

Higher Education in Communist

Hungary

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It is true
when these farthing boredoms
howl down the great aims of education,
when the vultures of abstraction pick out our brains,
when students are enclosed in textbooks without windows,
when language is reduced to thirty incantations,
when the lamp of imagination is extinguished,
when good people from the moon deny us our taste,
then truly
oblivion is dangerously near.

Adam Wasyk

(In "Poem for Adults")

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. An Educational Revolution, 1945-56.

Hungary has undergone a revolution in education in the past thirteen years. After the nationalisation of the schools in the summer of 1948 and Communist control over key posts within the universities in the same year, the educational system became the servant of the state or, more exactly, of the Communist Party.

By 1951 the system of Hungarian education had undergone a metamorphosis from one based on the intellectual traditions of the West, to one similar in content and emphasis to that of the Soviet Union. Humanistic education was pushed to the side by specialisation and technological training. Hungarian history became the history of peasant rebellions, feudal and capitalist exploitation, revolutions and social reforms. Many hours were devoted to the history of the Soviet Union and to enumeration of Soviet and Russian contributions to the intellectual and technological development of the world.

The Russian language became almost the only foreign language studied, except by specialists. All subjects were presented through the lens of the prevailing form of Marxism-Leninism. Intellectual contact with the West was severed. The study of philosophy came to mean intensive study of Marxism-Leninism and Marxist-Leninist criticism of all other philosophic systems. Within thirteen years Hungary had moved from the intellectual orbit of the West to that of the Soviet Union.

The revolution within the Hungarian educational system did not occur as much in form as in content and orientation. The Communists retained the general outlines of the educational system which had existed prior to 1948, one similar to that of Germany or Austria. They did not introduce the ten-year General School¹ of the Soviet Union but continued the traditional pattern of twelve years of study below the university level. The eight-year compulsory general school had been introduced in 1945, and the former eight years of gymnasium study had been shortened to four years at the same time.

When? Hungary, like Russia,² has three major levels of education. After the eight years of general school many young people either end their education or go on for one or two years of apprenticeship or training in special skills. A second group go on to secondary school. There are several types of secondary schools in Hungary which prepare students for further academic study or for specialized work. The academic secondary schools, or gymnasiums, are of three types, those stressing classical subjects, those stressing modern languages, and those with the major emphasis on science. There are also industrial, agricultural, economic and pedagogical secondary schools.³

Many of the students in the non-academic secondary schools go on to universities or other institutions of higher education where they receive further training in their field of specialization. They are joined by the graduates of the academic secondary schools. The university or academy forms

1. George S. Counts, The Challenge of Soviet Education (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), p. 55.

2. Ibid.

3. National Committee for a Free Europe, "Hungary's Bolshevized Pedagogy in 1951-52" (National Committee for a Free Europe, Research and Publication Service, Hungarian Section, April 1952), p. 4. (mimeographed.)

not quite clear

3.

the third level of education. It is here that the engineers, linguists, historians, secondary school teachers, doctors and other members of the intelligentsia are trained. I shall define intelligentsia throughout this study in the Communist manner⁴ which includes not only those in the professions and involved in intellectual work, but persons higher up in the administration of the government, in industry or the Communist Party.

higher than what

There is still another level of training that is somewhat outside the university structure and more under the jurisdiction of the various professional academies. The gifted or politically reliable student may go on for graduate work as an aspirant. He works directly under the supervision of a scholar in his field. He is required to do research, write and defend a thesis and take certain exams, all within a period of three years. If he successfully completes this work, he becomes a candidatus. This work is similar to that of the graduate student in America who has completed the M.A. and is working toward the Ph.D.⁵ The title of Doctor, which was given to graduates of the universities in the pre-Communist era, is awarded now only to recognized scholars who have completed the work for the candidatus status and have either done outstanding work in their field or have been loyal party men.⁶ This new system of advanced study has been directly imported from the Soviet Union.⁷

not quite clear

⁴ Hugh Seton-Watson, The East European Revolution (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956), p. 282.

⁵ Alexander G. Korol, Soviet Education for Science and Technology (New York, Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1957), p. 392.

⁶ Interview # 621 (B-10), p. 14.

⁷ Korol, op. cit., pp. 366-75.

← first reference, explain form of citation

B. Scope of This Paper.

This paper will deal with certain aspects of higher education within Communist Hungary. [I have decided to concentrate on the problem of higher education for the following reasons.] The Communists placed a great importance on the universities until 1953-54. It was in the universities and other institutions of higher education that they hoped to train a new Communist intelligentsia. This intelligentsia was to be drawn from the ranks of the young peasants and workers primarily. These students were to be trained in the principles of Marxism-Leninism as well as in their professions, and they were supposed to replace the old bourgeois intelligentsia wherever possible and to play an important role in the building of socialism.⁸

not the end of

Yet university students played a leading role in the Revolution of 1956. These students had received a thorough ideological training and were, generally, of peasant ^{or} and worker origin. Does their action imply a direct failure in indoctrination or is it a much more complex phenomenon? Such as?

The Communists controlled who was to receive a university education, the number of students in each field of study, the curriculum studied and future employment of the graduate. It was on the university level that so-called unreliable elements were weeded out. Young people of middle-class origin often had trouble being admitted to a university and, if admitted, often had to take training in a subject which was their second or third choice.

The university is ^{thus} a good laboratory in which to test the effectiveness of the new educational system and to examine its problems. The universities

⁸ Speech by Matyas Rakosi at the Third Congress of the Hungarian Working People's Party. New Hungary, Vol. X (June-July, 1954), p. 70.

contain the young people who will most likely have a say in the future of their country, or at least ^{will} occupy the important positions in the future. They will be the doctors, engineers, teachers, factory managers and government officials.

It is possible that the younger generation in Communist Hungary were able to enter their professions earlier and with more success than was ~~usual~~ before. Although the usual backlog of older people trained in the profession existed, the majority of this older group had been active before the Communist takeover and kept their positions on the sufferance of the Communist Party. It was always possible to find a good reason to let them go if a younger and more politically reliable person was able to ^{available} replace them. At the same time, ~~in~~ a state in the process of industrialization and rapid technical change in agriculture, ^{has} ~~there is~~ a great need for technicians and engineers. Then, too, there was a great need for teachers to meet the expansion in education, to replace those teachers that had been expelled, and to teach Russian and Marxism-Leninism.

Another reason I have chosen to discuss the problems of higher education is that the majority of the students interviewed by the Research project on Hungary had studied for one or more years in universities or other institutions of higher education. Lastly, as a graduate student in an American university, I am interested in the conditions of graduate and undergraduate study in Hungary and in the problems faced by the students.

C. Materials Used.

Most of the factual material for this paper has been drawn from the interviews of the Research Project on Hungary. I have supplemented these with certain interviews I conducted alone last year and one that

I made this summer. The interviews used were all made with students, teachers or other persons well acquainted with the system of higher education in Hungary. The interviews of the Research Project will be referred to by number.

All statistical material included in this paper, unless otherwise specified, has been drawn from an analysis of the Research Project interviews. The material included in the Appendix supplements the statistical tables.

I have also made use of available primary and secondary sources which help to clarify various aspects of this question.

II. THE GOALS OF COMMUNIST EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

A. Education as a Means of Control.

It is the socialist?

It was not by chance that the Communists nationalized the schools and brought all education under their control. Education plays an important role in the establishment of the Communist system as a permanent one. The older generations in a state which has recently become a member of the Communist world are not the ones to which the Communists look. The older generation is saturated with the values and beliefs of the previous way of life. The Communists instead look to the youth and hope to build their system on the shoulders of the younger generation.⁹

Lenin said that the school must become

... not only the conductor of the principles of Communism in general, but also the conductor of the ideological, organizational and educational influence of the proletariat on the proletariat and semi-proletarian strata of the toiling masses for the purpose of preparing a generation capable of finally establishing Communism¹⁰

It is through the training of the youth in the principles of Marxism-Leninism that the Communists who seized power within the state and molded the institutions of the state in the fashion they believe to be correct, achieve an "after life."

Stalin was much more blunt in his definition of the value of education.

He said in 1934 that

Education is a weapon whose effect depends on who holds it in his hands and who is struck with it.¹¹

This statement clearly reveals the use of education as a means of control.

⁹ Counts, op. cit., p. 52.

¹⁰ Quoted by Ibid., p. 47.

¹¹ Ibid.

Through education the Communists hope to create a new type of man. This man must be free of the taints of capitalist or anti-Communist thinking. He must be well acquainted with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin and the prevailing orthodox interpretations of the laws of social development, the nature of the universe and the history of the development of Communism. He must possess the "Communist morality" which involves a deep and constant loyalty to the party line and the ability to adapt to the changes in the prevailing orthodoxy. ¹²

This is being tried in Hungary. The Revolution of 1956 indicates that the "new man" was not yet completely trained. Yet we must remember that at the time of the Hungarian Revolution the Communists had been in control of the schools for a little more than eight years. It may take another twenty or thirty years, if the Communists remain in power in Hungary to be able to judge fairly whether a new type of "man" has been created.

Is it possible to use education as a means of control? Is it possible to control the material reaching the student and the tools and words he has at his disposal with which to understand ^{them} it, that his thinking can be directed as the authorities wish? Cannot education be a means of liberation as well? Many men have been educated under many types of educational systems and for a multitude of goals, but for some reason the fences which have been put around the intellect have not always enclosed it. Or, is it possible that the new techniques which the psychologists and social scientists have designed for understanding man may be used to control him? These questions should be kept in mind while examining the system of higher education in Hungary and certain of its problems.

12. ibid., pp. 45-47.

B. The Training of Specialists.

In a world of rapid industrialization and specialization education has come to have a new role. The educated man now often stands apart from the rest of society not only as one trained to think within the intellectual traditions of the society but as the expert in some field. There is little room for the amateur in the realm of modern technology. Even the tilling of the soil is influenced by the machine and the agronomist.

Technical experts are especially important in a country which is in the process of industrialization and modernization of agriculture. Communist Hungary adopted the Soviet type of education, which lays great stress on the training of technical experts. This can be seen best in the new schools which have been set up. Of the 425 secondary schools which were opened in 1951-52, sixty-four were special four-year trade schools, fifty-five were agricultural schools, and 68 were economic schools. Therefore 197 of 425 new secondary schools were specialized in nature.¹³ In 1951-52, twenty-five per cent of all secondary-school students were enrolled in agricultural and trade schools, while in 1948-49 only 14% of all secondary-school students were taking specialized courses.¹⁴ In 1937-38 there were no four-year secondary schools which taught specialized trade courses.¹⁵

What are these?

This becomes even more striking when we examine the new institutions of higher learning. In addition to the 16 universities and academies which existed before World War II, Hungary now has Agricultural or Agronomical Academies in Budapest, Godollo, Keszthely and Magyaróvár. There is an Academy of Heavy Industry in Miskolc, an Academy of Industrial Chemistry

¹³"Hungary's Bolshewized Pedagogy", op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

III. WHO MAY RECEIVE A HIGHER EDUCATION.

A. The Universities Open Wide to Peasants and Workers.

In the eleven years between 1937-38 and 1948-49, the year of the Communist takeover of education, the number of students in institutions of higher education rose from 11.7 thousand to 22.7 thousand. In the four years between 1948-49 and 1951-52 the number of university students rose to 40.7 thousand.¹⁷ By the beginning of 1953-54 there were 48.5 thousand students in institutions of higher education in Hungary.¹⁸ These figures show the tremendous expansion of higher education within Communist Hungary.

In 1930-31 ~~there were~~ only 11% of the total university and academy students ~~came~~ came from worker, peasant, or lower middle-class families. The total number of students in institutions of higher education for that year was 16 thousand.¹⁹ Therefore only about 1.8 thousand were of this origin. In 1951-52 sixty-six per cent²⁰ of all university and academy students were of worker or peasant origin,²¹ approximately 27 thousand.

In 1930-31 twenty-eight per cent of all university students were of the families of independent business men, and 61% came from the families of professionals.²² Students of these origins made up only 33% of the university

¹⁷ "Mass Organisations", The Soviet Takeover of Eastern Europe, chap. III (Cambridge: Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1954), p. 32.

¹⁸ Hungary, op. cit., p. 204.

¹⁹ L'Office Central R. H. de Statistique, Statistique des Etudiants des Ecoles Superieures Hongroises en 1930-31 (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda R.T. 1932), p. 43.

²⁰ "Hungary's Bolshevized Pedagogy", op. cit., p. 4.

²¹ See Brian Simon, Education in the New Poland (London, 1954), p. 52.

²² Statistique des Etudiants, op. cit., p. 42.

students in 1951-52.²³ In 1948-49 members of the "former exploiting classes", a vaguely defined term, were 25.7 % of the university population. Their number had dropped to 1.4% in 1951-52.²⁴ The Communist statistics do not define exactly what is meant by worker, peasant, former exploiting class or middle class, but even these confusing figures given above show that there has been a radical change in the make up of the class structure of the university students. While 33% of 40.7 thousand is a large number and indicates that students coming from middle-class families were allowed to continue their education, it must not be forgotten that many students of middle class or intelligentsia origin either had their study interrupted or were refused entrance to the universities and other institutions of higher education.

The Communists had as their goal the replacement of the old intelligentsia with a new, Communist-trained intelligentsia which was to be recruited mainly from the workers and peasants. This is the reason behind the above figures. The two major tools used by the Communists in making sure that 2/3 of the university population were workers or peasants were the admissions policy at the university and expulsion.

B. Admission to the University.

After the Communist takeover of education in 1948 all matters dealing with education were in the hands of the Ministry of Education. The Admissions Division of this Ministry determined the admissions policy at the universities. They set the percentage of students of the different origins that were to be admitted to the various faculties. This system was mitigated somewhat in 1953.

23 "Hungary's Bolshevized Pedagogy", op. cit., p. 6.

24 Ibid., p. 7.

Anyone who had successfully completed secondary school and passed the natura, a comprehensive examination taken at the end of secondary school, could apply at the university. Yet his class origin and political record had as much weight in his chance of being admitted as his academic qualifications.

The admission to the Law Faculty of the University of Budapest was handled in the following way. After submitting a formal application the student was requested to come for an examination. He was examined by a committee of three members: a professor or docent of the Law Faculty, a delegate from the Communist Party, and a member of the DJSZ, the Communist Youth Organization.

All questions were asked by the professor from a list which had already been approved by the Ministry of Education. Each member of the examining committee rated the answers given by the applicant on a point scale. The individual point score and recommendations were then passed on to a higher committee. This committee could overrule any decision made by the examining board. The respondent remembers one case in which 20 students of intelligentia origin had passed the examination with flying colors yet were not admitted to the Law Faculty due to the ruling of the higher committee.

