FLIGHT AND RESETTLEMENT OF THE SOPRON
FORESTRY FACULTY: A STUDY OF GROUP
INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION

by
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B. A., University of British Columbia, 1956

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department
of
Anthropology, Criminology and Sociology

We accept this thesis
as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

July, 1958
ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the changing group structure of the Sopron Forestry Faculty. Change is studied on two levels; internal organization and the relational context of the institution. Three periods are studied; the pre-communist era, under the communists, and the refugee period. The main emphasis is on the latter period which is again divisible into periods of flight, community life without academic study, and academic routine without community living.

Each of these periods is characterized by the type of adjustment taking place within the group. Flight was characterized by a streamlined social structure, solidarity and idealism. The community life period was characterized by internal social differentiation and acute concern with the future. The final stage is, of course, ongoing at the time of writing, but appears to be characterized by increasing internal differentiation along Year lines, a decrease in idealism and minimal group impact in the new institutional context.

Finally, the Sopron group was studied as composed of refugees and immigrants. Non-systematic observations were made of a number of individual Hungarian refugee students to examine differences in rates and processes of assimilation between group and individual migration.
Methods used were questionnaires, formal and informal interviews, and one year of participant observation.
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The University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, Canada.

Date August 13th, 1958
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the students and staff of the Sopron group, without whose wholehearted cooperation this study would have been impossible. Especially I wish to thank Dean Kalman Roller for his ever-available counsel.

The boys who lived in our house not only contributed greatly to the formation of my ideas but were also model tenants and good companions.

Neither would this thesis have been written without the constant interest, stimulation and encouragement of my teacher Dr. Kaspar D. Naegele. I wish to take this opportunity to thank him for his counsel, and to say that I consider myself fortunate to have studied under him for the past few years.

I owe a great debt to my wife whose patiently executed handiwork these pages are.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge a small grant from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration which greatly assisted me in travel and secretarial expenses.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Problem

This study has a double focus and a double frame of reference. First, it attempts to chronicle the history of a unique occurrence, the sudden transplantation of a large part of a functioning academic community from its native social and cultural environment to another entirely different context over 11,000 miles away. The historical approach was essential, and largely complementary to the sociological frame of reference. It must, however, be blamed for the introduction of material not immediately relevant to the sociological theme.

Second, it is a sociological study of changing group structure. Three main periods are studied: the pre-communist, "golden" era, the communist, "grey" era, and the refugee period. The latter is again divisible into periods of flight, community life without academic study and academic life without community living. These periods can also be characterized by the type of adjustment taking place within the group.

This study was originally intended to have been part of a more extensive sociological investigation of the Sopron
group and of Hungarian refugees. This larger project did not get under way partly for reasons of availability of personnel and finances and partly also due to developments in the field. The theme of the larger project, had it got underway, would have been concerned with "centrifugal and centripetal forces" acting upon the group. This concept of social pressures pushing and pulling from inside and outside the group constitutes the primary sociological frame of reference of this study.

This general frame of reference guided me in the collection and systematization of data. The point of reference (or item studied) for the pressures is always the group structure. In other words I was interested in the function of the pressures for the structure, and the features of the structure which themselves generated pressures. In fact it was invariably the latter which led me to the former. As Merton has said "Structural description of participants in the activity under analysis provided hypotheses for subsequent functional interpretations". Throughout the course of the field work, the question was constantly posed in connection with new data "What is the significance of this for the maintenance, disintegration or change of the social structure?" Three levels of structure were distinguished for practical purposes; internal informal organization, internal formal organization and relational organization. In the refugee period the latter
is again divided into formal and informal levels.

2. Procedures

Participant Observation

The chief method employed for collection of data was active participant observation. It must be recognized that owing to time, definitions of my role and other factors the data collected is in many ways uneven. Whole areas of enquiry were neglected at crucial periods only to be regreted in retrospect. There was no way of calculating "probability of error" of data. The participant observer's equivalent of this statistical device must be careful description of his own role, as defined by those he is studying, and the kinds of contacts he had with his subjects during the course of the investigation. Ideally he should also describe the development of his own theoretical orientation toward the problem, thereby enabling the reader to evaluate not only the kinds of data communicated to the observer but also the kinds of data the observer was looking for, thus, perhaps, obscuring other kinds of data from his scrutiny.

Field Notes

From the time of my first contact with the group to the time of writing of this thesis I consistently kept a
record of all my dealings with group members and the information and impressions I gained therefrom.

In the period from January 29th, to February 19th, 1957, I made eight visits to the Abbotsford camp.

Between March 20th, and May 19th, 1957, I spent a total of 16 days living at the camp in Powell River.

From May 19th, to September 23rd, 1957, I had only five contacts with Soproners. After the 23rd I began to see students and staff regularly at the university and in their rooms.

On November 1st, 1957, three second Year and one first Year student moved into the upstairs of a house I had rented, not too far from the university. We lived there until April 30th, 1958.

On November 27th I began teaching English three times a week, in an informal fashion, to the Dean and one other professor. This continued, with an interruption at Christmas, until the time of writing.

Roles

The bare outline of my contacts with the group, as set out above, gives little idea of the content of the exchange. For this it is necessary to spell out the
changing definitions of my role(s) in the eyes of the group members.

The label of university student was attached to me from the first day at Abbotsford, and a certain solidarity was established on this basis. The precise subject matter of my study, sociology, was familiar to the students only through their study of plant sociology. It was known that I would write a history of the group’s flight. My interest in these early days centred around university life in Hungary, the revolution, their plans for the future. The non Sopron students at the Abbotsford camp used me as a link with the world they were itching to get into. They assigned me to try to find jobs for them.

Another label that went together with "student" was "European" or "immigrant". In the first stages in Abbotsford my position as a fellow European was established. As I could not speak Hungarian I spoke with the students in German and sometimes in Russian. Later, in Powell River, when they learned some of the significance of the word "immigrant", the initial definition of "fellow European" enabled them to communicate much to me which might not have been communicated to a Canadian.

A U.B.C. theology student of Hungarian origin who was acting as interpreter and temporary minister for the group was also interested in the group from the point of
view of social science. I obtained many leads from discussions with him. Early during my first visit to Powell River he did not like the idea of distributing a questionnaire at that stage. He felt that the definition of our roles at that time was incompatible with that kind of action. Questionnaires, indeed any kind of personal information on paper which could be filed away, were regarded with suspicion born of long practical experience with A.V.H. methods. From conversations held in May, 1958, it appeared that there was an element among the students which had regarded me with some suspicion — e.g., connections with the R.C.M.P.

In my later visits to the camp at Powell River I began to be used as a link with the outer world, as the necessities of communication with individuals and institutions outside became more imperative, especially in connection with summer jobs. However, the short duration of my stays at Riverside Camp did not allow any set patterns of expectations to solidify in this respect.

This period at Powell River provided me with several personal histories, a great deal of information on student life in Sopron from 1948 to 1956, the development of the establishment of the old student customs, crystallizing attitudes towards Canada and Canadians and the everyday developments at Powell River which helped form these attitudes. Whereas Abbotsford was characterized
by the predominance of "behaviouristic type of investigation", in Powell River I began to gain "some insight into "the meanings" current in the community.

The summer was time lost as far as this study was concerned except for a few valuable contacts with staff members in the city, which served to acquaint them a little more closely with the aims of my study, and to keep me in touch with the bare skeleton of events.

In September at U.B.C. I was greeted as an old friend and regaled with stories of summer experiences, good and bad. Again the definition of "fellow European" stood me in good stead. A new problem confronted me now, allocation of time to different individuals. I received invitations to visit their rooms from all the students I had come to know in Powell River as well as many others. This problem, with the concomitant stratifying role definition of "friend of so and so" was solved, or at least settled, in the beginning of November when I sublet the upstairs of a house I had rented to four students. On the one hand the presence of these students provided me with every day information about events and attitudes, on the other hand it perhaps tended to make me neglect searching out other contacts. I tended to meet their friends coming to the house and to parties. These were largely junior Year students. However, by that time I had a wide
range of contacts whom I saw regularly at various places. Perhaps my weakest link was with the married senior students.

I attended most of the important group events during the academic year, the October 23rd parade, the I.K. meetings, a Szakesthely. Among the more important events I did not attend were; the fifth Year farewell Szakesthely, the first exchange Szakesthely between the Canadian and Hungarian third Year forestry students, sponsored by the latter, a March 15th ceremony, an exchange dance between girls from the U.B.C. women's dormitories, and the Sopron first Year, sponsored by the latter. The only occasions I attended in which both Canadians and Hungarians participated were the above mentioned exchange Szakesthely, and several parties at my house.

As mentioned above, at the end of November I began to teach the Dean and one other professor English for six hours a week altogether. I received a small honorarium for this. This was an extremely useful role regarding developments on the institutional level. It is interesting to note that I "placed", on request, six more professors and wives with Canadians for English conversation practice.

In mid-February I received a paid appointment from U.B.C. as a translator for the Sopron Division. The work involved translating letters and documents from German into English or from Hungarian-English into English. By May,
when the appointment terminated, the language professor of the group could write a very presentable English letter. In this role certain obligations had to be fulfilled in return for which I gained the opportunity to observe many of the mechanisms of the relations between the group and other institutions. It was an opportunity par excellence for putting questions in "current situations".9

It was my impression that the "binding" roles of teacher and translator were also welcomed by the staff of the group because it enabled them to keep an eye on the potentially disruptive, and, at least initially, the not quite fully understood phenomenon of a sociological investigator in their midst. For them, these roles, though technically necessary, were also a means of social control. These roles systematized and patterned a set of mutual obligations between us which was positively functional for their sense of security. By being contractually bound to the group and receiving pay for this, I also in a sense became obligated not to "bite the hand that was feeding me".

It was my original intention to follow the parallel developments among Soproners and non-Sopron Hungarian students. At Christmas time, thus, I visited eight non-Sopron Hungarian students and presented them a slightly modified version of the questionnaire described below. I
was already acquainted with most of these students as several of them were in close contact with some of the more peripheral Soproners described in Chapter IX. However during the spring term no systematic contact was maintained with these students owing to lack of time. Through incidental contacts I learned of important events among these students.

**Questionnaires**

On December 5th and December 9th I distributed a nine page questionnaire to each Year in their classrooms. In a short explanation from the podium I stressed the fact that it was not compulsory and that they could omit answering any questions they wished. I said the material would be used for my dissertation and would be held strictly confidential. Also I requested them to answer in English where possible, but to use Hungarian where they preferred. The completed questionnaires were to be returned at the next class period. The returns are illustrated in Table I.

This loose method was necessitated by the impossibility of collecting groups of students together in one place for long enough to fill out the questionnaire.

This questionnaire was roughly translated into Hungarian by one of the Sopron professors. The translation
was checked and double checked by two other Hungarians, one of them almost bilingual. The answers to the open end questions were about half in English and half in Hungarian. I removed the names from the sheets and obtained assistance in translating the Hungarian answers.

TABLE I

RETURNS ON QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTED TO SOPRON STUDENTS DECEMBER 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of students in each Year and number of questionnaires distributed.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of completed questionnaires returned.</td>
<td>23(7)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17(1)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19(2)</td>
<td>91(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage return.</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note. The figures in brackets indicate the number of anonymous returns, i.e., sheets completed with the exception of the name.

The low return on the questionnaire can be accounted for partly by the reluctance of students to fill out forms, due to the reasons set forth on page , and partly by the loose method of distribution. The difference in returns
between the Years will be accounted for in the discussion of the results.

Two different, one sheet, check type questionnaires were distributed to the introductory sociology class at U.B.C. on December 9th, 1957, and April 11th, 1958 respectively. The composition of this class was a little less than two thirds female and about three quarters frosh and sophomores. My subjective opinion was that most faculties and departments of the university were represented, with a large contingent from nursing, which partly accounts for the excess of females. The first 20 minutes of the lecture hours on the above days were kindly made available to me by the instructor. On neither occasion was the full complement of 230 students present, but an over 85 per cent return was obtained on each questionnaire.

Interviews

In February and March 1958 I conducted ten taped, one to two and a half hour interviews with eleven Sopron students, two from each Year and three from first Year. One of the respondents was a female student. All these students were personally contacted beforehand and agreed to be interviewed without any hesitation.

The same schedule was followed with each respondent. Questions centred about their attitudes towards, and
perceptions of several spheres of Canadian life -- political; immigration and immigrants; family, sex and friendship; education and university; and finally their own conceptions of their future.

Perhaps mention should be made here of a series of informal interviews to collect historical material, which were conducted mainly with staff members. While writing the historical section I would fill a page with questions or noted inconsistencies and sit down for an hour or more with a staff member, or an older student, and cross examine him. These "interviews" took place in offices, homes and beer parlours. This was defined as legitimate information gathering and I could take notes freely on these occasions. On very few other occasions did I take notes during conversations or other forms of interaction. My field notes were made up every evening in the rough and typed out at a later date.

Printed Material

Much available information was collected on Hungarians in general. Historical background of Hungary and Hungarian emigration was obtained from books and articles in magazines and journals (see bibliography). Most of the current books on the 1956 revolution were perused (see bibliography). Fairly complete sets of
clippings were maintained from the time of the revolution to the present from the Vancouver Sun, the Vancouver Province, the Powell River News and the Ubyssey. The New York Times was covered in 1957 only. Several articles on the Sopron migration itself, in European journals and also in post-revolution Hungarian newspapers, were brought to my attention by members of the group. I had the opportunity to look through a great number of clippings from newspapers across Canada, provided to the U.B.C. Information Office by a press checking service.

3. A Frame of Reference

As mentioned above this study is both an attempt to describe a group through a period of time, and an attempt to "explain" it. As Radcliffe Brown and Redfield have pointed out "explanations" can be in terms of many things. Redfield's words justify the inclusion, in this section on methods, of these pages on the frame of reference, "...if one means by that word (i.e., method) not merely the techniques of observation and analysis but also the conceptions which allow us to characterize and compare." He stresses the necessity of "thinking about forms of thought" used in explaining human behaviour.

In the previous section it was stated that the point of reference for the integrative and disintegrative pressures upon the group was always the social structure. Observed
changes in the social structure were the starting point for analysis. This then is the central organizing principle of the data collected in this study. The development of this theme during the research is described in the following pages.

Having already made a start on another topic for an M.A. thesis in September 1956, I decided to change to a study of the Sopron group in December 1956 shortly after it was announced that the group was to come to British Columbia. My motivation for this change was primarily due to a long standing interest in social organization under communism. The practical consideration of the accessibility of the group for study and finally the feeling of participating in something unique in history were other factors leading me to make this study.

This initial interest led me to the formulation of a plan involving comparative study of the social structure of the group in the three periods mentioned above. Whereas the information concerning the first two periods was, so to speak, available for the asking, the developments in the third period were unfolding continuously during my time of contact with the group. It was thus that many modifications occurred in the original structural design of the study when this was applied to the ongoing situation. The structural theme remained basic, however, and formed the
point of reference for the other interests that grew during the course of the field work.

Throughout the study, thus, I was interested in obtaining information relating to student and academic social organization in Hungary before and during the rule of the communists. The systems of offices, the power structure, the value systems, the socialization of the neophytes, informal associations that persisted over time and the (close) relations between the two spheres of organization come under my scrutiny. This, of course, entailed collection of data on Hungarian social structure with particular reference to the role, recruitment and organization of university students. The wider issues immediately involved in this were the class structure, the status and role of universities, professionals (foresters) and intellectuals.

Other factors became important in the particularly interesting period of change from 1948 to 1950 when the communists were instituting new social forms and suppressing old forms, and also in the brief period of freedom from October 23rd to November 4th, 1956, when great changes were projected.

In these times ideological matters were in the forefront. Questions of political philosophy, religion and nationalism, (traditionally of interest to European students) flared up, always against the backdrop of the
inexorable international political situation. These ideological considerations were particularly important for the position of the refugees in Western countries after the revolution. Two themes were explored in this area. First, that the revolution was the justification of the refugees' claim for aid and support in the West, and second, that the West (Canadians) soon became tired of the revolution and redefined the refugees as immigrants with the accompanying obligations to "forget about their own feuds and concentrate upon becoming good Canadians". In this connection it was important to observe which features of the old pre-communist social system were consciously "revived" in Canada, and again, which features of the communist social system remained and which were consciously rejected.

Just as description of social organization of the group in Canada was insufficient without historical reference, so would it have been meaningless without reference to the future. The goals of the group and the group members had to be taken into account and, crucially important, of course, for the group's future existence, were the relations with the new institutional context. Thus it is that the emphasis in the latter part of this study is on the formal and informal relations that obtained between Sopron and U.B.C., and Hungarian students and professors and Canadian students and professors. An attempt
was made to gauge the impact of the Sopron group upon the Canadian students at U.B.C., and upon the U.B.C. institutional structure. For the U.B.C. students this impact was largely constructed by themselves, as their image was formed by the student newspaper. Differences in image were found according to amount and type of contact with the Soproners. A problem arose here in that people in positions of authority dealing with the Hungarians tended to have a less permissive and favourable attitude towards them, even though they had considerable contact (relatively).

The institutional adjustment was regarded as temporary by all concerned, but the basic questions of status and finances had to be solved with a minimum of delay. Although it is still too early to make definitive statements, some functions of the presence of the Sopron group for the U.B.C. institutional structure were tentatively postulated. The relational mechanisms that developed between Sopron and U.B.C. were of interest, especially for the internal structure of the group.

A central interest, closely connected with group structure was in the social solidarity or cohesion of the group members. Initially it seemed that this was high in the group, but after Powell River solidarity declined. The problem was that several theories state that group solidarity tends to increase when a group is in a situation
of threat. After Powell River the situation was perceived as threatening by both students and staff but group morale, or solidarity did not seem to increase. Some of the implications of this are discussed in the conclusions.

Though Canadian university structure and student organization was relevant to this study they have not been explicitly examined. Only those areas which posed problems for the Soproners have been discussed, for instance, the varying definitions of the role of student. Similarly, though a great deal of information was collected on the learning of Canadian culture, and thereby on the differences between Canadian and Hungarian culture (American -- European), only those aspects were used which pertained in some manner to the integration or disintegration of the group structure.

In the long run internalization of a new culture is correlated with assimilation into, or at least functional integration with, the new society. In the short time this group had been in Canada much "learning about" took place, but relatively little "learning of". However, the "learning about" that took place did influence the desire to do more "learning of" as advantages were perceived, the attainment of which necessitated trial and error methods of learning new techniques. The important point is that the Soproners' group membership enabled them
to remain in "situations of observation" for a longer period than, say, the individual Hungarian refugee students who studied at U.B.C. The latter students were forced by circumstances into "situations of involvement" almost immediately upon arrival.

These are basic problems of the theory of socialization, some aspects of which are discussed in the conclusions. Two areas of socialization processes were of interest to me. First, the process of the socialization into the group before and under the communists. Second, the process of socialization into Canadian society as it affected the group structure. The role of student organization in facilitating or retarding socialization is also examined in the conclusions.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. "...one 'explanation' of a social system will be its history, where we know it — the detailed account of how it came to be, what it is and where it is. Another 'explanation' of the same system is obtained by showing.... that it is a special exemplification of laws of social psychology or social functioning. The two kinds of explanation do not conflict but supplement one another". A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Function in Social Science", American Anthropologist, New Series, 37:401, July 1935.

2. See R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (Second Edition) The Free Press, Glencoe Ill., 1957, pp. 55-56. A great deal of the information gathered was pure "collectioneering" as Malinowsky calls it. This was found necessary for the purpose of "getting the feel of" the group. However, much of the collectioneered data turned out to be of use in the light of later information. B. Malinowsky, "Baloma, The Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands", Magic Science and Religion, Anchor Books, Doubleday, New York, 1954, pp. 237-238.


7. A few students spoke excellent Russian which they had learned at school. However, they only spoke it rather sheepishly and were always kidded by the others.

8. F. Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 337. See also R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, p. 58.


10. This was a good example of the desire to keep an eye on my activities.

12. Hungarians as a nation have always had a somewhat fatalistic image of themselves as being the eternal victims of circumstances beyond their control. This theme apparently runs through Hungarian literature. See, for instance, *The Tragedy of Man*, by Imre Madács.


14. For some interesting research revealing cultural differences of values and definitions of "socially desirable personality traits" between the Soproners, a group of U.B.C. students and a group of Canadian juvenile delinquents, see Carol Diers, M.A. thesis in the Department of Psychology, U.B.C., to be completed by October, 1958.


16. These terms are taken from F. D. Scott, *The American Experience of Swedish Students*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1957.
CHAPTER II

SOPRON BEFORE 1945

1. History of the Institution

It was in 1750 that the Habsburg Queen Maria Theresa, who was also Queen of Hungary, founded a Mining Academy in Selmecbánya (Chemnitz). She chose this north Hungarian town because it had been the centre of the Hungarian coal, lead and silver mining industries since the 14th century. These mines were heavy consumers of wood (for pit props, machinery) and in the mining areas the forests were overcut. Thus, in 1770, a Chair in Forestry was set up at the Academy, the purpose of which was to teach the mining students how to obtain the best wood for the mining industry. Almost simultaneously, in 1769, the first forest administration by-law was promulgated, and in 1791 the first general forest law was declared.

By 1808 a separate forestry school had developed out of the original Chair. It remained closely connected with the mining school. The two schools were co-owners of extensive estates. They shared Chairs in various basic subjects such as Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Draughting. All the students took the same courses in their first year. The result of these circumstances was that the
character of the forestry training took on a distinctly technical flavour. The students became professionally qualified in many fields other than forestry. E.g., road, rail, bridge, canal and tunnel construction. The high esteem in which the school (since 1835 The Mining and Forestry Academy) was held, was probably due to this many-faceted program. Some professors were regarded as world authorities in their fields, e.g., Professors Mikovenyi, Farbaky, Faistmantel, Fekete, Belhazy. Many foreign students were in attendance.

In 1848 the Academy stood solidly with Kossuth in the Hungarian war of independence. The professors were the technical consultants of Kossuth, the students fought in the army. Thus it was that Kaiser Wilhelm's government closed down the academy for one year, after the Hungarian resistance had been crushed.

In 1919 the Treaty of Trianon ceded the northern Hungarian provinces, to the newly created state of Czechoslovakia. The Academy moved to Sopron, (Ödenburg), an ancient Hungarian town right on the new Austro-Hungarian border. The buildings of a former military academy provided accommodation.

The Treaty of Trianon, not ratified in the heart of any Hungarian, had important consequences for Hungarian
forestry. Prior to the Treaty Hungary's forest area was about 35,000 square miles or 26 per cent of the total area of the country. The Treaty reduced the forest area to 4,800 square miles or only 13 per cent of the area of the new Hungary. The emphasis in Hungarian forestry since then has been not only on conservation, but mainly on the creation of new forest areas in the country.

In 1934 the Academy was attached to the Royal Hungarian Joszef Nandor Technical University as the Faculty of Mining, Metallurgy and Forestry. The professors became university professors, the Senate was empowered to grant the doctoral degree, and the graduates became Forest Engineers.

In March, 1944 the Faculty was closed to new students by the Germans. The first and second Year students were conscripted and sent to the front, but the third and fourth Year students were permitted to continue their studies. In April, 1945 the Russians replaced the Germans. By September, 1945 only four students were in attendance and all the classes were held in one room. All the teaching equipment and instruments which had not been hidden were confiscated by the Russians. In January, 1946 many of the students who had been conscripted returned and a relatively normal routine was re-established. The first new first Year students entered in September, 1946.
2. Academic Organization

One of the essential features of the pre-communist Hungarian universities was the concept of university autonomy. One of the best known visible indications of this autonomy consisted of the fact that the police had no right to enter the premises of the university, except when it had been asked to do so by the rector.

The core of the concept of autonomy was the university council's right and duty to make decisions on all matters pertaining to the university. The university professors were members of the university council. Every two years the council elected the deans (each faculty elected its own dean) who presided over the faculties and who in turn elected a rector. For the duration of their mandates the rector and the deans represented the university and the faculties.

The council commissioned the university professors to their positions, and the rector, through the deans, appointed the assistants and other employees to their position on the basis of recommendations by the university professors.

The subjects to be taught as well as the entire educational program were determined by the university
Council. Admissions to the university were under the jurisdiction of the rector, as were all disciplinary matters. Admission was on the basis of the high school matriculation diploma.4

Although in the Sopron Forestry Faculty the selection of subjects was not free (owing to the technical nature of the subject) and attendance was usually compulsory, (if a student missed more than three of the intermittently held "catalogues" - roll calls - in a semester, he could be compelled to take the subject again) the university student was free to take examinations at a time chosen by himself. The students were completely at liberty to establish associations.

The Sopron Forest Engineering training was a four year program or eight semesters. The average number of hours of lectures and laboratories was some forty-five per week. The ten month academic year was divided into two semesters; the first from September to December, the second from February to the end of May. Two weeks in May and the whole month of July were practical work periods. January and June were the examination months. Students would make appointments with their professors to hold their exams (colloquia) in these months. If a student did not make an appointment, did not show up on an appointed day, or failed an exam, he was permitted to return after
the deadline on payment of a small fine. Students were permitted to retake colloquia indefinitely. In accordance with general European custom most of the exams were oral. In some more technical subjects combination oral and written exams were given.

The results of the colloquia and the grades obtained were marked by each professor in the student's "Index". At the end of the second year a comprehensive examination, "szigorlát", was held in four subjects; Mathematics and Physics, Botany and Biology, Surveying, and Entomology. When at the end of four (sometimes considerably more, up to twenty) years all the course requirements were completed and the Index was full, the students wrote a short essay, "dissertation", of thirty or more pages on some assigned topic. In the final comprehensive szigorlát, which was held in public one month after completion of the essay, the student was examined on the whole field of forest engineering. The successful students received a Diploma in Forest Engineering from the Faculty.

Fees at Sopron were lower than at most universities in Hungary, which facilitated the attendance of a larger percent of lower class students than at other universities.
3. **Student Social Organization**

To the extent that the ideal of friendship was received through antiquity, and (peculiarly enough) was developed in a romantic spirit, it aims at an absolute psychological intimacy and is accompanied by the notion that even material property should be common to friends.  

Simmel's observations on the nature of friendship are particularly apt for describing one of the basic organizational principles of student life at Sopron. An Austrian writer says the following of the Sopron students:

The spirit present in the Selmec Mining and Forestry students and professors deserves special mention, especially in contrast to the customs and traditions of other Hungarian universities. This spirit developed partly from the age old traditions of the mining industry, and partly from the student social organization of the humanistic universities of Central Europe. All the students were joined together in a society - Ifjusági Kör, literally Youth Circle - in which Brotherhood, Fun, Sport and an ideal "Lebensauffassung" were cultivated on somewhat similar lines to the German "Burschenschaften" and "Verbindungen".

This section is a composite description of the Ifjusági Kör, hereafter I.K., in Sopron between the world wars. My informants were professors.

**Formal Structure**

The I.K. is as old as the Academy, and its traditions are older. Formally it was entirely independent and had no official ties with the academic structure of the Academy.
Its formal structure was very simple. An annually elected
president, "elnöket", and vice-president, "álelnök", appointed
their executive committee of six additional members:
secretary, "titkár"; treasurer, "penztáros"; two masters of
ceremony "háznagyok"; keeper of the baleks "baleksösözet"; and
archivist "jegyzőkönyvvezető".

The membership, which included all the students-
mining, metallurgical and forestry - at the Academy, was
divided primarily into "baleks" - first Year students, and
non-baleks. Second Year students were called "kolenbrenner"
and third and fourth year students were called "firma".
Membership terminated automatically upon graduation.

