was a personal matter, or were any groups organized? If the latter, what groups and when?
- f. Did you hear or know any of any opposition in the Party itself? in the Army? among students? among writers? (all this before October 1956)
- g. What expressions did opposition take?
- h. What about political jokes?
- i. What about slow-down and willful sabotage (e.g. not learning the Russian language?)
- j. Was there any ideological disagreement within Party circles? If so, who, when, and what about?
- k. Could any opposition be organized? Why?
- l. How do you explain the emergence of MATESZ and the Petöfi Circle?

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.

Interview Guide

Where did you used 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?

Please think of a typical month when you lived in Hungary--say, in 1955. During one month, would you have read any newspapers or magazines? /Or: how often did you read newspapers and magazines?/_

- a. What newspapers? What magazines?
- b. How regularly?
- c. Why did you read these?
- d. What sections did you read?
- e. Did you read editorials?
- f. What particular feature(s) did you like about it?
- g. What particular feature(s) did you find most interesting?
- h. Were wall newspapers used in your locality?
- i. How did they compare with the regular newspapers?
- j. What kind of news did they carry?
- k. Did you ever see foreign publications?
- l. If so, when and where?
- m. What did you think about them?

During the same average month, would you go to the movies? How often?

- a. Where would you go?
- b. What did you prefer to see? Why?
- c. How much political content was there?
- d. How did you like the movies?
- e. Did you see any foreign films?
- f. If so, when was this, and what were they?
- g. Did you go to the theater?
- h. If so, where and how often?
- i. Do you think the theater changed in recent years? If so, in what ways?

Did you read any books?

- a. If no, why not?
- b. If yes, about how many did you read in a year?
- c. What titles, for instance?
- d. Why would you read them?
- e. How would you choose them?
- f. Did you ever have difficulty getting those you wanted? If so, can you give me examples?

Did you listen to the radio?

- a. If no, why not?
- b. If yes, did you have a set yourself? What kind?
- c. To what stations did you listen? Why?
- d. To what programs in particular? Why?
- e. How many hours a day? What time of day?
- f. Where did you listen?
- g. What was your favorite (domestic) program?

Did you listen to any foreign station?

- a. If no, why not?
- b. If yes, to which?
- c. Why?
- d. How often, what hours?
- e. What did you think of them?
- f. What about the reliability of foreign broadcasts?

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7. Did you go to any lectures or meetings?

- a. If no, why not?
- b. If yes, to which?
- c. Did you want to or did you have to?
- d. How often did you go?
- e. On what subjects were they?
- f. Who arranged them?
- g. How long would they last?
- h. How did the audience react?
- i. Were questions asked? If yes, what kind?
- j. Can you describe how such a meeting (lecture) took place?

8. Did you get any information by word-of-mouth?

- a. If yes, what sort of information was it?
- b. From whom, for instance?
- c. Can you give me some examples?
- d. Was this sort of news more or less reliable than other sources?
- e. Were these facts or false rumors?
- f. What sort of rumors do you recall hearing?
- g. Where did you hear them?
- h. In your locality, where did people usually gather to talk about the news?
- i. Were there some people who usually seemed to know a good deal about what went on?
If so, who were they, and how did they know?
- j. Would you be more likely to discuss current events at home, at work, at a ~~restaurant~~ restaurant, or elsewhere? Why?
- k. Were there any individuals one would seek out to talk to because they had special information?
(E.g., prisoners of war, people who returned from jail or camps?)
- l. Did you ever run across any "illegal" publications?
If so, what were they?

9. If you wanted to get reliable news about events in the Hungarian Party, where would you go to find out?

- a. Suppose you wanted foreign news, where would you go?
- b. Suppose you wanted sports news, where would you go?
- c. Suppose you wanted economic news, where would you go?

How much of the information which you found in newspapers did you consider credible?

- a. How could you tell what to believe and what not to believe?
- b. Did the reliability of the press decrease or increase in the course of time?
- c. What kind of information was most reliable?
- d. What kind of information was least reliable?
- e. Were some newspapers or some radio stations considered more trustworthy than others? Which?
- f. Did you ever read Irodalmi Ujsag? Did you read it regularly?
- g. If yes, why? What impressed you about it?

1. Do you feel that people tried hard to find out what really went on?

- a. What sort of people did?
- b. What sort of people didn't?