The examiners were told to give the students of the "X" group, sons and daughters of pre-Communist government officials, army officers or upper class, the hardest questions so that they could not pass the exam. The Communists did not tell the students of this origin not to apply because of their class, but simply eliminated them through the examination. Students could appeal their cases if they were refused admission, but the appeal was made directly to the Ministry of Education. ²⁵

in Veszprem, Academies of Transportation in Szolnok and Szeged, an Architectural Academy and a Domestic Trade Academy in Budapest. There is also a new University of Mining and Forestry in Sopron, an Economics University in Budapest and a Lenin Institute, Academy of Foreign Languages and a Bookkeeping School in Budapest.

as what? At the same time the medical and chemical faculties of the Budapest, Szeged, Pecs and Debrecen Universities were made separate institutions. By 1951 the number of ^{higher} institutions had risen from 16, in 1945, to 26. We must remember, however, that some of the new units are only subdivisions of older universities. ¹⁶

At first glance the emphasis the Communists put on technical education may seem only a reflection of the needs of an industrialized society. Yet a student trained in a technical subject may not as easily be subject to doubt and skepticism as the student trained in history or philosophy. He must memorize certain facts and theories. He deals with the material world. If imposed upon this is intensive training in Marxism-Leninism, a system of thought and belief that offers answers to many of the questions that might arise in the mind of the student, it is possible that technical training may also be a means of control.

primary purpose or by-product of technization?

Sample?

This policy was most rigidly applied in 1948-49 and 1949-50. In 1950-51 the slogan was "Everybody go to college," and students were rarely rejected unless they were of extremely doubtful ~~reliability~~. By 1953 the Communists had begun to realize the need for raising the standards of university training and allowed many more students of non-worker and peasant origin to be admitted.²⁶ Yet this change was more of a quantitative one and the universities and academies still contained a majority of students of worker and peasant origin.

There were ways of getting around the admissions policy. Some students were able to be admitted because they had powerful friends.²⁷ Others falsified their origin. Others worked for a few years and entered the university as "workers".

How effective, this was the context of admissions p. 11?

C. Expulsion from the University.

Between 1948-49 and 1949-50, the universities and other institutions of higher education were "cleansed" of many students of middle class or intelligentsia origin or unreliable political leanings. Though these expulsions continued throughout the entire period preceding the 1956 Revolution, the cases after 1951 were more isolated. Of the 17 students interviewed by the Research Project who had been expelled from the university or secondary school for political reasons or because of class origin, thirteen were expelled between 1949 and 1951. Of these 7 were²⁸ readmitted later on.

D. The Universities Admission Policy as Reflected by our Sample.

The Research Project interviewed 81 young people who had received one to eight years of education under the Communist system in Hungary. Of

²⁶ Interview # 402 (A), p. 2.

²⁷ See Interview # 457 (A), p. 11 and Interview # 509 (B), p. 3.

these students, seventy-two expressed a desire to receive a university education. (I use the word university to mean all institutions of higher education.) The experience of these 72 students falls into certain patterns.

I have divided the students into groups based on class origin, as the Communists do. Our sample is not a true reflection of the younger generation in Hungary, for 28 of the students are of middle class origin, 12 of intelligentsia origin, 5 kulak, 8 peasant, 11 worker and 17 "bad Kader". (By bad kader I mean the previously-defined X class, sons and daughters of pre-Communist government officials, army officers and upper class.) Our sample is ^{thus} heavily loaded with students of non-worker and ^{non-}peasant origin.

I have divided the 72 students desiring a university education into five categories which are based upon their experience in receiving higher education. Group A includes those who had no trouble in being admitted to a university and remaining there to complete their training. Group B is made up of students who experienced a delay of one to seven years in being admitted to the university after completing secondary school, but were finally admitted, and those who had been expelled at one time and then readmitted. Group Y included those who had to leave secondary school or the university for financial reasons. Group Z consists of those who were never admitted to a university and those expelled from gymnasiums and universities for reasons of political activity or social origin. This group was never readmitted. A fifth group which is not included in the statistics of Table I are called Group M. These students were either still in secondary school or were not interested in continuing to the university.

TABLE I
THE EXPERIENCE OF THE 72 STUDENTS INTERESTED IN RECEIVING A HIGHER
EDUCATION

Group	Number	Percentage	
A - Clear sailing all the way.	26	36%	<i>not very useful here</i>
B - Some difficulty but were finally allowed to study.	17	24%	
Total of those permitted to receive a higher education.	43	60%	
Y - Unable to attend or complete the university for financial reasons.	12	16%	
Z - Not admitted to the university or expelled and not readmitted.	17	24%	
Total of those unable to receive a higher education.	29	40%	

Therefore 40% of the students in our sample were unable to receive as much education as they wanted, and only 36% had no trouble at all in receiving a university education.

The problem becomes clearer when we break these groups down into *by* class origin. Because of the smallness ^{size} of the sample it seems best to analyze the experience of the class origin group as a whole instead of breaking the A, B, Y and Z groups into class origin.

TABLE II
THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CLASS ORIGIN GROUPS IN RECEIVING A HIGHER
EDUCATION

Grouping of Table I	Middle Class	Intelligentsia	Kulak	Red Kader	Peasant	Worker
A	57%	25%	20%	12%	25%	18%

TABLE II (Continued)

Table I Grouping	Middle Class	Intelligentsia	Kulak	Bad Kader	Peasant	Worker
B	14%	50%	40%	29%	-	-
Y	-	8.3%	-	-	62.5%	55%
Z	18%	8.3%	40%	53%	-	-
H	11%	8.3%	-	6%	12.5%	27%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

None of the peasants and workers fall into groups B or Z, but 62.5% of the peasants and 55% of the workers were unable to continue their education for financial reasons. The middle class had a much easier time in getting admitted to the universities than the intelligentsia, kulak or bad kader class. Of the bad kader group only 41% were allowed to continue their education.

These statistics must be used carefully for they reflect only the experiences of a limited number of students. If 64% of the students interviewed in Table I experienced some difficulty in receiving higher education, it may reflect their reason for leaving Hungary as much as the average experience of a young Hungarian.

Yet these statistics clearly show that the Communist program of education in the universities often meant a lack of opportunity for students of the middle class and intelligentsia. These classes were brought up within a tradition which called for university education. The fact that so many students had trouble in receiving an education leads one to wonder about the effect ^{that} a disaffected group of half-educated young people, who are frustrated in their desire for further education, might have within a society. It is also clear that the bad kader group were those most prejudiced against.

are middle class, intelligentsia + 'bad kader' mutually exclusive definitions?

Some of the students interviewed (B, Y, Z) who had no trouble in getting admitted to the universities in 1949-52. As in 1949-52 + 1952-53.

Recipients of higher education = 100%

Explain?

IV. PROLETARIANIZATION OF EDUCATION - 1948-53.

A. The Express Matura

Hungary underwent a period of proletarianization in education which was somewhat similar to that in Russia in the 1920's but not as long nor as severe on the standards of higher education.²⁸ The height of proletarianization came in 1949 to 1951. I use the term proletarianization to mean the adaptation of the university to fit the needs of workers and peasants who were admitted to the universities without the proper academic background.

Many young people of peasant and worker origin had ended their education after the eight-year general school or after secondary school. The Communist regime was faced with a problem in 1948. How were they to assure the majority of students of workers and peasants within the universities if only a small proportion of these students had finished secondary school.[?] To meet this problem until a new group of peasants and workers had completed regular secondary school they introduced the "Express Matura" (Szakérettségi).

Under this plan any young person, usually of worker or peasant origin, who had not completed secondary school but was of university age could enroll in a concentrated one-year university preparatory course. At the end of this year the student would receive a special certificate which would allow him to enter an institution of higher education without taking the admissions examination.

The "express matura" students flooded the universities in 1949-50

²⁸ See Counts, op. cit., pp. 144-6.

and 1950-51. Yet many of these students were unable to meet the academic requirements when once in the university. In the Budapest Technical University in 1949-50 more than 35-40% of the "express matura" students failed their subjects. ²⁹ By 1951 there had been such a high percentage of flunking out in the same institution that the "express matura" students were told that they would have to pay back their tuition scholarships and maintenance grants ^{if they flunked out.} These scholarships and allotments were quite generous for workers and peasants in these early years and often amounted to more than an average worker's salary. At the same time the workers and peasants on special scholarship received allotments for clothing and textbooks. These allotments would be very difficult to pay back. ³⁰

~~At the same time~~ the professors were told to handle the "express matura" students with special care. If a professor failed too high a percentage of these students he might be accused of prejudice against the proletariat. Professors soon learned to juggle statistics and pass the necessary number of "express matura" students despite their academic performance. ³¹

Another way of meeting this problem was in the organization of study groups within the various faculties. A study group would consist of 20-30 students ~~who~~ they would work together on their academic subjects. This group was also a means of control for the Communist party, for the students were carefully watched for any deviation from the accepted norm of political behavior. ³²

Often a bad student of worker or peasant origin was assigned to

29 Interview # 561 (B), p. 5.

30 Ibid., p. 7.

31 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

32 Interview # 501 (B), p. 5.

a good student of "unreliable" origin to be tutored in the subjects in which he was weak. If the bad student failed his examinations the good student was held responsible.³³

The standards of some of the university faculties seem to have gone down somewhat during this time. In the architectural faculty of the Budapest Technical University, for example, one student reports that in 1949-52 much of the subject matter was handled in a secondary school manner with laborious note-taking and careful supervision in order to proceed at the pace of the less-well-prepared students.³⁴

It should not be assumed that all of the "express matura" students were incapable of doing the work. Many caught up with the rest of the class after a year or two of hard study and did good work.³⁵ While admission was based on class origin, intelligence, fortunately, was not. The situation in the universities in Hungary during this period is perhaps similar to that of the first-year classes in many of the state universities in the United States.

Matyas Rakosi was referring to the problem of proletarianization of education in his speech before the Third Party Congress in 1954. He said:

The qualitative development of the universities is a lengthy process and does not mean a sudden raising of the educational requirements without a transition. In some of the universities we observe that the slogan of raising quality has been misunderstood. Instead of increasing pedagogical assistance, they leave to themselves students with inadequate preparation, but who are otherwise industrious and talented. There are still 7-800 university students who were admitted through special matriculation courses and who are mainly of working class and peasant origin. We expect them to study diligently, but at the same time full pedagogical assistance must be extended them to help them overcome the deficiencies of their prior training.³⁶

³³ Interview # 561, p. 7.

³⁴ Interview # 501, p. 9.

³⁵ Interview # 241 (B), p. 8.

³⁶ Rakosi, New Hungary, op. cit., pp. 71-2.

In 1951 a correspondence school was founded in Budapest which offered courses on both a secondary and university level. In 1954 the Attila József University was established for part-time students who were working. Although it was primarily intended to encourage workers to continue their education, in the first year only 500 of the 4,300 students were of working class origin.³⁷ These schools may possibly serve as the catch-all for those who are unable to continue their study elsewhere because of origin or political record.

did they offer 1953?

These part-time schools are also attended by many AVH officials, Government personnel and Party people. Some of these have never received more than a primary school education as preparation for this work. The various Ministries encourage their employees to continue their education. Many of these officials take the Law course. A representative of the Ministry attends the examinations of the Ministry employees. The higher Government and Party officials have private examinations.³⁸

still are?

The night school and correspondence courses have also absorbed many of the workers and peasants who might otherwise have entered the regular university with the "express matura." At the same time new groups of worker and peasant youth have completed secondary school and been able to enter the university in the usual way. By 1954, therefore, the transition period of proletarianisation seems to have ended.

³⁷ Hungary . . . , p. 200.

³⁸ Interview # 601, pp. 11-12.

B. " . . . socialism needs not only trained, but excellently trained experts . . ." (Rakosi in 1954)

By the summer of 1953 the Communists had begun to turn their attention from expansion of higher education and training of a new intelligentsia to the development of a network of good and Marxist-Leninist oriented schools from the nursery to the university. This was stated already in 1953 by Imre Nagy who said:

We have practically enforced college education with huge sacrifices. Efforts in this field must be considerably more modest. At the same time, much greater attention than heretofore must be devoted to the people's schools [public schools]39

This was more clearly stated by Matyas Rakosi in 1954 when he said:

A few years ago the two most important tasks in the sphere of secondary and higher education was the security of a majority of students of worker and peasant origin, and the quick and extensive training of experts. We can consider this task as having been essentially solved. Registration for University study, besides social origin, the requirements of talent and outstanding marks must increasingly come to the forefront. Our country in the building of socialism needs not only trained, but excellently trained experts. . . .40

He then goes on to outline the need for good schools on all educational levels with a "scientifically worked out curriculum" and textbooks of a permanent nature.

This trend continued down to 1956, and by 1955 it was much easier *than when?* for a ^{talented} student of middle class or intelligentsia origin to be admitted to the university.

39 Imre Nagy, On Communism (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1957), p. 225.

40 Rakosi, New Hungary, op. cit., p. 71.

41 Interview # 229 (A), p. 25.

V. WHAT IS STUDIED.

A. Choice of a Profession within a Planned Society.

Within a planned society the desires of the individual are not always the determining factor in his choice of a career. From the material gathered in interviews with a cross-section of Hungarian students it seems as if the choice of a career was often determined by chance.

In Hungary, as in other Communist countries,⁴² a five-year plan determines the number of experts who are to be trained in each field. This is based on estimates submitted by the various Ministries to the Ministry of Education. Each faculty is told the number of students which can be admitted each year.⁴³

If a student is refused admission to one faculty or to one university, he will often apply to another. Of the thirty-five students in the A Interview who had attended university in Communist Hungary, only 15 were in the field of their first choice. In some cases the subject studied was quite similar to that originally desired. For example, one student who had wanted to be a translator became a Russian and English teacher⁴⁴ or another who had wanted to be a psychologist became a teacher of backward children.⁴⁵ In other cases the gap was very wide. One student who had wanted to study Veterinary Medicine was only accepted at the faculty of law,⁴⁶ and another who had wanted to study medicine finally turned to the study of music.⁴⁷

⁴² See Counts, op. cit., pp. 164-6, and Simon, op. cit., p. 52.

⁴³ Interview # 608, p. 39.

⁴⁴ Interview # 115 (A), p. 22.

⁴⁵ Interview # 135 (A) p. 135.

⁴⁶ Interview # 214 (A) . p. 32

⁴⁷ Interview # 137 (A), p. 137

The Faculties of Engineering and Medicine seem to have been the most popular. A law professor estimates that twenty times as many students applied to these faculties as could be accepted.⁴⁸ A student says that of the graduating class of 37 in his gymnasium in 1955, twenty wanted to go on to medical school.⁴⁹ Of the 34 students who answered question S 21 in the A questionnaire:

Suppose that while you were still in Hungary a capable young person whom you knew and trusted had asked your advice on what occupation he should seek. What one occupation would you have told him would be the best to aim at?

An extremely high number recommended medicine and engineering. In some cases they recommended both.

TABLE III

PROFESSIONS RECOMMENDED BY THIRTY FOUR STUDENTS IN THE
A QUESTIONNAIRE

Profession	Number of Students
Technical Expert (Engineer)	11
Doctor	11
Technical Expert or Doctor	7
Total recommending Technical Expert or Doctor.	29
Skilled laborer	3
Unskilled worker	1
Artist	1
Total of all answering students.	34

Eighty-seven per cent of the above students recommended engineering or medicine.

⁴⁸ Interview # 608, p. 39.