The I.K. and the Academy

There was no formal rule on the Academy's books which
stated that if you wanted to study at the Academy you had
to join the I.K. But the practice was that the new student
had to bring a paper signifying satisfactory completion of
the I.K. "exams" before he was allowed to register at the
Academy by the registrar.

The institution of "fersisz" (German - verschoss) made possible the ejection of students who proved themselves undesirable after having been accepted.
A student whose father was a forest engineer related the following incident from his father's time at the Academy:

A Jewish student came to Sopron and wanted to study for the Forest Engineer's degree, but he didn't want to join the I.K. He was very anti-social and never spoke with anyone. When he was asked why he wanted to study forestry, it was not because he loved the forest, but because he wanted to make business. One day all the students in one class suddenly walked out leaving only the professor and the Jewish student in the lecture hall. A committee of students later went to the professor and told him that it wasn't his fault, but that no one would attend lectures as long as the Jewish student stayed. (Eventually)...they bought him a railway ticket and he left. (Note: In this case the Dean had given this student, the son of a wealthy industrialist, permission to register without I.K. approval. This was strictly irregular).

This statement illustrates the power, and the inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the I.K. Inclusive because all the students at Sopron were required to join. Exclusive because membership (and therefore leave to study at the Academy) was not permitted to certain individuals, notably rich Jews. The exercise of the so called "Numerus Clausus" varied in three periods at Sopron. In the 1920's exclusion of Jews on a racial basis was complete. In the 1930's several "poor Jews" were admitted to the Faculty and were not differentiated from the rest of the students. The 1940's and the German influence, again brought total prohibition of Jews on a racial basis. This was by no means confined to Sopron, but was a country-wide practice. For instance in 1940, under pressure from the
Germans, a general regulation was introduced in the Hungarian government service requiring that all civil servants prove they had no Jewish blood in their families as far back as their grandparents. The question of the Jewish students helps illustrate the powerful position of the I.K. with regard to its members and to the Academy itself. It should be stressed that the "Numerus Clausus" was part of the expression of a phenomenon which was common to the whole of central Europe at this time, and therefore should not be looked at outside its historical context.

Another incident involving the use of "fersisz" concerned a student who had stolen some articles from a Sopron store and had thus violated student morality. The same sanctions as described above were applied to him.

One reason for the existence of these informal yet institutionalized practises was the continuity between students and staff. Most of the professors had themselves been trained at the Academy.

In the whole of the Austro-Hungarian Empire there were forestry faculties at the universities of Vienna and Zagreb and a forestry school at Brno. It is indicative of this inbreeding that among the Sopron Division professors with forestry training now in Canada, only one was not trained in Sopron.
The Academy prided itself on the close relations between professors and students:

At the beginning of the academic year there was always a big party with all the students and professors attending. One new professor from Budapest did not like this system, but he was boycotted "as only students can" by the students and he soon left.

Every student knew a few professors well enough to be able to use the intimate form of address with him, of course never on formal occasions. One famous old professor was noted for his adherence to the old student custom of Banyajaras which involved turning a comrade's room upside down. At the age of 60 years he would still occasionally wreck a colleague's room. This was one of the professors who was expelled in 1951 in the putsch described on page 57.

Entrance and Initiation

The backbone of the social structure of the I.K. was formed by the Year system and the Godparent system, which cut across the former. The Years were formed naturally each September by the new group of freshmen entering the Academy.

The newcomers were called baleks. They were treated as the lowest of the low. As they arrived at the railway station on or after September 15th they were met mostly by second Year students (last year's baleks) who, pretending to be very helpful, directed them to the opposite end of
town from their actual destination. A classic joke was to take the balek to the tram stop with his baggage and tell him to wait for the next tram. Although there were still tram rails in Sopron, no trams had run on them since 1905.

The next day at the Registrar's Office there were members of the I.K. executive who instructed them in what to do in the coming weeks. There were rooms in the Administration building where the baleks learned songs and were given examinations. Specifically they were informed they had to use the formal form of address "Őnt" to elder Year students, they should not speak unless spoken to, they were not to sit at a table where there were elder Year students unless invited, they had to chose two elder students for godparents. They had to learn the history of the I.K. and the so-called ten commandments. Examinations on these subjects and on the moral background of the candidates, were held every evening at various places for varying numbers of baleks. On these occasions the baleks sat with lights turned on them, and were bombarded with questions, serious, facetious, some impossible to answer. Older students impersonated professors on an "exam committee". The bulk of the I.K. members were therefore free to act solidary with, and help" the examinees. It was stressed to the baleks that they would not become members of the I.K. if they did not pass these exams. Each balek was sent out
of the room in disgrace for his hopeless ignorance at least once during these evenings. When a balek was adjudged to have had enough, the lights would be turned on and the balek would be informed he had made the grade. His name was entered in the I.K. book in a short solemn ceremony and he was given a paper to take to the registrar.

During this first month the balek was expected to choose his godparents. Usually they were people from his home town, maybe relatives, or people who went to the same secondary school. The godparents had to agree to be selected, because they were expected to help their balek (or baleks) throughout his time as a student and after especially if he should get into any trouble, monetary or otherwise.

After the first month, the first big function of the year occurred, the balek szakesthely at which the baleks were baptised. The szakesthely (literally - Faculty-evening) was a party or feast, with a highly structured form. Only beer was drunk. There were special officers elected on the spot who exercised specific functions at the tables. There was the Praeses Szakesthely who was the Master of Ceremonies and who kept up a constant stream of instructions and comments. The success of a Szakesthely depended to a great extent on the ability and personality of the Praeses. The Praeses Cantus directs the singing. The echo men repeated
and humorously twisted the instructions of the Praeses at the opposite end of the hall.

Most of the students attended the balek Szakesthely. In the hall, the baleks waited outside, except for the chosen few who served the beer and acted as servants for the officials. After a couple of hours of priming with songs and beer the baptismal ceremony began. All the baleks had to quit the hall except for the "disz balek" (best balek), who was chosen for his ability to entertain. He was called upon to perform while everyone treated him with ridicule. After the performance the baptism began. The balek was asked who were his firma (godparents). He named them and they stepped forward. He was led to a large lavatory bowl. He had to bow into the black leather apron of the balekcsoz (smeared with soot unbeknownst to him). Then he bent over the bowl and his firma poured beer over him while solemnly pronouncing his baptismal name; these names were usually humorous and occasionally pornographic puns, and they stuck. He was then shoved away and led outside. The waiting balek who laughed hardest at his comrade's plight was the next one to be led in by the ear by the balekcsoz. After the last balek had been baptised they were all brought into the hall and were permitted to take part in the Szakesthely as equals. They were entitled to speak up and could address the other students with the familiar form of address "te". They became entitled to wear the forestry uniform.
The stage was thus set for the student's period at the Academy. Intra-Year (horizontal) solidarity had been established during the learning period. Cross-Year (vertical) contact between the Years was assured by the adoption system and the communal living at the "Kollegium" (student hostel).

Living Conditions and Finances

Of the 150 regular students, and the 100 students who were not registered for a full course load in forestry in 1933, some 90 students lived in the Szent Imre Kollegium. The remainder lived in rented rooms or at home.

Most of the regular students were financed by their families and lived a comfortable life. Fee remissions were granted to students with good academic records.

The part time students were of two kinds. First, students who worked at regular jobs and took one or two courses each year towards a degree. Secondly, those students with more means than academic ability who were not overly concerned with obtaining a degree quickly, but who liked the carefree student life.

The I.K. had a club building in downtown Sopron which housed large rooms for billiards and cards and several smaller rooms. There was a library and a printing machine with which they published their own magazine. There were
always students to be found here. It was the only place in Sopron where foreign periodicals and magazines could be found regularly.

The Academy and the City

The relations between the Academy and the city of Sopron, a town of some 35,000 people, were very friendly. Students would form gangs to help in emergencies, they often assisted the local bakery. The town of Sopron was surveyed several times by the students and the professors designed, free of charge, several of the public buildings. In all the stores the people would enquire about the health of the professors, and were interested if there were any changes in the courses being given. The Ballagás, or procession of the final year students after they obtained their diplomas, was a district wide affair. People came in from the surrounding countryside to see it. The procession started from and ended at the I.K. building. All the graduates wore a number of green bands around their hats corresponding to the number of years they had spent in obtaining their degree. A satirical float parade was held which played on mutual themes. Once one poked fun at the mayor's wife for always wanting to seem younger than she was. This could not have taken place had the relations between city and university not been close.
A favourite pastime of the students was playing "Tobias" with the local police. Two groups of students would lie in wait for a policeman. When one came they would torment him by calling out "Tobias" first from one direction, then from another, so he would never know exactly where his tormentors were. Once a couple of students climbed into manholes and really had a poor "Tobias" running back and forth. However, if caught, the students were never punished severely because there was an old understanding between them and the local police. My informants were proud that Sopron was the only university town in Hungary in which there was an accord of this nature between the students and the police. It illustrates the close relationship the students had with, and felt for, the town.

Another interesting facet of student life was extravagant vows and bets. One student vowed he would bathe naked in the town fountain if he got high marks in an exam. He obtained high marks, and the whole student body, accompanied by a brass band converged upon the fountain. Behind a wall of students, the fellow stripped and plunged into the fountain. The fun ended when the police appeared on the scene and everyone melted into the surrounding streets. Another story concerned a student who was very short of money. He offered to allow anyone to cut off all his hair for 50 forint. Apparently a group of students raised the money,
and the hair came off amid great pomp, ceremony and drinking.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. The information in this section is from "die Odenburger Berg- und Forstakademiker" by Dr. O. Folberth, Integration-Bulletin International, 5. Jahrgang, Nummer 2/1957, Vaduz; pp. 159-165; an article on the history of the Forestry Faculty by Professor Blank in the Powell River News of January 7, 1957; and numerous personal conversations.

2. In 1920 a League of Nations commissioner went to Sopron to settle the question of where the town belonged, in Hungary or Austria. His scientific method was to make a count of the frequency of German and Hungarian names on the tombstones in the local cemetery. He found more German names and therefore recommended the territory be given to Austria. Several border skirmishes between Austrians and Hungarians took place. Two Academy students were killed in one of these. A year later the Commissioner returned and genuine free elections were held. Seventy-three per cent decided for Hungary. As a reward for its patriotism the town was awarded the title "Civitas Fidelissima" from Budapest. See Endre Csatkai, Sopron, (2nd ed.), Kepzöművészeti alap kiadóvállalata, Budapest, 1956, p. 23.


4. See The Hungarian Student, pp. 2-5. A special magazine published by the Union of Free Hungarian Students (membership 7,900) in memory of the Hungarian revolt.


6. Folberth, op. cit., p. 160. He omits to mention one of the most important aspects of the I.K., its fervent patriotism.

7. In spite of very strong pressure from Hitler, during the early war years, Hungary never followed the Nazi policy towards the jews, in spite of the prejudices that existed. In 1939 many thousands of jews fleeing from Poland were taken into Hungarian homes and cared for. See, for instance, M. Kallay, Hungarian Premier, Columbia University Press, New York, 1954, pp. 113-121.

At Sopron the German influence was exemplified in an organization known as the Volksbund. The Hungarian Nationalist I.K. and the German oriented Volksbund were bitter enemies. Several clashes occurred in which the I.K.
usually had the upper hand. After March 1944, the already decimated I.K. was further weakened by the removal of its leader by the Gestapo at the instigation of the Volksbund.

For comment from the Jewish point of view on pre-war Hungarian student life see George Mikes, The Hungarian Revolution, Andre Deutsch, London, 1957, p. 13.


9. Registration in First Year of Forestry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Registration in First Year of Forestry</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
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<td>1939</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The Institution

In order to understand the changes that occurred in the educational system, it is necessary to know something of the communist objective. The new socialist society was to be populated by the new socialist man. The model for the socialist man was the proletariat, the industrial workers in particular. Close brothers were the peasants. The new society was to be led by educated new socialist men.\(^1\)

The improvement of the social composition of the Hungarian universities and secondary schools was primarily a political question. The educational and cultural monopoly of the former ruling classes had to be overthrown. In 1948-49 the proportion of children of working class and peasant origin was....40%; by 1949-50 it was 54%.

(Hungarian Bulletin No. 82, Budapest Nov. 1950)

In the school year of 1937-38, only 3% of...(students enrolled) in universities and colleges in Hungary)...came from working class or peasant families.

(Hungarian Bulletin No. 130, Budapest Nov. 1952)\(^2\)

It must be noted that the seemingly enormous increase of the proportion of working class and peasant students is largely due to the expropriation and reclassification of the middle class in Hungary. E.g.: there were no middle class farmers any more after collectivization; similarly, all small shopkeepers were expropriated and were henceforth
classified as workers in the employ of the state. There was, thus, a large shift in the class boundaries, but only in a strictly statistical sense.

The first attempts at "improvement of the social composition" took the form of attacks on the religious secondary schools (largely Roman Catholic). This began early in 1946. Roman Catholic student hostels were commandeered and turned over to Young Communist organizations.

The August 1947 "elections" returned the Communist party in strength and in May 1948 they formally took over the reins of government with the "fusion" of the Communist and Social Democratic parties.

The new government wasted no time. On June 18th 1948, the religious schools were nationalized. Over 4,500 priests, nuns and teachers were deprived of their work.

Another important development was the setting up of the Szakerettségizet system as early as the 1946-47 school year. This was an intermediate school system designed to give students who had finished their elementary school but had gone no further, the chance to complete high school and qualify for university entrance in a period of two years instead of the normal four years. Applicants had to be sponsored by the local party organization. The purpose was, of course, to create in a short time a working class and
communist educated elite. As far as the statistics of university enrolment were concerned this program was quite a success; e.g., in the 1952 first Year at Sopron there were 150 students, 66 of these came from Szakerettségi. But in September 1956, 107 students were still in fifth Year, thus 43 had dropped out. Most of these were Szakerettségizet students, whose basic training had proved to be inadequate to university demands. A further point was that practically none of these Szakerettségizet students were communists as the regime had expected them to be.

In Sopron the first change in the institutional structure of the Mining, Metallurgical and Forestry Engineering Faculty of the Joszef Nandor Technical University occurred in September 1949 shortly after the inauguration of the first Five Year Plan. The Metallurgical department was moved bodily to Miskolc, one of the centres of Hungarian heavy industry. The Forestry department remained in Sopron but became a Faculty of the Agriculture University. The Mining department remained in Sopron and also remained part of the Technical University which, however, was renamed Rakosi Matyas Technical University. The first two Years of the Mining department were shifted to Miskolc, starting in 1949.

In 1954 the Forestry Faculty was reduced in rank to Forest Engineering School. This was apparently the result of wrangling between the Department of Lands and the Department
of Forests within the Ministry of Lands and Forests under which came the Agriculture University. An interesting sidelight was that in Sopron the staff didn't lose their titles, and salaries were not cut as a result of this drop in status of the institution.

2. Academic Organization

The universities in Hungary were never officially deprived of their prized autonomy, but the cumulative effect of each small reform was to put every aspect of university life under government control.

The spearhead of the government and party offensive at Sopron was the establishment in 1948 of a Personnel department in the Dean's Office. This was headed by a Party man. All staff appointments passed through here and appropriate control was exercised with constant reference to the extensive files that were kept here on each staff member and student. All information from the "roll calls", described on page 50, was filed here, and five full time secretaries worked on this material. It took over the disciplinary function previously exercised by the dean, but disciplinary action was still taken in the dean's name.

Although the structure of the decanal elections remained unchanged, (every two years by the faculty members,)
the nominations now were set by the Personnel department with the approval of the Ministry. Whereas before the war the office of dean was a very desirable position, under the communists it became an onerous position with little power but much responsibility.

In 1949 admission examinations were introduced, "Not a bad thing in itself", as one of the professors said. These examinations were conducted by university professors, but the admissions themselves were determined by a committee of Party men in the Personnel department. Admission was on a dual basis of marks and "origin", according to the individual's place in the "categories of origin". These ranged from a high of "worker" to a very undesirable "class alien". Percentage quotas were set for the various categories of students. The quotas in according to the registrar were:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Children of:</th>
<th>1955</th>
<th>1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intellectuals with diplomas</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other white collar workers</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers and peasants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
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The Dean had the power to admit five per cent over the quota. As this five per cent did not come under the origin classification he was able to admit three intellectuals each year who otherwise would not have been able to study.

Also at this time the total number of forestry students was increased greatly in accordance with the demand
of the Five Year Plan for more technicians. In 1953 it was discovered that there was a glut of forest engineers and the size of the years was reduced.

Another requirement for admission was that the students write a comprehensive autobiography. These were repeated every year and the documents were compared with each other for inconsistencies. One of my informants was expelled in his second year for omitting to mention that his father had fought against the Russians.

At an early stage the government began to interfere in the curriculum of the universities. In 1949 Marxism was introduced as a compulsory subject. In 1950 National Defense and Russian language were introduced as compulsory subjects. Political Economy also became compulsory. These lectures accounted for some twenty per cent of the students' time, eight hours a week or one year in five. Marxism, Political Economy and Russian language were "Chairs". The students nicknamed them "The Holy Trinity". These Chairs were filled by young professors from Budapest who "knew nothing outside their specialty, and sometimes only with middle school qualification". Monthly staff seminars in Marxism were held. Very competent lecturers were brought in from Budapest for these meetings, as it was necessary to keep the professors at least on par with the students who, of course, were receiving lectures several times a week.
Also in 1950, the forestry training was split into two lines, forestry and forest engineering, much the same division as exists at the University of British Columbia. This experiment lasted only a short time, and, even while in operation, was circumvented by professors juggling the time-tables.

The examination system was changed twice. In 1948 the intermediate comprehensive exam "szigorlát" at the end of the second year was abolished. In 1953 the final comprehensive was replaced by a type of thesis oral examination. After successfully completing his course work, the candidate was required to spend at least three months working on some practical field problem under the direction of a professor. He had to write up his results and defend his work before a large committee consisting of both academic and practical Forest Engineers. It is interesting to note that this system also obtained in the early 1920's.

In accordance with the idea of total planning the students were expected to complete all their colloquia on schedule, whereas previously less than fifty per cent had done so, the rest taking them a semester later or more. The result of this was that the average was lowered and the standard followed suit. Another important change was that a student could not fail a colloquium more than three times without being expelled. Previously, students could retake colloquia indefinitely.
The old system of intermittent roll calls by the professors in the class rooms was abolished. Now the so called "registration" was taken at every class, and not by professors, but by the student D.I.SZ. group leaders. All this information was turned over to the Personnel Department.

In 1948 the first female forestry student attended Sopron and by the next year there were twelve. 7

The system of State Scholarships "stipendia" was an essential feature of the new educational system. As most students came from working class or peasant families they could obviously not afford a university training. All fees were abolished at universities. Stipendia to cover living costs were granted to students on the basis of political status, income of parents, class origin and academic quality, in descending order of importance. Needless to say recommendations for increase or decrease of the amount of a stipendium passed through the Personnel department.

3. Students' Social Organization

National Background

Out of the chaos of 1945 sprang dozens of youth organizations. Every sphere of activity in society had
several organizations competing for members in each sphere. The competing organizations often corresponded to political and religious divisions. From 1945 to 1948 the field thinned out as the communists gained power. The first to go were the Catholic and Reformed youth movements, banned by Minister of the Interior, László Rajk, in the summer of 1946. At the end of 1947 all non-communist political youth movements were liquidated. In June 1948, when the communists officially took over the government there were three youth organizations remaining: M.I.N.SZ. (People's Federation of Hungarian Youth) a general organization; SZ.I.T. (Federation of Young Trade Unionists) a workers' organization; and lastly E.P.O.SZ. (United Federation of Peasant Youth) a peasant organization. These were all communist dominated.

In the universities the above mentioned religious and political organizations had received support, but there were two main competing specifically student organizations in the period 1945 to 1948, the communist inclined NE.KO.SZ. (National Association of People's Student Residences) and the non-political M.E.F.E.SZ. (Association of Hungarian University and College Unions). In 1948 the NE.KO.SZ. was absorbed into the M.I.N.SZ. and the M.E.F.E.SZ. was banned. The D.I.SZ.

On February 10th, 1950, Matyas Rákosi announced the creation of a youth organization similar to the Komsomol,
this was achieved through the unification of M.I.N.SZ., SZ.I.T., and E.P.O.SZ.. This new organization, D.I.SZ. (Democratic Youth Association), was a country wide organization for youth in all spheres of society. Membership was compulsory for university and secondary school students if they wished to remain at an institute of learning. Similarly if young workers wished to get ahead, or even retain their jobs, they had to join D.I.SZ..

The glorious objective had been attained, all Hungarian youth was fighting shoulder to shoulder for the new socialist order.

In Sopron an appointed D.I.SZ. leader, not a student, presided over a committee of Year presidents who were "elected" from approved candidates in the first semester of the Year at Sopron. These presidents remained in office throughout the entire life of the Year at Sopron. Each Year was broken up into groups of 15 - 20 students each of which chose a leader. Each group tried to get a non-communist into this position. The composition of these groups was randomly selected (alphabetically), except in one respect. Szakerettségizet students were spaced evenly throughout the groups. Thus, the 150 first Year students in 1952 were divided into seven groups of about 20 students and in each group there were about eight Szakerettségizet men.
The I.K. and the New Order

As previously mentioned it was not until September 1946 that social life in Sopron returned to a relatively normal state, by pre-war standards. In October 1946 a Balek Szakesthely was held, albeit a somewhat subdued one, owing to the still extremely difficult living conditions. Communist activity increased greatly in this period, always backed up by the presence of Russian troops. The position of the I.K. was officially non-communist and therefore, in the eyes of the communists, anti-communist. The I.K. building was confiscated in 1947, and in June 1948 the I.K. was formally dissolved, as were all other similar organizations at other Hungarian universities. An interesting characteristic of this period was the increased participation of professors in the affairs of the I.K. Professors attended the meetings and had a considerable voice in policymaking.

In the fall of 1949 all the old I.K. customs (as the students referred to them, the Selmec customs) were prohibited as reactionary. Baptisms, Szakesthelys, uniforms and the old songs were banned. Even the term Balek was officially dispensed with as being undemocratic. However, cessation of these activities was by no means simultaneous with their official proscription. The reverse was almost the case. As one older professor said:

Bruderschaft was on the decrease ever since 1750, with big drops in the 1880's, 1924 and 1940. However, when the
Communists banned I.K. in 1948, Bruderschaft came back again very strongly.

A good example is the 1951 Szakesthely, the result of which was the expulsion of 42 (sic) students. The revolution of 1956 is the best example of this Bruderschaft emerging.

This spirit of brotherhood must not be conceived of as embodied in an organized social structure, merely awaiting an opportunity to emerge into the open. No, the communist policy was highly successful insofar as it made it impossible for groups of any appreciable size to engage in any activity unbeknownst to the authorities. A state of "planned anomie" was maintained. "The essence of the communist system was to try to make everyone feel alone".

Entrance and Socialization

With the old social structure swept away, the new student merely transferred from his secondary school branch of D.I.SZ. to the university branch. Whereas in the prewar days the neophyte student had been led by the nose into the new life by the older students, now he was faced with the problem of whom to trust in the new environment.

The following autobiographical account illustrates this problem of "where to fit in", or "with what individuals and/or groups to relate oneself", which faced every student, communist or non-communist, on arrival at the university.
J. attended a Roman Catholic secondary school in S.... The fathers were kicked out in 1948 and it became a municipal school. By the time J. left (June 1949) there were four communists at the school. Once J. hit one of them and the communist threatened him, but J.'s study record was very good and he was admitted to university. There were three boys from this Roman Catholic school in the first Year at Sopron. This trio looked around and did not know whom they could trust, and whom they couldn't.

J. went to a third Year student whom he had known at school in S.... From him the trio learned that the whole of the third Year was trustworthy, but that the second Year was divided. Also through the third Year they contacted other small groups of friends in their own Year, and by the end of the first month, already 75 per cent of the first Year knew one another. By the end of the second month they had isolated four communists. Shortly afterwards three of these obtained scholarships to study in Rumania. They threatened to beat up the remaining one if he reported on their activities. This seemed effective. Thus, the whole Year was free of communists. J. was very proud of this. He estimated that: 1947 - all good; 1948 - 70 per cent good; 1949 - all good; 1950 all good; 1951 only 50 per cent good. J. drew a line after 1950.

However, from other informants it appears that the same process, but on a more limited scale took place after 1951. E.g.: in 1955 some 60 per cent of the first Year students knew where they stood with their Year mates after a period of two months. But there was always a large residue about which no one was sure. The following is from a student who made up part of this residue.

For two years in the Szakerettségizet he studied hard, spoke up dutifully in the current events seminars, and uttered the same cliches as everyone else. He did not talk about his true thoughts with anyone, as did none with him. After graduation, he and two others from the same school entered the forestry faculty at Sopron. It was only here that these three first talked together in an honest fashion. They all discovered that each had relatives in the West or some other such damming (in the eyes of the communists) thing. Their relations with
the other first Year students at Sopron remained distant until after the revolution. They were looked upon with some suspicion by the other students because they had been to a Szakerettségizet.

It should be remembered that the daily routine of the students of any one Year was conducive to social solidarity. They were together the whole day going to classes, eating at the Mensa, and sleeping at the Kollegiums.

About two thirds of the forestry students lived in the two Kollegium buildings. One was for first, second and third Year students and the other for fourth and fifth Years students. These institutions were at the same time an integrating force for the Years and also a control mechanism for the authorities, because there were always some communists scattered throughout the building:

G. lived in a private house. He was lucky to get a good room. It was much better than the Kollegium, there was more privacy. You could listen to any radio station you liked without fearing someone would report you to the A.V.H.

**Persistence of the Old Traditions**

Up to the end of the 1950-1951 academic year the old Selmec traditions were practised consistently and fairly universally by the students, but, of course, in secret. In May 1951 a government commission which had been appointed to investigate the political situation in Hungarian universities came to Sopron. On the basis of the commission's report the Ministry of Education issued a decree expelling forty-five students and three professors.
In May 1951 (at the end of his second Year) there came two men and a woman from Budapest. He was called into the office and questioned. "Why did you omit to mention that your father was a Hungarian officer fighting the Russians?" (in his autobiography).

"Do you belong to the I.K.?") He said he didn't. He waited outside with some 30 others for three hours. Then he was told to go to another office where he was handed a paper saying he was expelled from university on two counts; 1. He had not told the truth in his autobiography; 2. He belonged to the fascist I.K. but did not admit it. He went back to his lodging where a plainclothes A.V.H. man told him he must be out of town by the day after next. He asked why, but was told to mind his own business.

Altogether 45 students were expelled for these and other reasons. From fourth Year 28; 12 from third Year; two from second Year, and three from first Year. (At this time there was no fifth Year).

It is also interesting to note that 41 of the students were foresters and only four were in mining. Perhaps this was because by this time most of the miners had been trained in Miskolc and thus had no contact with the I.K. customs.

This "lesson" appeared to break the back of any organized resistance to D.I.SZ. (for any activity outside of D.I.SZ. was construed as anti-D.I.SZ. activity) by setting a stern example to the other students, and by breaking any continuity that might have remained as far as older students passing traditions down to the younger students was concerned. From this time on occasional baptisms were performed casually, maybe at drinking parties in cafes.