2. In summary, where did you usually get most of your news?

- a. Why?
- b. During the Revolt, where you get most of your information about what went on?
- c. Did you know what was happening in other towns?

3. Did you know about forced labor camps in Russia?

- a. If yes, how? What?
- b. What about germ warfare in Korea?
- c. Who started the Korean war?
- d. Was László Rajk guilty?
- e. What about German rearmament?
- f. What about the Berlin riots of 1953?
- g. What about emigré activities abroad?

INTERVIEWER: The above are examples suggestive of questions which the interviewer may want to improvise or revamp, in order to obtain an idea of how well the informant was informed (if possible, before leaving Hungary), how aware he was of current events, and to what extent his image of the world was distorted.

Political Opinions, Attitudes, and Ideology ("I")Introduction

This section seeks to elicit from the individual respondent his own opinions and attitudes on a variety of political, social, and ideological questions. These 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 (but not otherwise) interviewer may reword the question of original reading proves to be barren; such changed wording should be recorded. Extensive probing for "why's" and "how's" is encouraged.

The 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 it should be."

Questions and Probes

1. Suppose the present Hungarian regime were removed. What things in the present system would you be sure to change?

[Press for specific items; for each, why?]

- a. What things would you want to keep under another regime?

[Press for specific items; for each, why?]

2. Do you think that all people should be free to organize political parties?

[a. Why?

b. How important do you think this is?

c. Would you make any exceptions?]

3. Do you think that all people should be free to say anything they want, or should the government be able to forbid certain things?

[a. Why?

b. Should people be forbidden to say things detrimental to the state? Why?]

4. Do you think that all people should be free to participate in meetings?

a. Even if their purpose is to attack the government?

[a. Why?

b. How important do you think this is?

c. Would you make any exceptions?]

e. In what circumstances is an armed uprising against the government justified?

[Do not suggest 1956 Revolt unless respondent does.]

5. In some countries the state controls heavy industry, such as coal and steel. Are you in favor of such controls?

[a. Why?

b. Distinguish between state ownership and state guidance.

c. If not in favor, what are alternatives?

d. Is private profit bad?

6. In other countries the state controls light industry--say, clothing manufacture. Are you in favor of such controls?

[a. Why?

b. Distinguish between different forms of control.

c. If not in favor, what are alternatives?]

7. Should there be any state monopolies?

[a. Why?

b. If yes, which?

c. What sort of monopolies are bad?]

8. What do you think about government planning?

[a. Why?

b. Distinguish between theory and practice.

c. Distinguish between Soviet and Hungarian experience.

d. If in favor of planning: Are there any dangers in it?

e. Explore variations in rigidity, compulsion, scope.

9. In many countries, the government owns transportation and communications, such as railroads, telegraph, and airplane lines. Are you in favor of it or against it?

[a. Why?

b. Any differences among the 3 cited?
Any exceptions?]

10. In some countries, the government guarantees work for everyone. Are you in favor of this or against it?

[a. Why?

b. If in favor: Are there any dangers in this?

c. What price would you be willing to pay to be guaranteed a decent standard of living?]

11. More broadly, are there any areas of human life in which the government (state) should not interfere?

[a. Why?

b. Give examples.]

12. Do you feel that a citizen has certain duties toward his state?

[a. If no: Why?

b. If yes: Which?

c. Paying of taxes?

d. Military service?

e. Obeying orders and laws?]

f. Is this true of any government?

13. Do you think that your opinion on any of the questions we have discussed in this section have changed since you left Hungary?

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

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW

PRELIMINARY VERSION

14. Earlier we spoke of some fields in which you feel no drastic changes would be needed. Do you feel that medical care in Hungary has improved in the last twenty years?

- [a. If yes, has quality of care increased?
- b. can certain groups of the population afford it better today? Which?
- c. personal physician vs. clinics?
- d. health insurance?
- e. any exceptions?
- f. If no, what makes you think so?
- g. can you give examples from your experience?

15. Does the Hungarian citizen today have more opportunity to visit the movies or attend theater and concerts than twenty years ago?

- [a. Why?
- b. Did you?
- cc. Does it matter whether or not the opportunity is greater?
- d. Who in the population has (or has not) such opportunity?
- e. Do people take advantage of it?
- f. Distinguish among availability, ability to afford, and time to do so.