⁴⁹ Interview # 228, p. 42.

higher than any other single field?

Interested to compare with 20% of students who recommended engineering & US Army?

Among the reasons given for recommending these professions were that medicine and engineering were isolated from politics, they offered good salaries, ^{and} prestige, and were always needed. The question of security and importance of these professions within the society were very important in Hungary where everyone realized he could be replaced.⁵⁰

As one person said:

There were no safe jobs. There were no necessary people except engineers and doctors. ⁵¹

None of these students recommended history, philosophy, political science or literature, subjects which are quite popular for major fields of study in this country. These subjects were, perhaps, most susceptible to political interpretation. It would be helpful to compare the above answers to those in a comparable interview made with students of other countries in order to determine whether these statistics merely reflect the attitudes of members of an industrialized society or are a direct result of the situation in Communist Hungary.

B. Distribution of Major Fields Within the Universities.

TABLE IV ⁵²

DISTRIBUTION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ACCORDING TO FACULTY

Faculty	Per cent of total university population.	
	<u>1937-38</u>	<u>1951-52</u>
Engineering, Chemistry	9.0%	31.0%
Philosophy	18.3%	24.8%
Medicine	12.4%	8.6%
Economics	6.6%	9.8%
Law	39.0%	3.8%
Art	2.7%	3.9%

⁵⁰ Interview # 113, p. 11.

⁵¹ Interview # 204, p. 28.

⁵² "Hungary's Bolshevized Pedagogy", op. cit., p. 5.

Yes,
Field research
has the data

This table shows that the greatest increase is in engineering and chemistry and the greatest decrease is in law. These figures must also be seen against the quantitative expansion of education so that although the medical faculty seems to have decreased somewhat, the total number of students in 1951 in a student population of 40.7 thousand is still greater than 12.4% of 11.7 thousand students in 1937-38. This points up even more the tremendous increase of engineering training.

Law was an entree to many professions before the war and especially to government service. Under the new regime law has come to be a faculty of second importance and one which receives many students who have been unable to study elsewhere.⁵³ The increase in the Faculty of Philosophy does not necessarily mean an increased interest in humanities, for not only do Russian language and literature come under this faculty but also many ideological subjects.

*Law
many
are there*

⁵³ See Interview # 608, p. 39, Interviews# 215, 214 and 601 p. 11.

VI. METHODS OF COMMUNIST CONTROL WITHIN THE UNIVERSITIES.

A. Major Changes in the Organizational Structure.

Hungary has an old and respected university tradition that goes back to the late Middle Ages. Central to this tradition has been university autonomy. The administrative offices of the university, the Rector and the Deans, were traditionally elected by the faculty. The Rector and the representative body of the faculty, the Senate, controlled the appointment of professors and lecturers. They also regulated administrative, academic and disciplinary policies within the university, determined the qualifications for degrees, and acted as the international representatives of the university. ⁵⁴

By 1950 the autonomy of the university had been abolished and it was placed directly under the control of the Ministry of Education and the Communist Party. The top administrative officials were no longer elective but were appointed by either the Ministry of Education, as were the Deans, or by the Communist Party, as were the Rectors. ⁵⁵ At the same time new offices of Communist control were set up within the universities which supervised the faculty and the students. *formally?*

The signal for Communist control over the universities came in 1948 when Gyula Nemeth, a Communist, became Rector of the University of Budapest. At the same time a new office was set up, the Division of Studies (Tanulmányi Osztály), which was to become one of the most feared centers of Communist control within the university. ⁵⁶ The Division of Studies was staffed by Communist

⁵⁴ Joseph Somogyi, L'Instruction Publique en Hongrie (Geneve: Bureau International d'Education, 1944), pp. 82-3.

⁵⁵ William Juhász, Blueprint for a Red Generation (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1952), p. 56.

⁵⁶ Interview # 610, p. 2.

Party ^{on} members. It was here that the kader sheet was kept. This sheet contained facts about the social origin and political sympathy of the family of each individual, whether he had relatives abroad, reports from members of the DISZ, teachers and informers about the political attitude of each individual. It was in this office that the future of the individual student was determined and ~~that~~ personnel policies for the faculty were made.⁵⁷

In 1948 a new committee was established, the Committee of the Teacher's Union (Szakszervezeti Bizottság), which supervised the faculty. The Union played an important role within the university in the early years of Communist control and participated in planning of the curriculum, supervision of exams and supervision over the content of seminars.⁵⁸ Needless to say, the Union was not a body designed to protect the interests of the faculty but another organ of Communist control.

Another important center of control was the University Personnel Department which determined the salary of the faculty members and distributed scholarships and fellowships.⁵⁹

Each Dean was directly responsible to the Rector and not to the faculty members of his department, as he had been previously, and he became "the school's responsible leader and director of its entire work."⁶⁰

The DISZ, the Communist Youth Organization, also played an important role in the administrative structure of the University. Each faculty had a full-time paid DISZ secretary. The DISZ took part in the

57 Interview # 504, p. 6.

58 Interview #601, pp. 3-10.

59. Interview # 505, p. 10.

60. Neal Buhler and Stanley Zuchowski, Discrimination in Education in the People's Democracies (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1955), (Decree no. 1.000-35-11/ (II.08) V.K.N., sec. 24), pp. 39-40.

i.e. multiple
copies balancing
each other - ordinary
one major transmission
left

examining committee for admission to the university, in supervision of the "study groups" ⁶¹ and in disciplinary matters. The responsibility for action in disciplinary matters within the university was shared by a student board, controlled by the DISE, and the Dean. Such action was based on the following principles:

Disciplinary behavior shall be imposed upon students whose behavior is unworthy of university students of our People's Republic, especially if it:

- a) violates the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic.
- b) shows that he is opposed to the political and social order of the People's Democracy. ⁶²

Disciplinary action varied from oral reprimand by the Dean to expulsion from all institutions of higher education. ⁶³

There was a Communist Party organization for every class of every faculty. Every ^{department} had its own Communist Party Secretary. These Secretaries formed the Council of the Faculty. There was a Party Secretary for each Faculty and a Party Secretary, over all of them, for the university. ⁶⁴

B. Control Over the Professors and Teaching Staff.

To meet the rapid increase in the university population in 1949-50 and 1950-51 and to replace the professors who were eliminated by the Communists because of their opposition to Communism or ^{their} "unreliability", the Communists used several techniques. They needed to wait for quite a few years until the new generation of university students had been adequately trained in their subject material and in the tenets of Marxism-Leninism so that they could replace the older faculty members.

In many cases competent secondary-school teachers were brought to the universities as instructors. This was not a new technique in

61. Interview # 137, p. 63. 62. Buhler, op. cit., Sec. 26.
 63. Ibid.
 64. Interview with Student A on July 21, 1958.

Hungary, but, unfortunately, the choice of the new instructors was often more dependent on their political records than on their academic talents, and in 1949-50 this action resulted in lowered academic standards in some institutions. ⁶⁵

At the same time many new appointments were made of faculty members who were Communist Party members. A great number of the older professors stayed but they were carefully watched. Quite a few members of the faculty joined the Communist Party. One student estimates that in his faculty almost 70% of the professors were Party members though very few were active. ⁶⁶ Another professor says that his students begged him to join the party so that he would be allowed to continue his work. ⁶⁷

The professors who remained in the universities had to take special courses in ideology. The younger and more reliable ones were sent to the Party Academy for their ideological training. ⁶⁸ In some faculties the teaching staff hardly changed at all, for the faculty members could not be replaced by Communists possessing the same skills. ⁶⁹

The position of the professor or docent was not a secure one. This was felt most severely by the old intelligentsia who remained in their posts on the sufferance of the Party. Yet it was also felt by the new appointees. As one young professor said:

It is a truism well understood by everyone in Hungary, that no one is irreplaceable. I wrote several textbooks, but I could be replaced . . . ⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Ibid. and Interview # 501, p. 7.

⁶⁶ Interview # 107, p. 23.

⁶⁷ Interview # 412, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Interview # 621, p. 7.

⁶⁹ See Interview # 601, p. 8 and Interview # 504, p. 8.

⁷⁰ Interview # 412, p. 13.

This professor had joined the Communist Party before 1948. He continues:

I think it is fair to say that the older generation were not convinced Communists in their thinking, but in their deeds they frequently served the regime more and better than the young people, who are perhaps more ideally committed to the regime's principles, but have actually compromised themselves for the regime much less. 71

A student at the Technological University of Budapest speaks quite bitterly of the professors of middle class origin who cooperated with the regime in order to keep their jobs and maintain their accustomed standard of living. 72

The above quoted professor says of this problem:

Another awkward position was that Party members were often worried about the consequences of their actions. Yet many non-members were frequently willing to do things more radical for the regime than members would do. Much of the Party's power was built on these . . . 73

Various methods were used to control the faculty. All of the course material was divided between lectures and seminars. The professor would deliver the lecture and the assistant would conduct the seminar. This was one method of controlling the interpretation given by the professor to the course material.

A professor would often receive a letter from the Dean asking him to attend the lecture of one of his colleagues and submit a report on it. A Communist professor might be asked to check up on the ideological content of the lecture, while a non-Communist might be asked to evaluate the professional quality of the lecture of a Communist colleague. There were also confidential observers who were sent out to attend various lectures. They were sometimes outsiders, but, more often, students or departmental assistants. 74

C. Control Over Course Content

All factual and interpretive material in the lectures was carefully

71 Ibid.

72. Interview # 504, p. 9.

73 Interview # 412, p. 13.

74 Interview #601, pp. 5-7.

controlled by the Ministry of Education, the Dean and the Communist Party. Every year the professors in each field, from all the Hungarian universities, would meet for a conference of two or three days. There they would discuss with a representative of the Communist Party and a member of the Ministry of Education the basic outline of the various courses which would be presented in their departments for the following year. This plan would then be given to the assistants in the departments to work out in more detail. The completed manuscript would be sent to the Ministry of Education for possible revision before it was mimeographed into lecture notes. ⁷⁵

The program of studies states what is to be lectured on each week. By 1956 the professor was not obliged to cover everything in the plan, but the plan itself specified what could be omitted. The "patriotic" and ideological materials could never be left out. ⁷⁶ ^{mimeographed} The lecture notes repeated what would be said in the lecture and were a means of control for the student or informer could compare what was said with what should have been said.

While the professor delivered the lecture, the departmental assistants conducted the seminars. The seminar material was even more precisely circumscribed. Each department had its seminar schedule and treated this plan of study like a factory plan which had to be fulfilled. In a seminar in law, for example, the assistant would ask questions about the lecture material, then discuss certain questions in more detail. The seminar program was checked by the Dean. ⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

Not only did the Communist Party through its various organs and Communist-controlled Government offices dictate who was to receive a higher education and how many students were to be trained in each field, but they also controlled whether a student remained in the university, whether he received a scholarship and , if so, what kind and who was to teach him and the exact nature of the subject material that was to be presented.

VII. INDOCTRINATION .

A. What is Indoctrination?

According to Webster, to indoctrinate means "to instruct in doctrines, principles, theories or beliefs." Anyone who grows up in a state which is based upon certain political beliefs or is instructed in a religion, is indoctrinated in some way. We learn the values of our society and of our religion through our own discovery and through instruction.

Yet the term "indoctrination" has come to have a bad meaning to many people. Perhaps it is best to distinguish between various modes of indoctrination.

If a student is indoctrinated in the beliefs of one society, but allowed to read and study the beliefs of other societies, he is allowed to choose his beliefs, to the extent of his curiosity and ability. If a student is indoctrinated in various aspects of life within one society, for example if he receives his religious training at church and his political training in school, he is not being taught about all aspects of life from the same source.

It is also important to determine the reason for indoctrination. If the indoctrination is intended to make the student a good citizen in a "free" state or an intelligent member of his church, and gives him some scope in his individual beliefs, then indoctrination does not necessarily restrain the student. We must have some beliefs upon which to stand and against which we can contrast others, to be able to develop our own value system.

If, on the other hand, indoctrination is geared toward making the individual more easy to control and does ^{local} this by stressing discipline and obedience, and if the student is exposed to only one way of thought, then indoctrination may be harmful. If the system taught is an all-inclusive one which attempts to put all or most of human experience within its intellectual or religious structure and treats all other ways of thought and belief only through criticism of them, the student may emerge from his education viewing life through blinders. Two systems which attempt in some way to do this are the Roman Catholic Church and Communism.

B. Indoctrination in Hungary.

The Communists had the task of not only creating a generation that would be loyal to them, but one which would accept the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and carry on the work of the first Communist leaders. *i.e.?*

The school was a major weapon or tool in forging the new generation into the type of "new man" they wanted to create. The student was exposed to indoctrination outside the classroom as well. Many of the books in the libraries were kept ^{out of} ~~away~~ from circulation, for they contained ideas which might lead to doubt within the student. Marxism-Leninism permeated all academic subjects. The slogans of the state, ~~its theories and policies~~ appeared in the new literature, on the radio, in the newspapers and in the theaters.

It is possible that an overdose of any ideology or religion may lead to irritation with it. It is also possible that teaching about only one way of life may lead to intense interest in other ways, perhaps because they are forbidden. It is interesting that the younger generation in Hungary developed a deep interest in the West, not only in the ideas and literature

Equally?

You might find the latter is the more difficult demand. Did it rise because also occur?

was prior to 1942?

of the West but also in ^{its} our popular music, fashions and movies. As one respondent said:

There is a tremendous interest in the West, how people lived in the West, what their aims and goals were, what they wanted, how they developed. This was true for all age groups, but youth was even more interested since they (the Communists) actually succeeded in isolating them [the youth] from the West. —78

There is also a tremendous curiosity about the West in Russia, yet the paradoxical fact is that the same people who made the difference, not all.

Another student talks of the danger of this way of thinking:

People who hated Communism started to think the West was completely good. People who lived under bad conditions sought a heaven, if need be, on earth. The other heaven was denied. This heaven on earth was America.. 79

This feeling of oneness with the West and curiosity about the West must be separated from the tradition of oneness with the West which existed before 1945. The earlier tradition was rooted deep in Hungarian intellectual and social history. The Hungarians considered themselves part of the West. This new feeling, while related in part to the older tradition, stems more from isolation within the Soviet orbit.

Which one which grew?

Although the student was hit full force with indoctrination in all controllable aspects of life, the regime could not keep him isolated from the rest of society. He could hear talk against the regime from members of the older generation as well as from his contemporaries. He could get hold of "forbidden" books through the private libraries of his family or friends. He might even experience formal counter-indoctrination in his home or subtle counter-indoctrination in his church, if he attended. His teachers, by inflection of a sentence or mocking tone might impart their feelings of criticism of the subject matter to the student, although they stated the exact words of the prescribed text. 80

To you fill the East with hostility and... derivative?

78 Interview # 218, p. 18.

79 Elinor Murray, "The Student in Communist Hungary" (Term Paper for Government 162, Columbia University, 1957), interview with Student F, p. 52.

80 Ibid., pp. 16-18.

The student was also faced with the reality of day to day existence. If he lived at a student hostel and ate in a student canteen, he knew that the quality of the food and lodging were far from what he desired.