In 1953 things were relaxed to a certain extent as a result of Imre Nagy's general policy and the lack of leadership in the communist party at this time. In Sopron, of the
28 fourth Year students expelled in May 1951, 27 were permitted to return for their comprehensive exams in this period. The graduate procession (Ballagás) was allowed again, and a few forestry uniforms reappeared. The latter, however was short lived:

G. was wearing a uniform once in a theatre (in 1954). The university Party secretary saw him and ordered him home at once. He had paid good money for the tickets, so he ignored the order. He was thrown out by two policemen called for by secretary ....... Soon after, there was an announcement forbidding the wearing of uniforms. The penalty was expulsion. G. said they made an issue of the uniforms because they were symbols of the old tradition which the communists were trying to replace with socialist order. Thus, the students at the Forestry Secondary School in Sopron wore uniforms, this was allowed because the school was founded in 1946 and could therefore be considered a socialist achievement.

In spite of this temporary relaxation, it can safely be said that by 1956 few of the students knew much about the content of the Selmec customs, although all knew of them.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III


2. Both items quoted in U.N. Committee on Human Rights Document; 1956, E/CN.4. Sub. 2/L. 92 Add. 28, New York. Estimates made by Sopron professors put the pre-war percentage of students of worker and peasant origin at 30 per cent of the total at Sopron, though they conceded there were more workers and peasants at Sopron than at any other university in Hungary.


4. Ibid., p. 186.


6. Pressure was brought to bear on the professors to pass below standard students with communist affiliations or parents.

7. Most of my male and female informants appeared to concur that studying engineering was "not for women", but when the communists came everybody had to go to work. Naturally the women did not all want to work in factories, so they came to university to become engineers. Very few women became foresters, but tended to find employment in biological or other research institutes. In the interviews also both males and females agreed that the woman's place was in the home and that it was only the exceptional economic hardships in Hungary that forced them out to work.

8. Average Monthly Stipend Received in 1956, by Year, in Forints

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<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>I</th>
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<th>Average all Years</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>374</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>346</td>
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(For general remarks regarding the sample from which this information was obtained, see page 11)

In Sopron the Mensa (board) cost 240 forint a month. The Kollegium (lodging) or a private room cost 50 forint a month or more.

10. Eisenstadt's analysis of youth organizations of revolutionary movements and parties only touches upon the problem of the "established revolutionary organization" in which membership is compulsory and which advocates new values and social forms which are repugnant to the majority of members. S.N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1956, pp. 311-316.
CHAPTER IV

MAIN AREAS OF CHANGE

1. The Educational System

There is no doubt that many changes in the Hungarian educational system would have taken place after the second World War, even if there had been no communists in the country. Many reforms were long overdue, especially in the secondary school system. But the accession of the communists to power meant a basic change in the philosophy of education, which necessitated a restructuring of the whole system. It must be remembered that education was only one sphere of the total society and that the communist goal was the transformation of the total society.

Education, for instance, is never considered as an end in itself, or as a means to promote the personal fulfilment and cultural development of citizens. From the standpoint of the regime, education is a way to train personnel to meet the manpower needs of an expanding industrial society, to allocate this manpower in a preliminary way, to grade and select within this manpower pool, and to develop loyal, reliable citizens. A postwar textbook describes "Communist education" as the preparation of the younger generation for active participation in the building of Communist society and for the defense of the Soviet government which is building that society.

The social engineering whereby these changes were to be implemented was "revolutionary", in that it involved the wholesale destruction of old forms and the creation of new forms without necessarily any reference to the preceding
structures. Mechanisms for strict control in the interim period were necessary, thus the A.V.H. system. Theoretically the whole state structure itself is considered a temporary arrangement in the long run. When the ideal society is attained it will "wither away" by itself. "Interim period", thus, is defined in terms of decades.

The immediate aim of the communists with regard to education was to "improve the social composition" of the universities and secondary schools. This involved rearranging entrance requirement systems, and this in turn involved depriving the universities of their autonomy in this matter. The second aim was the introduction of new subjects in the curricula which would impart basic socialist knowledge to all university graduates. This also involved encroaching upon the universities' autonomy. A latent function was to lengthen most degree programs by one quarter. The third aim, without which the previous two might not be effective, was the regimentation of the student in all aspects of his life at the university. This involved mainly the destruction of "traditional" student social organization and the equation (gleichschaltung) of university students with all other youth. This also involved the strict system of control through informers and supervision by party members. Control was also exercised by the distribution of government grants.
As very few students could afford university without financial assistance, these stipendia formed a useful and flexible control mechanism.

2. The Institution

Viewed from the point of view of its position in the societal structure the status of the Sopron Faculty was changed by the advent of the communists in two respects. First, the emphasis in the new society was on heavy industry and the building up of the country's industrial capacity. Hence the removal of the Metallurgical department and the first two years of the Mining department to Miskolc. Secondly, the large aristocratic estates in Hungary had been one of the chief sources of prestige for university trained foresters. The position of Forest Engineer on one of these estates was comparable to other professional posts both in prestige and remuneration. The abolition of the estates, and the whole aristocratic system, led to a decrease in the status of foresters. As a matter of fact, foresters were one of the lowest paid university trained professionals in Hungary. The basic salary for all university trained professionals was 1200 forint a month upon graduation. However, expense accounts and special allowances increased this sum considerably for some of the young professionals. E.g., Mining engineers received a
400 forint a month allowance for "the dangerous nature of their work." Forest Engineers did not receive allowances of this kind. The one exception was for foresters engaged in biological research. That this area of research enjoyed high prestige and rewards was connected with its implications for communist ideology, for instance the work of Lysenko and Michurin.

First, the shifting of the Faculty from the Technical University to the Agriculture University, and finally the downgrading of the Faculty to the status of Technical High School in 1954 are indicative of the above process.

The function of the institution in the wider society changed relatively little except insofar as it was expected to turn out not only Forest Engineers but also new socialist intellectuals.

3. Academic Organization

This internal aspect of the institution underwent considerable change mainly as a result of the communist need for control within the institution. Thus we see the academic autonomy disappear and appointment of staff, exercise of discipline, content of the curriculum and admission of students become determined by the central government either by direct decree or through party members ensconced in strategic positions in the university structure.
Most of this change did not take the form of change in the formal structure of the academic organization, but was embodied more in the form of pressures exerted on individuals within the existing structure. As a result individuals were able to exercise some control with regard to retaining some of the traditional functions of their particular positions. For instance, the Dean was limited in two ways in the hiring and firing of staff. First, staff hired could not be of known anti-communist tendencies, and in reverse staff who were party members could not be fired. Secondly, staff concerned with the "Holy Trinity" subjects fell pretty well outside the jurisdiction of the Dean.

In 1951, and 1952, the years of the Stalinist oppression, the pressures exerted were very great and the Dean was little more than a figurehead. However, with Stalin's death early in 1953, and the ensuing struggle for power within the communist party and the concomitant uncertainty amongst communist officials everywhere as to the "Party line", the pendulum began a swing in the opposite direction. In many areas the Dean could actually dictate to the Personnel department which was temporarily hamstrung because of the lack of firm directives from Budapest.

Structural change mainly took the form of additions to the existing structure rather than substitution. The
Personnel office, the Marxist seminars, ideological additions to the technical and scientific curriculum, and the compulsory Teachers Union,\(^5\) were all examples of this.

4. **Student Social Organization**

In this sphere, in contrast to the academic organization, change was characterized by official dissolution of old forms and the introduction of completely new structures, which in turn were characterized by their attempts to break down barriers between the universities and other spheres of society.

Where the overall aim of the general society is strong (particularly political) centralization, it is antagonistic to all special associations, quite irrespective of their contents and purposes.\(^6\)

The I.K. represented a "special association" par excellence. The communists introduced the D.I.SZ. which was a universal youth organization and to which all youth belonged irrespective of spheres of society. For example the leader of the Sopron district branch of the D.I.SZ. might or might not be a student (in practise he never was).

**The Ifjusági Kör**

Although the I.K. was not strictly a secret society in Simmel's sense, it had many features in common with his analysis of this type of association. With regard to membership everybody who was not explicitly included was
excluded. No more than a certain number of students could enter each year and certain classes of people were excluded a priori. Membership in the group was not hidden, on the contrary it was often advertised by the wearing of uniforms and rings, and participation in public ceremonies. Equality and brotherhood among members were stressed.

Sopron had the least amount of rich students in Hungary. It was famous throughout Hungary for its democracy. The only difference between the dukes' sons and the foresters' sons was that the former paid more often for the beer.

Many of the "highly valued usages, formulas and rites" were kept secret, especially from the newcomers, at least until they were initiated. A certain degree of severance from the norms of the inclusive society characterized not only the I.K. but also the whole institution with its prized notion of autonomy. The Tobias tradition illustrated a permissiveness toward the students on the part of the larger society. But it can hardly be said that the I.K. had left the "general normative order" with the implications of this that Simmel postulated. On the contrary, the I.K. was well integrated into the general community in Sopron.

The banning of the I.K. and all related activities in 1948 meant that all activities carried out had to be conducted "underground". The I.K. became a secret society which functioned for two and a half years until the putsch
of April, 1951.

The I.K. had been placed outside the new normative order. The role of university student had been redefined. Although my data is sparse on this period, it would seem to support Simmel's proposition concerning the character of ritual in secret societies. The secret practise of the rituals now constituted an act of defiance against the new order, they thus became an end in themselves.

The social organization of the pre-war I.K. was partly "constructed" and partly "natural", the latter being the division into Years, the former being the godparent system. It is interesting to note that the social distance between the Years varied in different periods. In the early thirties there was less difference than in the late thirties. The communists swept away the I.K. structure and with it the "constructed" godparent system, which had performed a binding function between the Years. The Years remained and the social distance between them increased. A professor said:

The Year difference was not so big in my time as it is now. They are always fighting with each other.

2. The average wage was around 1,000 forint a month. The range was from 600 forint for peasants; 800-1,000 forint for white collar workers; 1,000-1,200 forint for factory workers. "Worker aristocrats" earned upward of 2,000 forint. Established professional men earned from 1,800 forint up.

3. Merle Fainsod describes three main channels of authority which characterize the communist basic pattern of control: The administrative—technical; the Party; the secret police. See "Controls and Tensions in the Soviet System", American Political Science Review, 44:279, June 1950. It would seem that in Hungary, only when an administrator is also a Party member, does he have any degree of control.

4. For some interesting comments on the general relaxation in the Nagy period see P. Willen, "Communist Hungary; The Locusts and the Briefcases", The Reporter, October 21st, 1954, pp. 31-33.

5. The high fees, 60 forint a month, didn't appear to "buy" anything in the Szakszervet (Teachers' Union). In 1956 a member could get a hotel room in a holiday resort with a small discount.


7. Ibid., p. 369.

8. Ibid., p. 325, 374.

9. Ibid., p. 358.

10. This is probably true of the role of university student all over the world. Perhaps a degree of permissiveness is characteristic of all "self-liquidating" roles. See S. F. Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure, Cohen and West, London, 1957, pp. 129f.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION IN SOPRON

The events of the Hungarian revolution of October and November 1956 have been well documented elsewhere. It is my intention to record here only those happenings which occurred in Sopron, or which directly influenced the Sopron students.

It was the Hungarian intellectuals and students who took the most active part in the events immediately preceding and leading up to the revolution itself. The formation and evolution of the Petőfi literary Circle is well known.

This general unrest in intellectual circles excited much discussion in small circles of intimate friends at Sopron. Sopron's tiny allotment of the newspaper of the Writers Union "Irodalmi Ujság" was always snapped up immediately on delivery at the station.

However things were quieter in Sopron than at the other Hungarian universities because of its proximity to the border, which meant there was stricter A.V.H. and Party supervision. Another reason for stricter supervision was the fact that the Sopron Faculty, being one of the oldest and most traditional universities, was regarded by the communists as a possible hotbed of reaction and
therefore necessitated close watching.

The first crystallization of dissatisfaction in Sopron was the relatively innocuous student demand for "a more comfortable life", namely more money. On October 19th the Dean attended an extraordinary meeting of university rectors in Budapest at which the Minister of Education announced the discontinuation of compulsory Russian language study, and made some promises regarding Military Defense training. This was published in Szabad Nép of October 20th. Also on October 20th the university students at Szeged broke their official ties with D.I.SZ. and founded their own organization, suited to "the needs of university students", under the name of M.E.F.E.SZ. (Hungarian University and Academic Students Association). Other meetings throughout the country were reported in the press and radio.

On the evening of the 21st a small group of students met secretly and made plans for future action. They organized lines of communication with the Budapest students and planned a general meeting of all Sopron students within a few days. Events moved faster than expected and the general meeting was proclaimed for the afternoon of the 22nd of October. This meeting was packed with enthusiastic students and 30 demands were formulated. These can be divided into three groups: (1) General national Hungarian demands--withdraw Russian troops, keep
Hungarian uranium in Hungary, etc.; (2). General student demands—withdraw from D.I.SZ. and set up a M.E.F.E.SZ., more money for stipendia, freedom to choose jobs after graduation; (3). Sopron student demands—return the first and second Year mining students to Sopron from Miskolc, more pay for Forest Engineers, return the old customs and uniforms, reopen the theatre in Sopron town. At this meeting also a students' council was elected which consisted of a president and two representatives from each Year. The same evening the university press printed several thousand copies of these demands which were sent to other universities and to the radio and newspapers. The communists took no action during these events, apparently awaiting instructions from Budapest.

When the Sopron students learned that the Budapest students were going to hold demonstrations of solidarity with the people of Poland the next afternoon, a demonstration was organized for Sopron. On the afternoon of the 23rd there was a silent procession through the streets of Sopron, with the whole populace looking on with silent approval. Later they discovered that A.V.H. machinegunners had trained their weapons on the demonstration from the top of the Post Office building in case of any trouble.

When the news of the radio station events in Budapest reached Sopron, just after Gerö's provocative speech, the students began to take over control in Sopron.
Communist municipal officials resigned and the students took over the municipal government until the 28th of October, when a new city council was elected with two student representatives on it. In this period the students reorganized the police force, organized the food supply for Sopron and a transfer centre for food and medicine brought in from Austria. They disarmed the A.V.H. men in the town and established solidarity with the local units of the Hungarian Army. There were no Russian soldiers stationed in or near Sopron.

The fairly extreme nature of the Sopron students' demands can be seen from the following text:

Radio Free Győr, Monday, October 29, 12:38pm.
A four member delegation representing professors and students (in Sopron) has arrived in Győr to present its demands.... Many of the demands made by the Sopron students agree with the demands made by the trade unions and the Petőfi Club.... (but) they state that they do not agree with the present composition of parliament and the government.... and do not believe them suitable (organs) for drawing up a new electoral law. They demand that a new parliament be formed from representatives of town and village national councils.... They demand a revision of our relations to the Soviet Union and full compensation for damages caused by our dependence on the Soviet Union. They do not agree with Imre Nagy's address yesterday in which he announced that the security police would be disbanded. They demand from the government an announcement that the security police has already been dissolved.9

On November 1st the students obtained arms from the local army units, and in the next two days, as it became apparent that the Russians were returning, a plan for the defense of Sopron was drawn up. Emplacements for the
anti-tank cannon they had obtained from the Hungarian soldiers were set up guarding the narrow neck of land joining the Sopron district, depicted on the map on page 75 to the rest of Hungary. The students appeared to be quite confident of their ability to keep the Russians at bay. They calculated the Russians would not use air power because of the close proximity of the battle area to the Austrian border.

As the Russians approached on the morning of November 4th, some 200 older students went out to man the emplacements, but they found that the anti-tank cannon had been tampered with and were useless. There was nothing for it but to leave the country. The armed group crossed the border early in the afternoon. Later in the afternoon a group of 400 of those who were in the town left. These included the students' council, most of those who had been on armed police duty in the town and anybody else who wanted to leave. About 200 students chose to remain.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. See bibliography.

2. Special passes were required for movement within a strip 30 kilometers deep along the border. All Sopron residents had these. Other passes were necessary for movement within one kilometer of the border, these were very difficult to obtain.


   For reproductions of the resolutions adopted at some of these meetings see U.N. Report, pp. 73-77.

6. Although it seems here, by the number of demands mentioned in the third group, that the Soproners were very concerned with their own situation, it must be remembered the bulk of the demands fell into the first group.


9. The Revolt in Hungary, a documentary chronology of events based exclusively on internal broadcasts by central and provincial radios, Free Europe Committee, New York, 1956, p. 37. For the Sopron Students' plea to Mr. Nehru to intercede for the Hungarians with the Russians, see p. 78.

10. "The majority of students in Sopron were intimidated by Fascists and taken in trucks to Austria. This is how 15 and 16 year old students of the Sopron Forestry College were taken out of the country". Népszabadság, November 29th, 1956, quoted in East Europe, 6:22, January 1957.
CHAPTER VI

FLIGHT AND RELOCATION

On the morning of November 5th, 1956, thus, two thirds of the students and professors of the Sopron Forestry School and the Mining Faculty found themselves on Austrian territory with few more personal possessions than the clothes on their backs.

As mentioned previously, the students had fled their country in three main groups and by different routes. Those that had fled the "front line" and had entered Austria carrying weapons were, in accordance with international law, interned by the Austrian Army. The other groups and stragglers were sent to various camps throughout Austria. At first there was no communication amongst these groups and nobody knew how many people had fled.

In the camp at Traiskirchen the Dean of the Faculty discovered from the Austrian Minister of the Interior, who was making a tour of the refugee camps, that a sizeable number of Sopron students was distributed throughout the camps in Austria. He managed to establish contact and found that there were about 500 students, mainly in the camps at Traiskirchen, Judenau, and in the internment camp at Sitzenheim. The Dean now contacted the Austrian Minister
of Education in Vienna who agreed to find a place for the whole group to assemble in. In a surprisingly short time, by November 9th, a large building on the shores of the St. Wolfgang lake, just outside St. Wolfgang itself, was made available for the group. Other accommodation at Strobl, some ten kilometers away, was reserved for faculty members and their families. Limited funds were also provided. It was originally intended that they would remain here permanently and function as a university in exile. For one week, from November 17th, at their new location classes were given and attended seriously.

However, it very soon became apparent that it was not going to be feasible for them to remain in Austria as a group. Funds dwindled and were not replenished because of the tremendous drain on Austria's resources, due to the flood of refugees entering the country.

The accommodation was actually quite inadequate, lectures were held in the dormitories for lack of other space. The small bus which had transported the faculty to and from Wolfgang was withdrawn, and for two days many faculty members walked the ten kilometers from Strobl to Wolfgang. The food deteriorated, and eventually it was announced that within a month or two the building in which they were housed would have to be returned to the Domestic Science School to which it belonged.
The mining engineers and surveyors started filtering off as they received offers of jobs and scholarships. They had very few professors at Wolfgang and therefore the prospects for them staying together as a self-contained academic group were not favourable. The foresters, however, had more professors, and, as it was forcefully pointed out to the group by the Dean and the student president, the only real hope for everybody to continue his education where he left off, lay in remaining together as a group. Most of my informants agreed that the group was held together in this critical period largely by the efforts and sincerity of the Dean.

The great hunt began for another place to which they could collectively emigrate. On November 22nd a circular was sent to 20 Heads of States and Ministries of Education. Embassies were visited and international organizations approached. Several countries showed an interest, among them France, Italy and Germany. The latter country offered to take the group but stipulated that it would have to be broken up into smaller units that could be absorbed into several universities. This, in addition to the fact that there would be very few opportunities for graduate forest or mining engineers in Germany, did not fulfill their requirements. None of these offers, however, came until the middle of December, during which time other important developments were taking place.
1. The Canadian Offer

One day at the end of November the Dean went to the Canadian Embassy in Vienna armed with an introduction to the Ambassador, to see if he would take up the Sopron case with the British ambassador with a view to migrating to England. Few people in the group had seriously considered leaving Europe at this point. A Canadian Embassy official promised to look into the matter.

By chance, shortly after this on December 1st, the Canadian Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. Pickersgill, came to Austria to look over the refugee situation and to streamline the Canadian immigration processing machinery. The Canadian official mentioned the Sopron group to him, and the idea of bringing them to Canada "fired his imagination". In a matter of 48 hours he had arranged, through his colleague Mr. Sinclair, the Minister of Fisheries, accommodation in British Columbia and a promise of affiliation to the University of British Columbia. After Mr. Pickersgill had finished his business in Vienna, he drove west to Salzburg on Monday December 3rd, and acquainted the Sopron staff with this offer. He agreed to return next morning to repeat the offer to a general meeting of staff and students.

That evening there was a staff meeting at which it
became apparent that about half wished to accept the offer and half wished to remain in Europe. The next morning there was a general meeting at which Pickersgill presented his offer once more and "tried to explain the virtues of British Columbia—Mr. Sinclair: Easy—and some of the advantages there would be for them and for us..." In the question period following the speech apparently many questions were asked which were "childish" in the opinion of one informant. These questions revolved around guarantees of jobs and paid return passages if not satisfied. As no written agreements were made or records kept of this meeting it is impossible objectively to ascertain what was promised to the group. However, it was general opinion among the members once in Canada that they had been promised more than they got.

After the question period Mr. Pickersgill intimated that a decision should be reached that day. Discussion continued for four hours at the end of which some 110 forestry students and 25 professors elected to accept the offer. Shortly afterwards 80 of the students interned at Sitzenheim also voted for Canada.

The mining and surveying students also made a deputation to Mr. Pickersgill for a similar arrangement for them. The Minister promised to try to find something for them but could not say anything definite. Thus, on
December 5th, the first report of the prospective move appeared in the Vancouver press.

Publication of this news was the signal for several students, graduates and some others to head for Wolfgang from throughout Europe to take advantage of the offer. One professor was added to the staff to complete the academic requirements of the group. A student who knew English began conducting English classes. People searched for reading material on Canada about which they discovered they knew practically nothing.

On December 14th Dean Allen of the University of British Columbia Forestry Faculty arrived at Wolfgang accompanied by Mr. McNiell, an executive of the Powell River Company which had promised accommodation for the group. They answered questions at a general meeting and showed a film of the operations of the Powell River Company. Five days later they accompanied the Sopron Dean and three students aboard a C.P.A. "Freedom Express" airliner which flew direct to Vancouver. The Dean spent three days in Vancouver making arrangements for the mass movement and meeting with University of British Columbia and Powell River Company executives. He returned to Austria on Christmas day.

Passports and visas were issued, somewhat inefficiently, to all those traveling to Canada. The day before the train
was due to leave, an I.C.E.M. official informed the Soproners that 16 students could not travel with the group, because of lack of space on the boat. This caused great indignation among the students and there was threat of a sit down strike. "Either we all go, or no one goes." After much telephoning, an assurance was given that the 16 could travel on the next available boat.

On December 28th the group boarded a special train which took them via Oosteinde and the Channel to Liverpool, their embarkation point. On January 1st, 1958, a symbolic date for the group, the Empress of Britain steamed down the Mersey.

As the 26,000 ton Empress liner moved slowly away from Liverpool, the singers turned for a last look at Britain, their link with the continent of Europe they were leaving probably forever. Many had tears in their eyes. It was an impressive moment. Special verses were written for the occasion by...the vice-dean of the Forestry Faculty of the University of Sopron.10

On January 8th the group stepped ashore at St. John, New Brunswick, feeling somewhat the worse for wear after the rough journey. They were housed, along with some other refugees, in the local immigration hall. On their first evening a party was arranged for them complete with jazz band and girls. They were forced to remain in St. John for 11 days because the C.P.R. Firemen's strike had tied up rail traffic throughout the country. The immigration hall atmosphere was relieved by a visit to the University of
New Brunswick campus at Fredericton. Also a student couple was married here, the first refugees to be married in Canada. They appeared on T.V.

On January 19th they began the long trip (by C.N.R.) across Canada. In Montreal they were joined by their 16 comrades who had missed the boat in Austria and had come over to Canada with the Sopron Mining contingent. The group arrived January 24th at Matsqui station and Abbotsford airfield staging camp for Hungarian refugees. Here they were greeted by University of B.C. officials, and the U.B.C. students' newspaper reporters collected material for a lurid spread in the next day's edition; "They were dive-bombed, strafed, rocketed, and skip-bombed by Russian Migs and Ilyushins".

The group was now swallowed up in the mass of humanity in the Abbotsford camp. The students were distinguishable only by the briefcases they carried which had been presented to them at the University of New Brunswick.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Some 187 Sopron students were interned at Sitzenheim. The Austrian authorities didn't release them officially until December 8th. Most of them remained in the camp after this date until their departure for Canada because there was no other accommodation at this time. Eighty forestry students in this group decided for Canada.

2. One of the early pressures to disintegration consisted in the siren calls of the communists in Hungary for the refugees to return home.

Offenbar hatte man auch in Ungarn von der gedruckten Stimmung unter den Studenten Wind bekommen, denn plötzlich tauchten Agenten im Lager auf und rieten den Flüchtlingen in die Heimat zurückzukehren; dort werde ihnen kein Haar gekrümmt werden.

Münchner Merkur, 19 December, 1956.

A local communist newspaper carried the report of the Austrian national communist newspaper's (Die Volksstimme) correspondent's visit to Sopron in December.

"KEHRT HEIM" LASSEN DIE ÖDENBURGER PROFESSOREN DEN GEFLÜCHTETEN STUDENTEN SAGEN.

Warum die Studenten mit einigen Professoren (die meisten blieben in Sopron) geflohen sind, ist heute längst klar: Von irgendwo wurden panikartige Gerüchte in Umlauf gesetzt....

Sagen Sie unseren Studenten: Die professoren erwarten sie mit liebenden Herzen zurück. Mit Freude erwarten wir den Tag, da sie wieder in Sopron sein werden.

Alle alten Universitätsrechte werden in Ungarn wieder Geltung haben....

"Die weitgehende Autonomie die unserer Universität schon heute geniesst, erlaubt mir zu sagen: Kein geflüchteter Student soll Einer Zeitverlust bei den Semesterprüfungen haben. Wir werden allen entgegenkommen."

Das sagte der neue Rektor....

Wir wissen, dass sie sofort kommen, wenn sie erfahren, wie es hier in Sopron wirklich aussieht! Wenn sie erfahren, dass ihnen keine Gefahr droht, dass sie mit allen Rechten weiter Studenten unserer Universität sein werden.... From Freies Burgenland, December 16, 1956.

3. See Appendix A for this document.

4. For this, and Mr. Pickersgill's account of the whole story see, Debates, House of Commons, Canada, Session 1957, Vol. I, pp. 663-664.
5. See Appendix B for an account of the offer written by an on the spot Austrian official, and Mr. Pickersgill's comment on this account.

6. After a series of offers 76 of these students were absorbed into the University of Toronto. See Debates, op. cit., pp. 664-665.

7. The Vancouver Sun (CP) December 5th, 1956.


9. When passports were checked thoroughly in Powell River two months later it was discovered that one of the students had travelled on the passport of another student, who had stayed behind in Austria.

10. The Vancouver Sun (CP), January 2nd, 1957.

CHAPTER VII

ABBOTSFORD AND POWELL RIVER

1. Abbotsford

The Abbotsford transit camp already housed over 300 refugees when the Sopron group arrived. The Soproners were accommodated in separate barracks, dormitories were assigned on a Year basis, and a small office was provided for the Dean and the staff in which to conduct their business. One of the administrative secretaries had come with the group.

The three week period at Abbotsford can be regarded as a preliminary settling down stage for the group. Up till this time, since the decision to come to Canada, the routines and activities of the group had been imposed from the outside. The most important line of social organization was the division into Years, which provided an effective communication system. During this period of travel and transition it appears that group structure was at its simplest, most streamlined and most efficient. In Abbotsford, with the future secure in general terms, there was time and opportunity to begin to organize activities with reference to the future. Social differentiation began to take place and the structure of the group began to
increase in complexity. The Year system remained central, but intra, inter and cross Year associations began to form.

The imposed camp routine involved cafeteria style meals, and the clean up brigade in the barracks. English lessons were given for four hours in the morning. The Soproners had classes separate from the other refugees. The afternoons and evenings were free.