16. Does the present Hungarian citizen eat better than in

- a. 1940
- b. 1946
- c. 1950 ?

- [d. What differences in food available among different groups of the population?
- e. Who are most favored and who least?

17. Does the present Hungarian citizen clothe himself better than in

- a. 1940
- b. 1946
- c. 1950 ?

- [d. Why do you think so?
- e. What differences among groups of the population?

CURPH "A" INTERVIEW

PRELIMINARY VERSION

18. Did industrial production increase in Hungary since 1945?
- [a. Why?
 - b. Do you think this is a good thing for the Hungarian economy as a whole?
 - c. Do you think anything should have been done differently about this?
19. Now, so far as agriculture is concerned, what would you say should be done with collective farms if the present regime is ever modified or overthrown?
- [a. Should collectives be allowed to remain, side by side with private farms?
 - b. Should all collectives be abolished?
 - c. If so, what should happen to the land?
Should it be distributed to the peasants?
Should some be distributed and some not?
If so, who should decide?
 - d. What should happen to the cattle and inventory?
 - e. Would you favor returning to a strip system? /missing in H/
 - f. Should any estates be restored to their former owners?
 - g. Should the land be restored to all smallholders and "kulaks" who lost it?
 - h. Can collective farms be administered for the benefit of their members?
 - i. Who can benefit from collective farms?
20. What would you do with machine-tractor stations?
- [a. Would you keep them in government ownership?
 - b. Would you sell or transfer them to individual farms?
 - c. If you would dissolve them, what would you do with tractors and other machinery?
 - d. Has anything been wrong with the way they have operated? If so, what?
 - e. Do you think it is desirable to mechanize agriculture?
21. In factories or work shops, what part do you think workers should play in deciding what is done and how it is done?
- [a. What should be the part of labor unions?
 - b. How independent should they be of the government?
 - c. How compulsory should membership be?
 - d. How onerous is union membership?
 - e. How true has this been in Hungary in the last ten years?

- f. What purpose, if any, can workers' councils have?
- g. How did they actually arise? For what purpose? Whose idea was it? Who ran them?
- h. How successful do you think they can be?
- i. To whom should management be responsible?

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

- [a. Should all be treated alike?
- b. Leaders?
- c. Petty officials?
- d. Rank-and-file members?
- e. Youth League members?
- f. What about AVN and police personnel?
- g. What other groups should get special attention?
- h. With regard to the above, what actually happened during the events of October-November 1956?

23. What do you think about the organization of Hungarian education--not the substance of course, but the system as a whole and the attention paid to education?

- [a. How did it compare with the system before 1944?
- b. What about opportunity to study?
- c. Was this good or bad?
- d. How important is it to get an education?

24. 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 and denominations? If so, which?
- c. Should churches receive financial support from the state? Why?
- d. Should religious instruction be re-established in the schools?
- e. Should the Churches have any say in educational matters?

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

26. What governments in Hungary were popular?

- [a. How did Hungary fare under the Habsburgs?
- b. Why did some people then emigrate to the United States and Canada?
- c. Did Hungary have a feudal society?
- d. Was this good or bad? In what ways?
- e. What was life like under the Horthy regime? (Politically, materially, etc.)
- f. Was there much inequality in Hungary before 1944?
- g. Should Hungary have fought in World War II? Why?
- h. By comparison with what happened before and after, how was the period between 1944 and 1947? Explain.

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

- [a. If so, does it differ from the German?
- b. from the Russian?
- c. from the American?
- d. If so, do you think it has changed as a result of the last ten years?
- e. ~~Are there any differences in character among Hungary's social classes?~~
- f. ~~Are there any differences in character among Hungary's social classes?~~
- g. Are there any differences in character among Hungary's social classes?

28. In Hungary's relations with some of the neighboring countries, some people in the past have stressed territorial revendications. Do you think borderlines are important?

- [a. If yes, in what ways?
- b. If no, why not?
- c. Do you think the Hungarian people have any rightful claims to territory beyond the present borders?
- d. If yes, which, and why?
- e. Do you think any other people threaten Hungary's present territory?
- f. Do you think there is a natural conflict between Magyars and any other people?
- g. If yes, which and why?
- h. If no, among what people is there?
- i. How do Magyars and Slovaks get along?) [Differentiate:
- j. How do Magyars and Rumanians get along?) Within Hungary
- k. How do Magyars and Austrians get along?) or within
- l. How do Magyars and Yugoslavs get along?) neighbor state
- m. How do Magyars and Jews get along?
- n. Are Jews Hungarians?