81

If he lived at home, he saw that families were crowded into apartments and that shopping meant that his mother or wife might have to wait in lines for a couple of hours. He might have known someone who had been arrested by the AVH and put into prison. He knew that there were informers in the university and elsewhere. He learned to protect himself and, when he could speak ^{Greek}, but he did not necessarily learn to trust the promises of the regime in power.

*Yet many who
knew all this,
explained it
away until
1953, & k.
Why until
then it was
later?*

*This section needs a
little more elaboration
& reflection
think!*

C. Russification.

Superimposed upon the indoctrination in Marxism-Leninism was adulation of all things Russian. The Russian language was studied to virtual exclusion of other foreign languages. Hungarian students became familiar with Russian literature, history, science and geography. Even the lectures at the medical school had to be filled with references to Russian developments in medicine.

Russia was a traditional enemy of Hungary or was at least not a particular friend.⁸¹ Russia, before 1945, was often regarded as a place of backwardness, coarseness and lack of intellectual culture. The war experience of the Hungarians did not necessarily disprove this prejudice. Then, after the Communist takeover, Hungary was suddenly drawn into the

81. Interview # 226, pp. 36-7.

82. Juhász, Blueprint . . ., op. cit., p. 16.

*You need
Juhász &
show this!*

intellectual and cultural orbit of the Soviet Union and isolated from the West.

Perhaps the symbol of this new relationship was the Russian language. All students from the upper grades of the general school up to the end of their university training, had to study Russian. Few students except linguists and specialists in fields that required knowledge of another foreign language learned a foreign language other than Russian. This situation improved somewhat after 1953 when second foreign languages were again offered in secondary school.⁸³ But these languages were studied in addition to Russian and were often taught after school although they were part of the regular curriculum.⁸⁴

Yet the Hungarian students did not learn Russian well.⁸⁵ Twenty five students in Section S of the A questionnaire spoke of their Russian training. They evaluated it in the following way:

TABLE V

ATTITUDES OF TWENTY FIVE STUDENTS TOWARD RUSSIAN
LANGUAGE TRAINING IN HUNGARY.

Attitude	No. of Students
A. Russian language training was a waste of time. We resented it and learned very little.	19
B. It would have been interesting if it had not been required.	3
C. Russian is a useful language to know.	1
D. It was not required (Students in Night School).	2
-	Total 25

83. Murray, op. cit., p. 6.

84. Interview # 115, p. 24.

*Oct 1961 by
Russian
music
lective*

At the same time that Hungarian students were being taught of the "glories" and accomplishments of the Soviet Union, they learned only a part of their own history. With the New Course came ^{and} ~~re~~emphasis of Hungarian national tradition. ²⁴ Matyas Rakosi said in 1954;

The patriotic education of our youth must be grounded in a richer presentation of the heritage of our national culture and history. . . . 85

He went on in the same speech to say that while it is important to study the history of revolutionary movements in Hungary it is also valuable to learn of ^{the}

. . . stages of peaceful evolution preparing the revolution, of reforms which have their own heroes. Our educational work should treat accordingly Janos Csari Apaczai, Samuel Tassotik, Ferenc Bolyai, Istvan Szechenyi, Leland Eotvos and the other pioneers of Hungarian social progress, of Hungarian science and technique. 86

Yet this ~~re~~emphasis on patriotic materials was still only a matter of degree. A professor reports that even in 1955 it was the visiting Russian expert who had the last word to say about the value of a new Hungarian invention in agriculture, a weeding machine. The Russian was heard to say:

"We no longer have weeds in the Soviet Union, and in three or four years time you will not have any in Hungary either; therefore the machinery is superfluous." 87

D. Marxism-Leninism.

A Department of Marxism-Leninism was set up in every faculty of every university. This was a much larger department than the others and contained more than one professor; the usual department or chair had only one professor, and many assistants. 88 Marxism-Leninism was an obligatory

85 Rakosi, op.cit., pp. 72-3.

86. Ibid.

87 Interview # 412, p. 16.

88 Student A, op. cit.

subject for every student in secondary school and in institutions of higher education. The number of hours per week devoted to this subject in the universities and academies varied from four, in most institutions, to six in the Lenin Institute. A typical program of study was the following. In the first two years the student learned about the History of the Bolshevik Party. This course was conducted through lectures and seminars. Every chapter of the text was carefully studied and correlated with readings in the works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and their annotators. In the third year the students would study Political Economy and in the fourth year Dialectical Materialism.

The teaching of Marxism-Leninism presents certain real problems.

If an ideology is taught as an abstract science and is considered only intellectually, it may be ~~very~~ ^{easy} to digest that one which is taught on the abstract level but is also being applied to society. Human society has a tendency to blunt the outlines of any ^{theoretical} political system. This led in Hungary to a dichotomy, often, between theoretical instruction in Marxism-Leninism and use of the theory as a practical guide to the political scene.⁸⁹ Students began to contrast the theory with "reality."

While the students interested in Marxism-Leninism could read the classics in this subject and do their intellectual work within it, they were not encouraged, until 1953-4, to use it creatively. As one man said who had viewed the developments in Hungary from prison:

Marxism was taught so thoroughly that the students got beyond it. . . for instance in 1953 the regime abolished the Chair of Philosophy, because the best students of philosophy had arrived at a criticism of Marxism. I know it from students of philosophy who were put into prison for these reasons. 90.

89 Interview # 513, p. 4.

90. Interview # 118, p. 25.

more related to 100% studied?

can you call this out a little bit?

meaning?

do we have a motivation of this?

Until 1953-54 relatively little time in the Marxist-Leninist seminars ~~was~~ spent in discussion^{ing} of current affairs. Much of this early period seems to have been spent in laborious note-taking from the Marxist-Leninist classics and memorizing of theories. A student of the Technical University of Budapest said of these techniques:

In 1951 . . . the notetaking from Marxist literature was also taken more seriously. This . . . consisted of taking notes of about 120-140 pages from 5 or 6 books a week and that had to be done in such a way that we had to be able to give account of it (the notetaking) at the seminar meetings where professors from the Karl Marx University of Economics presided. In the entire curriculum we felt this the most exacting since the material handled consisted of philosophical works which would have needed serious preliminary study in order to be understood at all. 91

While the Marxist-Leninist classics may have been extremely difficult for some of the engineering students, they were not necessarily difficult for all students.

By 1953-54 this technique was dropped and more time was spent on discussion of current problems. By 1955-56 the study of current events played a major role in the Marxist-Leninist seminars and ^{entire} one semester was devoted to the Twentieth Party Congress. 92 *of the CPSU*

In 1955-56 questions were being asked which might have landed the student in jail in former years. Students asked about Stalin, about Tito, about the peasants and about the living standard in Hungary. One student reports that: *in class?*

It happened quite often that the Chairman of the Department of Marxist studies at the University could not answer a question of a student and would put him off with the explanation that he would have to find out first the right answer from his superiors in the Party. 93

91 Interview # 564, p. 8.

92. Ibid. p. 16. 36.

93. Ibid.

The snowball effect of this debate is described by another student:

At the university in the Marxist-Leninist seminar debates one could tell with absolute certainty who was a Marxist and who was not, at least until the ideological chaos started. Then one brick was pulled out and the whole building collapsed. Finally everyone would ask questions and it was impossible to tell whether the person didn't know the answers to the question or else asked them only as provocation. 9h

*Why
then*

By the beginning of the 1956-57 academic year the atmosphere of the universities was one of intellectual ferment. This soon erupted into the Revolution of 1956, five weeks after the beginning of the new semester.

E. Student Attitudes Toward Marxism-Leninism.

Thirty-nine students in the A questionnaire answered question 26 in Section I, which asked about their attitude toward Marxism-Leninism. They gave the following answers:

TABLE VI

ATTITUDE OF THIRTY NINE STUDENTS TOWARD MARXISM-LENINISM

Answer	Number of Students
A. Complete rejection of Marxism-Leninism as a theory and as a way of life.	7
B. It is impractical and not based on reality.	7
C. The theory is fine but the practice falls short of it.	13
D. It was an important criticism of capitalism in the 19th century but is out of date.	11
E. As an economic system it has much truth but as a philosophy it is inadequate.	1
Total	<u>39</u>

very interesting with the demonstrators

A closer analysis of the students giving the specific answers neither shows a pattern in class origin, amount of years studied or religious attendance in those answering all but answer A. Those answering that they reject Marxism-Leninism do show a certain similarity. Six of the seven in this group were either not admitted to the university or were expelled. Four of these were later readmitted. Of the seven students five were regular church goers and two attended occasionally. Six of these students had been rejected by the regime and it is not surprising that they might also reject the teaching of the regime that hindered them. On the other hand their attitude toward Marxism-Leninism might have been the reason for the rejection.

The immediate reaction of an individual to a question about his ideological beliefs may be some measure to his attitude, but we must remember that these questions were asked of refugees who might have felt a critical answer was required of them. A better test would be to analyze the complete interview for signs of a consistent pattern of using or not using Marxist-Leninist terminology and analysis.

not clear

It is interesting, however, that only 14 of the students saw little practical value in Marxism-Leninism and rejected the theories. The other 25 showed some respect for the theories of Marxism-Leninism although they were critical of its application in every-day Hungarian life. This may indicate that theoretical training in Marxism-Leninism was somewhat effective.

*measuring?
(could you elaborate?)*

VIII. STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE GOALS AND EFFECTIVENESS OF EDUCATION IN COMMUNIST HUNGARY.

A. The Goals of Education.

Twenty-nine students who were interviewed in the A Interview defined what they thought the goals of education in Communist Hungary were:

TABLE VII

THE GOALS OF EDUCATION AS SEEN BY TWENTY NINE STUDENTS

Goals	Number of Students
A. To create a new Communist intelligentsia.	21
B. To create a youth which obeys but does not think.	6
C. To separate the child from his parents.	1
D. To use education as a tool in the propaganda war with the West.	1
Total	39

The majority of the students, those giving Answer A, used the very words of the regime. Answer B is somewhat more specific. One student defines the "new man" which the regime hoped to create:

This mythical being is a creature without religion and without family ties. He is a man who is constantly at the disposal of the regime and who follows the orders of the state in every way. The state can pull him on a string and direct his life. He must adore the regime. . . . He must always test the efficacy of the regime by the promises of the future. 95.

Answer C puts the problem in very basic terms. If the child is to become a member of the new intelligentsia in the future and if his parents consciously teach him that Marxism-Leninism is bad or impractical, the conflict which arises may be seen by some as an attempt to separate the child from the family.

It is interesting that all of the answers relate to indoctrination and the use of education as a tool by the regime. Nothing is mentioned about the need for education in an industrialized society or the value of education for an individual. This indicates the awareness by the students that the regime used education as a tool.

B. Effectiveness of Communist Education.

Thirty nine students in the A Interview commented upon the effectiveness of their education in Communist Hungary with the above mentioned goals in mind.

TABLE VIII

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION AS SEEN
BY THIRTY NINE STUDENTS.

Effect	Number of Students
A. Marxist-Leninist education did have an effect but one opposite to that intended. It gave the students tools with which they could criticize the faults of the regime.	10
B. There was some effect in teaching the Marxist-Leninist way of thought. Students accepted some parts of the teachings and became more aware of social issues.	9
C. The action of students in the Revolution shows the effect.	4
D. Communist education led to a struggle between home and the school.	2

*What was the question?
Some of the replies are not comparable*

TABLE VIII (CONT.)

Effect	Number of Students
E. Communist education led to a struggle between home and school.	2
F. The standards of higher education were lowered.	2
G. There was no effect at all.	9
	Total
	39

You said this under D.

It is interesting to compare the average number of years spent in Hungarian schools and universities after 1948 for the students in each answering group. Group F, i.e. those answering F, has the lowest average of years spent in Communist schools only 1.5 years. Group E averages 7.0 years. Groups A, B, C, D and G average 5.6, 4.0, 4.6 and 4.6 years respectively.

The low average of Group F may raise questions as to whether they were really able to judge the standards and whether their experience may not have been during the period of proletarianization when standards were lowered in some institutions. The high average of Group E, despite the fact that only 2 students answered in this way, may reflect the fact that for the generation of students who were in the upper grades of general school or in secondary school at the time of the Communist takeover, the conflict between home and school was a real problem. Older students who were already in secondary school or the university at that time may have been more independent and not felt the influence of their families as strongly.

you can check when they attended

C. "Marxist-Leninist Education did have some effect but one opposite to that intended. It gave the students tools with which they could criticize the faults of the regime." (Answer A)

Marxism-Leninism called attention to the faults of other societies. It spoke of the exploitation of the workers and peasants by the former capitalists in Hungary, of the improvement of conditions in Hungary under the Communists and said that the state belonged to the workers and peasants. Yet the workers and peasants had a hard life, and the claims of the regime seemed empty against the problems of day-to-day existence. It took only a bit of intellectual juggling for the students to turn the theories of capitalist exploitation of workers and peasants to fit Communist "exploitation" of the same groups. 96

One student believes that the Communists made a mistake in the heavy emphasis put on indoctrination. Constant repetition of certain theories and slogans only served to keep many questions alive in the minds of the students and to remind them of the contrast between theory and reality. 97

Another says that the students were constantly told that the Hungarian economy would develop in an orderly fashion, "but in practice we could see that the whole system was collapsing." 98

Marxism-Leninism was not able to convince all the peasants and workers that Communism was the way of the future. Instead it merely served to awaken them to the reasons behind the injustices they saw.

The students were actually to a great extent of peasant and working class origin. Through their natural logic and from home they brought with them to the university a rejection of the regime. They came to the university with disillusionment and pain. By the third year of their university career they reached the stage where they realized that the troubles were not accidental but stemmed logically from the nature of the regime. . . .99

96. Interview # 112, p. 51. Interview # 213, p. 16.

97. Interview # 211, p. 8.

98. Interview # 107, p. 31.

99 Interview # 505, p. 11.

But how to explain the things of?

This suggests that the system had to be better than Communism - yet were they?

Perhaps the most eloquent statement of this problem was made by a young peasant who had been successful in receiving a university education in the subject he wished. This young man should have been a member of the new Communist intelligentsia from the fact of his origin and his favored position in receiving an education. Instead he says:

In 1945 Communism was an unknown ideology in our country, at least it was unknown to the youth. The Communists achieved only relative success in teaching it to the youth. We learned about its origins and principles from books and saw in real life that it consisted of lies and essential contradictions. . . . They achieved the opposite: getting youth to hate Communism. 100

- D. "There was some effect in teaching the Marxist-Leninist way of thought. Students accepted some parts of the teachings and became more aware of social issues." (Answer B)

This answer presents certain problems and shows the effect of intellectual isolation within the Communist orbit. Many of the things that the students accepted in the Communist system were beliefs and values which are shared by many people outside the Communist world. One student reveals this problem when he says:

. . . many students were of the view that Communism is a good idea but not a practicable one. What we thought good in Communism was the following: the idea of equality, general welfare, freedom for all. . . . What the regime did was exactly the opposite of these ideals. 101

Are the above mentioned ideals the sole property of Communism? Isn't it possible that the action of the regime might be closer to the real ideals of present day Communism than the ones that were taught?