Within this very broad imposed schedule, the group began to organize its own activities. First, soccer and basketball teams were set up. Then a folk dance club began holding regular practises. A fencing club and a choir were formed.

Much discussion centred around how they would recreate the old Selmec customs once in Powell River. Some professors gave talks on the customs "because not all the younger Year students knew the old traditions yet". The possibility of the Faculty becoming a permanent institution in exile, with new first Year students coming from Hungary and other places every year, was seriously discussed. The Collegicum Ungaricum in Italy was given as an example of this kind of possibility. The professors were considerably more realistic in this matter and saw the Faculty dying a natural death as the students progressively graduated.
Given the time and their future secured, thus, the Sopron students had turned their energies inward upon themselves and were busily engaged in (re)constructing their own society, relatively oblivious to, and uninterested in, the outside world.

A small group of other Hungarian refugee students, from various universities, who had escaped individually from Hungary, presented an interesting contrast to the Soproners. These students were oriented entirely to the outside. They were bursting with questions about Canadian life—housing, jobs, taxes, girls, university courses and so on. Four of them had made an unauthorized (though there were no guards at the camp) trip into Vancouver to see the university and also about some job possibilities. They were very anxious about finding work as soon as possible and were somewhat suspicious of job offers which they thought were made with the purpose of exploiting their labour for little pay.

These students were somewhat resentful of the Sopron group. One reason was that although they had been following English classes for three weeks at the camp prior to the arrival of the Soproners, they were forced to start again from the beginning when the Soproners came. Another example:
I asked them (some non Sopron students) whether they would go to visit U.B.C. on Saturday with the Sopron group. They said they had not been invited. This led to an outburst against the Sopron students. In particular they complained that the Sopron students had masqueraded as Freedom Fighters whereas actually there had been no fighting at all in Sopron. This was accompanied by a considerable degree of withering scorn (if I interpreted it correctly).

They felt their thunder had been stolen.

There didn't seem to be any displays of bitterness or animosity between individuals of the two groups. On the contrary, the non-Soproners were in great demand by the Soproners, by virtue of their superior knowledge of the English language. Any conversation with them was constantly interrupted by people asking questions about points in their English homework.

Whereas the Sopron group was inclusive and provided for the social psychological and economic needs of its members, within its own framework, the other students had to look for these things outside, which they did. These contrasting observations led me to formulate the hypothesis that "group (im)migration results in less disturbance for the individual group member initially, but the individual (im)migrant will tend to assimilate quicker". The first part of this hypothesis appears to be borne out by the comparative facts mentioned above, namely that the non Sopron students were acutely concerned, anxious and worried about their immediate and long range future, whereas the
Soproners took it for granted they would be at U.B.C. in the fall, and concentrated on getting the soccer team into shape. It is a relevant question whether this unconcern with the outside was a function of group membership, or merely of the fact that the future was assured. What of individual student refugees who received early promises of scholarships etc.?

Highly relevant is the fact that even if the future had been assured to single individuals, what would they have done with themselves? They could not just exist in a vacuum until the fall. They were driven to find a society to which to bind themselves. Whether or not this was a step towards "assimilation" will be discussed later.

An event which served to strengthen the Soproners' feeling of security with regard to the future was their invitation by the U.B.C. Forestry Club to visit the U.B.C. campus. On February 9th seven chartered busses transported the whole group to the campus after a scenic drive around the city. A mass photograph was taken, and an unofficial representative of an East European ethnic group took the opportunity to harangue them on the virtues of democracy. A mass lunch was the occasion for top U.B.C. and Sopron officials and student leaders to make speeches of welcome and of thanks. A basketball game between U.B.C. and an American university gave the Soproners their first
opportunity to display solidarity with U.B.C. In the evening they were divided up into small groups of four or five and were taken to the houses of U.B.C. Faculty members for supper. Conversation was somewhat difficult at some of these supper tables, but a few lasting contacts were established, mostly among the staff members. The whole visit served to fill them with pleasant anticipation of the year to come, and to give them a glimpse of what kind of life to expect.

2. Powell River

From the 18th to the 20th of February the group was moved to Powell River in stages. The construction camp (Riverside Camp) made available by the Powell River Company was situated just outside the town and was reached by a bridge over a ravine. The geographical position of the camp in the Powell River community to a large extent symbolized the social relations that obtained between the newcomers and the citizens of Powell River.

Camp Organization

Huts were assigned to the students on the basis of Year. Married students, of which there were by now some 15 couples, had separate quarters. Staff were allotted accommodation on the basis of the size of their families.
Each hut had its own clean-up rota.

The kitchen had headed by the wife of a retired professor who had come with the group. She was paid a wage for this work. Students were appointed on semi-permanent and part-time bases to work in the kitchen and dining room. They also received pay for this work.

Estimates for provisions were compiled by the above mentioned Hungarian woman, but the actual purchase of the victuals was made by the liaison officer provided by the Powell River Company. Practically all business dealings with the outside world were conducted through the liaison officer, at least in the first two months.

The daily routine involved English lessons for students and staff from 9 A.M.—12 noon, and from 1 P.M.—4 P.M. These classes consisted of 14 small groups of some 16 students in each, teachers were recruited among Powell River housewives, and were paid for by the Provincial Government Department of Education. The course followed was devised especially for immigrants by the Department of Education. The course "enables New Canadians with the aid of English speaking teachers who have had no teaching experience, to learn English with a minimum of confusion...."

Finances

The Federal Government provided $3.00 per head per
day for the Sopron group. According to the local newspaper this money was handled in the following way:

Powell River Company maintains and pays for the Riverside Camp, meets operating expenses such as light, heat, water and repairs, and maintains an administrator and a kitchen supervisor at the camp to handle day to day problems. Powell River Company also acts as a purchasing agent for the food required.

Towards this expense, the federal government pays PRCo $3.- per day per person. The federal government pays nothing direct to the refugees.

By staffing the camp themselves (with the exception of the two persons mentioned) and by doing all the work of cleaning and housekeeping and serving and preparing and maintaining a completely communal operation, the Hungarians are able to keep their food requirements below $3.- per day.

The small financial balance which accrues through this industrious and determined approach to their new life goes into a camp fund from which personal necessities, toothpaste, reading materials, pencils and paper and socks and handkerchiefs and so on are purchased.

When it is remembered that the average construction camp costs run from $4.- to $6.- per person, it can be assumed that these people are doing their part.

The cash received from the Powell River Company, which amounted to about $1.00 a day per person, was distributed among the students and staff by a "kitchen committee". This consisted of a professor, a wife, the chief cook and four students. It is interesting to note that the Powell River Company did not provide any accounting when they handed the remaining money over to Sopron.

3. Centripetal Activities

For the first month at Powell River the process of involution observed at Abbotsford continued. The activities dealt with in this section are those that tended to draw the
group together. Most of these were not at all visible from the outside. Of course, the every day communal living was a force in this direction. But the most important development for the students was the rebuilding of the Ifjusági Kör. The height of this activity was reached in the presidential election campaign in the middle of March. A description of this campaign is therefore considered worthwhile. Also the election manoeuvres serve to illustrate some of the lines of social organization among the students.

The Election Campaign

The presidential election of the Ifjusági Kör was held on March 23rd, two weeks earlier than originally planned owing to the students' desire to be well organized before they split up for summer work.

There were three candidates for the position of president. A fourth Year student, nicknamed "Kulacs", a fifth Year student, Gyula, and a second Year student named Sandor. Kulacs had been the provisional president since Wolfgang, Gyula and Sandor were the leaders of their respective Years. Kulacs was being supported by his Year—38 students; Gyula received support from the third and fifth Years—40 and 28 students respectively; Sandor was being supported by the second Year—40 students. Half the first Year supported Sandor, and the rest was spread evenly among the candidates. (42 students in first Year).
Ferenc, a second Year student, told me very confidentially that although it looked as if the Gyula group was invincible, actually they were going to lose the fight. The first and second Year support of Sandor was only a blind and that they would all vote for Kulacs at the polls. Sandor would be installed as Kulacs' lieutenant, and Gyula would be given a place in the executive as would some representatives of the first and second Years. The third Year was going to be left out entirely as a kind of punishment for their clubbing together with the fifth Year and not setting up a candidate of their own.

I asked why Kulacs was preferable to Gyula for the first and second Year students. Ferenc said that the Gyula group tended to stress the privileges of the elder Years as opposed to the younger Years, e.g., calling them "dirty Balek" etc. The fourth Year had associated more with the younger students in Abbotsford and generally been less objectionable.

Ferenc continually stressed the need for secrecy and would stop talking when one of the opposition approached. Another incident illustrated the split or lack of contact between the Years.

I invited (the same) Ferenc over to my room. We walked over to my hut and he was very concerned to find it was the fifth Year hut. He said quite earnestly that he hoped I would not betray all he had told me to the fifth Year students. Actually he was altogether mistaken because it was the fourth Year hut.

The election campaign was conducted according to traditional customs. The whole camp was plastered with posters advertising the merits of candidates and disparaging the claims of other candidates. In accordance with tradition the consumption of alcohol was forbidden for two days before the election, and this was strictly adhered to in spite of temptation offered by myself and a colleague. Spectacular was the funeral procession organized by the Gyula group. Hooded figures marched around the camp carrying
a coffin labelled Kulacs and beating out a cacophonous tympany on garbage can lids.

In spite of Gyula's energetic campaigning the election went exactly as planned by the Kulacs/Sandor faction. Kulacs received 95 votes, Gyula received 87 votes and three votes were declared invalid, giving a total of 185 votes cast. Sandor withdrew from the competition at suppertime on the voting day. This caught the Gyula party completely by surprise.

The new executive was set up along traditional lines. Gyula received the vice-presidency and Sandor became secretary. The remaining posts went to other second and fourth Year students, but one third Year student received a position. A new position was created for the special situation in Canada. The Disciplinary Officer (fegyelem bizotság elnöke) was presumably intended to deal with the problems of presenting a good impression to the Canadians, as envisaged by Gyula in his election speech. However, this position never functioned effectively, discipline of this nature being enforced from other sources.

Another addition to the traditional pre-communist arrangements was the system of Year representatives. Each Year elected a leader who sat in on the I.K. executive committee. This system was introduced by the communists as a control mechanism, and was retained in Canada as it was
found to be a useful structure in a situation where control and rapid communication was necessary.

The I.K. started out with great plans and activity. Partitions were broken down in one of the huts, and an office and committee room was constructed. The committee immediately took over several administrative functions, e.g., students' representation in the kitchen. The most important duty to be assumed by the I.K. executive was the allocation of the summer jobs as the offers came in. The Dean had informed the Powell River Co. liaison officer that the I.K. was entirely responsible for this allocation. As it turned out most of the selection was done before the offers were made.

4. Centrifugal Activities

There were a number of activities, which necessitated contact with the people of the town and from further afield. An average of two to three evenings a week were taken up with films and lectures by U.B.C. professors, government officials and local businessmen. The local movie was frequented regularly. Two dances were held at the camp, and some more adventurous students made regular Saturday night trips to the dance hall in neighbouring Westview. Some boy scout activities were initiated and a camp was held. The choir sang for local fraternal clubs, and the members
fraternized after the singing. One of the staff taught folk
dancing at the High School several nights a week.

Sports activities formed the greatest area of contact
with the Powell River population. In the Powell River News
from February 21st, to April 25th, there was an average of
one and a half articles per issue on the Soproners' sports
activities starting with the headline on February 14th,
"SOPRON STUDENTS WILL PROVE BOON TO LOCAL SPORTS CIRCLE". Soccer was the main sport with basketball a close second.

On the Sunday of their second weekend in Powell
River "Sopron University" was officially dedicated on
Canadian soil in the presence of representatives of British
Columbia university, government and business life. On the
Saturday a variety program put on by the group attracted
over 700 Powell River residents from their regular Saturday
night activities.

Allocation of Summer Jobs

The necessity to find summer work was the first great
disintegrative force that faced the group. "The students'
desire to be well organized before they split up for summer
work" showed consciousness of the danger to group structure
of this period of scatter. More serious, perhaps, (from the
point of view of group structure) was the preoccupation
with obtaining work that prevailed. The stage that the
non-Sopron students had gone through in Abbotsford had now caught up with the Soproners. There was, as yet, no guarantee of government support during the winter.

In the middle of March representatives from the British Columbia Forest Service had visited the camp and had taken out a group of students to familiarize them with Canadian methods, and also to see what level of competence they possessed. The B.C.F.S. offered surveying jobs to 20 students. As it happened, these were the only jobs the I.K. had to allocate, and they were limited to fourth and fifth Year students because of the technical skill involved.

In the beginning of April representatives of the National Employment Service from Vancouver interviewed all the students at the camp, and made up a small file on each student. Thus, all job offers through the N.E.S. were made to specific individuals thereby obviating the necessity for distribution at the camp. A few part-time jobs of short duration in the Powell River area itself such as wood cutting, gardening work etc. were distributed by the I.K. By May 19th all but 35 of the male students had obtained work.

5. The Powell River Residents' Image of Sopron

It was in the above activities that the Powell River residents observed the Soproners. The correspondence column of the newspaper carried a series of long letters
complaining about the special treatment the Hungarians were getting:

Most of us, as working Canadians, recognize it for what it very probably is — a sinister, long-range plan on the part of the vested interests to swamp the labor market with frightened, half-starved people who will unwittingly contribute to the ultimate destruction of the unions.

One of the newspapermen said:

The people of Powell River are not too happy about the Hungarians, but they don't have too much to do with them. They have definitely helped boost Powell River sports, especially as soccer is the main sport in Powell River.

One more comment worth mentioning was made by a long time resident of the community who worked for The Company:

The Hungarians are a scruffy looking lot, but that's not their fault. They are going away in May anyway. You see them coming into town for shopping, always in groups.

He was bitter about the $3.00 a day allowance:

When I came here in 1930 I had to work the whole day for only $2.00. Did the government help us then? These people get everything on a silver platter. I was a British subject too. We have fought against these people in two wars and they get the royal treatment. I can't understand the government.

It is interesting to note that any hostility present appears to be directed towards the government rather than the Hungarians themselves.

6. Conceptions of the future

All the students saw themselves attending U.B.C. in the fall in their own faculty. In May it was announced
that the federal government would provide living quarters in R.C.A.F. barracks some ten miles from the university. These two images of a certain future in no way seemed to diminish the importance for the students of obtaining summer work. Several students enquired about possibilities of part-time jobs in Vancouver in the fall. The threatened I.W.A. strike served to accentuate anxiety among the students.

As the summer progressed anxiety crystallized into plans for action among some of the students.

"...at the camp there are rumours that some of the fellows are thinking of going back to Hungary. This is not confined to the unemployed ones at the camp, but also some who are working...say they are disillusioned with all the promises made to them and they did not expect to work as labourers etc., in camps. Two students actually returned to Hungary, but for personal and not the above mentioned reasons.

The idea of promises unfulfilled was general throughout the group, with staff as well as students. It seemed to crop up in every situation of crisis.

The staff was concerned about the status of Sopron at U.B.C. No decision was made, until late summer, either by university or government regarding the future of the group. The professors felt that the group was being used as a pawn in endless negotiations between university and government on financial questions. Many began to question the wisdom of having come with the group. This uncertainty
was kept well hidden from the students. As one of the staff said:

If someone should mention that the future of Sopron University in September was still uncertain this might immediately spur these elements to take action regarding return to Hungary.

In retrospect it seemed that while in Austria the group had a certain bargaining power. Their group existence was their most important bargaining point. Several countries had "competed" for them. Now they had played their trump card, for return to Hungary was impossible, and were at the mercy of forces entirely beyond their control. No purposive action could be organized, with its concomitant unifying effect. They could only wait. In this connection it is interesting to note that the staff members were keen to keep the group together as a residential community in the following year.

It would be better for Sopron if we stayed together in one group, but better for Canada if we spread out. The students on the other hand, in a referendum taken by mail in the summer, voted by 75 per cent against living in a community. They preferred the independence of living in the city.

It did not seem at this stage that the situation, which was perceived as threatening by the group members, increased solidarity within the group.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. This number was to increase to 1,550 by May 1st, in a camp staffed to accommodate 600 people. See The Vancouver Province, May 1st, 1957.


3. A failure to turn outward at the final destination of his flight is a fairly common refugee reaction:
   A typical refugee reaction after the triumph of at last reaching their destination is to become completely exhausted, to make no effort at all after the tremendous effort of flight. This should be regarded as a normal reaction. Inexperienced social workers or camp personnel have on occasion been misled into believing that these "lazy" refugees who show such lack of initiative are in some way inferior. But this is not so; their inactivity is the result of energy spent, hopes disappointed, and roots lost. What they need is human contact and warmth; anything that binds the refugee to a society should be encouraged. Memo of the World Federation for Mental Health on the Hungarian refugee problem, 4th January 1957. This was, of course, not the case with either the Soproners or the non-Soproners at Abbotsford. The non-Soproners exhibited a hyper-activity. The Soproners brought their own society with them. See also H. B. M. Murphy (ed.), Flight and Resettlement, UNESCO Publications, Population and Culture No. II, Lucerne, 1955, esp. pp. 33ff.


5. For an account of Gyula's election speech see Appendix C.

6. Ibid.

7. Both students and staff were disappointed that nobody from the U.B.C. Faculty of Forestry came to lecture. They felt they were left with a great gap in their knowledge of the way forestry was conducted at the University.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMER WORK

This section is intended to give a sketch, for the material will not permit more, of the students' experiences at their summer work as well as to give an idea of the nature of the work, in whose company they worked and how much they earned and saved. For a discussion of the sample from which the statistics in this section are derived (except Table II) see page 11.

1. Group Integrative Forces

In the sample of the Sopron students 83 (91 per cent) worked for some time in the summer, six students (seven per cent) had no jobs at all and two students did not answer this question. This compares with the ten per cent of all students at Powell River who had no work, or worked less than five weeks\(^1\) during the summer as shown in Table II.

Of the 83 students in the sample who had jobs, 56 (66 per cent of those who had jobs) worked together with at least one other Hungarian student on the job. Thirty-nine students (46 per cent of those who had jobs) said that there was no good opportunity to learn English on the job.

It would seem from the above figures that about one
quarter of the students were thrust upon their own resources amid total strangers where they were forced to acquire a knowledge of English. The other three quarters either worked together with some of their comrades or did not work at all, in which case they stayed at the camp in Powell River. Thus, although the students were scattered in the summer the majority retained day to day contact with some of their fellow group members.

Those students who worked in the vicinity of Powell River came to the camp for the week ends. Correspondence between friends was regular. Several circulars were sent out from the Dean's office in Vancouver in the latter part of the summer. The last of these sent on August 12th contained a great deal of information regarding procedures to be followed at U.B.C. It also announced that government aid would be given. These were some of the mechanisms which kept the students in touch with each other and with events concerning the future of the group.

2. Type of Work and Money Earned

Table II gives the distribution of summer work among the students by type of employer.

Of the 85 students in the sample who worked in the summer 57 (67 per cent) had jobs with a "labouring" (hand work) content; 22 (26 per cent) had "intellectual" (head work)
TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF SUMMER WORK BY EMPLOYERS,
BASED ON INFORMATION ON 179 OUT OF 189
STUDENTS AT THE POWELL RIVER CAMP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPLOYERS</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Logging Companies</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Parks</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C. Forest Service</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Private Companies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Government Departments</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed, Includes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>students who worked for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five weeks or less</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.F.S. (Victoria)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitresses</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
jobs; three (3.5 per cent) considered their jobs to have both elements; three (3.5 per cent) did not answer.

The labouring jobs included: chokerman in logging camps—this was very hard work and insecure owing to the threatened I.W.A. strike, but the pay was very rewarding; general handy-man in the National Parks—this was relatively light work and the job was secure, but the pay was low; other labouring jobs ranged between these extremes.

The intellectual jobs consisted almost entirely in forest and highway surveying work. Four girls worked in a government technical library in Victoria. One student spent the summer on a small rock island studying birds.

The average earnings and duration of work is set out in Table III.

The students who were employed for more than five weeks, worked an average of three and a half months. The fifth Year students worked the longest and the first Year for the shortest time.

The average gross earnings and savings show a similar distribution by Year. The earnings of the students are slightly higher than the figures for earnings of U.B.C. students who worked in the summer of 1956.
TABLE III

DURATION OF WORK AND CASH EARNED AND SAVED
BY SEPTEMBER 15TH 1957, BY YEAR
(FROM 91 QUESTIONNAIRES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeks Worked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did Not Answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Earnings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Dollars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did Not Answer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash Saved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by September 15th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Dollars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did Not Answer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Experiences on the Job

Excluding the fifth Year from the sample, 30 students (44 per cent of those who had jobs) said they would try to obtain the same job in the next summer; 35 students (51 per cent of those who had jobs) said they would try to get a different job in the following summer; three students (5 per cent) did not answer. The two recurring reasons given for wishing to find a different job in the next summer were, that the present work was too hard or that the pay was not sufficient.

To the question "were you treated any differently on the job because you were a Hungarian?" 26 students (31 per cent of those who had jobs) replied "yes"; 50 students (59 per cent of those who had jobs) replied "no"; and 9 (10 per cent of those who had jobs) did not answer. Most of those who reported discrimination also said they had noticed differences in the treatment of Canadians and immigrants. They thus defined themselves as "immigrants". Several answers such as "the workmen did not like me because I was a revolutionary" or "I heard someone say when they were making up the difficult jobs "now it will be good for the Hungarians", indicated special treatment for Hungarians. However, in ten interviews with two randomly chosen subjects from each Year, nine students mentioned incidents that occurred during their summer work which involved some type of animosity against Hungarians.
It is interesting to note that none of my respondents considered their summer job to be better in comparison with U.B.C. students' jobs. Thirty-seven students (43 per cent of those who had jobs) thought their situation had been the same as that of the U.B.C. students; 39 students (45 per cent of those who had jobs) thought their situation to have been worse than that of the U.B.C. students. This is in spite of the fact that average U.B.C. students' summer earnings in 1956 were slightly lower than the earnings of the Soproners in the summer of 1957. Of course, "better" may not have been interpreted in the sense of financially more rewarding, but, say, in the sense of a genial atmosphere at the place of work, or merely type of work.

Very little information was available on the consequences of the I.W.A. strike threat for the Soproners except for the anticipatory anxiety observed in the Powell River camp in May. Several students, especially those in logging camps, lost a month's work due to the threatened strike. The strike perhaps served to bring out some of the advantages of being a Canadian,--"At the first time immigrants were laid off". Several students voted against the strike in the June 26th Union referendum, and did not report suffering for having exercised their right, in spite of their being in a less than ten per cent minority.

One other incident deserves mention. The Unemployment
Insurance Commission informed the group in the middle of July that there would be work until October for 15 men picking fruit in the Okanagan. Fifteen unemployed students went to Penticton only to find there were only two jobs vacant. For several days the rest lived on apricots and bread while unsuccessfully looking for work. They were obliged to pay $1.25 a night for the privilege of sleeping on the floor of a large room. They returned to Powell River broke, in debt and thoroughly disillusioned.\(^5\)

Perhaps it should be mentioned here that it was my impression that many of the students who spent most of the summer at Powell River spoke relatively (to the whole) good English. Several had made friends with Powell River people. One of these students was invited to his former English teacher's home in the Fraser Valley for a month. Another made trips to Vancouver and the Okanagan in the car of a newfound friend.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. Twenty-nine (15 per cent) of the 196 students registered at U.B.C. in October had worked for eight weeks or less in the summer.

2. See *Forest and Mill*, April 1958.


4. Ibid.

CHAPTER IX

GROUP BOUNDARIES AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION

1. Membership

Two hundred and ninety-five "members of the Sopron group" arrived in Abbotsford on January 24th, 1957. Who were these people and by what criteria were they adjudged to be included in the group? Table IV answers the first question:

TABLE IV

BREAKDOWN OF THE 295 PERSONS LISTED IN THE RIVERSIDE CAMP REGISTER ON APRIL 18TH 1957.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students' Wives*</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff#</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Wives</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Children</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othero</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>295</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * Two of these had been students in Sopron
# Includes chauffeur and secretary.
0 The retired professor and wife, and a girl friend of a student (see below).
The obvious criterion for membership was having been a staff member or a student at the Sopron Forestry Faculty in Hungary or a wife or child of either of these. Another criterion was having voted to go to Canada when presented with Pickersgill's offer in Austria.

In the group that arrived at Abbotsford there were several people who did not conform to the above criteria. First, there were six students who had not been students at the Sopron Faculty. Two of these had been studying at other universities in Hungary and the remaining four had just finished their secondary schooling. These had all joined the group in Austria mostly through the introduction of a friend. Secondly, there were two students who had been expelled from Sopron for political reasons in 1951 and had never been readmitted. Two sisters of Faculty members were among the group, as was a female student's younger brother who was not a student, and never intended to become one. There was a retired professor, not from Sopron, and his wife. One of the administrative secretaries and the chauffeur/handyman from Sopron were included. Lastly there was a second Year student's girl friend who came with the group only to go off and marry a Polish Canadian shortly after arrival in Powell River.

In Powell River several people joined the group. Two graduate students, one of whom is now an instructor, came to the camp. Another student who had been expelled in 1951
turned up.

In the summer months several people left the group. Three regular students decided to return to Hungary. Two of these actually returned and the third was last heard of in Ottawa. Two regular third Year students decided not to continue studying, as well as three of the boys who had not been students in Hungary.

In the fall eleven new students were admitted to the first Year, with the permission of the Department of Immigration, to bring the registration up to its total of 48. Five of these had been at other universities in Hungary, five of them had never been to university, and the remaining one had been a student in Canada before the revolution. Two instructors were engaged. A Sopron graduate of 1925, now a professor in the U. S., came over to give lectures in Forest Management and Mensuration in the fall semester. Last, but not least, should be mentioned the half dozen babies born to students and professors in the summer and the fall.

As in any persistent group of this size we see a large central, stable bulk of members, and a periphery of constantly shifting membership. The group appears "frayed at the edges" as Homans says. However, from the point of view of the group, or from outside, membership at any point in time was clearly defined. Problems springing from vague
definition of membership did not arise. This was important from the point of view of the Department of Immigration. The advantage to any individual of definition of membership in the group was the receipt of the $3.00 per day allowance at Powell River, and the $65.00 a month in Vancouver. The student who was in Canada before the revolution did not qualify for this money, although it was not for lack of trying! None of the non-Sopron Hungarian students at U.B.C. received this allowance, though most of them obtained scholarships from other sources to an approximately equal amount. It is significant in this connection that the Department of Immigration gave its consent before the eleven new first Year students were admitted. Students who quit studying, as several first and second Year students did throughout the year, were cut off their allowance when their departure was reported to the Immigration Department.

2. The Ethnic Context of the Group in Vancouver

Some of the more peripheral members of the Sopron group tended to define themselves in a somewhat broader category.

One of the staff's sisters had....no job at present, but is working very hard organizing the Hungarian part of some exhibition at the Hudson's Bay Company. She says it is very difficult because there are so many groups of Hungarians in the city--those who have been here for a long time, recent arrivals--all of whom want something different. I asked "What group do you belong to?" She said "Oh, the university group" emphatically.
This category included the non-Sopron Hungarian refugee students at U.B.C. and their families, as well as two Hungarian women on the U.B.C. secretarial staff.

The area of contact between the Soproners and non-Soproners is interesting as, on the Sopron side, it appeared to be confined almost solely to some staff members, some of the first Year students who had not been students at Sopron and the above mentioned peripheral members. These people formed a distinct group. They visited each other regularly and had parties together.