29. On Hungary's relations with her neighbors, it has sometimes been suggested that some sort of regional federation or alliance would be useful. What do you think about that?

- [a. If yes, explore extent of federation
- b. purpose and scope
- c. Explore extent of Hungarian leadership in it
- d. Any distinction between Balkan, Danubian, and East European combination?

30. How as far as the Russians are concerned, what do you think about them 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?
- d. Have you got to know any of them well?
- e. What was the feeling toward them when they entered Hungary in 1944?
- f. What was the feeling toward them, say, between 1948 and 1953?
- g. What was the feeling toward them in 1956?

31. You know in general terms what Marxism stands for? What do you think of it?

- [a. What appeals to you in it?
- b. What elements don't make sense?
- c. How do you know about it?
- d. Did you study it? Where, how much?
- e. What changes have Hungarian Communists made in it?
- f. Explore critical judgment, faith, rationality.
- g. Was Lenin a good Marxist?
- h. Was Stalin?
- i. Are the Social-Democrats Marxists?
- j. Do you think one can be a Marxist and a democrat?
- k. What do you think it means to be a democrat?
- l. When was Hungary a democracy?
- m. Is Tito a Marxist, a democrat?

32. We just talked about Tito. Do you know the term National Communism? What do you think it means?

- [a. Do you think there were National Communists in the Revolt last October?
- b. If yes, who were they? What did they hope for?
- c. What do you think of Gomulka's policy?
- d. Is he a Communist?
- e. Do you think some Communists are honest Hungarian patriots?

33. Suppose Imre Nagy had stayed in power. Do you think conditions would have improved?

[a. What sort of a system do you think he was aiming at?

34. Tell me just in a word whether each of the following, in your mind, is good or bad:

- a. Socialism
- b. Colonialism
- c. Class struggle
- d. National (Popular) front
- e. Imperialism
- f. Peace movement
- g. Capitalism
- h. Bourgeoisie

[Explore each: why? what do you mean by it?

35. What do you think other Hungarians would think of these questions?

36. 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 people have been getting more or less than they deserve:

- a. Workers
- b. Collective farmers
- c. Small-holders
- d. Kulaks
- e. Government employees
- f. Professionals [e.g., teachers, lawyers, doctors]
- g. Students
- h. Artists and Actors
- i. Party members
- j. Priests
- k. Tradesmen
- l. Artisans.

37. As far as you know, which of these groups [in Q. 36] were better off and which were worse off before 1944?

[If opinion is not first-hand, try to ascertain sources of respondent's image of pre-Communist society]

38. 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 Bureaucracy
- d. Party and non-Party people
- e. Government employees and others
- f. Peasants and 'peace priests'
- g. City folk and country people

h. Do you think this always was and will be so?

- i. Prior to 1946, aristocracy and intellectuals?
- j. Prior to 1946, aristocracy and workers
- k. Prior to 1946, landlords and smallholders?

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

[a. Who would fight against it?

[Let respondent structure conditions and enemies in war.]

CONCLUSION ("X")Instructions

This is the final and most flexible part of the interview. There is hardly a 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 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.

Interview Guide

I have been asking you all sorts of questions today. I wonder if you have any questions you want to ask me.

- [a. What do you think about this interview?
- b. How much interesting material do you think we will be able to collect in this manner?
- c. What are some things you would urge us to beware of?
- d. Do you think we shall get honest answers?
- e. What do you think I should have asked you but didn't?

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

- a. Do you ever plan to go back to Hungary?

Do you have any suggestions for our Project?

- [a. Any documents 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. [Interviewer should determine whether he wishes to recommend this respondent for a specialized "B" interview.]
- d. Do you have any suggestions of other people whom we ought to interview?

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

- [a. Have you been paid for your expenses?
- b. Have you turned in your Budget Questionnaire?
[not applicable on Pre-Test]
- c. [Give respondent form with Project address
[not applicable on Pre-Test].

Notes

After completion of interview, interviewer is asked to fill out attached Rating Form. In addition, read into the record a paragraph giving his informal, impressionistic portrait of the respondent--his personality, goals, motivation, "what makes him tick."