Another student says:

It gave many answers to young people who were searching for truth. It also helped us to realize how much injustice is in human society. We no doubt liked the idea of equality. We could not understand why a regime which calls itself superior must apply terror. 102

100 Interview # 226, p. 45.

101 Interview # 106, p. 6.

102 Interview # 211, p. 19.

not clear what you have in mind

Any young person who is curious about life and eager to use ideas will, most probably, begin his search and questioning within the ideological system in which he has been trained. If he is not exposed to any conflicting ideology or intellectual system he may be forced to do all of his intellectual work within the same system of words, hypothesis and orthodoxy. This does not necessarily mean that he believes in the system, but only that he knows no other way of thinking. As one student said:

. . . most young people's interest was aroused by Communist contradictions and as a result they looked out for them. . . They were more sensitive to social problems. In the West there are hidden social contradictions, but people usually don't seek any further to try to understand them.

Youth knows only the Marxist jargon. It cannot express itself in other ways, even though it does not believe in Marxism. 103

Or as another student expresses this problem:

Communism and its words and expressions creep into your mind. When you are outside a Communist society it is almost like learning a new language. It is difficult not to think "What would Stalin have thought of this?" when you read a book or see an opera. . . Not that you believe the meanings of these words but because you are accustomed to them. 104

These statements show the dilemma in which the Communist-trained student may find himself. It is extremely difficult to measure the amount of what may be called superficial indoctrination, that is words and intellectual constructs which are used from habit and can be replaced by others, and the amount of deeper indoctrination which may determine the actions of the individual throughout his life.

It should not be supposed that all students reacted in the same way to indoctrination. While many rejected Marxism-Leninism, others

103 Interview # 501, p. 10.

104 Murray, op. cit., Interview # F, p. 50.

with
clear

This is very
important
work
analyzing

because devout Marxists or Leninists:

I am long disillusioned by the practice, but I shall never rid myself of thinking in Marxist terms. Class warfare, class distinctions, dialectical historical materialism are terms I understand and believe in. Forms of social organization follow each other inevitable and this I also accept. But I reject, one: the necessity of violent revolution, and two: the weakest link theory. . . . I accept the inevitable development of ideas of communal living. 105

many mixed in. Leftists positions, to for what?

To many of the young Marxists and some non-Marxists the Revolution of 1956 occurred within a Marxist framework. They believe that without the ideological training of Marxism-Leninism the students could never have prepared the revolutionary platform. 106

The effect of Communist indoctrination cannot be measured yet, for it is much too early. The Revolution occurred eight years after the Communist takeover of the schools. It will only be in twenty or fifty years that we can measure the deeper effects of indoctrination, when the younger generations which have spent all of their life within a Communist system, if the system should continue, become the leaders in Hungary. The interviews with students who have recently emigrated, though, indicate some of the problems that are caused by indoctrination and the effectiveness of personal resistance against indoctrination. Perhaps the Communists are wrong when they assume that the individual can be understood in materialistic terms. We must wait and see.

Can say no more?

105. Interview #504, p. 3. , 106. Interview # 508, p. 5.

IX. WORKERS AND PEASANTS AT THE UNIVERSITY.

A. A New Intelligentsia?

The Communists planned to draw their new intelligentsia from the peasant and worker classes. The doors of the universities opened wide to those young people who had had limited access to education under the former regime. They were most often allowed to study the subject of their choice. They were given preference on scholarship help and received special help from their professors and colleagues. They were the preferred classes within the educational system.

*all peasants?
young and
before.*

One student describes the situation at the Technological University of Budapest. In the years 1949-50, 1950-51 almost 90% of the entering classes were of worker and peasant origin:

The average Hungarian university student came from the slums of the working population or from the small hamlets of the poor peasants. He arrived at the university in his pristine ignorance, enraptured by the beauty of the humanitarian and equalitarian great ideas of Communism. When already in school, his time being entirely taken up by the heavy curriculum... he lost all contact for two or three years with that environment from which he came 107

This refers specifically to the early period before 1953. During the academic year, at this time, the student had little time to visit his home. During the holidays he often participated in organized outings. During the summer he most probably took part in the "voluntary brigades" of students who did heavy construction work or helped in the fields. He might also have one month of military training.

⁵⁸
 The students lived, for the most part, in student hostels and ate in student cafeterias. During the proletarianization period they received good scholarships. It is possible that some students during this early period tended to mistake their own living standard for that of the workers and peasants.¹⁰⁸

This illusion could not last long. The "express natura" students had to work terribly hard, and even so many flunked out. After 1951-52 the scholarships were cut somewhat. It was impossible to keep the students from visiting home and discovering the actual living standards of their families. It was also at this time that the obligatory production exercises were introduced for the technical students. This meant that students in their third or fourth year would spend the summer having practical experience in their field in factories or other places of their special type of work. They were brought from the university ^{to} in society.¹⁰⁹

One of the big changes noted by a student of architecture after 1953 was that the peasants in his university began to complain openly that their parents were being exploited by the regime.¹¹⁰ He goes on to say that in the 1955-56 school year it was the peasants and workers who entered the debates in the Marxist-Leninist seminars most actively and bitterly.¹¹¹

Is it realistic for the Communists to assume that they can train a reliable intelligentsia by choosing to educate those who had been somewhat underprivileged under the former regime? Is an educated person, once his formal education is completed, necessarily tied to his old class? Isn't it possible that education instead tends to negate class boundaries?

Some of the peasants did go back to their villages after their university

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹⁰ Interview # 501, p. 26.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 30.

112

training and have begun to form a new rural intelligentsia. This group may be important in the future.

Our sample contains a very small number of worker and peasant youth : only 8 peasants, 12 workers and 5 "kulaks". Of these only 2 peasants went on to the university, four workers continued and three of the "kulak" group studied at the university. The workers and peasants, twenty students in all, who were the "favored classes" under the Communist regime, make up only 25% of our sample, while in Hungary their proportion in the universities was from 60% to 70%. Although the "kulaks" were peasants, they were not among the favored groups. If our sample is an adequate reflection of the nature of the refugee group, we must be careful in drawing conclusions about the students of worker and peasant origin in Hungary, for the majority of our information comes from students of other origins.

Why did the worker and peasant youth ^{where?} remain? Is it possible that they stayed because they knew they would have a favored role within their country despite the inadequacies of the regime? The Communists have educated a new intelligentsia which is primarily of worker and peasant origin but the action of the university students in the Revolution and the information we have about the worker and peasant students from other students who emigrated, leads one to believe that the new intelligentsia is not necessarily loyal or reliable.

B. Class Conflict Within The University?

The students give conflicting pictures of life at the university and the relationships between students of ~~the~~ ^{social?} different origins. Three of the middle-class students speak of the fact that the workers and peasants

tended to form their own friendship groups as did the middle-class students. ¹¹³
 One even says that the workers still felt that there was a stigma on worker
 origin among the university students. ¹¹⁴ Another student of peasant origin
 says that class barriers broke down and that friendship groups were formed
 through interest and not because of origin. ¹¹⁵ Another says that actual
 feeling of class disappeared, but that the old middle-class was drawn
 together by interest in the West. ¹¹⁶

Almost all of the students mention a greater informality at the
 university under the Communists. It is not surprising that friendship
 groups tended to form along class lines. The middle class and intelligentsia
 had certain intellectual traditions and interests which might tie them
 together. The peasants may have been drawn together by a common interest
 in the problems of the villages and of agriculture. One student reports that
 there were active groups of students interested in the Populist Movement
 in many of the universities. ¹¹⁷ It is interesting, however, that the
 descriptions of class differences at the universities are void of any
 references to class conflict and tension along Marxist lines or to
 political commitment. The students seemed to have felt close to each other
 in political matters and in their opposition to the regime.

113 Interview # 209, p. 25. Interview # 501, p. 5. Interview # 204, p. 66.

114. Interview # 204, Ibid.

115 Interview # 226, p. 59.

116 Interview # 213, p. 65.

117 Ibid., p. 56.

1144
 1145

What was
 Populist
 in 1912?

All students?

Any social
 factors?

X. THE YOUTH AND CYNICISM.

A. Charges of Cynicism.

In April and July of 1956 a series of articles appeared in a Hungarian journal which discussed papers written by the graduating classes of ^{several} ~~several~~ gymnasiums. The students discussed, "What are Our Ideals?" The writer concluded that the youth lacked patriotism and ideals. ^{Article} 118 In one of the Petöfi Debates in the same year György Lukacs accused youth of being cynical and disillusioned but said that it was no wonder ~~for~~ they could easily see the discrepancy between theory and reality. 119 This criticism of the youth was accompanied by discussions about educational reform. In the period immediately before the Revolution, therefore, there seemed to be a general concern about the youth and its cynicism.

In the A questionnaire, eighteen students mentioned the fact that Hungarian youth was cynical. This was not in answer to any specific question but came out in the course of the interview. In some interviews it was mentioned several times. These students said that the youth lacked firm ideas and rejected responsibility. In the words of one:

Hungary's youth is cynical. They are not Communistic, they are nothing. They have been abused. They are exposed to constant pressure, opposition and tension between family and school. They are diplomatic and have a don't care attitude. They are also ready to accept the good and the beautiful in their weaker moments. They rarely had views or showed them. 120.

Some of the cynicism showed in the attitude of students toward the future. It was felt by some that nothing could be achieved in an honest

118 Interview # 206, p. 4.
 119 Interview #108, p. 8.
 120 Interview # 101, p. 12.

way.¹²¹ As one student said:

One of the effects Communism had on youth was that it taught young people how to lie. They had to lie in school; they had to mouth the Communist slogans they didn't believe in. . . .

Lying became a perfectly natural every-day act. It was quite laughable at the university that when students discussed the low Western technical standards with great enthusiasm, they were congratulated later by their fellow students for their cleverness in lying. . . .¹²²

Eleven students in the A Interviews said that youth was not necessarily cynical but that young people learned to protect themselves. They learned what to say, when and to whom.

B. Cynicism and the Revolution.

It is not by chance that students have played a leading role in many revolutions. Students and scholars are, in a way, the conscience of society. They sit back in their world of words and concepts, enough removed from the push of every-day life to be able to see it in some perspective. Students do not have the intense conflicts of responsibility which face an older person, conflicts between the need for security and for providing for their family, and their political ideals. The fact that they have received and are receiving an education is all the more reason that they should emerge in one of the leading roles in a revolution, for ~~and~~ are stimulated to analyse and create and are not yet submerged in the society of their elders. They are not yet tired or enough worn down by life to ignore the need for change and to act for it.

If Hungarian youth were cynical, why did they play such an important role in the revolution and why did the platforms of the university students show such a concern for the future of their country? ¹²³

¹²¹ Interview # 220, p. 40.

¹²² Interview # 213, pp. 45, 47.

¹²³ See United Nations General Assembly, Report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary (New York: General Assembly Official Records: Eleventh Session, 1957) Annexes A, B, C, D, pp. 74-5.

Twenty-eight students answered Question III in the A questionnaire.

This asked whether they had expected the university students to play the role they did in the 1956 Revolution. They gave the following answers:

TABLE IX

THE ANSWERS OF TWENTY EIGHT STUDENTS AS TO WHETHER THEY EXPECTED THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TO ACT AS THEY DID IN THE 1956 REVOLUTION

Answer	Number of Students
A. Yes, I did. The students saw the contrast between theory and reality in Communist Hungary. They simply realized the weakness of the regime.	13
B. Yes, I did. Without students you cannot have a revolution. They provide the intellectual leadership.	6
C. No, I did not. Youth seemed too cynical and disillusioned to carry out a revolution.	9

Nine of the twenty-eight students, or approximately a third of the group answering, said they were surprised the the students acted as they did for they had seemed too cynical.

What exactly happens within the mind of someone who is disillusioned with the ideology he has been taught and dislikes the regime under which he lives, but lacks the opportunity to get out of it and lacks the books and the systematic training in another way of life to build an intellectual refuge for himself within the existing system? Does he live a double life, thinking one thing and doing another? Does he, instead, reject everything? Was the Revolution of 1956 an affirmation by the youth in Hungary that they did believe in certain ideals and believed enough to die for them? For certain of these young people I believe it was.

*A line question: For
thought about what
students had
to say.*

*(some) men
this is for the
cavalry a
picture of the
militarism
I think*

C. Cynicism and Church Attendance.

Despite the many statements that Hungarian youth were cynical and believed in nothing, many of the students went to church. While church attendance in itself shows very little about the real beliefs of the individual, the act of church going may indicate that the individual is at least seeking something. Some young people looked to religion as a way of life to counterbalance Communism.¹²⁴ Others attended church in a spirit of political opposition.¹²⁵ Others went to find solace.¹²⁶

Thirty eight students answered the questions in the S section of the A questionnaire about their religion and church attendance. They gave the following answers:

TABLE X

STUDENTS IN THE A QUESTIONNAIRE AND CHURCH ATTENDANCE

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>
<u>ROMAN CATHOLIC</u>	
A. I attended church regularly.	19
B. I went occasionally.	4
C. I never went to church.	<u>1</u>
	Total 24
<u>PROTESTANT</u>	
A. I attended church regularly.	2
B. I went occasionally.	5
C. I never went.	<u>1</u>
	Total 8

124. Interview # 217, p. 39.

125. Interview # 229, p. 35.

126. Interview # 228, p. 42.

TABLE X (CONT.)

	<u>Number of Students</u>
<u>JEWISH</u>	
A. I went to services regularly.	1
B. I went occasionally.	1
C. I never went to temple.	<u>2</u>
Total	5
<u>GREEK ORTHODOX</u>	
A. I attended church regularly.	<u>1</u>
Total	1

Although many students in the Roman Catholic group attended church regularly, sixteen of the nineteen regular church goers said that they went, but youth in general was less religious. Two said that youth was more religious than before.

At the time of admission to a university each student was asked if he was religious. It was dangerous to his chances if he said he was.¹²⁷ In some cases gymnasium students were warned that if they continued to go to church they would not get the proper recommendation from their school for the university.¹²⁸ When university students attended church they usually went to a church in a neighborhood where they were not known. It is interesting that only 4 of 38 students said that they never went to church. It is possible that the students were themselves not aware that their colleagues were attending church.

D. Self-Protection.

Until the months immediately preceding the Revolution the students had to be careful of what they said and did. There were informers scattered throughout the university. The rooms in student hostels were

127 Interview # 103, p. 35. 128 Interview # 108, p. 27

There is not a very reliable measure

Do not know why this is. It is possible that the students were themselves not aware that their colleagues were attending church.

assigned, and there were usually eight students to a room. It took a few months to discover who could be trusted and who could not; then the next year you had to begin all over again.¹²⁹

It was common knowledge that there was a network of informers throughout the university. Some were "volunteer spies" who acted out of zeal or opportunism¹³⁰; others were in trouble with the regime and informed to keep themselves out of jail¹³¹; others informed because they had a malicious pleasure in doing so.¹³² The latter group were more easily identified than the others. The student had to watch his tongue and parrot the orthodox slogans unless he was sure of his audience.