The "university group" appeared to have little formal or informal contact with the Hungarian community in Vancouver. Prior to the revolution the Hungarian Social Club (Magyar Társáskör) possessed a very shabby, dilapidated hall on West 4th Avenue. In early 1957, presumably spurred by the promise of enormously increased membership and revenue, the Club purchased and renovated a new property not far from the university. This hall became one of the main centres of Vancouver Hungarian activity, and also, in the beginning, the place where students met non students. Regular Saturday night dances were held which students attended irregularly in the hope of picking up girls.

In October official contact was established between university group and the Társáskör and a staff representative from Sopron sat in on the Társáskör executive. It appears
that there was some protest from the well established members of the Club on having a New Canadian on the executive. The professor withdrew and there was no more formal contact between the groups.

Another area of contact between university group and other Hungarians in the city was in the protestant and catholic churches presided over by Hungarian clergymen. Discussion groups and cultural evenings were sponsored by these institutions, but I have no information as to how widely they were attended. The Hungarian priest held special English classes for the Sopron faculty.

Several ceremonies of a national Hungarian character, held at the Társáskör's new building and throughout the city, brought all groups together by emphasising their common nationality. However, this solidarity induced by the structural context only operated on a very general and temporary level, especially as far as the university group was concerned. For instance on the October 23rd anniversary of the Hungarian revolution there was a large ceremony held in downtown Vancouver which several students attended. For the students the important ceremony was a march around the U.B.C. campus. This was not attended by any other Hungarians. A documentary film on the revolution "Hungary in Flames" was shown at the Társáskör hall in March 1958. Hungarians from all groups attended the four showings and appeared to react in the same way e.g., hisses for Rakosi, applause in
other places, and a spontaneous singing of the Hungarian national anthem at the close. Yet these occasions did not appear to have any effect on the relations between the various groups.⁵

In summary it could almost be said that except for religious activity a Hungarian ethnic community might as well not have existed in Vancouver as far as the Sopron group was concerned. Insufficient information does not permit me to state the converse. The activities and interests of the Sopron students have been primarily directed inwards upon themselves, secondarily towards U.B.C. and Canadian students. With reference to the relations between Sopron and the local Hungarians the definition of "student" is more important than that of "Hungarian". The non-students and the peripheral members of the Sopron group tended to have more contact, first with the university group, and second with the local Hungarians, than did the students.

It should be mentioned here that in the questionnaire 37 per cent of the students reported having relatives in Canada and the U. S. (15 and 22 per cent respectively). Two cases were known to me of students receiving financial aid from these relatives, this does not include children of professors in Vancouver.
3. Social Background of the Students

In a questionnaire presented to the students in December 1957 questions were asked which provided a rough index of the social composition of the group. The low return on the questionnaire raised several questions as to the representativeness of the sample. Some of these are discussed on page 11. Other irregularities are discussed in the footnotes to Table V.

The categories of origin used in Table V are the traditional ones used in Hungary. Compared with actual enrollment percentages in Sopron, this whole statistic is weighted toward the intellectuals. In Hungary the percentage of children of workers and peasants was higher than here. A greater percentage of children of intellectuals chose to leave their country.

The average income of the students' fathers was slightly above the national average for Hungary. The average median income in my sample was 1,140 forints a month. The average income in the whole of Hungary is a little below 1,000 forints a month. The average income of the university families is higher than the country wide figure because the percentage of children of intellectual families with a higher income is greater at university than throughout the country.

Regarding religious affiliation, 71 students (78 percent) in the sample professed the Roman Catholic faith, 19
### TABLE V

**FATHER’S OCCUPATION IN 1945, BY YEAR.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual and White Collar</td>
<td>9*</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead, Retired.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Answers</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* This figure includes some students who were not admitted to university in Hungary before the revolution primarily because their social origin was undesirable.

\# In the second Year there is probably a higher percentage of children of workers and peasants than indicated here because only one out of at least eight students who had attended Szakerettsegizet school (thus, all working class people) answered the questionnaire. It had been predicted to me by a professor that these students might be more sensitive about answering a questionnaire than the other students.

\$ There are actually about eight children of intellectuals in the fifth Year.
students (21 per cent) were Protestants, and one was Greek Orthodox.

As no similar statistics are available for U.B.C. students one can only make surmises as to the similarities and differences of social origin. One thing is certain, that the percentage of Roman Catholics in the U.B.C. population is considerably less than 78 per cent. On the whole the cultural (in the narrow sense) differences between the Canadians and the Hungarians would probably at least initially obscure any class differences, which might affect interaction.

Another relevant statistic was age composition of the group.

TABLE VI

AVERAGE AGE OF SOPRON STUDENTS
BY YEAR IN DECEMBER 1957.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>ALL YEARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first Year is slightly older than the second Year owing to the number of new students who had not been admitted to university in Hungary.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IX


2. I had very little data on the structure of the Hungarian ethnic group in Vancouver. I have therefore limited this discussion to the areas of contact with the Soproners. For discussions of Hungarian ethnic groups in Canada and elsewhere see bibliography.

3. A professor had the following view of the local ethnic community.

   "The Hungarian community in Vancouver is very divided. Hungarians cannot live in a group. After 1919 the communists emigrated. After 1945 the national socialists, and now us. There are many communist agents among us now agitating people to take advantage of the free fare back home."

   The theme that Hungarians cannot live together in a group is common in the literature as well, where several unsatisfactory theories have been advanced.


5. During, and immediately after the revolution these kinds of occasions did have a cohesive effect on the Hungarian ethnic communities throughout Canada. See the report by Audrey Wipper for an example of the establishment of a purposeful social solidarity in the Hungarian ethnic group in Toronto by the introduction of superordinate goals—aid to their fellow Hungarians in distress. See Audrey Wipper, The Reactions of Hungarian Canadians to the Crisis in Hungary, Defence Research Department report submitted to the Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, 1958.
CHAPTER X

INSTITUTIONAL ADAPTATION

1. The Institution and U.B.C.

This section is concerned with the establishment of a relational context of an institution. The main questions that arise are: what rearrangements took place in the institutional structure of U.B.C. to accommodate this new addition, and secondly what new mechanisms, or modifications of old mechanisms, evolved within the Sopron group to enable it to accommodate to the new context?

In Hungary the institution had existed within a context of other institutions. Before the war this consisted in the Technical University of which the Sopron school was a Faculty, the government departments concerned with higher education, the Sopron alumni (Foresters' Association), and the government departments, business firms and estates which provided employment for the graduated forest engineers. After the accession of the communists to power all the above institutions became, so to speak, government departments, including the Foresters' Association. The same exchanges and functions had to be carried on, i.e., negotiating for funds, placing graduate students, maintaining relations with other academic institutions, etc. All these exchanges took place through familiar and tried channels. When the
communists came, many of these channels were changed and others substituted. Adjustments were made and the institutional structure was modified accordingly.

In Canada, at U.B.C., an entirely new network of relations had to be established. Nothing was "familiar and tried". The very status and manifest function of the institution in its new setting had to be established. New techniques of negotiation and bargaining, if this term may be used in an academic connection, had to be learned. Finances had to be arranged, which intimately involved the federal government which in turn negotiated long and hard with U.B.C. Summer employment had to be found for students and staff, and permanent employment for the graduated students. These were all inescapable problems for which some settlement had to be found.

**Status**

From the very beginning (December 1956) it was known that the Sopron Faculty would be "affiliated" with U.B.C. in some way. The nature of this affiliation was not actually determined until October 1957 when the title of "U.B.C. Faculty of Forestry, Sopron Division" was agreed upon. The nature of the degree to be conferred by the Sopron Division was only decided in February 1958. The degree was to be, "Bachelor of Science in Forestry. Equivalent to Okleveles Erdömernők, Diploma in Forest Engineering, Sopron University,"
Hungary". The basic problem facing U.B.C. here was how to classify the Sopron curriculum. The curriculum covered nearly all the subjects given in the regular B.S.F. course, but had in addition many biological, zoological and engineering courses. In effect, the Sopron curriculum lay between the U.B.C. forestry training and the forest engineering program in the Faculty of Applied Science. The latter department, after a careful study of the Sopron curriculum, announced it could not grant an engineering degree on the basis of the subjects treated.

The decision to allow the Division to award the B.S.F. degree was felt by the Soproners to have ignored a large part of their training. It was in fact an indication of imperfect "fit" of the Division into its new context, and it was the Division that made the adjustment. The additional clause in the Sopron degree was the solution to the dilemma. The actual status of this degree has yet to be determined in practise, and will depend to some extent on the conduct of the Soproners themselves. At present there is no indication whether the graduates will be able to obtain forest engineering work with their present certification.

Though the Sopron professors did not receive salaries on the same basis as the regular U.B.C. Faculty members, they did receive all the fringe benefits accorded to regular U.B.C. staff. They would also presumably be eligible to
join and vote at Faculty Association meetings, but no precedent has yet been established.\(^3\)

The official status of the Sopron students at U.B.C. was exactly the same as that of all the other U.B.C. students. They paid the same fees and enjoyed the same rights and privileges. All received Alma Mater cards and many voted in campus elections. The Ifjusagi Kor (the Sopron Students' Association) received a subsidy from the A.M.S. on the same basis as every other under-graduate society on the campus. The only way in which their status could be construed as "less than" that of the regular students was the night classes schedule. In questionnaire returns several Sopron students remarked that they were not getting the same value as the Canadian students for the fees they paid because they had the considerable inconvenience of the evening schedule. On the other hand their "special" status was acknowledged by the university by the provision of an $18,000 loan fund for the students who could not pay their fees.

**Functions**\(^4\)

**Manifest Functions**

The primary, explicitly stated function of the Sopron Division was, of course, the same as the faculty of which it had become a part, namely, to train foresters.
Further, as part of a provincial institution, to train foresters for the British Columbia forests. It was stated several times by informed people that the Sopron group would without doubt contribute greatly to ease the shortage of forestry personnel in B. C.

All Canada is short of trained foresters and yet enrolment in the forest school is not increasing materially. An extra 200 graduates spread over about five years beginning in 1958 should be of substantial help to shorthanded employers.5

In addition to mere gross numbers of foresters seen as needed in B. C. forests, the quality or kind of foresters needed was another important question. It is interesting to note the following statement concerning the function of the U. B. C. Forestry Faculty made by the president of the university in his annual report. This statement was made before the Hungarian revolution.

In addition to research and teaching, the Faculty (of Forestry) works in close collaboration with the forest industry so that we may train the kind of men needed. With this in mind, we are considering the introduction of a "logging" option in the B.S.F. course. Too few students are entering Forest Engineering to satisfy the demands of the Province. By providing more of the basic engineering subjects as options in the B.S.F. curriculum, we may be able to do more to meet the steady demand for men who can do the engineering work in logging operations.5

If this describes a genuine need in B. C. forests, then the arrival of the Sopron group, with its emphasis on the engineering in forestry, should serve an immediate positive function for B.C. forestry. However, at the present time
the general economic situation has rendered meaningless such phrases as "short-handed employers" and "the steady demand for men".

Latent Functions

Trite as it may seem, the official recognition of the Sopron group as a separate entity was the condition for the existence of the group structure. The institutional definition provided security and stability which in turn enabled internal structure to evolve. Early on, an official seal was cut which read "Sopron Division, Faculty of Forestry, U.B.C.—Miiszaki Egyetem Erdömernöki Kár, Sopron". This title symbolized the double reference of the group. The "Műszaki....." referred to the internal organization of the group (and to its tradition), and "Sopron Division" placed it in its new context.

The advent of the Sopron group had several observable latent functions for the institutional structure of U.B.C. First, (and perhaps least latent !) was the world wide publicity which accompanied the Sopron group on its journey and which was perhaps functional in advancing the prestige of the host institution.

Other latent functions described here were in areas not directly open to my research and the statements therefore remain in the realm of impression and conjecture. These
latent functions are conceived of as relatively long range possibilities of change. The presence of the group will perhaps make for a reappraisal of the forestry training program at U.B.C. and of practical methods in the field.

"The Hungarians' experience and training in the basic sciences and in silviculture will prove valuable", he said (Dean Allen). "Greater emphasis is placed on the growing and management of forests in Central Europe than in this country, and it is expected that the students will help to develop better practises here".

The long negotiations between U.B.C. and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration also had some functional significance. Finally the sudden increase in the Roman Catholic population of the university is also held to be functionally significant. A program of research in these areas might reveal valuable aspects of institutional structure and functioning.

Structure of the Relations Between the Institutions

Both the status and the manifest functions of the Sopron group were worked out in committees composed of Hungarian and Canadian professors and university personnel. There were two standing committees.

The financial committee was composed of the Deputy to the President, the Assistant Honorary Bursar, the Head of the Department of Economics, the Dean of the Faculty of Forestry and the Director of the Sopron Division. Its main tasks were; to draw up a salary contract suitable to
all concerned, to determine the fees to be paid by the students (if any) and to arrange for a loan fund for the students. The financial committee also had to negotiate with the Department of Citizenship and Immigration for the necessary funds.

The advisory committee, a much larger body, was composed of representatives from a wide range of spheres of the university. Its main tasks were: to devise a suitable name for the Sopron group which would express its status in the university; to set up a timetable which could be coordinated with the regular U.B.C. timetable; to make a comparative study of the curricula of the U.B.C. Faculty of Forestry, the U.B.C. Department of Forest Engineering and the Sopron group, and to make recommendations as to the degree the group should be empowered to confer; to evaluate the credentials of the teaching staff of the group with a view to future employment or for admittance to study for an advanced degree at U.B.C.; and finally to handle countless small problems of "where?" and "how?".

As time went on other mechanisms of relation evolved. Direct channels of communication became established between the Sopron Division and the U.B.C. administration office as the Hungarian registrar went to check the monthly salary lists, or help set up records on the Sopron students.
In this connection even the systems of grades had to be coordinated. The presence of a Hungarian woman in the administration office greatly facilitated these dealings at first.

Such matters as the cleaning of the Sopron quarters and the provision of electric light bulbs and storage space necessitated communication with the Buildings and Grounds Department. Relationships with other academic departments in the university were established through individual professors' research programs and through a weekly seminar sponsored by the U.B.C. Forestry Faculty. Several professors and graduates became employed in U.B.C. departments as part time demonstrators and other work. One professor was employed as a full time taxidermist.

The work of the advisory committee decreased in proportion to the spread of these relational mechanisms.

In summary we see adjustment on both sides taking place on the institutional level. Temporary relational mechanisms were established, only to begin to wither away when other, more permanent channels of communication became entrenched. However, the temporary nature, and undetermined length of life, of the whole movement obviated the necessity for any fundamental structural rearrangement on the part of the receiving institution.
Some of the functions of the new institutional context for the internal organization of the Sopron group are examined in the next section and in the following chapter.\textsuperscript{10}

2. Academic Organization

Though the group was a Division of the U.B.C. Forestry Faculty, it retained entirely its own curriculum and methods of teaching. The only exceptions were the compulsory English classes which were set up by the U.B.C. Psychology Department, and the series of lectures in English by U.B.C. professors on various subjects connected with forestry and Canadian social institutions. The "Canadian culture and forestry" series was not compulsory in the academic sense, nevertheless most students attended either from personal interest or because of group pressures (see Appendix C) to appear interested in what the Canadians had to offer. The English classes were regarded as compulsory by the students who spoke of sanctions for non-attendance or failure such as no readmittance in the following year. Officially the English classes had no status. For instance, though only eleven students passed the final examinations in the English classes in April, all 28 students of the graduating class received their final degrees in May without reservations. However, after the final examinations the Psychology Testing Department submitted recommendations for procedures for the following year. The report recommended that the better
students (including the eleven who passed) follow regular U.B.C. elementary English courses in the next year, and that the poorer students continue to attend special classes. An official stand for next year may thus be taken on the basis of this report.

With the above exceptions, the course of studies was returned to its pre-communist content. The "Holy Trinity" subjects were, of course, omitted, which made possible the reduction of the training period by half a year. Two other non forestry courses were given to stimulate cultural interest among the students. One was "World Literature" and the other was entitled "Hungaralogia". The latter course was intended to set right various misconceptions of Hungarian history which had been taught in the communist schools. Neither of these courses were for credit, but they were well attended.

In spite of these reductions the lecture and lab schedule of between 35 and 40 hours a week, was still heavy by Canadian Forestry Faculty standards.

In the traditional European pattern each professor gave two hour lectures a week in his subject. The laboratories and some lectures were given by the assistants (lecturers). One assistant was appointed (since Abbotsford) as "leader" for each Year. These provided an important intermediary function, in the communication system and for students seeking help with academic problems. They also acted as
"whips" who spurred on lagging students to better efforts. This was important as there was relatively little "incentive", other than sheer desire to learn, for the younger students to attend lectures. In Hungary there was always a great pressure on the students, especially the younger ones, to do well. Party and D.I.SZ. officials were continually exhorting students to greater accomplishments. Concrete reward was given for good grades in the form of increased stipendia.

The Hungarian system of oral examinations, colloquia and szigorlatok, was retained.

The colloquia were held in the professors' offices. Up to half a dozen students attended at the same time and were given their questions. (One professor made up some ten questions beforehand on pieces of paper and drew them at random out of an envelope). They then sat down with pencil and paper to prepare their answers, this might last anywhere up to an hour. When a student considered himself ready he would ask permission and begin to answer the question he had been given orally. The professor might interject a few clarifying questions or hints. The other students were quite free to listen if they wanted, but usually they would be too concerned with preparing their own answers. As in Hungary Grades were given out immediately and written in the student's "Index". The colloquia were not open to
auditors.

The final comprehensive examination differed from the above procedure.

Six professors are sitting on the outside of a shallow U of desks while the examinee sits in the middle of the U. Two students in the front of the audience are waiting to be examined and are preparing some answers. I sit behind these with two other students who are just auditing. Each professor appeared to be given the floor for a period in which he asked several questions. Other professors interrupted with other questions. The examinee developed some of his answers at length. There was a fairly informal atmosphere, the professors moved around behind the desks and smoked and chatted with each other. They seemed fairly supportive of the examinee.

December and January were designated as examination months for the first semester. January 12th was the deadline after which students had to pay a $3.00 late fee for each examination. By January 12th 107 students had completed their entire schedule of examinations, 50 students still had one more examination to take, and 34 students were two or more examinations in arrears. Three students had quit studying in this period.

The lack of textbooks meant that lecture notes were very important. Good sets of notes were in great demand in the examination periods and were extensively circulated among the students. Several Canadian texts were used and formed part of the examinations.

April was the examination month for the second
semester, but no deadline was set for completion of examinations because the staff felt that here was an opportunity to allow the unemployed students to complete their requirements.
1. The fifth Year students who were most immediately involved in this question were especially disappointed because most of them were interested in the technical side of the training. There were only three "biologists" among the 28. The rumour circulated among the other students that Forest Engineers got paid $200. more a month than people with a B.S.F. degree.

2. See Appendix D.

3. One reason given by the professors was the entrance fee which they considered too high.


5. George S. Allen, Dean of the Faculty of Forestry of the University of British Columbia, U.B.C. Reports, February 1957.


7. Translated this is "Forest Engineering Faculty of the Technical University of Sopron," This was the title of the Faculty during the revolution.

8. Clippings from over 50 Canadian newspapers were scrutinized. Several articles appeared in magazines in various countries, see bibliography. Perhaps the article with the widest circulation was the one in Life Magazine, May 13th, 1957.


10. The establishment and functioning of the Polish University College at the University of London from 1947 to 1953 seems to bear many similarities in adjustment on the institutional level to the Sopron case. This institution, with its nine departments staffed solely by former professors of various Polish universities, graduated over 900 students during its six years of existence as a "corporate body". The same problems of determination of status of the degrees appeared in both cases, and the same kind of solution applied -- the College gave its own diploma.
It should be pointed out that the structure of a loosely organized institution such as the University of London lends itself much more readily to incorporation of diverse bodies than the more compact structure of the University of British Columbia.

In addition, the whole background differed. Substantial funds were provided by Parliament for the education of the 10,000 Polish elementary and university students in Great Britain. The Polish College was thus part of a much wider program.

What little information there was on students' activities seemed to point to a much more active and group conscious program than has existed among the Soproners up till now. Of course, the Soproners have been under some pressure to assimilate and thus not to participate in U.B.C. activities as a group, but as individuals. All the students at the Polish College were "grant aided" throughout their studies, which perhaps had some bearing on the more intense activities of the students.

Although the Polish College was wound up in 1953, the Library is still in existence today.


Several examples of parts of academic institutions fleeing from one country to another are given in Norman Bentwich's book. However, none of these involved both professors and students setting up a functioning system in a new environment. See N. Bentwich, Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars, Martinus Nijhof, The Hague, 1953.

11. Some $300. was allowed the Sopron Division to buy texts. The normal method of obtaining books by sending in recommendations to the library, was not open to Sopron because the library was not interested in acquiring books in Hungarian.
CHAPTER XI

STUDENT SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. Formal Organization

The I.K.

At U.B.C. the I.K. executive remained the same as when elected in Powell River except for the archivist, who was one of the two students who had returned to Hungary. At an early stage the I.K. received office space, where the president held a daily office hour. There was still talk of recreating the Selmec customs. Members of the I.K. committee thought that even the younger students were keen to have the old customs, even though this might mean they would suffer as inferiors for a while. A young professor thought otherwise,

S. did not think it (the I.K.) would revive here. He said some of the professors gave lectures on the old customs in Abbotsford and Powell River. But here the environment is too liberal and the I.K. must have an attractive program otherwise the students will not join. It has to compete with the other clubs. It no longer has a monopoly.... Perhaps some students will not like being subjected to the indignity of being a Balek and being hounded. Maybe the I.K. can adapt to this environment.

In fact this professor was right. This internal flowering of the old customs never came about. This was probably attributable to two main factors both centering around the Baleks. First, the main integrative structure of the old
I.K. the godfather system, could not be maintained in a situation where the neophytes were as informed as the initiated. As the above professor said, the old I.K. had a strict monopoly, and the neophytes were dependent upon the approval of the initiates for their very admission to the Academy. This leads to the second factor, the socialization of the newcomers. As someone once said, each new generation of children is an invasion of society by barbarians who have to be trained and taught appropriate roles. In a sense, the new I.K. was analogous to a society with no children, or hope of begetting them.

As Seeley, Sim and Loosley have said, beliefs influence behaviour and are themselves an attempt to give form and expression to behaviour existing temporally in advance of beliefs. The beliefs current in pre-communist Sopron had not been reinforced by behaviour for ten years. However, one belief was singled out as a major basis for the new I.K. activity, this was patriotism. The original form this sentiment took was well illustrated in the election speech in Appendix C. The maintenance of Hungary's good name, the dissemination of the message of the revolution for the free world, e.g., the dangers of communism, became the ideal of the new I.K. The president kept in close contact with the Union of Free Hungarian students, a world wide organization of some 8,000 refugee students from Hungary
and with the Anna Kethly, Bela Kiraly emigre circle in New York, which maintained lobbies in the U.N. and the U.S. government. All the students received membership cards in the Union stamped with I.K. on the reverse. The president devoted almost an hour of his speech at the first I.K. meeting to events in Europe and developments in the Union. A genuine bloodstained war-torn flag of the revolution was exhibited at the U.B.C. bookstore. The Freedom March through the campus on October 23rd was the high point of these efforts.

After this peak of activity there was, with one exception, no more group action to propagate the lessons of the revolution. The president gave one more report of his letter writing efforts to a general meeting. Individual students and professors would still maintain that the Canadians did not realize the dangers of communism, nor could they understand the revolution, but no further collective action was taken.

In March 1957 there was an interesting occurrence which perhaps arose from the frustrated desires of the students for collective action of this sort. A small group of students organized a Freedom March to exhibit solidarity with the students of Indonesia who (supposedly) were fighting communism in their revolution. Announcement of the impending demonstration was published in the Ubyssey, the university newspaper. However, the Indonesian students
at U.B.C. made it known to the Hungarian Dean that this
demonstration would not be welcome. The president of the
I.K. thereupon issued a joint statement with the president
of the Indonesian students' organization saying that no
demonstration would be held.

It would be fair to say that the majority of the
students had nothing at all to do with the planned
demonstration. But it did somehow express the feelings of
both students and professors that the spirit of the
revolution should be kept alive and also communicated to
the Canadians. In a way this could be conceived of as a
desire to justify their presence in Canada to the Canadians.

The professors were mildly contemptuous of the students'
inactivity. In April one middle aged professor said,

If my generation had come out under similar circumstances
we would have upheld the spirit of the revolution with
much more activity. We would have done more anti-
communist work, and wouldn't have thought so much about
money. But now many students have almost forgotten about
the revolution.

The same professor observed a tendency among the students
to move from "idealism" to "materialism". In Austria, he
said, the students had been full of ideals, but here they
are always worried about money. A content analysis of the
subjects discussed at general meetings of the student body
throughout the year would seem to corroborate this.
Similarly, the first editions of "Teritek" the monthly,
12 page newspaper (the official paper of the I.K.) paid
more attention to the revolution than the later editions—no mention of the revolution being made in the April 1st edition.

The I.K. and U.B.C.

As the I.K. was the official organ of the Hungarian students, it fell to the executive to negotiate a place for the I.K. in the structure of the U.B.C. student organization. Two main directions were followed. An informal committee was set up composed of representatives from the U.B.C. Forestry Club and the Alma Mater Society, to decide the status of the Sopron students. The Foresters (some 134 strong) did not want a merger with the Hungarians, so the I.K. was set up as a separate undergraduate society under the A.M.S. which enjoyed the same rights as any other student society, e.g., a subsidy from the A.M.S.² The I.K. did send a representative to all Forestry Club executive meetings. However, the I.K. contact with the U.B.C. Forestry Club never went beyond the executive level. The following comment from a Canadian forester made near the end of the first semester illustrates this:

Their (the Soproners) rate of integration is very slow. Nobody (amongst the Canadian foresters) has had much contact with the main body of students. The Forestry Club executive has had a lot of contact, but only with the Sopron executive.

Perhaps it would be most fruitful to sum up the formal activity of the I.K. with an extract from an interview held
with one of the more intellectual students in February 1957:

(What do you think the I.K. should do?) The work of the I.K. is very hard here. It must have a different program, this is not Hungary. It is not possible to make the same methods and customs as in Hungary. Here is no good the Balek system. (What is the I.K. doing?) Not much. (What can it do?) Make some cultural program. Maybe to meet with the Canadian students. Make some shows or films. This would be a good program for the I.K., to make contact with the Canadians, but not the Balek business.

It is perhaps useful here to make use of the distinction between social structure and social organization. Although the I.K. was part of the social structure of the Sopron group it never achieved the social organization necessary for "getting things done". For this we must examine the Year system.

The Years

As we have seen, it was the Year system that constituted the major principle of social organization of the students. Each Year seen from the outside can be defined as a formal social unit. However whereas before the communists the internal organization of each Year was informal with no official representatives, under the communists the Years became internally formalized. In Canada the Years retained this formal identity (in spite of the fact that the internal organization of each Year was characterized by informality) whereas the I.K. had not been
successful in recreating the Balek system. A few Selmec customs were revived through the Year system. The most important of these was the Szakesthely. A leave taking Szakesthely was held by the fifth Year in early September in which all the old forms were observed, except of course, that there were some women present. Also, at the graduation ceremony of the fifth Year, long forbidden Selmec songs were sung.

The Years and U.B.C.

As in the internal system, so in the relations with the external system, the Years organized group activities. In late November the first Year organized a dance with girls from the women's dormitories. When the dorm girls had to return to their quarters at 11 P.M., the students joined a nurses' dance elsewhere in the same building. At the end of January 1953 the first really significant mutual group contact occurred when the third Year Soproners invited the third Year U.B.C. foresters to a Szakesthely. This party was a great and wet success. This initiative on the part of the Hungarians spurred the Canadians to reciprocate the invitation in the middle of March. This time all the Years were represented. The form of this party was also Szakesthely, similarly it was wet and a success.

These three events, especially the latter two, were
the only group occasions up to the present time in which Canadians and Hungarians had the opportunity to meet and establish lasting contact.

2. Informal Organization

Patterns of Living

Upon termination of their summer jobs, the students travelled to the R.C.A.F. barracks on Sea Island just outside Vancouver. In August it had been announced that, contrary to previous plans, no permanent accommodation would be made available for the Hungarian students at Sea Island. Temporary accommodation would be made available until the students found suitable lodgings in the city. Not even the 25 per cent of the students who, in the summer had voted to live in a community, had any regrets about this decision once they actually saw the camp.

On their own efforts and with the aid of the International House housing committee at U.B.C. most of the students had found lodgings in Vancouver by the first week in October. The pattern of housing was significant. In the questionnaire sample 84 students (92 per cent) lived together with at least one other Hungarian student or a wife or husband. Groups of two, three or four students "bached" together in small suites. One ambitious undertaking accommodated eleven students in a rented house in
downtown Vancouver. After one month this proved to be too expensive and the inhabitants split up into three groups. A number of students found board and lodging in the houses of Hungarian professors. The retired professor's wife who had run the kitchen in Powell River set up a boarding house for Sopron students. Seven students lived there and an average of 25 students ate their main meal there every day. At one period 40 students were eating in shifts every day from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. Very few students had room and board in non Hungarian houses. Most of these had rooms with cooking facilities. Three recurrent reasons were given by the students for this living together. First was that they could eat Hungarian food. Most students condemned Canadian cooking as insipid. Hungarian food is highly spiced and cooked in lard which gives it a particular flavour. Garlic is also used in quantity. The second reason for living together was one of economy. Thirdly it was felt that there was more security in case of sickness.

An important feature of this pattern was that students of the same Year tended to live together. Students of different Years who lived together tended to be those who had not been students in Sopron, in other words this sub-pattern was a function of previously formed groupings in Hungary. The functions of the overall pattern of living for the group structure was primarily integrative, insofar as it slowed down the specific process of learning English and the
general process of "feeling their way into" Canadian culture and role systems.

It is possible to account for the existence of the pattern in social psychological terms, e.g., the need for security. The question arises, however, of the reason for the existence of the pattern in sociological terms. It was suggested to me that perhaps there was some pressure on the part of Canadian society in the form of "passive resistance" to the Hungarians. The Hungarians were perceived as a threat⁷ and therefore avoided by the Canadians. Three things are certain, first a widespread unfavourable image of Hungarians had been built up by this time through press publicity.⁸ Second, several Hungarian students had trouble in finding accommodation. Several of the cards in the International House housing committee's files were marked "No Hungarians". Third, and perhaps most important, there was no specific policy or mechanism, extant or created, which would have exerted pressure on the students to break their group ties. There was, however, the general pressure to learn the language and enjoy the benefits of this knowledge. "I want to learn English so I can get a better job in the summer. The first question they ask you is 'Can you speak English'." This pressure partly accounted for the behaviour of the ten per cent of the students who deliberately chose to live apart from their comrades.
It can be seen, thus, that if there was a policy on the part of U.B.C. to speed the integration of the Hungarians into Canadian society by not permitting them to live in a community, some specific mechanism should have been devised to facilitate the accommodation of the students by themselves in Canadian households. As far as assimilation was concerned, the pattern which developed was not overly efficacious. We can only speculate as to what would have happened had the students lived in a residential community.

Interesting, was the fact that the students themselves had voted against community life. In the pattern they evolved they were able to retain all the advantages of community life, (security, familiar patterns of interaction, minimum necessary effort to learn new roles) without the concomitant responsibilities, obligations and limitations upon their freedom.9

Activities

It is desirable to sketch in some of the activities engaged in by students which were, no doubt, functions of social organization, but which were themselves not organized in any sense meaningful for the whole group. These activities can be categorized into internal and external activities in terms of whether they involved other group members or took
place in some way outside the group. First the internal activities.

From observations made at my house throughout the year it appeared that the students maintained a high level of interaction with each other. Scarcely a day passed when there were not some visitors at the house. At least once a week there was an evening gathering often with beer or wine, at which songs were sung and intense conversations lasted far into the night. I held several social gatherings jointly with the students and my friends at which I became acquainted with more students and they became acquainted with some non-Hungarians. Other than these few, no non-Hungarians ever visited the students to my knowledge.

Useful social techniques and bits of Canadian culture were transmitted through the grapevine. A student made an Hungarian translation of the drivers' license instructions which was circulated to all aspirant drivers. In addition a seemingly foolproof system was discovered for determining which questions on the test have a positive or a negative answer. 10

Several students bought cars. In March 1958, 16 cars and motorcycles were owned by 27 students in the group. This compares not unfavourably with the national Canadian Average. 11 This was perhaps due to the high value placed
upon a car as an instrument for obtaining girl friends.\textsuperscript{12} The vehicles themselves in several cases served as foci for extensive repair and renovating activities. A "mechanics fraternity" developed, the members of which were constantly at each other's houses stripping down and rebuilding their prized possessions.

Especially around examination time, small study groups formed in which lecture notes were compared and exchanged and the approach of the professors discussed. The Sopron Hungarian folkdance group had regular weekly practise meetings. Attendance at movies, shopping and similar activities are also classified as internal for the purposes of this analysis.

Individual external activities took place on a much more limited scale, but increased as time went on. First, and perhaps most important, was membership in the U.B.C. clubs. Some 30 students joined the Camera Club early in the academic Year. Several of these established lasting relationships with Canadian and other students. One Hungarian student won two prizes in a national student photographic contest. A few students joined International House but none of these became part of the regular International House "crowd". Again, several students joined The Newman Club and attended a few dances but did not join the "crowd". In the field of sport several Soproners
distinguished themselves and also made many friends. Swimming, fencing, tennis and soccer were their strong points. Several Soproners were on the U.B.C. soccer team, which was coached by a Sopron physical education professor. Another important area of individual external contact was in the part time jobs several students held at the university, almost all in the Food Services Department. These jobs were valuable for meeting girls as well as for providing extra pocket money.

In summary, the characteristic of these individual external activities was that the students engaged in them were not necessarily defined as Soproners, or, sometimes, even Hungarians. They formed the great majority of contacts with Canadians outside the group. The Years sponsored several events at which contacts were made, but the I.K. did nothing in this field. It is interesting to note that no initiative came from U.B.C. in the area of group events.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER XI


2. The same subsidy was given to Sopron as to the U.B.C. Forestry Undergraduate Society, $140.00. See the A.M.S. estimates and expenditures in *The Ubyssey*, October 11, 1957.


5. The tables set out in the middle of the hall form a large square. The over one hundred students present, (half Canadian, half Hungarian) sit around the outside and along the inside of the square, alternating one Hungarian one Canadian. The tables are loaded with beer in bottles and large frankfurters. The first president of the Szakesthely was chosen, a third Year Canadian student. The Szakesthely rules are stated. The president's word is final. No one may drink, eat, or leave the table to urinate without first asking permission of the president, in the proper manner, "Vocem prego", the president grants him leave to speak --"habeas", and he may make his request. Any infringement of these rules is punished by the president. The punishment may be to stand in the middle of the square and down a beer in a specified time, or it may be something else.

Sopron and Canadian first Year students served the beer. After a while the presidency changed hands and a Hungarian student took over. He ruled the Szakesthely with a firm and humorous hand, as had his predecessor. But the presidency changed hands again to a Canadian who made no effort at all to control, so the Szakesthely form degenerated into just another booze brawl. This was, however, by no means not to the liking of the participants. Everywhere in the small groups that formed all over the hall there were Hungarians and Canadians together. When the hall was closed at 1 A.M. other small mixed groups departed to continue celebrating elsewhere.

6. There was much speculation as to the reasons for the reversal of the original plan. The opinion among the Soproners was that it was pressure from U.B.C. to integrate the group quickly that caused the change. The Richmond School Board, however, was relieved to hear that it was not to be burdened with 20 more pupils, "children of Hungarian forestry students" (sic), at the "already-


7. See p.188

8. In September 1957, the Vancouver Sun printed eight articles about Hungarians involved in crime or returning home and criticising Canada as "lacking culture".

9. This study bears out in detail the proposition made in a Department of Citizenship and Immigration Report that some immigrants can carry on a full life without using a great deal of English, giving certain conditions. For instance, in the summer of 1957 when economic conditions were favourable, the students' lack of English was not an important factor in obtaining work. In the spring of 1958, however, several students had their lack of facility with the language held against them in competition for jobs. (Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Research Division, Citizenship Branch, "Some environmental factors affecting the learning of English in the language classes", Ottawa February, 1958.

10. This was before they discovered how fatuously easy the written test in British Columbia actually was.


12. An image of Canadian women being empty, puritan and only interested in material things such as the size of the suitors' car, came up in every discussion of women in Canada.

The following unprompted statement illustrates this was a serious belief upon which action was based:

A student-nurse friend of mine met some Soproners last night at a dance. A Steve came over and asked her to dance. He had social technique. Practically the first thing he mentioned to her was that he had a car. "It seemed very important to him". (later) Steve took her home in his car. "He acted like a typical European--very amorous".
CHAPTER XII

THE U.B.C. IMAGE OF SOPRON

The opening phrases of the Sopron paean as interpreted by the student newspaper in January 1957, resounded through the university.

Flaming gin bottles against Russian heavy tanks. That is the story of the Hungarian students' battle against their Russian enemies, according to the students of Sopron University I spoke to yesterday.

They fought gallantly. They used insect sprayers loaded with gasoline and shotguns with solid slugs to hold open the corridor with the West despite frantic Russian efforts to seal off the country. They were dive bombed, strafed, rocketed and skip-bombed by Russian Migs and Ilyushins (sic).

During their brief struggle the girls of the Medical School used heavy artillery and machine guns, the boys of the Forestry School used everything from pistols up.

....when the corridor was shrinking under the weight of Red armour and the whole battle was almost over, the whole school retreated to the West.\footnote{1}

Eighteen months later the tune had changed somewhat with a member of the Ubyssey staff remarking on the Soproners, "They figure they should be treated like heroes every day and are obnoxious when they are not".\footnote{2} For this "pubster" the paean had apparently become a pain. What happened in the intervening year and a half?

This section attempts to portray some of the notions of the Sopron group that were current among U.B.C. students
in April 1953.

It also attempts to establish the existence of positive and negative attitudes towards the Soproners. The main questions treated here are: How did the students come by these notions? What are the contents of the notions? How are the attitudes related to the notions, and do they vary according to the manner in which they were acquired?

There were two main sources of information about the Soproners -- personal contact, and articles in the student newspaper. The theme of this section plays about the differences in perceptions and attitudes of the U.B.C. students according to the sources of their information.

1. **Role of the Newspaper**

It is necessary to demonstrate the importance of the student newspaper in providing the student body with information on the Hungarians. In the questionnaire administered to a Sociology 200 class in April 1958, 55 per cent of the respondents said that Ubyssey reports were their main source of information about the Soproners. Personal contact was the main source of information for 16 per cent of the respondents. Twenty-nine per cent either did not answer or mentioned downtown Vancouver newspapers or the radio as their sources.
There was also objective verification of the dependence of the students on the printed word. In answer to the question, "In what ways has the Sopron group been visible in the past year?", 96 respondents (53 per cent) mentioned "demonstration", "march", "trek" or "ceremony". However, of these 96 respondents, 44 mentioned "their two marches", or "marches -- for Indonesia and for Hungary", or even demonstrations commemorating leaving of Hungary -- in support of the South Africans and their treatment at the universities in South Africa". We have seen that only one march was held. The Indonesian demonstration was publicized in the newspaper but never actually took place.

On the basis of this credulity it is assumed that the content of the reports played an important role in shaping the attitudes of the students, especially those who had little or no actual contact with the Hungarians.

In February and March 1957 over half of the column space devoted to the Sopron students in the Ubyssey, including the above quoted articles, were either mainly concerned with, or brought in, the subject of freedom or the revolution. The Soproners were heroes indeed. In September and October 1957 prominence was again given to the heroic role, especially in connection with the "Freedom March" of October 23rd. In the five articles on Sopron between November 1957 and April 1958, three headlines were;
"U.B.C. Absorbs Rebels", "Hungarians March Again on Campus", "Forestry Grads to Wear Colors of Free Hungary".

It can be seen thus that the press was loath to relinquish eye catching labels for the Hungarian students. It would seem that the newspaper persisted in maintaining a stereotype which had even been shelved by the majority of the Hungarian students themselves. This was perhaps partly due to the fact that the reporters' main contacts with the group were with the I.K. executive who, as we have seen, were initially the most interested in preserving the spirit of the revolution.

2. Amount of Contact Between Canadians and Hungarians

The amount of interaction between the Hungarian and Canadian students had an effect upon their perception of each other. Only the Canadian perceptions are treated here. The "amount of interaction" of the Canadian students with the Soproners was measured in two periods, as shown in Tables VII and VIII, which are made up from answers to the two questionnaires administered in December 1957, and April 1958.

Two points are worth noting from the tables. First the Hungarian "friends" (those who had the most contact) remained constant in the four month period. Second, the percentage of Hungarian "acquaintances" increased from 15 per cent in December to 24 per cent in April, and concomitantly the no contact group decreased by 12 per cent to 55.5 per
cent of the total number of respondents.

TABLE VII

AMOUNT OF CONTACT WITH HUNGARIAN STUDENTS DECEMBER 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents who knew at least one Hungarian student on campus</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Well, and by name</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To say hello to</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knew none at all</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not answer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE VIII

AMOUNT OF CONTACT WITH SOPRON STUDENTS APRIL 1958

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents who had met and talked with Sopron Forestry students on,</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One occasion only</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or three occasions</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than three occasions</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>99.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perception and Contact

The analysis of the remainder of the answers to the April questionnaire in terms of the amount of contact between Canadians and Hungarians proved fruitful.

The first relevant observation was that a larger proportion of males than females had had closer contact with the Hungarians. However, there was a significantly high proportion of females in the "once only" category which might indicate meetings at dances. Males tended to be older than females in the whole sample. Those in the 20-24 bracket had proportionately the greatest amount of contact, both younger and older students having less. This age bracket corresponds closely with the age of the Hungarians themselves.\(^5\)

Perceptions of the size of the Sopron group were related to the amount of contact, as shown in Table IX.

First, more respondents saw the number of Sopron students being larger than it actually was.\(^6\) The respondents in the "once only" category tended to see the Sopron group as smaller than it actually was, whereas the respondents with most contact tended to see the Sopron group as larger than it actually was. The category of "two to three times" had the greatest percentage of correct replies, and these respondents also appeared to be the least reluctant to make
an estimate. This higher percentage of correct estimates
in this group may indicate that these students were not
close enough to the Soproners to lose a certain objectivity
in their perception, yet they were close enough, and interest­
ed enough to be able to learn about the group. The respondents
in the "never" category were the most reluctant to make
an estimate, and also made the most inaccurate estimates.
Perhaps unfortunately, no attempt was made to discover the
meaning of "size" to the respondents.

| Percentage of the Respondents Who Estimated the Number of Sopron Students at: | Amount of Contact |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Once only | Two or three times | More than three times | Never | Percentage of all respondents |
| 1 to 150 Students | 30% | 22% | 26% | 21% | 23% |
| 151 to 225 Students | 26 | 35 | 19 | 13 | 19 |
| 226 or More Students | 26 | 39 | 45 | 39 | 42 |
| No Estimate | 17 | 4 | 10 | 27 | 15 |

| 99% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 99% |

Estimates of the number of Sopron professors at U.B.C.
were largely inaccurate with 40 per cent of the respondents
estimating less than ten professors present. Twenty per cent
estimated between ten and 20 professors, nine per cent estimated correctly, between 20 and 30 professors and 21 per cent made no estimate.

Contact and Attitudes

A list of adjectives was provided to the respondents and they were asked to check any one, or more, which in their opinion seemed to characterize the Sopron group. The results are shown in Table X.

Over half of all the respondents checked "solidarity" as characterizing the Sopron group. However, it can be seen that a greater percentage of those with more contact felt this solidarity. The most significant datum in Table X concerns the perceptions of "willingness to integrate". If the latter is conceived of as a favourable image of the Hungarians, then it follows that more contact is correlated with a more favourable image. This would seem to be in accord with Homans' hypothesis on the relation between interaction and sentiments. The relatively high proportion of those with most contact who checked "insularity", which for the purpose of this analysis was conceived of as an unfavourable image, might indicate that these people had an opportunity to observe the extension of Homans' hypothesis operating in the group -- "the greater the inward solidarity, the greater the outward hostility". Extremely likely,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Once only</th>
<th>Two or three times</th>
<th>More than three times</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Percentage of all respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorganization</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insularity</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willingness to integrate</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privileged</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploited</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiative</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apathy</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
however, is that few of the respondents were sensitive to the connotations of the word "insularity".

Homans' first quoted hypothesis appears to be supported by the answers to two other questions included in this questionnaire. First, 90.1 per cent of those with more contact considered the progress of the Soproners in the English language to be satisfactory to excellent, whereas only 37 per cent of those who had no contact stated this. The second question was concerned with the respondents' feelings about the attempts of the Soproners to join in U.B.C. activities. The results are shown in Table XI.

In Table XI we see that those with the most contact are, by a slight margin, least censorious of the Soproners, but that these, together with the "two -- three times" group are a great deal more inclined to regard the Soproners' efforts as sufficient or considerable. It is significant that those with some contact (the "once onlys" and the two -- three timers") are relatively the most censorious of the Soproners. The latter two groups were also most unanimous in declaring inadequate their own efforts to help the Soproners join in U.B.C. activities, as shown in table XII.

For the purposes of this analysis self recrimination was read into the figures, and the tendency was apparent among all the respondents.
### TABLE XI

**U.B.C. Students' Estimates of Sopron Students' Efforts to Join U.B.C. Activities April 1958**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Contact</th>
<th>Once only</th>
<th>Two or More than Never times</th>
<th>Percentage of all respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degree of effort Exerted by the Soproners to join in U.B.C. Activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough effort</td>
<td>30.4 34.8 22.5 25 26%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enough effort</td>
<td>13.1 39.3 35.5 18 23%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerable Effort</td>
<td>13.1 8.7 16.1 5 9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>39.3 17.4 22.5 47 38%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>4.3 - 3.3 5 4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.2% 100.2% 99.9% 100% 100%
### TABLE XII

**U.B.C. Students' Estimates of U.B.C. Students' Efforts to Help Sopron Integrate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Contact</th>
<th>Once only</th>
<th>Two or More than Never</th>
<th>Percentage of all respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>three times</td>
<td>times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree of effort</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exerted by U.B.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students to help Soproners join in U.B.C. activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough effort</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>73.9</td>
<td>64.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enough effort</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerable effort</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99.8% 100% 99.7% 100% 100%
Finally, in Table XIII the ways in which the Sopron group was visible to the Canadian students are spelled out.

In Table XIII it is perhaps significant that those with more contact tended least to stress the group manifestations of Sopron and most the individual characteristics of Sopron students. That the group manifestation mentioned were always connected with some revolutionary activity is also significant for the content of the image. It is interesting to note that in discussing some of these results with some Sopron students and staff none of them could understand how it was possible to detect them by their clothing, because "we are all wearing Canadian clothes". I tried to explain that their standards of correct dress did not happen to coincide with U.B.C. students' standards.

3. Summary

In summary it can be said that several images of, and attitudes towards the Sopron students existed among U.B.C. students, and that these varied with the amount of contact they had with the Hungarians. The most prevalent image centered around the heroic fight for freedom activities of the revolution, as expressed by the actual march of October 1957, and the advertised but never carried out demonstration of sympathy with Indonesia. This image was actively propagated by the student newspaper throughout
TABLE XIII
WAYS IN WHICH THE SOPRON GROUP WAS VISIBLE TO U.B.C. STUDENTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Respondents Who mention:</th>
<th>Once only</th>
<th>Two or three times</th>
<th>More than three times</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Percentage of all respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrations, Marches, treks, Ceremonies</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language, dress</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haircut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveying</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appear in groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stick together</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking in groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have not been visible</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* There are various ways to which the Anniversary March of the October revolution was referred.

# Of the 37 respondents who mentioned these, 32 mentioned clothes, dress; 16 mentioned language, speech; five mentioned haircut.
the year and is reflected in the relatively high proportion of U.B.C. students who had no contact with the Hungarians who appeared to possess this image, as shown in Table XIII. These students relied on the newspaper for their information. Further characteristics of the students who had had little or no contact with the Soproners were: though they did not condemn the Soproners as not making efforts to join in U.B.C. activities any more than the other groups, they were the least supportive of the Soproners; although a significant percentage of these students blamed themselves for not helping the Soproners integrate, the percentage was smaller than any other group or for all respondents.

The students with most contact, though characterizing the Sopron group as solidary, tended to see the Soproners as individuals, in terms of individuals traits -- dress, haircut etc., rather than as a group. Interesting is that they tended to see the group as larger than it actually was. These students were the most supportive of the Soproners, seeing them as willing to integrate and making an effort to do so, as mastering the English language adequately and even as exploited. These students also tended to blame themselves for not helping the Soproners to integrate.

The students who had met Soproners two or three times showed similar characteristics to the group with most contact. They were in general a little less supportive, of the
Soproners but more self recriminatory. Their image included both perceptions of the revolutionary group manifestations and individual traits. Their knowledge of the size of the Sopron group was more accurate than the others.

The students who had met a Sopron student once only occupied an intermediate position between those with more contact and those with none. Their image included the revolutionary group manifestations, but individual traits were little mentioned. They differed significantly from the other groups in two respects, namely, they did not perceive the Sopron group to be as solidary as did the other groups and a higher percentage of this group saw the Sopron group as smaller than it actually was.

The theme that runs through these statistics is that the 17 per cent of the respondents who had had more contact with the Hungarians tended to have an image of a set of individuals, rather than of a group, and they tended to be more permissive in their attitudes towards the Hungarians.

It should be mentioned that the above portrait of attitudes existing among U.B.C. students is static, one dimensional and patchy. It would be very worth while to make a more extensive study along the lines indicated by Festinger and Kelley to determine how, and along what
lines attitude change takes place in the next academic year.

Finally, mention should be made of several impressions received in the course of field work, but not backed up by any statistical investigation. The "pubster with a pain" does not fit into the above statistics, but he does appear to express, in an exaggerated manner, an attitude observed in other areas of the campus, especially among those who had continued contact with the Soproners in an official or administrative capacity. The advent of the Sopron group caused some people a considerable amount of extra work and disturbed routine. The behaviour of the Soproners contributed to this disturbance in some cases. The liaison man at Powell River had the following to say:

It is easy to tell them to do this or that, but difficult to explain the reasons for taking certain actions. This would manifest itself as follows: Someone would come to me with a problem, and I would promise action. In one or two hours they would be back again with more questions and enquiries about the same problem. F. (another official of the Powell River Company) also found this when he was in Austria. The liaison officer, however, was in a situation to devote his whole time to the group. But, as one Canadian professor said, "The Canadian professors are very busy, their own students give them enough trouble, and they don't have much time". It can be seen that these two factors together would not necessarily promote the most favourable
attitudes. However, it is fair to say that it manifested itself only in a mild disappointment that the Soproners had not made more effort to integrate. If this is correct, then attitude did not entirely depend solely upon amount of contact.

This whole discussion of the U.B.C. attitudes has been based upon the premiss that it was desirable for the Soproners to integrate and join in. This premiss, and the differential perceptions of it, are discussed in the next section.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER XII


3. Italics supplied.

4. There is not complete congruence between the questions asked in April and those in December. The first questionnaire allowed a slightly wider choice because it included all Hungarian students at U.B.C. However, this should only help prove the point.

5. See p.123

6. This could have been due to confusion between number of students in the Sopron group -- around 190, and total number of people comprising the group -- around 300.


8. There is good reason to believe that there were many nurses in this group who had met the Hungarians at the first Year dance mentioned on page 147.


10. Alfred Schuetz in his essay on the stranger would explain this situation in terms of the newcomers' need to acquire knowledge of the new cultural pattern, not only in terms of "what is" but also in terms of "why". "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology, *American Journal of Sociology*, 49:499-507.

11. Academic solidarity, however, denied the right to "out-groups" to make judgments concerning the state of affairs. U.B.C. officials spoke out against the article in *Maclean's*, quoted in footnote two above, even though they themselves had been quoted. See especially U.B.C. President Mackenzie's letter in *Maclean's*, 71:4, July 19th, 1958.
CHAPTER XIII

SOPRONERS AS REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS

From the point of view of adjustment in Canada it is useful to see the Soproners as refugees and immigrants. It is necessary to distinguish these terms as types of migration, to examine the role of immigrant and refugee as defined by the Canadian society, and finally to make some statements about differences between the roles of immigrant and refugee as seen from the inside. This section is thus concerned with differing conceptions of rights and obligations.

The first most commonly made distinction between immigrant and refugee is based upon the reason for leaving the native country. The immigrant is seen as having a free choice and time to consider his decision and destination. The refugee has no clear idea of destination, and if he has a choice in the matter of leaving his country it is a question of whether or not he should stay to be persecuted. Refugees are seen in Petersen's terms as participants in forced or impelled migration, the latter term describing most aptly the situation of the Hungarian refugees. Petersen further refines the category of impelled migrants into "emigres" who regard their exile as temporary and live abroad for the day when they may
return, and refugees, who intend to settle permanently in the new country." As we shall see this must be regarded as a strictly analytical dichotomy, because individual motivation does not necessarily remain constant over time.

The migrant's conception of the role he is to play in the new environment is likely to vary with his reasons for emigration. Thus, we may expect to find differing self conceptions between immigrants and refugees regarding their positions in the new country. Immigrants depart for their destination with the resolve to "make good" in the new country, but with the secure knowledge that they can always return home if the going is too tough. Immigrants, by virtue of their decision to leave their native country, have also in a sense rejected it and though they could return home, actual return would be considered a failure on the part of the individual. They are therefore committed to making an effort to "succeed" in the new country.

Refugees do not reject their native country in the same manner as free immigrants. They generally reject only specific things which make life unbearable for them, such as the political or religious activities of powerful organizations. Most often they are the rejected ones. In this sense there is no such thing as Petersen's refugee who intends to settle permanently in a new country. Most refugees would return home if the offending "thing"
ceased to exist. Every refugee is an emigre in the period immediately after his escape. "We are happy because of our freedom but the tears remain."

Most immigrants know that they will have to work hard in the beginning to "make good", but they see themselves as well as part of a pattern which is also functional for the receiving country. They know that it is up to them to "prove themselves", but if they do this and surmount the difficulties they feel that there is a place for them in the new country which is legally and morally theirs. Thus, although nobody has the "right" to be admitted as an immigrant to Canada, once the privilege has been granted the immigrant feels that if he fulfils his side of the contract he has a right to a place in the country.

The refugee may or may not have been granted the legal status of immigrant, but he is not initially psychologically committed to making a "success" in the new country as is the free immigrant. He has not rejected his native country and thus made it imperative for himself to succeed in the new country. He has been rejected by his native country which means he is forced to find elsewhere to live, but he is not necessarily committed to "success" in the new environment and failure does not have the same meaning as for a free immigrant. This does not mean the refugee cannot or does not acquire the desire to
be a success. As was previously stated "every refugee is an emigre in the period immediately after his escape", Some remain emigres and their adjustment to the new society takes the form of oblivion to all the new values. They remain spiritually in their native country. Others give up, or at least shelve, their emigre aspirations and take on the responsibilities and obligations of their immigrant status. This process takes place over time and thus cannot be used as a category of migrants but rather as a type of adjustment.