Yet almost every student mentions one or two friends with whom he spoke freely. Many of these friendships had been made before the student entered the university, others were made at the university. One student says that it took a good year for him to discover who was trustworthy among his classmates.¹³³ Twenty-seven university students in the S section of the A questionnaire speak of their friendships:

TABLE XI

CLOSE FRIENDS MENTIONED BY TWENTY-SEVEN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
IN THE A INTERVIEW

<u>Origin of Friendship</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>
A. Close friendships established before entering the university and continuing through the university years.	14
B. Friendships made at the university.	11
C. No close friendships.	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	27

¹²⁹ Interview # 226, p. 36.

¹³¹ Murray, op. cit. p. 12.

¹³⁰ Interview #504, p. 7.

¹³² Interview # 505, p. 12.

It would be a good idea to compare these statistics with those of university students in other countries. Only 11 of the 27 students made close friendships while at the university. This may in some way reflect the feelings of distrust and tension among the university students which made them renew or continue their earlier friendships instead of taking the risks which might be involved in making new ones.

While it seems that a form of cynicism appeared quite often among university students, the statistics on church going, the participation of university students in the Revolution and the fact that close and frank friendships existed among the students indicate that Hungarian students were not completely cynical. Their cynicism was more of a disillusionment with ideology and beautiful theory which had little to do with the reality of every-day experience. As one student said:

Communism is an attractive theory-- it is logical and intelligent, yet its basic assumptions are wrong . . . The theory becomes blurred and distorted when it is applied to human society. Yet, after you have known it, it means, in a certain sense, that you are no longer naive. I don't believe the theories of the idealists and dreamers, of the great men. . . . I do not trust idealists. 133

There is a long way between distrust of idealists and theories and the distrust of one's fellow man, an attitude of complete cynicism. The students do not seem to have lost faith in the possibilities of sincerity and trust on an individual basis. While ideologies can be replaced, faith in man cannot. This may help to explain the dichotomy which seems to exist between the reported cynicism among the students and their participation in the Revolution. It was not that they had lost faith in everything, but that they had to live in a society which preached one thing and acted in another way and where there seemed little hope of change. When the possibility for change came, through violence and mass action, the students rose.

rebellion?
 I suspect a
 more complex
 psychological
 phenomenon
 - inclusion of a
 craving for
 identification
 with a cause
 and their
 suffering

then what?

APPENDIX I

<u>Middle Class</u>		<u>Educational Experience</u>	<u>A or B Interview</u>
Interview #	103	Group A (Tables I and II)	Type A
"	# 106	" A	" A
"	# 110	" A	" A
"	# 115	" A	" A
"	# 129	" A	" A
"	# 131	" Z	" A
"	# 135	" B	" A
"	# 201	" Z	" A
"	# 202	" B	" A
"	# 210	" A	" A and B
"	# 213	" A	" A
"	# 217	" Z	" A
"	# 220	" H	" A
"	# 222	" M	" A
"	# 402	" A	" A
"	# 436	" A	" B
"	# 438	" Z	" B
"	# 440	" A	" B
"	# 454	" A	" A
"	# 501	" A	" B
"	# 504	" A	" B
"	# 505	" B	" B
"	# 508	" A	" B
"	# 509	" B	" B
"	# 511	" A	" B
"	# 519	" Z	" B
"	# 524	" H	" A
"	# 610	" A	" B

<u>Intelligentsia</u>		<u>Educational Experience</u>	<u>A or B Interview</u>
Interview #	101	Group A (Tables I and II)	Type A
"	# 104	" Z	" A
"	# 107	" B	" A
"	# 111	" B	" A
"	# 114	" A	" A
"	# 207	" B	" A
"	# 214	" A	" A
"	# 229	" B	" A
"	# 405	" H	" B
"	# 406	" Y	" A
"	# 413	" A	" A
"	# 558	" B	" A

APPENDIX I (CONT.)Bad Kader

Interview # 117
 " # 136
 " # 203
 " # 204
 " # 205
 " # 209
 " # 215
 " # 218
 " # 228
 " # 231
 " # 234
 " # 238
 " # 244
 " # 247
 " # 408
 " # 457
 " # 513

Educational Experience

Group A (Tables I and II)
 " B
 " Z
 " Z
 " Z
 " Z
 " B
 " A
 " B
 " Z
 " Z
 " Z
 " Z
 " Z
 " H
 " B
 " B

A or B Interview

Type A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " B
 " A
 " A
 " B
 " A
 " B
 " B

Kulak

Interview # 112
 " # 133
 " # 137
 " # 206
 " # 211

Educational Experience

Group A (Tables I and II)
 " B
 " B
 " Z
 " Z

A or B Interview

Type A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A

Peasant

Interview # 153
 " # 156
 " # 158
 " # 226
 " # 235
 " # 403
 " # 461
 " # 605

Educational Experience

Group Y (Tables I and II)
 " Y
 " Y
 " A
 " Y
 " H
 " Y
 " A

A or B Interview

Type A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " B
 " B

Worker

Interview # 109
 " # 119
 " # 154
 " # 159
 " # 221
 " # 223
 " # 232
 " # 233
 " # 241
 " # 404
 " # 516

Educational Experience

Group Y (Tables I and II)
 " Y
 " H
 " H
 " Y
 " Y
 " Y
 " Y
 " A
 " H
 " A

A or B Interview

Type A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " A
 " B
 " A
 " B
 " A
 " B

155
 616
 458
 500

APPENDIX IICLOSER ANALYSIS OF GROUP B

<u>Interview</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Expelled</u>	<u>Not Admitted</u>	<u>Readmitted</u>	<u>Full Time</u>	<u>Field of Choice</u>
# 202	Middle	1948	-	1949	Yes	No
# 505	Middle	1953	-	1954	Yes	No
# 509	Middle	1955	-	1956	Yes	No
# 101	Intell.	-	1948	1948	No	Yes
# 107	Intell.	1949	-	1950	Yes	Yes
# 111	Intell.	1951	-	1956	Yes	Yes
# 207	Intell.	1949	-	1953	No	No
# 558	Intell.	1950	-	1950	No	No
# 137	Kulak	1950	-	1951	Yes	No
# 215	Bad Kader	-	1955	1955	No	No
# 457	Bad Kader	1951	-	1954	Yes	Yes (as worker)
# 513	Bad Kader	1954	-	1955	Yes	No
# 135	Middle	-	1951	1951	No	Yes
"	"	"	"	1955	Yes	Yes
# 229	Intell.	-	1951	1956	Yes	Yes
# 133	Kulak	-	1948	1953	No	Yes
# 136	Bad Kader	-	1947	1952	Yes	No
# 228	Bad Kader	-	1955	1956	Yes	No

CLOSER ANALYSIS OF GROUP Z

<u>Interview</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Inprisoned</u>	<u>Expelled</u>	<u>Reason Expelled</u>	<u>Not Admitted</u>	<u>Highest School</u>
# 131	Middle	-	-	-	1956	Gymnasium
# 217	Middle	-	-	-	1952	Gymnasium
# 206	Kulak	One year	-	-	1948	Theol. School
# 205	Bad Kader	-	-	-	1953	Gymnasium
# 209	Bad Kader	-	-	-	1953	Gymnasium
# 231	Bad Kader	-	-	-	1948	Theol. School
# 238	Bad Kader	-	-	-	1948	General School
# 244	Bad Kader	-	-	-	1951	General School
# 201	Middle	1951-56	1951	"conspiracy"	-	University
# 438	Middle	1949-50	1949	"bourgeois attitudes"	-	University
# 519	Middle	-	1952	Student of Lukacs	-	University
# 104	Intell.	1951-56	1951	"espionage"	-	University
# 203	Bad Kader	-	1948	left of own choice	-	University
# 204	Bad Kader	-	1948	"unreliable element"	-	Gymnasium
# 234	Bad Kader	-	1955	origin	-	University
# 247	Bad Kader	-	1951	Father in jail.	-	Gymnasium
# 211	Kulak	-	-	Father in jail	1950	Gymnasium

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Materials Used for Tabulation of Answers of Students
In the A Interviews

A. Procedure.

I first separated out all young people who had studied in secondary schools or universities in the years between 1948 and 1956. Some of the students had only one year; most of them had between five and seven years of study under the Communists. I retained the students who had had only one year of study because their education had been interrupted by the Regime. I did not include interviews with young people who were not interested in receiving a higher education and had stopped their study accordingly. These young people had relatively little information about education in their interviews and could not be called "students". Since everyone in modern society must at one time or another study, it is necessary to draw some lines between those who are students and those who simply study because they are required to by the state.

I then tabulated the answers of the students mentioned above to a series of questions and included on the code sheet relevant material about their personal background. The Guide Sheet indicates which box on the interview index sheet contains the specific answers. I have included a detailed breakdown of the answers used for tabulation of statistical material which was used in the paper. Some of the material had more relevance than other material, and the topics I chose to include in the statistical tables of the paper were chosen for their ability to clarify certain problems raised by the text.

CODE SHEET FOR ANSWERS TO A INTERVIEWS USED IN STATISTICAL
ANALYSIS IN VARIOUS TABLES(See Appendix IV)

I. Table III.

"I would recommend that he become a :"

- A. Engineer.
- B. Technical Expert.
- C. Doctor.
- D. No answer.
- E. Skilled worker.
- F. Unskilled worker.
- G. Artist.

II. Table V.

Attitudes toward Russian Language Training:

- A(1) It was a waste of time. We resented it and learned very little.
- (2) It would have been interesting if it had not been required.
- (3) Russian is a useful language to know.
- (4) It was not required.

III. Table VI.

Immediate attitudes toward Marxism-Leninism.

- A. Complete and unqualified rejection.
- B. It is impractical and not based on reality.
- C. The theory is fine but the practice falls short.
- D. It was an important criticism of 19th century capitalism but it is out of date today.
- E. (Variation of C and classified with C in statistical tabulation)
- F. As a philosophic system it is out of date. As an economic system it has much truth.

IV. Table VII.

The Goals of Education.

- A. To create a new Communist intelligentsia.
- B. To use education as a tool in the propaganda war against the West.
- D. To separate the child from the parents.

IV (CONT.)

- E. To create a youth which does not think, but only obeys.

V. Table VIII.

The Effectiveness of Marxist Leninist Education, Also the Effect . .

- A. It led to lowered standards.
- B. It did not change the real attitude.
- C. It had some effect in teaching the Marxist-Leninist way of thought and made the students more aware of social issues.
- D. It was valuable brainwork in learning to criticize the system with its own words and theory.
- E. It made the children and youth lose respect for their elders.
- F. It led to a struggle between home and school.
- G. The Revolution shows the effectiveness of Marxist-Leninist education.

VI. Table IX

Did the students expect the university students to act as they did in the revolution?

- A. Yes.
 - 1. The students simply realized the weakness of the regime.
 - 2. The students were dissatisfied.
 - 3. The students clearly saw the contrast between theory and reality.
 - 4. Young people suffer more for they expect more.
 - 5. They could no longer be fooled.
- B. Yes. Without students you cannot have a revolution for they provide the intellectual leadership.
- C. No.
 - 1. Youth seemed disillusioned and without ideals.
 - 2. We didn't know how the others felt.
- D. At first I was surprised but in a way I expected it.

VII. Table X.

Church attendance.

- A. Roman Catholic.
 - 1. I went regularly, but youth in general is less religious.
 - 2. I went regularly. Youth is more religious.

VIII (CONT.)

- A. Roman Catholic (cont.)
 - 3. I went regularly.
 - 4. I went occasionally.
 - 5. I never went.

The same system of classification is used with the other groups:

- B. Protestant.
- C. Jewish.
- D. Greek Orthodox.

IX. Table XI.

The answers are taken directly from the individual code sheets and the same categories are used in identical order.

VIII (CONT.)

- A. Roman Catholic (cont.)
 - 3. I went regularly.
 - 4. I went occasionally.
 - 5. I never went.

The same system of classification is used with the other groups:

- B. Protestant.
- C. Jewish.
- D. Greek Orthodox.

IX. Table XI.

The answers are taken directly from the individual code sheets and the same categories are used in identical order.

AGE	SEX	SOCIAL CLASS	TROUBLE WITH THE RESIDUE - KADER AND OTHERS?	SECONDARY SCHOOL
HIGHER EDUCATION	FIELD OF STUDY	PART TIME OR FULL TIME WORK WHILE STUDYING	STUDY INTERRUPTED ?	IN FIELD OF FIRST CHOICE ?
SCHOLARSHIP	TRAVEL	PRESSENT WORK IF FORMAL EDUCATION ENDED.	REVOLUTION	WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE
COMPULSORY SUBJECTS	PURPOSE OF EDUCATION	CYNICISM	EFFECT OF EDUCATION	AGE EFFECTIVE
RELIGION	PROFESSION RECOMMENDED	GRIEVANCES	BOOKS	WHAT WOULD YOU KEEP?
MARXISM-LENINISM	VERACITY	MISCELLANY	FRIEND	WHERE DID STUDENT GET INFORMATION
ROLE IN DIEZ	LEISURE TIME	CHURCH AND STATE		

?	M S	MC Intelligentia		Teacher's School + Lyceum to 1906.
1 yr. Univ. Sci. Ed. Stud 4 yr. consp. course to Budapest Teacher's college 1952	Teacher	Teacher + consp. ind. course.	— 1942-48 was asked that to offer no fulltime B	Wanted to be writer of post- but became teacher. Somewhat happy w. job.
No Scholarship	—	Teacher of Bibology + Geography in Secondary Schools.	A	A, B
B.	B	A	A	A
A ₁	A (1) (2) (3) a.	vi, viii Lector!	5-6 per year PL Saw political books.	
A	?		Efficient - Educ. 40 y. old.	E
A ₁		A (2nd)		

27	F	MC	Said only with 12 ppl. for job.	-
	27			
Academy of Physical Education 14. Czegléd 24. Budapest to 1952	Teacher of Phys. Educ.	-	-	Must chair
Got full Scholarship 0 months of DISZ contribution Yet got social help (DISZ) cont. (-	Teacher of Physical Education	A ₁	B, D
A ₁ B ₁ C ₁	A	B	B	E
B ₃	C 3,4 a	Contract instructor. Slightly pay - contract while.	PL 350 - 400 per year Mann, Bude, Mitchell.	C
C	q		Bayland. MC	Foreign Radio
A member in 1948 - 1952 admitted later to a People's College. Not of collect. - membership fee.	Leisum Sports, Open Reading	A coedit		

31	M	MC Intellig.	Political Prisoner 1951 m. Trained for Counter-espionage <u>Casablanca</u> In Prison 1951-6	—
U. of Bologna 1949-48 7 semesters.	Law Student	B	Got by Imprisonment 11-56 espionage	when in school
Had to pay tuition ex. 550 \$/yr year	France (1948) Morocco (1948-49) Germany (1949-50) Austria, Switzerland Belgium (1950-51)	—	C ₁	E
—	—	—	C	—
—	—	—	—	A, B
A				
		A capit	Few victims — —	

H	H	Intelligentia	Yugoslav citizen	Sgt. in Yugoslavia to 1948
1940-Adm. to Qp. Univ. Budapest 1950-Adm. to Med. School 44p. Secord 24. Budapest	Medical Student	B Asst. to Professor	no expelled 1945-50	First choice
No financial assistance	Sgt. in Yugoslavia to 1948	-	C3	A
A, B, C	D	-	M	B
A, A1	C4	iii, vii, viii.	-	-
B	-		Medical Student Intelligentia.	

35	M (M)	Writer	govt cabin historical Central History institutions in world.	
Acad. of gardening 6 19115 Univ National Economy 1954-6 Evening to corresp. cover	Statistician	Evening - Corr. Cover washed dip	1945-54 o. Finance - fear of political unstable	1st chain
no	-	-	-	A C
A, C	-	r	D	D
B ₁	C _{1,2} a	-	1 year no. Huang, classics Hemigway	E
B	10		Co-writer Lynn HC 344.	Foreign radio
too old (24 upper limit)		A relig. educ. govt		

18	M (2)	MC	-	2 yr gym
3 yr Musical school 1924-6	Musical Student	A ₁ musical camp enough to sing	-	first class
no scholarship	-	-	A ₂	A, E, B
6,		B	B	B
A ₁	D	iv, vi, vii	Teen paper for W. Books Dickens - PL -	E
C	S-10	-	17 yr. H - Portrait - musical student	Foreign breakfasts
Notes in D132		find no low full index.		

21	M	Kulak or Intell	Somehow to disadvantage	Gym. of Piaristen Budap. Adv. Extra Gy. 6 v. Trang. Uccini Altiani Béla József Alt. (to 1955)
Budapest Inst. of Tech. 1953-56 C in July.	Chemical Engineering student	B	no	yes
Falka's Income too high - 2.8 - 3.0.	-	-	B	A
B, C O	-	-	C	C
C (never)	D	vi	Hung. classics Selma Lagerlöf Hans G. Weg Vern Pl.	A, B
C	-	-	Medical student 1949. - MC	Foss. p. Rubin
member - leader in summer		A is most religious inst. P. von Maller		

25	M	MC	Neutral parental family	Finished gym in 1951
Eätvõs Linnal Univ. 1951 Became Lenin Inst. 1952-55	Teacher of Russian + English 1955-6	A tutored	-	Wanted to become draughtsman Teacher second choice
10 to scholarship	-	Teacher Sõtkonfetsion 14.	C.	B, A, C.
A2 B1	A	A	C	F
C never	E _{1,2}	IV, VI	All kinds - English Hung. Russian - Gosstat - Thomas Marrs PL	A, B
B	8	Rich material	Teenage friend Also foreign correspond 22 - Intellectual	Foreign radio, newspaper and of music
DIS2 in chg. of wall newspaper	Vier family members	A Relig. educ. should be given in churches		

21 *	M S	Landowner	yet highly paid	gyn. to 1954
M. of Chem. Engineers 1954-55	Chemical Engineering Student	B	no B	4
No - family income too high	(Zschornbinder 1956)	-	A ₂	-
-	-	-	-	-
RC -	-	-	Smelton on -peaks. Shallowen, Clam's -	A, C, D
B	10		-	From Paris + Newpapers
		A		

25	M	worker	good order	Mature 1950
		S		
St. Steven Economic College 2 yr.	worker	none	Financial difficulties could not meet requirements	Wanted to be a doctor
	-	technical localities	B	A, B, D
A, B	-	-	D	F
B3	C a	learn	Sometimes I have padding like clinics - may not have Shelby pen	B, C
A	16		medical student	Radio, newspapers talk to people
1950 - group leader		A need med. educ.		

<p>next - 25 -</p>	<p>M</p> <p>M</p>	<p>MC</p>	<p>"Bad" career delayed education</p>	<p>Commenced 1955 to 1957</p>
<p>Night Univ. 1951-55 (Electronics Comm.) Budapest Technical Univ. 1953- -</p>	<p>Electrical Engineering</p>	<p>yes - night school</p>	<p>Yes - Could only enter Univ. as "worker" out of factory</p> <p>A</p>	<p>1st choice but diff. in time.</p>
<p>?</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>C3</p>	<p>J</p>
<p>A4</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>B</p>	<p>F (socialist ideas did take root)</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>

19	M	MC	not good	Jym. in Papa to 1956
	Student of Chem. Engi	not in Jym.	Not admitted to Univ. 1956	Wanted to be Chemical Engi
no	-	-	C ₃	B, F
A, B,	A	B	D	F
C (reg)	C 2 c	Lack of free speech, lower living standard school taught less isolated.	200-250 year up. West, Russ. China, China - moderns	A, B
A	9		Not in general school - some eq - some MC student	Radio
Yes		A should have adv. educ. if want		

30	M	M C Kubak	Bad	Jy. dip. 1946 Papa
1953 - Adm. to Mech. Eng. of Tech. Univ. Budapest <u>Evening course</u>	M	A Worked in textile factory part-time. Also soccer player	1946-52 by diploma Applied for to Univ. Finally not to leave course Entered the factory. 2	1st choice
no	January 1944 1948	-	C ₁	B, C, D
A ₁ B ₁	-	A	B	C
A ₁	C 2.5 a		25 per year Hung. classics	B, C, D
C	16		One an Engineer One stud. at Tech. Univ. Both MC Same name?	Radio, Pomp. newspaper
too old		A Churches shall have some such support. Not relig. class		

25	F	MC	Class alien (own political views)	Gym to 1949 Discriminated school
Teachers College Through the Teacher Bullock - 1982-55	Teacher	no	Worked for 3 mo. Entered as writer 1950 until 1951 after 100 full-time	Wanted to study psychology But no longer time. Need of end choice
No first year had to pay 500 \$.	no	1955 on - Then teacher	B	B - C, D,
A ₂ B ₂	A	B	D	E
C (occ)	XXXXXXXXXX	Lack of choice of choice. Rest. in cultural det. Torture of being class alien	Sit. - peace managers. Must. technol. books.	C, D
E (extremely phenomenon)	10		Judge - 25 - MC disc. politics etc.	Foreign radio
Yes a		A Ret. ed. should write ally.		

36	M	Mc Pearson } any Good candidate	Son of Officers Bad father	Aggr. + Bioman Academy to 1940
Univ. 1942-44 (Economics) '52-55 Academy of Physical Education	Physical Education Teacher	A As system	'47-52 no idea Train as economist but had earlier. Good system.	Wanted to be Economist. Send down Phys. Education
Did in Sportman	1950 m as Sportman	Wanted a communist candidate get job. Practical Sportman & Physical Education Int.	C3	A, B, B. C, D.
4	-	A	E	B
A (believe)	E F 1.. b	iv, vi, ix	30-35 yrs. Clinic least - strong. Metaphysics Common's	C D L
C (app. of social ideal adoption but not in politics)	9		Since 18 yr. old designer (technical) intell. leader.	Foreign radio word of mouth. Exp. as Sportman training
to old		A Church should have some signi- ficance		

26	M (s)	Kulac	Expelled from Med. School & Dirp. in 1950	H.S. for Agriculture since 1949
Med. Univ. Debrecen 1950 (expelled) Music School Jy. Paktan 1 yr. and 1951- 3 months of Music Academy	Musician - Musical Education	A, B (as musician) many	1950-51 expelled	Wanted to be doctor Music Second Class
Had to work to support family	no	-	B	A, B, C, F
A, B, C,	-	-	F	A
Greek Orth. (reg)	A a b	not permitted to study.	15-20 per year Solokor, Puskai Dirp. of Sisk	B
C	16	Widely talented person intelligent.	Friend from winter - teacher - example.	Foreign medals & many papers
yes "		A relig. edu. O for moral training		

27	M (2)	MC	Bad - arrested 1951 - 56 conspiracy	State Gymnasium Matury 1948
Peter Pazmany Univ. Sopron. 5 sem. law.	Law Student	B	1951 Arrested for conspiracy in prison to revolution.	wanted to be politician when study in first class but 1951-54 in prison
no	-	-	C ₃	A, B, C
A ₁	-	B	D (Many won in Middle School to Y not politic)	-
A ₁	E _a	at Univ. origin affected made iv., xvii, xv.	Hung. classics Anatole France, Shaw, Voltaire, Maugham, Hesley, Shakespeare	A, B
D	9	Arrested rel. to Gyros under 1951	Middle school entert. - many	Entered study of Hung. poem transl. This friends
A if want to remain in Univ		A re should be req. in U.S. To state school		

<p>24</p>	<p>M</p>	<p>MC</p>	<p>(good O balanced interest - not typical) [loss party] * members</p>	<p>Reformist Party in Pakistan</p>
<p>1948 - Univ. of Economic Science 1949 - Exposed Foreign Service Acad 1950 - Univ. Ec. Science 1952-55 Bechtel Engineer - Pakistan School (on Economics)</p>	<p>Economist</p>	<p>Worked 1950-55</p>	<p>Expelled from Foreign Service Acad. O leader 1953-55</p>	<p>Wanted to do independent export market - But happy w. economics</p>
<p>"</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>Economist</p>	<p>A2 Case contrast theory + reality</p>	<p>A, D</p>
<p>A, B</p>	<p>E</p>	<p>A</p>	<p>D</p>	<p>A</p>
<p>B never</p>	<p>A, a</p>	<p>Excluded from Acad. of Foreign Affairs Personal commitment personal life for party Member of Inter. in PD Central Org.</p>	<p>A few - mainly Belzec, Mangand, Baudelawi, Vahlans, Machler Maugham</p>	<p>C, D Critical study of Foreign - Hung. plan. Disc. in friend.</p>
<p>D</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>Party Member</p>	<p>March 1947 In Group of Soc. Dem. P. Student - worker - In position of S up. Some are Party members</p>	<p>↓</p>
<p>1952 Propaganda Secretary</p>		<p>A reformist party</p>		<p></p>

33	M (S)	MC Book Reader	Class. Alien (After war Ministry of Apr. to 1948)	Matura 1942
Univ. to 1949 Peter Pazmany Univ	Student of Art History to 1948 (post war to 1956)	A. (ass. in museum) then works	After 1948 not continue study - but Univ. got	In Hungary no.
no	Lgrad. 1956	-		A, G
-	-	B	C	A /
A never	A b	from "unwanted person" destruction, destruction.	Recard and library. S time Hung. Clinics Ferenc Klanics,	C, D, G
D	8	Not sure if typical.	2 close friend A's bad color.	Domestic person - fr. emb.
-		A		

21	M (S)	MC Good Reader	Bob Cohen (Secretary at Court of Architects A. (brecht))	Gym. to 1948
1948 - Agriculture Dept. at Holy cross. classes in Budget + capital	Walter (wanted to study)	-	Between 1950 + '56 tried 2 x to cross - special course. Refused at Univ. etc.	wanted to study Agriculture
-	-	-	A (gardener + Saw (univ.))	B, C
B.	A	-	A	-
A occ	C	Loss of personal security Low living standard. Rumanian influence.	Escaping French chains, etc. German resistance, Gottlieb Schiller	A
D	5-6		Gold School met 1943 or -	-
-		State should return blood to church. Will support it. Sent child to Pianis - G.		

21	M	Lepper MC (B - first) Bad Kandel	Bad - Fatter city affair	Gym. mem. 1953
Le mo. 1953 bookkeeper career	Walter wanted to be student	-	Tried many times to enter Clinic. but refused. worked 3 yr	no
-	-	-	-	B, C, G
A, C	E	B	D	C
A,	B } 2 C } 2	iii, x, xii	80 per year roughly he could get - Husley, Crimin, Sucka, Jan's, Prest clinic, Zur's	A
D	6-7		Fellow student - Gym. 1951	Many newspaper foreign radio
400 1951 Cultural represent.		A technical school		

29	M	Kutale	God - EC Theology Student In prison lip. Arrested 1947, St. St. St by AVO	Mistake 8yr.
Acad. of Accounty Budapest. Cecorg. case no. 452	Accountant Wanted to be EC Theology Student	C (worked + took correspondence course)	Applied 4x to Unit. Rejected 1956	No Wanted to be Priest
-	Czech. Austria.	-	-	-
B, C	A Also good professional training	A	B	-
A ₂	C _{1a}	Arrested Suffered discrimination	Hung. class Religion books	B, C
A	B? Must take EC Bookkeeping account		Old friend Same social background. America.	Foreign American
No		A Church school Return with 100 feet of ice to Christ		

34	M	Intelligence (father account)	no. & ser. #	Matura 1941
Univ. 1947-49 Expelled 48 Re-entred 53-55	Russian Translator	while studying also worked as translator	Expelled 1949 from Univ. 0 of off. # 1955-58 after no. filled	wanted scholarship career - 9. Half of language of Univ. But did not translate.
-	Soviet Poland (1948) (1955-6)	-	B	B, C.
B,	E	B	B	-
B _(reg)	A S _a	Constantly busy " observations Felt out of your own hands	Hung. Lease Ent } Clavis	C, D
D	S	-	Since 1941 Engineer - same district	Teacher - Newspaper
-		A return school to church Chair to chair said		

23	F (s)	Upper MC Dad killed	Dad cancer. Accept. in gym. only after struggle Sister not admitted to gym.	Gym - Matura 1953
-	Technician wanted to work qualified with to be student	A	Not admitted to Univ. although good excellent student	wanted to study medicine
-	-	-	A ₂	B, A, G
A, B, C	A	A	E	F
A (occ.)	C 4 _a	Not able to study, Not able to speak freely	Army, University, Agricult. Med. Sch., Naval Chiropr. Went back to PC.	D
C	16		1953 - nurse. "a same note"	radio
Was class sci. 1948 submitted became DISC sci. Remained 2nd yr.		A state school return nothing		

24	M S	MC	Accepted despite background	1959-54 Music Academy (Fin. & 1809 etc 1951)
1958-54 Music Academy	Student of piano & composition.	A as accompanist.	-	yes
140 St.	-			A, B
A, B,	A	A	D	A
A ₁	-	General music spiritual app. low level study.	PL 12 yrs. ago. Orby- Speyer Leeds de Vries Benda.	C, D
O			No real friends to Haug - only colleague	Radi's former Newspaper coord of music.
No not invited to join		A School should be returned state		

25	M	Kulala	Father absent by 10/10 1949	Gym. in Kocokama - March 1950
	S			
— Night court in Orinass School	wanted to study - but was working (Gas Driver)	—	(Not admitted to Univ.)	
—	Czechoslovakia	—	—	B, C
B 5 (Committed for a while)	A Left off teacher- education, r. became God, family history thing (b)	B	C	E
A ₁	C	Terror Belongs to "our group" of society	Many Friends from Duma, Zela, Ilyuz Sov. - World Teletv.	F
B	gold	Was a believing Communist in 7th year of Sov. U. in cities of Capitalism - Capitalism - Materialism etc. Zela changed	2 children Lena - same year	Many newspapers and's.
1948 - 1950 D152 // Secretary called "gold secretary"		A		