1. The Hungarian Refugees

With the Hungarian refugees of the revolution a special factor must be noted. The Hungarians had fought for freedom. They had performed a service for the West, yet they had received no tangible (military) help from the West in their battle. Therefore when they were defeated they felt that the free world owed them something. This feeling of debt was shared by the free world. As history has shown millions were spent and great efforts were made by all the Western countries to help the refugees and to find them new places to live.

As far as the Canadian population was concerned there was never much distinction made between the terms immigrant and refugee. Both were subsumed under the
heading "newcomers who have to prove themselves". Perhaps D.P. was a slightly more insulting term than immigrant. In both cases the burden of proof was upon the newcomer to establish himself in the new environment. Support was minimal in both cases. 4

After the Hungarian revolution, however, the Hungarian refugees were regarded as extraordinary cases who merited special attention and assistance. These refugees had established a certain moral right to be admitted to Canada, and indeed Canada opened her borders freely to these people, at least until the summer of 1957. 5 Canadians considered it their duty to help these people, immigration red tape was cut to a minimum, free passages and extraordinary financial assistance were provided.

However, even at this early stage, characterized by humanitarian feelings and actions, this duty was not unambiguously defined and there were some indications of resentment on the part of certain groups of Canadians. 6 The refugees continued to receive this extraordinary financial support until they found, or were found jobs. Once at work, they experienced a change of definition of their role. From privileged freedom fighters, they became immigrants and D.P.'s in the eyes of the Canadian workers, with the concomitant role expectations. 7 The Canadian workers were often bitter about the special help
the Hungarians had received, and as winter approached and the economic situation deteriorated many began to feel threatened by the presence of the Hungarians who symbolized for them all immigrants.

2. The Soproners

Within these considerations given to the Hungarian refugees, the Sopron group appears as a special case within a special case.

Conditions

It is necessary to return to Austria and to examine the conditions under which the group came to Canada. First, all the group members were refugees entirely dependent upon the goodwill and financial support of others for their existence. However, as a group they represented a potentially valuable asset to any heavily forested country. The Sopron group had functioned as a university in exile in Austria for a short period and had demonstrated its possibilities. Thus, in addition to the humanitarian motives any country might have in offering them asylum, there was also present what might be termed a "profit motive".

When it became apparent the group could not stay in Austria circulars were sent out asking for a new home.
They received several offers from various European countries, and also from the United States, but all of these offers involved breaking up the group into at least several parts. Thus, several conditions were set upon acceptance of the Canadian offer. Many individual members had deep reservations about going so far away from Europe. Whereas other refugees either accepted the conditions under which they were admitted into the new countries, or did not go, the Soproners were in a position to set certain conditions. An individual refugee is the most helpless of things. A solidary group of refugees possessing valuable scientific knowledge and technical knowhow is not helpless. Even an individual scientist is hardly in a position to set conditions, (although the German rocket and nuclear scientists received extraordinary treatment at the hands of the U.S. after the second world war). The Soproners' group existence was their most valuable bargaining point.

What the actual conditions were under which the Soproners agreed to come to Canada can probably never be objectively determined. The Hungarians were in a state in which they heard what they wanted to hear, and they probably understood Pickersgill's promises as entering into more than he could possibly guarantee to implement in a democratic country, as Pickersgill himself says in Appendix B. It is also impossible to determine to what
extent Pickersgill's obvious desire to bring the group to Canada made him paint a rosy picture of the situation.

Whatever the actual promises, The Soproners saw themselves as coming to Canada with the proviso that certain things were done to enable them to finish their studies. They thus differed from ordinary immigrants and refugees.  

Redefinition of Role

Once in Canada, the Soproners found that here was an obligation for them to look forward to becoming good Canadian citizens. The "refugee" and "emigré" orientations now clashed. The justification of their presence in Canada was the effort they had made in the revolution. Therefore it became doubly important to spread the message of the revolution to the Canadians. They were caught between their love for and desire to help Hungary, and the new expectation to devote their efforts to becoming good Canadians. As can be seen in Appendix C this conflict was resolved by integrating the two, "we can best help Hungary by becoming good Canadians". My subjective impression was that this idea appeared to strengthen as time went on. In December 1957, 40 students (44 per cent of the questionnaire sample) said they would return to Hungary if the regime changed, 11 students (12 per cent
of the sample) said they would not return, 32 students (35 per cent of the sample) said they did not know, and 8 students did not answer. As no second questionnaire was administered at the end of the academic year it is not possible to make any definite statements on change of opinion. This would be well worth following up in another questionnaire.

Notwithstanding their genuine gratitude to Canada, the Soproners felt that Canada was not wholly living up to its promises. This was especially noticeable in the area of university fees. In the December Sopron questionnaire 45 students (50 per cent of the sample) considered it right that they should be paying fees at U.B.C., 33 students (36 per cent) thought they should not be paying fees, and 13 students did not answer this question. Of the 33 negative answers six gave the reason as "we were promised free tuition" or similar statements. One professor who said he was present when Pickersgill made his offer said that free tuition was definitely promised. He realized now that it would not have been possible for the minister to promise anything on behalf of a non-federal institution, i.e., U.B.C. An expression of the feeling of having been let down by the Canadians were the frequent (invidious) comparisons with the situation of Hungarian students in other countries. Statistics were reprinted in the March edition of Teritek (the Sopron newsheet) which showed
Canada to have given the least aid to Hungarian students (with the exception of Argentina). Another frequently mentioned example was an alleged promise that the Canadians would take them into a big store in Canada and buy them all the clothes they needed. Several other things were regarded as violations of the conditions under which they came to Canada. For instance, when they discovered they had to pay income tax on their monthly allowance from the federal government many students felt hard done by.

At the time of the first I.K. meeting in the beginning of October 1957, the government monthly allowance had been promised but it had not yet materialized. There was great anxiety exhibited at this meeting and suggestions for raising money ranged from selling Christmas cards to putting on a Hungarian dance show. One student said he thought the government was not helping the students because they were not becoming Canadians fast enough.

When on May 15th, 1958, the government allowance was cut off altogether, even for those without summer jobs, this feeling rose to its highest point. At the time of writing, with approximately half the students without jobs, and no support promised for the following year the prospects do not appear bright to students and staff.

This then is a description of the Sopron view of the discrepancy between the economic support they deserved,
in the light of promises made, and that which they actually obtained. No attempt is made to determine the official attitudes or policies of the government or the university in this respect.\(^{11}\) It is interesting to note that to my knowledge at the time of writing all but one of the non/Sopron Hungarian students at U.B.C. have summer employment and have no specific complaints about lack of support in this area.

At the university, the evening lecture schedule was very unpopular with the students, and tended to be blamed as the source of many difficulties of obtaining contact with the Canadian students. Some students objected to the evening schedule on grounds that they paid the same fees as the U.B.C. students and should therefore be entitled to the same privileges. Feeling was also aroused in January, 1958, when the University personnel office refused to give application forms for government summer jobs to the first and second Year students.\(^{12}\) One professor said of this, "It is understandable that they wish to give the best jobs to the Canadians first". The Soproners remedied this situation by obtaining the requisite forms directly from the government office in downtown Vancouver. The senior Year students had another complaint that the personnel office would not arrange job interviews for them with the large engineering companies because the forestry degree program at U.B.C. did not include this kind of work.
The Soproners argued that their curriculum did cover engineering subjects.

On the student relations level, the Soproners themselves were not satisfied with the amount of contact they had with the Canadians. As Table XIV shows, either they genuinely desired more contact, or they were merely aware of pressures upon them to increase these contacts.13

### TABLE XIV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>Desired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other immigrant</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned above, the Soproners tended to blame the situational factor of the evening schedule for the lack of contact. Fifty-seven percent of the questionnaire sample considered that there was no good opportunity to meet Canadian students on the campus. Half of these gave the above reason. Differing cultural interests as well as inertia on their own part were other reasons given by
the Soproners. The Canadians were also blamed for not initiating any active program in which both groups could participate. The Soproners were proud of themselves when they took the initiative and invited the Canadian foresters to the first Szakesthely in January 1958.

From the Canadian point of view the Soproners had made little effort to integrate. They had been invited to attend Forestry Club meetings and to join U.B.C. clubs, but very few had taken up the invitation. Perhaps one significant act of exclusion on the part of the U.B.C. students was the Forestry Undergraduate Society's decision not to merge with the Soproners for fear of being swamped out by the numerically superior Hungarians. This was the one situation of immediate threat to any of the Canadian institutions. However, the evidence of the second questionnaire presented to the sociology class points to a feeling of having neglected action to help the Soproners integrate. It would seem that they considered that the Sopron group deserved more support from them than they had given.

In the area of personal contacts the Hungarians felt they were at a distinct disadvantage when it came to contact with Canadian girls. In Powell River the students were greatly concerned with the correct social techniques to be used in obtaining a date with a girl. The lack of a
car was felt to be a great disadvantage, as was the lack of facility with the language. One incident which occurred in October 1957 is worth mentioning, though it took place outside the university.

Stephen and Joszef were on the bus coming from U.B.C. and an old lady sat down on the seat next to Stephen. Joszef leaned over from the seat behind and said something about nothing in particular to Stephen in Hungarian. The lady turned round, looked scared "as if we were wild animals", and moved off to another seat. Stephen said, "Okay if they expect us to speak English. But do they expect us to become Canadians in one month?".

Another illustration of this feeling of being defined by Canadians as personally different from the Canadians was the incredulity of the Hungarians when they were presented with the questionnaire results which showed that the Canadians identified them by their clothing and hair style. One lecturer was particularly disturbed by a reference to physical differences. Thus, though they felt they had some special claims in Canada, they became concerned with being defined as different in the derogatory (they felt) sense of being an immigrant. In the official sphere they felt that they were a special case and made certain demands on the basis of this difference. In the informal social sphere, they learned that to be defined as immigrant, refugee or D.P. was disadvantageous, and thus bent their efforts to overcome this, e.g., by buying a car, or learning English. These two opposite orientations perhaps explain the discrepancy between the U.B.C. students' conception of their own tardiness to help the Soproners join in U.B.C. activities,
and the relative disappointment in the Soproners of those who were officially concerned with the group. All this must be qualified by sparse data on the attitudes prevalent in these circles. The U.B.C. students tended to blame themselves for not taking a more active stand, the officials tended to blame the Soproners for not taking advantage of provided facilities.

In the light of the preceding discussion we conceive of the immigrant as tending to conform to the demands made upon them and as making an effort to become Canadians. Refugees, in particular Hungarian refugees, were not subject to the same demands to conform, but were conceived of as in need of help. As previously mentioned the trend seemed to be in the larger society that the role definitions of the Hungarians changed from refugee to immigrant. A figure may help clarify the distinction.

**ROLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points of View</th>
<th>Ordinary Immigrant</th>
<th>Hungarian Refugee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Inside</td>
<td>Wishes to &quot;succeed&quot; in new country, needs effort to do this. Adopts new ways.</td>
<td>No interest in &quot;success&quot; in new country. Yet demands a livelihood from the new country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Outside</td>
<td>Should make effort to conform and adopt new customs.</td>
<td>Helpless individuals need help (in Hungarian case also because they had earned it).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 1**
We see that the inside and outside definitions of any one role usually coincide.

At U.B.C., taking into account the extra-special situation of the Soproners, we find that the U.B.C. definitions of the Sopron role varied according to the observer's position in the social structure, and the Soproners' definition of their own role varied according to the "partner" of the role playing. Figure 2 illustrates this point.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Sopron Role Defined by</th>
<th>Immigrant</th>
<th>Refugee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sopron students vis-a-vis U.B.C. students</td>
<td>We would like to learn English and have more Canadian friends even though you don't help us much.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sopron vis-a-vis U.B.C. and the government.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Our conditions are not being fulfilled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. U.B.C. students vis-a-vis Sopron students</td>
<td></td>
<td>We are not helping you enough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. U.B.C. student and staff officials vis-a-vis Sopron</td>
<td>You are not taking advantage of facilities we have provided and you are not making enough effort to integrate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 2

It is necessary to say that this scheme represents a state of affairs at a given point in time (spring 1958),
and is not valuable per se unless related to the past and the future. In accord with the above mentioned statement that all refugees are of the emigre type immediately after flight, it is maintained that upon arrival in Canada all role definitions were that of refugee. If the trend in the larger society of redefinition of the Hungarian refugees' role towards that of immigrant is taking place, then it is reasonable to predict that the same will take place on the U.B.C. campus. Figure 2 then, would appear to sketch an intermediate stage of role definition. Some time in the future we may expect all the definitions to be that of immigrant.

It is interesting to follow the form of the process of change. Among the Hungarians it is in the informal sphere that the quickest change of role definition occurs. The official group retains the refugee orientation. Among the Canadians the reverse is the case, the informal sphere is most willing to continue the special role definition of refugee, while in the formal sphere the definition has early shifted to that of immigrant.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER XIII


2. For the purposes of this analysis long range economic pressures, seen in the Marxian sense of making "free choice" irrelevant, are not considered. Petersen subsumes this latter type of migration under the heading "mass migration", but substitutes "social pattern" for the Marxian "economic pressure".


4. This is not intended to detract from the excellent work of agencies such as the Canadian Citizenship Council. There may be, as Petersen says, an official ethic, which regards the acculturation of immigrants, as the dual responsibility of both immigrant and Canadian, but that this is a widespread belief among the population is doubtful. Petersen recognizes this himself in the section on Canadian labour and immigration. See W. Petersen, Planned Migration, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1955, pp. 155-159, and 131-138.

5. Headline "IMMIGRATION CURBED TO SAFEGUARD JOBS; RECORD INFLUX PARED DOWN TO 'SAFE ABSORPTION LEVEL'." Vancouver Sun, July 27th, 1957.


7. "No matter how we look at the matter, there is no reason why these Hungarians should receive any preferential treatment over immigrants from other countries", Western Pulp and Paper Worker, March, 1957, p. 8. See also in the April issue. It especially infuriated some Canadians to hear the Hungarians complaining.

Dropped in at the guard house on the way out (of the Sea Island R.C.A.F. Base, October, 1957), the orderly said the Hungarians ought to be grateful for everything everybody has done for them. It made him mad as hell when he heard them beefing about things.
8. Note that of 175,000 immigrants in the first half of 1957, only 28,000 were Hungarians. There were 72,000 British immigrants in this period. *Vancouver Sun*, July 25, 1957.

9. Staff members put great emphasis on the "historical responsibility" of the Canadian government to allow the students to complete their studies. They stressed the point that failure to do so would again be a victory for communist propaganda. See also Appendix A.

10. For figures on the number of Hungarian students in Canada and the assistance received see "Report of the National Conference of Canadian Universities, Hungarian Refugee Student Centre", covering period from February 1st -- September 30th, 1957. (typescript).
   1. Number of Hungarian refugee students in Canada as of September 30th, 1957......................... 958
   2. Number of students accepted by Canadian universities for the academic year 1957-58...... 531
   3. Students attending with financial assistance 456
   4. Students attending without financial assistance 75
   Items one, two and three include Sopron.

11. This area should be thoroughly studied in order to "give the full story" of the implications of the group for existing social structure.

12. As it turned out this policy of the personnel office applied to all junior forestry students.

13. It is interesting to note that the junior Years tended to have more Canadian friends than the senior students. Ten per cent in the first and second Years versus three per cent in the two final Years.
CONCLUSIONS

In writing this chapter I have become exceedingly aware of the arbitrariness of concluding research at this point. It is analogous to having to leave the theatre halfway through an absorbing play. Fortunately I am not in the position of having to write a critique of the play for the morning papers which would be read by people who had seen the end of the play. However, the end of the academic year does constitute a convenient breaking off point, like the end of a scene in our theatre.

The difference between studying this group now and, say, the same group in Hungary or a university faculty here in Canada, lies in its continuity. With the group everything that is now occurring has consequences but not necessarily continuity. We can not (and do not) expect the same things to happen in a cyclical fashion year after year. Thus the events of the present are of vital import for the explanation of the immediate future. The question that interests me is not primarily whether the group is going to die, -- for it is agreed that the group will dissolve in the near future, -- but how it will live until it dies and how it will die.

The least this chapter can hope to accomplish is to
provide a background of the main themes that have been present in the scenes I have witnessed; to point to other themes that should be explored; and finally, to make some tentative predictions concerning some of these themes.

1. Some Conclusions

Overview of Changes in Social Structure of the Group

In Chapter II the situation (presently perceived as idyllic) in pre war Sopron was examined. The status and prestige of the institution in society was high and it was also functionally important, especially after Trianon. A deep sense of tradition and embeddedness was noted. The jealously guarded autonomy of the universities and their internal democracy were essential features of the structure of the educational system. In Sopron the close formal and informal relations between students and staff, and the power of the student social organization were special features. We noted that this was partly due to the continuity between professors and students in the field of forestry in Hungary. Professional forestry in Hungary had a distinct and closely knit culture. Student social organization also was closely knit and integrated. The transmission of the student and forestry culture was ascertained by intensive socialization mechanisms which brought the neophytes into close contact with students from
all levels of the group. The Year and Godparent systems of social organization assured vertical and horizontal solidarity.

The second world war was a tremendous disruptive force upon the whole of Hungarian society. For almost a whole year the Hungarian social system was dislocated. There was no question of educational institutions functioning -- though we saw four students grimly studying on during the worst period of the war. Thus, when a relatively normal routine was reestablished in 1956, continuity, at least of personnel, had already suffered a blow.

Several basic changes brought about by the communists in the social structure of the Sopron Faculty were discussed in Chapter IV. As was mentioned, the underlying basis for these changes was the new conception of society and the role of higher education in the society. We saw a period of experimentation with new forms. In this period strict control was required to ensure that basic tenets were adhered to in the fluid and changing situation. The omnipresent mechanism of control was the secret police. At Sopron the institutional structure was not changed visibly very much, but the whole character of its social life changed drastically. Small strategically located additions to the structure, such as the Personnel Office, sufficed for a large measure of control. The admission system was changed so as to allow scrutiny of applicants and screening according to political reliability and position in the
class structure. Academic ability was no longer the primary criterion for admission to institutes of higher learning.

The status and prestige of the institution in society dropped steadily in proportion to the new emphasis on industrialization. Nevertheless, so great was the demand for any kind of higher education in Hungary that for every five applicants to Sopron in 1956 only one was admitted. People would study anything, where they were admitted. The only educational institute in the country which did not have several applicants for each opening was the Lenin Institute in Budapest. These conditions were hardly likely to foster the love for forestry and forests which was a central part of the pre war Sopron culture.

In the area of student organization everything that smacked of tradition was abolished. University youth had to be mobilized along with the peasants and workers. Uniformity and dedication to the same ideal was demanded of all youth. As Simmel has said, where the aim of the general society is strong centralization, no special associations are tolerated. For two years we noted that the old traditions were practised by the students in secret by the majority of the students. Solidarity among the students was increased by banning of the Ifjusagi Kor. During this time the binding function of the godparent system was
performed by informal contacts especially sought out between the Years for the purpose of orientation. But the putsch of 1951 combined with the doubtful enrolment of that year seemed to break the pattern of solidarity. From this time on the only meaningful formal social units among the students were the Years. Each Year sorted itself out informally into non communists, communists and unknowns. Contact between the Years, however, was limited to relatives, old schoolmates or fellow villagers. The character of the Hungarian revolution bears eloquent testimony to the effectiveness for control of this kind of loosening of social cohesion in "special associations". The phrase of one of the professors sticks in the mind, "the essence of the communist system is to try to make everyone feel alone".

With the revolution came an overwhelming desire to reform, to set right that which had been mismanaged in the preceding dozen years. Everyone was in accord as to the main goals of the uprising, but nobody really knew what kind of social order they wished to have in Hungary. At Sopron the foresters and miners took over the town of Sopron and formulated their demands, which in essence were a return to pre-communist state of affairs with the exception that the forestry and mining schools would become an entirely independent university. Naturally the group identity reasserted itself in these days and a student president was popularly elected. The president
and two representatives from each Year formed the executive committee. The latter served an extremely useful two way communication function.

The role of the staff members in the revolution was initially passive approval but later on the staff broke into print with demands of their own which dealt primarily with national Hungarian matters. They left the demands in the field of education and the specific future of Sopron in the hands of the students.

The military organization of the students also tended to take place along Year lines. For instance, the majority of the students interned at Sitzenheim for entering Austrian territory carrying arms were fourth and fifth Year students.

Once in Austria the staff began to take an active role in affairs. Had it not been for the activities of the Dean, the students agreed, the group would not have stayed together. The second provisionally elected student president also played an important role in maintaining group morale. All important decisions were made in general meetings but the executive work was carried out by the Dean and the student executive (president and Year representatives). The last important decision to be made in a general meeting was the decision to come to Canada.
In Canada, the persistence of the Year identification was clearly illustrated in the I.K. elections in Powell River. When the residential community ended the Year presidents (students) and Year leaders (young staff members) became key men in the communication system. It was intended to revive the old godparent and Balek systems but it became apparent that both these systems depended upon neophytes coming into an established set of social arrangements. In Canada every student was as green as the next one.

Though the group identity manifested itself on several occasions, it was the Years that took the initiative in arranging contacts with the Canadians. The internal pattern of informal organization was highly stratified along the Year lines as the pattern of living shows. Within each Year cliques developed along various lines.

It seems probable that this streamlined type of social organization is necessary for efficiency and the organization of group activity in situations of stress. However, when no common activity unites the group, then other activities must be organized if the group wishes to retain a continuous and coherent identity.

Of course, the Sopron group was united by common culture, ideology and purpose and the remarkable thing is, why did it not express these things in much more common activity than it did? One answer to this lay in the shape
of the group structure which tended to keep the group members apart. It is interesting to note that many of the first and second Year students did not know the names of the fourth and fifth Year students, and vice-versa, in spite of six months of very communal living and seven months of attendance at U.B.C.

**Group Solidarity**

The Sopron group morale appeared to be at its highest in Austria just after the decision to come to Canada. In Abbotsford the future was seen as certain and clear cut. When the group reached Powell River disintegrative forces began to work. Closer acquaintance with the situation revealed that though the future was promised one could still not be certain. The situation was perceived as threatening by both students and staff. On the part of the students there was a great emphasis on obtaining jobs and earning money. In the face of threat the members did not turn inside the group for security but sought security outside the group -- in earning money. The uncertainty about whether they were to receive government aid lasted until they actually received their first cheque in October 1957. At the first I.K. meeting in the beginning of October some suggestions were made that those students who had earned money in the summer should contribute to those who had not worked in the summer. This plan received no
support at all. However, once the group was at U.B.C. and the members were receiving aid, the future was ascertained for six more months at least and the group settled down to classes and other mutual activities. Morale, group spirit, rose again.

In May 1958, the old uncertainty returned as the government aid was ended and the students had to look for jobs. Jobs were scarce owing to the economic situation and the students' weak English was a handicap to them. Students tended to band together in small groups (housing was cheaper this way). Some assistance from meagre group funds was given to those who had no money at all, but in general it seemed that the group tended to atomize under pressure rather than to exhibit greater solidarity. Atomization took place along lines of social organization which had become established in the previous year, for instance cliques in the Year structure. One might also regard the large number of second Year students who quit studying during the year to be an example of this.

Why did the situation of threat not increase social solidarity?

Partly because the continued physical and purposive existence of the group was contingent upon integration with another institutional structure. In this sense the group differed from the several available examples of
functioning religious communities fleeing or emigrating from their native lands. None of these sects were committed intimately to integrate with other institutions or groups at their destination. In fact this was the very thing that most of these groups were fleeing to escape. These communities were largely agricultural and self supporting, whereas the continued physical existence of the Sopron group depended upon considerable financial assistance, which in turn depended upon the benevolence and feeling of moral responsibility of the hosts. Similarly, with the sects mere physical existence was an end in itself, whereas the raison d'etre of the Sopron group was to graduate its students. This could only be accomplished in affiliation with some existing academic institution.

In the Sopron case three political forces had to be balanced. Sopron itself tried to maintain the greatest possible autonomy without offending the hosts. This had to be done delicately because even non-cooperation could be construed by their hosts as an affront. U.B.C. and the Government, having committed themselves to receive the group, (each perceived its own commitment in a different light) engaged in continual manoeuvring for position regarding the financing of the group. U.B.C. conceived of itself as "cooperating" with the government who had in the first place invited the group over. The
Government appeared to wish to give the same treatment to the Soproners as to the other Hungarian refugees still under its care. Neither of these institutions wished the group to exist (as a group) for longer than absolutely necessary.\(^1\) This explains the very short range character of all the arrangements made for the group. Nothing was arranged for longer in advance than could be helped. Both U.B.C. and the Government realized there was an obligation to the group and each attempted to have the other shoulder as much of the burden as possible.

We see that the Sopron group itself was actually powerless in this play. Perhaps had the Hungarians been skilled in the workings of politics in a "free society" they could have turned some of this to their advantage. As it was they saw themselves as being used as a pawn in a game they did not know how to play. They trusted in the promises that (they thought) had been made to them and in the moral strength of their position. They greatly regretted that no "plan" had been made initially which would have stated clearly what they could expect and for how long.

It seems that the usual process that occurs when the external situation threatens a group, is that internal solidarity is built up by the **organization of activity** to cope with the threat, e.g., a war effort or the flight
of the above mentioned sects. Internal organization of the group becomes streamlined and efficient as other ends are subordinated to the all important goal.

This appeared to be the case with the Soproners up until the first month at Powell River. From this time on, at differing rates, group solidarity declined. Revolution, flight and travel had provided the necessary activity to maintain high solidarity. Upon arrival in Canada we noted that attention was concentrated upon internal activities. This was before the threat was perceived by the students. Simultaneous with the perception of an uncertain future, we observed increased attention upon individual salvation through the earning of money. Whereas in Austria the future had been uncertain but the group had had bargaining power and "sales appeal", now in Canada the trump card had been played and they could only wait and trust. Each individual attempted to obtain double insurance against collapse of the group by earning his own money. This was not exactly conducive to group solidarity. In fact this very activity signified doubt in the group.

Integration and Assimilation -- Soproners and Non Soproners

It is useful to contrast the experiences of the individual non Sopron Hungarian students with those of the
Soproners. It must be remembered that these students were not the primary objects of this study and that data concerning them was not collected systematically.

What evidence there is seems to point to a similar pattern of living among these students, as obtained among the Soproners -- they lived together with other Hungarians, three of these students lived alone, many lived with relatives.

Upon superficial observation, these students did not appear to differ greatly from the Soproners in their attachment to Hungarian culture. They had the same criticisms of Canadian culture as the Soproners.

The one striking difference after a year in Canada, was in these students' comparative mastery of Canadian social techniques. With one exception their English was better than the best of the Soproners. All but one obtained jobs upon completion of their exams in April 1958.

It should be mentioned that this group was in a sense preselected. Of about 21 students who were present at the initial English language examination at U.B.C. a week before registration began in September 1957, some 14 students were actually admitted to the university. All these received financial assistance from World University Service and U.B.C. (average $300. -- $400.). The remaining
seven were not admitted because of their inadequate English. Two of those who registered dropped out at Christmas time owing to financial and study difficulties.