22	M (s)	MC	—	Nagykanizsa Matura 1953
3 yr. Eötvös Lorand 1953-6	History + Literature	—	—	1st choice own inclination
300-400 fo.	—	—	No - O of kind of communication didn't know what people were thinking C ₂	B
A, B, C	A	A	C	— —
A ₄	B ab	Peak of origin No travel	Read much. Székely, Ady, Mann, Nemeth	E
D	8	Attended Petöfi arch meetings	Childhood friend Clan alien Disc. politics & pers. problems.	Western newspaper + radio. Talk w. people who had been outside
1949 - MSCEI 1950 - DISZ + 1957 urban work. Member of cultural committee.		A Jesuit		

22	M	Intelligence	disadvantage O Intell.	2 yr Return Syr. Budapest Evny. Gym. 1 yr. 2nd set At Aln Gym 1953 maturity certific
23 6 Semester Law University (Low standards more like sec. school)	Law	B a	—	Wanted to study Veterinary medicine but got Law
No tuition.	Czechoslovakia 1954 Summer	—	A c (Want better chance in life. Do not want to live under uncertainty & fear.	B C
A, B, C	A		B	F
B ₂ (Attended youth meeting at church)	H 3.4 } (a) B 3.4 }	Took the vineyard. Both grandfather jailed 1945 + 1947 by communists.	Books see below	B H
E (Marxism is ingenious)	8	Mikszath, János, Nemeth, Zoltán Gy. Ady, Shaw, Sándor, Sándor, Péter, János London Szecseny	Fellow students unity from same class	Hung. press & radio & contact w people who had been outside
Equally to open center, convert played bridge + sw-french. Real + went to church.	Began to react to Comm. terror Univ. democracy. Saw contrast "a big confusion"	<u>DISZ</u> 1949. a)	Study + church A (Purist)	

20	M (3)	Said Madel Son of former army officer (1945-48 father gated) (1948-54 mother gated)	Pos-Kader (father 1948 escaped to Germany)	Gym. 1955 Matura Euler School at Pannonhalma
Correspondence section of Faculty of law adm. finally in 1956 a good at football	Law	Statistician 1955 on	yes 1955-56 "voluntary work" while in jail summer No fulltime	Wanted to be doctor - Tried, finally acc. year later law Doc corresp. work
—	Germany 1945	—	Ad	G (to study medicine) B, D, H.
Had both Marxist & Catholic identity	A	Ai	G	—
A	B + 2 6 c	arrest of mother deportation of grandmother (only to county Not adm. day to Univ.	Gone w. the Grand Nyiró, Herczeg, Iren gulácsy (PL) Hung. claim Shakespeare	C D
A (Basically wrong)	9		Fellow student	Radio Newspaper RFE pamphlet
Comm. did not in 1952 at first had 1949-53 choice to return	Spent time State & Church A denied	DISZ Not accepted O of background		

<p>21</p>	<p>M</p> <p>(C)</p>	<p>Old Mc Hotelier</p>	<p>had Fishes around (KUP (3 days)</p>	<p>Mature 1952 St. Soren State School</p>
<p>Night course w/ Drafting 1952-3</p> <p>1953-54 Int. course: night?</p>	<p>Worker - Student</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>Refused at Technical Uni.: tried every year</p> <p>✗</p>	<p>wanted to be technical engineer</p>
<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>(the) A</p>	<p>B, D, K</p>
<p>A₂ ^{didn't} B₁ ^{see} C ^{me}</p>	<p>A</p>	<p>A + B</p>	<p>G</p>	<p>C (but depends on family)</p>
<p>A₂ (university school) then later not</p>	<p>B } C } a</p>	<p>Worry origin terror</p>	<p>1956 - May foreign writer pub. in Zola.</p> <p>lived here - Knitted fine w. wood withheld by (C) Murrez, Mikteall, Zola. Andy</p>	<p>H</p>
<p>B</p>	<p>S-6</p>	<p>Called sport training -</p>	<p>2 good fields From early school</p>	<p>Radio + books Forest</p>
<p>0152 edit of study circle about the then dropped as reader</p>	<p>Sports, walking</p>	<p>/A Return school Church School</p>		

23	M	MC	1947 - Letter from B. J. ... Reinstated a ... requisite (some ... replaced)	High school ... 4th ... State ... Gym. -
6 sem. Geodesic study - U. of Sogram. High quality of instruction)	Geodesy (single)	Summer jobs B (6 x) water works, construction. Lumber yard (a) U. yard part (b)	no	Wanted to be an architect. Put into geodesic faculty
...	Austria before 1945	—	—	B, C
A ₁ (additional work, ... C ₁ ... 10 hr. ... 36-40 hr. ...)	A (to Comm. ...)	C	B (2 nd ... failed)	D
B ₂ (one or 2 nd month) Young people ...	B, C 1/ b.	Very people.	Very 1945. Adj. ... M. ... Samba. P.L.	B, D, C, H
A (and much ... healthy ...)	9	2 sem. 1 month ... middle ...	Below student - Since 1952 -	Radio
R152 If not could not go to class.		A (State)		

220 A (Hooligan group)

22	M (s)	old MC	Not too bad - Bryan (indul) in 1951 g' factor - Capitalist	1951-55 145 at Barossa got back in 1955 Exp. Meth - Phygen.
—		B 2 summer		Did not want to go to Univ - financial - other reason.
101 —	—	—	Yes	0 1
A, B,	A		G	F
A3	J (family conn)	Had to stay Australia, organ - Socialism - Vial -	read extensively	C.P.
D	Z	Use?	best friend met thru parent.	Foreign Radio
DIS2 exp. a)		A sep. get Social school School school best Not typical		

(M)	M (S)	M.C	father C. P. mentin failed for 2 weeks (CP mentin?)	In 2nd year at Jefferson
—	Jean Student	B odd jobs	August 1955 slide 1956 Sum worked as medical technician	
—	—	—	A	B
A B	A	—	B	E
A4	K 23		Hugo Milk 220th Moritz 2	I, J
B	8	couldn't talk freely. couldn't find	fellow guy. Student 87	Rader + mouse
Forward to you 82		A State school		

M	20 (5)	Worker - Peasant	good adviser	8 yr Elem 3 yr Technicum 1 yr field 2 yr Evening
—	Electro- Technician	C Evening technicum	Yes - financial difficulties (medicine student)	On way - wanted to be engineer -
Student nr good enough Paid 50 pr	Bratislava 2 days	—	—	D
A - learned to read & write Rus. B - got good marks took a lot of time D	A	—	G	C
A Peasant man relig - young now without U - very subtle	A @ b c	Had to live under checked system Could not buy much	Sobolotou Vere Pilsn Milk, earth Faidony, technical tools	K
D Today depasse the many trucks in it	Real question but = = faint kid	one of loosely for - U - never much of -	Electron technician - year old - Tall & pale family - (one from a candidate)	Foreign teacher -
D 132 a	—	A (Child to down school)	—	—

24	M	Peasant (11 kids)	Good crafts the whole farmer	Gym. m. 1953 Secondary Purchased 2nd + 12-15
3 yr. Veterinary College - Burlington 1953-56	Veterinary medicine	D (mom)	no	Chore Perform family
no tuition Scholarship \$200 ft. per mo	Artist	—	—	A, P, B
A (3 yr) D (Political Sci 1 yr Dialectic 1 yr Marxism 2 yr E (4 yr)	A (to describe a new human type) E (def.)	—	D (same cont. - below)	—
A ₁ (In enclosed sheet only about 20% of youth self)	A B E 1, 3, 1a b	Opposition lack of free speech	Little time Need many courses + courses - Med. Sci Bio. Sci. Econ. Sci. - Morice "0 up. d of masses"	P.
C (Represent # of writers, persons + intelligence) (Best amount work)	7	At Univ. considered a "reactionary" (p. 46)	Chetland French from village (also new circle at Univ. - present, united, under study)	Manuscript + Western Book
AIS 2 9 54-53-55 no p. ch	Saw desperation of Education in letters from home	Under-achievement A low Com. Educ. Sci + molded around opinion of region # highly conc. teacher -	Church + State A - best city. education should be comparable to 18 could do better school	—

M	20	Lower MC End Market	X Class (Feb-Mar) Substant of gendering - imposed 1945-46 - non market	Gym. Debrecen finished 1955 3 yr. Refined Chr. Gym 1 yr. State School ... note to qualify to leave.
1 yr. 1956 - Magyarpedagógiai Fórumok	Teacher	B - even in gymnasium. one summer - voluntary work - A - (small - lessons and system etc)	1955 - Rejected by 2 universities. got a job as teacher, 4 of not ordered children. to 1956/57 (Then recommended by director of 1st Children School very highly & accepted)	Wanted to be a doctor. Secondary Law.
State Scholarship 200 Ft. per mo.	—	—	A c (As early as Sept. 1956 These students a unit but all suffered equally)	C D
A 2 1 (2th week)	E (goth to obey + not think in order to accept & flexibility parts love)	1	B (chase stupid methods)	B
B 4 (went to private seminar)	B, C 2 3 (Jean Martin be an opponent)	annihilation of lessons flexibly impossible to build. System of work.	Tokaj, Karoly Arany, Vörösmarty works - pp. and cheap paper p. 1953 book. In Univ. N - Hung. Sit.	A B, J
C (cannot be realized least ages w. certain parameters)	9-10		3. Székely - met them by note 20-7. 226 only good student.	Foreign radio → foreign lang news
DISZ and - A Black Dan Secretary in gym. 1 yr.	Review Sweeping, work rules moves, dem. Flaunt to the side. 0 for expense	A State School		

<p>20</p>	<p>M 5</p>	<p>MC Intel.</p>	<p>Somewhat kind of father Devere to Jy-Szakchi.</p>	<p>Gymn. back 1955 Pec's. Formerly Cost-gr.</p>
<p>Ended Budapest Polytechnic Institute Electrical Engineering for</p>	<p>Electrical Engineering stud.</p>	<p>Apprentice 1952-56</p>	<p>1955-56 ^{was} admitted Optical apprentice Not org. accepted at Univ.</p>	<p>Wanted to be electrical engineer 1st choice</p>
<p>As optical appt. 200 ft. per mo 300 ft. per mo Univ: 140 ft. per mo. each</p>	<p>—</p>	<p>—</p>	<p>A B Univ. student Knew why they were fighting</p>	<p>D, B, C, F</p>
<p>←</p>	<p>A</p>	<p>Charity - cheap same</p>	<p>C (Believed merit of prop. (best))</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>A1 - Case of Comm. but "modern" part of war</p>	<p>A 13 C Study hard "Knowledge makes you succeed"</p>	<p>V, VIII, XV.</p>	<p>Arany. Petkhi, Gdy - Illyen. no merit. Neph of father 100th.</p>	<p>AB, J, L. D</p>
<p>A</p>	<p>7</p>	<p>Considered self a "hard boy" - rebel - little steady life. Died lack of ambition, in family opposed self "a lazy bird"</p>	<p>2 groups - one close one "steady" Bar friend from same Budapest in same institution - Schauing</p>	<p>Warden note Ideology, news paper World of Month Gyepi P. awarded.</p>
<p>1952 A</p>	<p>Adrian Bay Soest Dijjal mol. 1954 lead</p>	<p>A 18 - State School 1.</p>	<p></p>	<p></p>

28	M (H)	231 A Mc Intelligence in Soc. World	net good Faktor - government pre 1947 - B - (b)	State school 1940 - 4F Matara
Theological Seminary 1948-9 Trade course Gibson's right course (?) in class	Puritan Chief - A. H. wanted to be student	B. white - Egn. (on farm)	after Theological Sem. not accepted for classes of usual nature. was per. Com. & checked by me being allowed to enter - 2	No
scribble -	-	-	A	B, C, D, A.
A, B.	A	B	C	C
B (reformed) religion but not a church goer.	A a	lack of perspective less living standard lack of personal effort	Belzoo, Tarni, Zala, Szabo B., Szabo L., Arany.	H, C, M
C Respect it as a Y but can only be carried out at bygone point	scribble 9	When 12 yr old with national essay contest in literature and history was 11 in comm. while in paper blindly follow as me - //	Director of place of work - Close - 1950	Rochester - D. J. - 1 only paper
to 1951 in agency 40:12 in over - 1949-50		A church started last yr school		

26	M	402 A	MC	Brother in law 1944 to Austin 0 cup dead for Fr. & Y.	41-46 Sec. School 47-50 Agricultural Sec. School
State of Mechanical Engineering 1951-50	Mechanical Engineer (Engineer)	no att.	no att.	no att.	yes
-	-	Chief Engineer of agricultural Tractor station	-	-	B, B, A
B ₁	-	-	-	C (Did leave some marks)	-
A ₁ (accept Y)	A C 2 b, c,	Involvement in one of world Insecurity.	Talks, gardening, Mikasa Sofal Disturbance.	1000, D.	
C (accept Y)	-	-	no	no	Read Newspaper Three releases from school
		A Return att. Der. school			

18

F

Intelligentsia

Translating
into German
O of origin. Some
would not have
been admitted
to University.

Student
at Josef
Attila Jozsef
Humanistic
Gymnasium

(3)

Syn
Student
last year -

~~_____~~

4

To be a
pioneer
with

A

B

A
To raise a new
intelligentsia of
working class +
peasant origin

C

Not only Communist
also changed
attitude - had
different world
they were living in.

A3

F
H b
C
B

I, IV, XII

Morai,
Illyr. Gyula
Attila Jozsef.

F
D

E

(Syn. Real -
is develop +
materialistic
aspect of
socialism)

10

Shows much
effect of
intellect -
see I
order

1951 - spirit +
criticism -
Rabbi paper for
intellectuals

Foreign Radio
Broadcast - Ep.
Radio Paris -
Also newspaper
Also called at
death.

parents -
2
3 or 4 years
of transition

Reading, contacts,
conversations

Synagogue -
But church school
enter politics.
Religious school.

21	M	413 A B Intelligence Cm of country teacher) Orphan.	Not trouble at school - and connection	Gym 1924 Anti public Prison -
Lenin Institute Cm. of Bulgaria 1958 or -	Student of Organization and Discipline	B (teacher, born later)	-	Yes -
400 \$l. per mo. fixed in discipline.	-	-	A Cm re. illegal program of religious movement - (see notes) p. 10	A B C
B A3 B1	E (Will not all critical judgement and desire for personal freedom)	Did not meet Howden Did not know anything else - fed to nationalism & aggression p. 18.	C (In favor of Leninism)	-
A1 (Used to be sincerely) Believe in only force against Communism	L became hist. of ④ (related to ③) circumstances historical	xiv, ii, vii	61-70 p. ago - Weekly column. Exp. had to get population in line (1930-40s) Hence, October, etc. - 14. etc. - much -	D, A, B, H, M, P.
F Cognate in economic sense - out of date in philosophic sense)	10	Took part in illegal religious meetings in church. Imp. of relig. of Comm. As usual.	At school - But took a whole year to find out he was not a Communist & had similar attitudes on 408.	Confused reading of Communist newspapers.
Member of the post.		NE Rector School	Called 'Communist by colleagues' - Future lies in Russia & Eastern Europe.	