A short comparison of the main features of the adaptation of the two groups may be of value.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Soproners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>January 1957</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No promises made, but they expected assistance on the same basis as all other Hungarian refugees. Students especially had played a vital role in the revolution. Uncertainty at first, -- great anxiety. Some resentment at Soproners' special treatment. Great interest in Canadian society. Go to work early in the year.</td>
<td>Assistance was expected on the basis of promises (they thought) made. Certainty concerning the future. Interest in internal group affairs only. Group existence in Powell River. Learn English in classroom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>May 1957</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most students working.</td>
<td>Anxiety appears. Future perceived as uncertain. Great interest in obtaining jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>September 1957</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two thirds are admitted to U.B.C. according to their competence in English. Some financial assistance from W.U.S. and U.B.C. Considerable effort to study in English. Crisis at Christmas exams.</td>
<td>All students admitted. Knowledge of English irrelevant. Financial assistance from the government. Settle down. Study in Hungarian &quot;I've almost forgotten the English I learned last summer&quot; (April '58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>May 1958</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All but one obtain jobs upon completion of their exams.</td>
<td>Less than half obtain jobs upon completion of exams. Poor English blamed in several cases. Lack of &quot;connections&quot; also a factor. All this in spite of some 35 jobs provided &quot;especially for&quot; the Sopron students.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These observations seem to point to the non Soproners as having become "integrated" with Canadian society insofar as they have learned the necessary techniques for survival in the new country, but that "assimilation" of values and way of life has not yet occurred, — viz. their patterns of living.

The Soproners have neither integrated nor assimilated in the above sense. This can be attributed to their reliance upon their group membership for continued existence in the new country. If Sopron members were "turned loose" at this stage, it is probable that the majority would not survive (as students at a Canadian university). It is, however, necessary to stress the fact that only about half of the non Sopron students actually "survived" as students.

In spite of this reliance upon the group, the Soproners' faith in the group to provide this security was not very strong. They tended to perceive the government, upon which everything depended, as hostile or at least monumentally indifferent. Both students and staff demonstrated this by their tendency, in periods of (greater) stress, to place confidence in individual techniques of earning their own money and mastering the language.
2. Some Theoretical Implications

Some Remarks on Contact and Attitudes

It was found in this study, that U.B.C. students with more contact with the Hungarians tended to have a more favourable and permissive image of them, than those students with less contact. Here are two observations which together constitute a theoretical statement of a certain order. It seemed that "more contact = permissive attitude", and that we could predict behaviour in other situations on this basis. However, it was also noted that people who had a considerable amount of contact with the Hungarians in an official capacity tended to have a more critical and less permissive attitude. This inconsistency reduces both findings again to the level of empirical generalizations. We had to cast about for another theoretical statement which would "explain", or relate to each other, both types of behaviour. We may find this in that area of sociological logic concerned with the transmission of social patterns through generations, namely, socialization theory.

People in official capacities represent institutions. When newcomers enter institutions they represent a threat to the institution, unless they become assimilated into or integrated with the institutional values and roles. The in-group wishes to change the newcomers into -- doctors,
adults or Canadians. The newcomers either wish, or are forced by situational factors to acquire new status. These factors determine the level of commitment on the part of the newcomer. The level of commitment on the part of the newcomer is one of the chief factors determining to what extent he will meet the standards set by the officials or socializers in the acquisition of the new techniques. Various other factors should not be underestimated in this connection, e.g., prior perception of the socialization situation, amount of support and/or threat offered to the socializees, whether the contacts made with the socializers permit observation or practice of the techniques to be mastered, and finally, the presence of other socializees at the same or varying levels of socialization.

We can now return to the previous anomalous facts concerning contact and attitudes and make the statement that these people in official positions both are seen as, and conceive of themselves as "socializers". Their role demands that they set standards and apply (verbal) sanctions when the standards are not met. We saw that these people perceived the Soproners as immigrants -- thus implying commitment to a new status. The ordinary student saw them as refugees -- not in a socialization situation. We can now see the original theoretical statement of more "contact = more favourable and permissive attitude" as being a part of a more inclusive scheme of things involving definition of
role, position in a particular kind of hierarchy and particular goals. We can see the officials' relative disappointment and censure in terms of the socialization situation, and in particular, in terms of the standards they set. We have seen that this censure was not permitted to "outsiders" -- i.e., outside the socialization situation (though, of course, becoming a Canadian involves all Canadians). The role of the Canadian students in all this seems to be primarily identification with the Soproners as students, i.e., socializees on the same level, or peers. Thus, the simple mechanism of more contact = favourable image operates on this level only. It is superseded by more important considerations of socialization mechanisms.

The Role of Student Organization

One of the functions of student social organization is for the socialization of the students into the particular role for which they are being trained. One must be a university student in order to become a professional person (or an educated man) -- this is one level of socialization. One must also learn how to be a student. This is where student social organization fits in. Professional education is seen by sociologists as not only the acquisition of technical skills, but also as the process of internalization of the values necessary for the practise
of the skill in society. A new culture is acquired. This was especially true of all university education in the middle ages and also of the guild system of occupational training. As the present role of the "university educated man" in North American society is extremely diffuse and unstructured, undergraduate student organization is segmented along lines of activity by no means confined to university educated people. Perhaps the fraternity is the only remnant of this diffuse type of socialization which inculcated a "way of life" in the undergraduate which is highly relevant to his future in society.

Students in professional schools, on the other hand, have a distinct image of the role they are to assume upon completion of their studies. The students in a particular professional school are united in their aspiration to enter a specific occupation. All the students must internalize the same values.

Sopron was both an "autonomous" university faculty and a professional school. The social role of the man of knowledge in Hungary is a more specific thing than in North America. Also the forestry and mining professions in Hungary had their own specific culture and a long tradition.

Thus we see that homogeneity of students' with regard to occupational aspiration is an important factor
in determining the kind and intensity of socialization that is to take place.

Where the student body is homogenous as above, it is likely to have more power to; (1) control the quality of its own membership, and (2) to have more control of the conditions under which the students are to be socialized. If we take Sopron as an example of a highly homogenous type of organization we see its power in the two areas. Aspirants who were not approved of were not admitted to the academy, and even professors who did not conform to the traditions were boycotted. Nobody could register at the academy without the prior approval of the I.K. Thus all students at the academy had to become members. Merely to become registered at the academy the aspirant had to commit himself to a fairly searching scrutiny by the senior students. Sopron was unique in going this far, intimately binding together the academic with the student social organization of the academy.

As Simmel has said, displacement of a generation does not take place all at once. Some kind of continuity is especially necessary in socialization situations. The continuity of the technical or academic aspect of a university is assured by the presence of staff and academic organization. The continuity of the student tradition and thereby of the values of the particular role which
the student will assume upon completion of his studies, is dependent upon the student social organization. Where the future role is clearly defined, such as in professional schools, or where the role of the university educated man in society is distinct we may expect to find relatively intense socialization. Intense socialization is accompanied by long exposure to those already partly or wholly socialized. The neophytes have the opportunity to join with, or at least observe, the initiated in the practise of the techniques, and in assertion of the values to be acquired. Student social organization institutionalizes these opportunities, particularly of the latter type. In Sopron, in the trial period of the I.K. "exams", the neophytes learned the basic values to be asserted. If they did not acknowledge these values, then they would not be permitted to register at the academy. Through the institution of the "godparent" the neophyte became enmeshed in a network of social relations involving senior students as well as other neophytes.

It is interesting to follow the process whereby the antagonism of the first Year versus all senior Years lays the basis for the solidarity of the whole organization. First Year students are always less privileged than older students and in some cases they are actively exploited. Solidarity builds up among the group continually being subjected to tests and demands. In some student societies
the neophytes are explicitly expected to aid each other in the face of senior student pressure. Even after initiation, if practised, the newcomers are not wholly accepted on equal terms by the senior students. However, when the next batch of neophytes arrives the following year, last year's newcomers become identified with the seniors. As in the case of a great deal of people with nouveau status of one kind or another, these students outdo themselves in asserting their newly found status. In Sopron the "balek" system established solidarity among the first Year students and the "godparents" anchored the first Year to the senior Years.

In British Columbia the Sopron student organization lost much of its meaning through not being related to the occupation of forestry in Canada. The absence of the first Year -- senior Year antagonism took away the annual focus of activity of the organization. In Canada, in the eyes of the students, the organization was without a role. There were three basic propositions current among the Soproners as to what should be the role of the I.K. in Canada; (1) it should revive the old I.K. customs, (2) it should propagate the message of the Hungarian revolution, (3) it should facilitate contact with the Canadians.

The actual role of the student organization, as we have seen, involved all these things at different periods; (1) was prominent in Powell River, (2) in the winter term
at U.B.C., and (3) in the spring term. It seems likely that (3) will continue to be the main direction of orientation next year.

**Some Shifts in Ideology**

Student social organization has been seen as functional in socializing the students to their coming social role in society. In accordance with this view the pattern of basic values in the Sopron student society corresponded closely with the ideology current in the forestry profession. Two sets of values were distinguishable; those prevalent among all "men of knowledge" in Hungary, and those confined to foresters. Patriotism, belongs most distinctly to the former, brotherhood and "geselligkeit" fall in between, and love of the forest belongs to the latter set.

The Sopron student organization was based upon regular reaffirmation of these values, especially during the initiation of new members and at graduation time. As we have seen, this pattern was also reinforced by the staff, most of whom had also studied at Sopron and had therefore internalized both sets of values. This was then a case where societal goals and institutional means were inextricably bound together. There was no way other than through the institutionalized means if one wanted to become a professional forester in Hungary. From the point of view of the system the worst that could happen would be chameleon type
conformity with the means on the part of aspirants. But even once the technical end was achieved (the Forest Engineering Diploma) there was still strict control of behavior through the Foresters' Association. Thus, it was necessary that the individual become wholeheartedly committed to the foresters' culture.

The second world war interrupted, and the advent of the communists changed this well integrated system of training for and practise of a professional role. The technical training remained the same, but the concepts of the formation of the students' outlook were drastically redefined. This did not stem primarily from change in the occupational role of forester, but rather in the definition of the social role of the man of knowledge. The cultural goals were revised as well as the institutionalized means for attaining them. As the communists (with the aid of the Russian army) controlled the rewards and sanctions, the population had little choice but to acquiesce to the new order. This word gives us a clue to the type of adjustment of the population to the new schema -- namely, retreatist adjustment, as far as this was possible in the face of constant exhortations, and compulsory attendance at meetings etc. The people accepted neither the new ends nor the new means, but they were in no position to try to make any changes in the new equilibrium after it had become established.
In Sopron, for two and a half years after 1948 the students remained committed to the old schema and their adjustment to the new order took the form of rebellion -- active practise of the forbidden old customs. However, the dismissal of a large number of senior students and the intensification of the spy system appeared to break any organized continuity for transmission of the old values.

On the surface, the old values were superseded by socialist realism. Patriotism gave way to international communism, and brotherhood of specific groups to the brotherhood of workers all over the world. At the university the principle of "geselligkeit" gave way to the identification of "frivolity" as incompatible with the serious purposes of the new order. The high price of beer and the presence of women were perhaps also contributing factors. It is interesting to note that the value most central to Sopron, love of the forest, was not directly attacked and yet suffered the most under the new order. Before the war there was a preselection of applicants to Sopron. Only those who wanted to study forestry applied for admission. There was a natural balance of supply and demand for professional foresters. In 1956, as we have seen, there were five applicants for every place at Sopron. The important thing had become to obtain a higher education of any kind. This perhaps reflected an order of individual insecurity in the face of conflicting sets of means and ends. "They can't
take an education away from you". However, the absence of preselection made for considerably less emphasis on the love of forestry.

The revolution of 1956 brought about a reassertion of old values and a negation of the communist patterns. However, communism as an ideology was not wholly thrown overboard by the revolutionaries — viz. Imre Nagy was a communist.

The primary issue of the revolution was one of nationalism. How many times were the names of national heroes of the past invoked? The ousting of Gerö and Hegedüs was only the first step towards the demand that the Russians get out. The root of all evil in Hungary was seen as her satellite status vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R. This issue of patriotism was dear to the hearts of university students in Hungary and their record testifies to their actions.

Though there was unanimity on what was not wanted, there was little agreement on what kind of a society should be built in Hungary after the Russians had gone. It was clear that there was no return to the pre war state of affairs. On the whole it appeared that the Hungarians wished to model their position in the international situation on neutral Austria, and that they wished to model a national economy on Yugoslav or British socialist lines.
In Sopron the students and staff went along with these broad lines of change, but for themselves they demanded a return to the pre war situation with the exception that autonomous university status be given to the Sopron school.

In flight the Soproners had two primary goals -- they wished to continue their studies and to further the cause of the revolution. As first these were seen as intimately related. The group existence was a constant reminder of the revolution. It is significant that the thought of seeking accommodation outside Europe did not occur to the leaders of the group as they wished to stay near Hungary. Group existence was seen as the means to both goals, and group existence turned out to be possible only in Canada.

Once in Canada it became apparent to the group members that various other things were necessary to achieve their primary goal of continuing their education. The promised means of doing this appeared not to be forthcoming (full government financial support), therefore the students had to take matters into their own hands and earn money to support themselves. This demanded a great deal of time and mental and physical effort. In May 1958, it became increasingly apparent that a good knowledge of English was essential for obtaining a good job. Also such things as having "connections" among other students were stressed by the Soproners. Thus it was that things that were originally
conceived of as means to obtain an education successively became ends in themselves. Simultaneously, the problem of goals after the termination of university study arose -- especially acutely for the senior students. From the point of view of adjustment to Canadian society these students were not making their vital decision whether to stay, and formulate their plans for the future in terms of Canadian career lines and possibilities, or to leave -- return to Europe or elsewhere.

The goal of furthering the revolution appeared to have become lost among these other considerations, though it is probably ever present in a latent sense. (One student said that most of the students would immediately join the army if there was a war against Russia.) It is not possible, however, to correlate the decline of the revolutionary orientation directly with the degree of adjustment to the new environment. This problem constitutes one of the suggestions for further research.

3. Suggestions for Further Research

I have studied the past history of this group, and an intermediate stage in its present adjustment. It would be desirable to follow the progress of the group until the end. Several themes have emerged from this study along which further research could be conducted.
(I) In view of the present concern with the functioning of western educational systems in comparison with communist systems, the material is available in this group to make an intensive study of a satellite educational institution in periods of greater and lesser "communization". It would be possible to obtain in intimate detail the everyday working of the institution and the pressures that were exercised upon students and staff to toe the line. The presence of so many individuals from the same institution allows the possibility of minute cross checking. Perhaps also tests could be devised to measure the influence of Marxist Leninist ideas upon the students' and staff's thinking. Several studies have stressed the role of the family as a reservoir of traditional Hungarian values which led to a rejection of communist concepts and values. It would also be interesting to study the conflicts set up in young people by the double standards omnipresent in Hungary. Given that the family attempted to counteract the communist influence, especially in the sphere of education, how did high school and university students resolve the daily dilemmas that faced them?

(II) Again in the social psychological field it would perhaps be profitable to study the relation of the "refugee" self conception to the actual degree of contact with the new environment. This is not exactly what one might expect because at least one student was known to me
who exhibited a superior knowledge of English and had good summer jobs and several contacts with Canadians, yet he intends to leave Canada after graduation because of his disgust with Canadian political apathy. He has retained the "refugee" orientation of fighting against communism for Hungarian freedom. One might conduct study on the above subject making comparisons between the Soproners (group members) and the non Soproners. To what extent does "integration" (the learning of new techniques for survival in the new environment) lead to "assimilation" of the new values and the rejection, or at least shelving, of the old?

(III) Perhaps it would be possible, when the Sopron group loses its aspect of being a hot political potato, to thoroughly investigate the processes of negotiation between government, university and industry before and after the arrival of the group. What did the group mean to these institutions? Again, research could be directed to discovering the institutional implications of the arrival of the Sopron group at U.B.C. Some possible latent functions of the Sopron group for U.B.C. institutional structure have been suggested in the text. The implications of the group's presence for professional forestry in B.C. also constitutes a valid area of study.

4. A Prediction and a Recommendation

It appears that at present neither Hungarian nor
Canadian students are "benefiting from" each other's proximity. We have seen that though the Canadian students are willing to regard the Hungarians as refugees, the Hungarians prefer to act as immigrants vis-a-vis the Canadian students. The Soproners' conception of Canadians as being uninterested in the implications of the Hungarian revolution (and incidentally therefore uninterested in the Hungarians' raison d'être in Canada) is not wholly true at the university. It seems to me that there is scope for the dissemination of the message of the Hungarian revolution at U.B.C. The big barrier in the past year has been the lack of English, though this should not have been a barrier to, say, publication of articles in the student newspaper. As it was only one article appeared. One recommendation, thus, is that the student newspaper and some undergraduate clubs solicit articles and speakers from the Sopron group. This in addition to being instructional for the Canadians would dispel the Hungarians' notion of "not being wanted" and also initiate interaction between the groups.

Perhaps the process of integration, and especially of assimilation, would occur more rapidly if common goals are perceived. There are no doubt people of the U.B.C. campus who take the attitude "why can't they leave their feuds at home", but it is my impression that these are not mainly among the students.
Secondly, more use should be made of the Hungarian Year structure for contacts. This then is also the prediction, that it is along Year, and Year subdivision, lines that the group will continue to atomize. Constructive use can be made of this tendency.
1. Though initially the Federal Government wished to keep the group together in a residential community, as this would have been cheaper than giving individual allowances, U.B.C. did not wish to entertain the notion of a "university in exile" within its boundaries.

2. It is interesting to note that some of the students didn't know where the money came from.

3. In many areas the "academic solidarity" seems to influence the adjustment of the group. (1) U.B.C.'s definition of the Soproners' adjustment as an internal problem, (2) the definitions of the Canadian students, (3) the Soproners and the local Hungarian ethnic community, (4) the International Union of Free Hungarian Students.

4. Note that at U.B.C. the forestry students are relatively highly organized and conscious of tradition.

5. One illustration of the far reaching attempts of the communist regime to preclude retreatist type adjustment particularly fascinated me. George Strem describes the procedure of borrowing books at public libraries in Hungary.

"Two slips are required -- one for the book title and on the other the borrower is expected to make observations concerning the book and his impressions of it. If he fails to fill out or deposit with the library this second slip, he will be considered indifferent or hostile, and the regime, in the case of a second offense, will consider him liable for investigation." Those who fill out favourably are also watched and may be recruited into "readers conferences", George Strem "Cultural Life in Satellite Hungary", Pacific Spectator, 7:77-89, Winter, 1953.

6. There were some who wholeheartedly accepted the new scheme. Kracauer and Berkmann studied the attitudes towards communists among 300 escapees from Eastern Europe in 1955. They postulated two basic types of communists. (1) Real, convinced communists who have a sincere belief in communist principles, who are loyal, ruthless and subordinate everything to the party. (2) Nominal communists are divided into (a) opportunists who are only in to make money, (b) job keepers who are in to keep eating at a subsistence level. These restrict part activity to a minimum. (c) Forced communists who are under physical duress to belong. These are exactly the categories used by the Soproners. S. Kracauer and P. L. Berkmann, "Attitudes Towards Various Communist Types in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia", Social Problems, 3:109-114, October, 1955.
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Note: Numbers in brackets marked # indicate page references to the Sopron Forestry Faculty.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

CIRCULAR SENT TO 20 HEADS OF STATE AND
MINISTERS OF EDUCATION IN EUROPE
DATED 22ND NOVEMBER, 1956

Sir President

We are sure you are aware of the tragical happenings in Hungary which represent the darkest period of our history. In these hard times we have many problems regarding, youth, entrusted to us, whom we must care for. These can be solved only with the help of the whole free world.

Among the 50,000 Hungarian people who lost their homes almost the complete number of the students and professors of the High-School for Forestry at Sopron found asyl in the friendly Austria together with members of the other faculties: the surveyors, miners, oil-miners etc. The High-School for forestry is the only Hungarians institution which could escape the Russian deportation, because of its favourable border-situation.

The immens sympathie of the free world gives us hope, that those countries, which care for the Hungarian nation will enable to maintain our High-School with financial support and will help the other students to continue their studies. On such a may our youth could have been saved for the future free Hungary.

1. The main condition of our work depeds on the common satisfactory accomodation of the Hig-School. For that purpose 280 students of Forestry and 30 families of professors and assistant teachers. A propoer place would be such a city or the closest neighbourhood of a city, where a similar institution exist. Our High-School would work-according to our ideas as a Hungarian faculty of that mentioned institution for 5 years and would graduate the students. We request you to kindly test the possibilities of our accomodation and to give a second home to our High-School

2. The other very important fact is a firm financial basis which could have been secured only with the help of more states. According to our estimation 1.5 million dollars would be necessary during 5 years, 30 percents of that sum in the first year, 25, 20, 15 and 10 percents in the follow­ing years.

3. Besides the mentioned students and teachers of the High-School 60 students of the other faculties: surveyors, miners oil-miners, geophysics fled together with few teachers and their families. But the small number of teachers were not enough to continue lectures.
Their studies could be carried on at foreign high-schools or universities with proper scholarships. We should like to place the students in small groups consisting of about 10 people in the frame of a larger institution together with Hungarian teachers who would remain with them and help in their studies.

We have asked many countries for financial support. We request your Excellency kindly stand us by. Please inform us about your decision on the following address: International Rescue Committee, Wien I. Weihburggasse 10-12 I. St. which institution has been so kind so undertake the coordination of our matters. Simultaneously our students turned to different ministries of education for help.

We can not give anything for the help but thanks of our people thanks of mother and fathers, which will give you recognition of history. This recognition means more than any material equivalent and will prove that the value of life does not increase by material goods but by the unexhaustive depth of the human soul.

Expressing our hearty thanks we remain most respectfully

Board of professor of the University of Sopron

Rektor.
APPENDIX B

Document (1.) was sent to Mr. Pickersgill with the request he make comments on it.

Document (2.) is an extract from a letter to me from Mr. Pickersgill dated November 20th, 1957. The material is reproduced by permission.

DOCUMENT I


The writer of this article, who had been appointed by the Salzburg Provincial Government to make provisions for the care of Hungarian student refugees until their departure from the country, was an eyewitness to the following events......

Thus only 48 hours after he first learned of the flight of the Academy, Minister Pickersgill could now make the following offer, that would be very difficult to refuse. He promised:

a) The transportation to Canada, at the cost of his government, of the students and faculty and the families of the faculty members.

b) To make possible the completion of the studies of the Hungarian forestry students at the University of British Columbia, by the temporary creation of a Hungarian Faculty of Forestry.

c) To make possible the completion of the studies of the other Sopron University students at other Canadian Universities under normal conditions.

d) To provide livelihood for all the Hungarian students for the duration of their studies.

e) The absorption of the graduate students into Canada's economic life.

f) The transfer and absorption of the Sopron University professors into Canadian universities.

g) Finally, The Minister made it clear that the Canadian government would not compell anybody by this offer to stay in Canada for ever. Any Soproner, whether teacher or student, would be free to return to Hungary at any time at his own expense.
"Of the statements attributed to me, point A is correct.

Point B is slightly exaggerated. What I said was that their faculty would be integrated into the University of British Columbia, probably as a separate faculty.

Point C goes a little further than I was able to go. I said I would try to make possible the admission of other Sopron students. I was, in fact, able to make arrangements for them in Toronto.

Point D is hardly correct. I did not promise a livelihood, I promised them we would do everything we could to see that they got employment so that they could earn their livelihood.

Point E. What I said was that I had no doubt that trained Forestry graduates would be absorbed readily into the Canadian economic life. I know you will appreciate that I could not promise to absorb them since we have a free economy.

Point F is one that I do not recall discussing at all. What I think I did was say that I felt sure that the Professors would be able to find continuing employment either in the Universities or in industry, but there was no guarantee.

Point G is perfectly correct."
I am going to talk about the I.K. and not about party programmes. In a situation like ours we must rise above party politics and personal likes and dislikes. We need unity.

I want to quote a letter that I received from a friend of mine in Budapest. "It is important that you fellows who escaped establish a good name for Hungary. Study a lot so that in the future you can be of use to our poor country".

Our unity must be internally achieved. It doesn't matter who gets to be our president, he'll have to work for the same objective, that is, to impress Canadians with our work and group unity. Perhaps it will be beneficial to us to listen to some of the older immigrants who could tell us what life was like when they came to Canada. That would teach us to appreciate the benefits of having come out here as a group. I repeat, self discipline is most important, but if we are not able to do this, there shall be enforced discipline.

The impressions we make in our summer work and in our studies here at this camp are important factors in our group adjustment. For example, I consider it the duty of the I.K. to see to it that the evening lectures are attended by the students. What impression do you think a small attendance would make on the representative of the Canadian Forest Service after we had made all kinds of statements about our joy of having the opportunity to study as free men in a free country?

At home, under the circumstances, it was considered smart to get away with as little work as possible. Here it is quite different. We have got to do our best, not only for our own good and future, but for the good and future of our country.

I ask you all, whomever you honour by electing as president, to cooperate with him, because the above mentioned elements of the I.K. programme are absolute essentials if we want to fulfil our task.
APPENDIX D

NOTE: None of the information in this appendix is from official sources.

SOPRON PROFESSORS' SALARY SCHEDULES AND ESTIMATE OF THE MONTHLY SALARY BILL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary Bracket</th>
<th>Full Professor</th>
<th>Associate Professor</th>
<th>Assistant Professor</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salary Rate</td>
<td>$450.00</td>
<td>$400.00</td>
<td>$350.00</td>
<td>$250.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in Each Bracket</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly sum for each Bracket</td>
<td>$4,500.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$3,850.00</td>
<td>$1,500.00</td>
<td>$9,850.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childrens' Allowances</td>
<td>$580.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$380.00</td>
<td>$20.00</td>
<td>$980.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Income for each Bracket</td>
<td>$5,080.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$4,230.00</td>
<td>$1,520.00</td>
<td>$10,830.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Under the cost sharing scheme described on the following page the Department of Immigration paid $6,305.00 and U.B.C. paid the remaining $4,525.00 of the monthly salary bill of $10,830.00.
A ROUGH ESTIMATE OF THE CASH OUTLAY OF CANADIAN INSTITUTIONS
FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SOPRON GROUP FROM
FEBRUARY 20TH 1957, TO JUNE 30TH 1958.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>OUTLAY</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.B.C.</td>
<td>Department of Immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell River expenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 20th, to April 30th, 1957.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 people at $3.00 per day per person</td>
<td>$62,100</td>
<td>$62,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell River expenses April 30th, to September 15th, 1957.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 people at $3.00 per day per person</td>
<td>$41,100</td>
<td>$41,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$65. monthly for 196 students</td>
<td>$101,920</td>
<td>$101,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 professors at $10,830. a month</td>
<td>$42,987.50</td>
<td>$59,897.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees paid by students to U.B.C. 196 students at $290. each</td>
<td>$56,840.00</td>
<td>$56,840.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$13,852.50 $265,017.50 $251,165.00

* Both students' subsidies and professors' salaries were regarded as "taxable income" and taxed accordingly. Thus, a part of this money was immediately returned to the government. Students also paid taxes on their summer earnings.

# Payment of the professors' salaries was divided between the Department of Immigration and U.B.C. in the following manner: The Immigration Department contracted to pay $65.00 per month for each head in the family. U.B.C. paid the remainder to bring the total up to the rate set, plus the children's allowance. E.g., a married lecturer (salary rate $250.00 a month) with one child would receive a total of $270.00 a month, of which $195.00 was paid by the Immigration Department and $55.00 came from U.B.C.
In this figure no calculation is made of cost in services—light, heat, janitorial and administrative costs etc. Also the extra cost of the English classes is not included (probably about $10,000 to $15,000.) Neither the salary of the administrative secretary is included nor the moneys paid to the visiting lecturer in the first semester.