

(Interviewer's note: This is a D-type interview with an agricultural expert concerning the situation of the Hungarian agriculture.)

(1) The Statefarms.

In February 1949 I was appointed agronom of the statefarm at Csobokepuszta in the county Baranya. At that time ^{the} statefarm consisted of 4 units and 3 000 yokes. It was composed of the former large estates of Esterhazy and Baron Biederman. These large estates could not be divided fully among the peasants since this was the area of Ormanyseg where the Hungarian population practiced ~~the~~ birth control and there were not enough Hungarian peasants to take over the former large estates. The other part of the population of the area consisted of Germans who were either deported in 1945 or turned a part of their peasant estate over to the state. The different pieces of land were taken over by the state estate. However, the state estate consisted of scattered pieces of land. Such a distribution of the land holdings made farming on the state farm very difficult. The situation became even worse a few days after my arrival. At that time the German population in the county Baranya offered 2 000 yokes more for the state farm which now should be taken over by the state. To understand the whole situation one must not forget that about 300 000 Germans were deported from Hungary. Their place was taken over by those 200 000 or 220 000

people who came from Upper Hungary and were entitled to receive land in the framework of the land reform. These newcomers from upper Hungary received only 15 yokes ^{per} family. Moreover, they regularly received the ~~an~~ land of poorer quality. In such a way a ~~residual~~ landholding of considerable size stayed in the hands of the state. They were the best pieces of land, however scattered and divided into small units of often not more than 5 yokes. Then between 1947 and 49 there was a great pressure put upon the Germans who had more than 20 yokes. They were forced to relinquish that part of their holdings which was over 20 yokes. They were pressed through high taxation and if they offered their excess land to the state, its value was written off their tax debts. This was the way how the state-farm was enlarged with 2 000 acres in February 1949. After my arrival at Csobokapuszta, my first duty was to organize the state farm. Now we divided the state-farm into 7 units, but it was a great job to establish the property rights. In many cases the question of ownership was unsettled. For example, a German peasant offered 5 yokes of land, but it was not exactly settled which part of his lands should belong to the state farm. In other cases it was unsettled whether a certain part of the former large estate was given out to a new settler in 1945 or it ~~is~~ ^{was} a part of the state farm. It took us several weeks to establish the size of the

make the necessary adjustment according to the plan. It was impossible to keep of plan ~~farzkhie~~ from the point of view of ~~akkh~~ both work and money. Concerning the accounting system of money we had 27 accounts for each state farm. It happened that we did not spend all the money on the ~~xxxxxxxaxf~~ account of cattle raising, but we were short in money on the account for soya beans. In such a case we balanced the 2 accounts of the books and money was transferred from one account to the other. This bookkeeping procedure was called Virmanolas, since an accountant named Virman, working somewhere in the ministry, invented it. In such a way it became easier to run the state farms. On the other hand, cost accounting became impossible. Nobody knew how much money could be made on the ~~live~~ stock or on ~~the~~ soya beans. The other official instructions concerning money handling were just as ridiculous. The manager of a state farm could not keep any money in his office. At 5 p.m. he was supposed to deposit all his money at the account of the state farm at the Nemzeti Bank. He could not keep more than 100 forints overnight. This regulation had one great drawback: we could never give advance payment to the employees of the state farms, ^{in a circumstance} which contributed to their dissatisfaction. The system of bookkeeping was always too complicated and ~~difficant~~ difficult. For example, we received a boxcar load of oats. One part of it was destined for the hogs and had to be ~~xxxxxxxkoxkxiwx~~

credited to their account, another part for the cows and had to be credited to another account, a third part to the working live stock and had to be credited to a third account. In practice it was impossible to determine how many kilos were given to the hogs and how many to the cows. During the one year I spent with the state farms we received 2 new systems of bookkeeping. The problem of work norms was just as much unclarified as the whole bookkeeping system. I remember when I had to give instructions to my workers to hoe (in Hungarian egyelni) 1600 square ells of sugar beets. There were no norms concerning this work. I tried to reach the central office of the state farms in Budapest by phone, but I could not reach them. Finally I sent a special delivery letter to Budapest asking about the norms. No answer came, although I urged the central office two more times to give instructions on that point. Finally I received the norms about the end of August, a long time after the work had been done. Then it turned out that the norms prepared by the central office were not good. The norms prescribed that one worker should hoe 100 square ells of sugar beets. This was ~~not~~ no good, since I had only girls to work on that job who made not more than 50 to 60 square ells a day. But let us suppose that I get the necessary number of men and each of them would make 100 ells. In this case 1 man would need 16 days to hoe one yoke and during that time the ~~work~~^{weed} would have grown up and he

could have started his work all over again. As another practical point of difficulty with so many workers as we had in the statefarm it was impossible to control who performed his norm on one given day and who did not. It happened that one worker disappeared from the statefarm for 2 or 3 days because he found an odd job in the ~~enix~~ neighbourhood. It was very difficult ~~nikmai~~ to maintain the necessary discipline among the workers; although it sounds rather incredible but the statefarms could never maintain such a discipline as the old large estates before 1945 did. Of course, the statefarms could have resorted to the use of police, but I did not want to do anything like that. Moreover, in the Communist system we had a scarcity of workers and if somebody of our employees was not satisfied with the statefarm, he moved to the city where he could find a job with the industry. In the summer of 1949 we employed at Csobokapuzsata about 300 to 400 ~~mg~~ people. They received 14 forints a day, but had to pay 3 forints for their daily food, which did not leave them with much money. Later on, the central office of statefarms worked out several plans concerning the employees of the statefarms. Their pay and working conditions were ^{later} ~~greater~~ improved, but the trouble was that the leaders of the statefarms were not permitted to solve the problem of workers on a local basis, but had to receive orders from Budapest and the central office could never handle such problems. In the

meantime the territory of our statefarm grew and in July it reached the extent of 7000 yokes. The constant changes in the extent of the farm ~~posed~~ special problems for us. In each case when new land was joined to the state farms I had to prepare a new production plan and had to ask the central office for further funds. The money came always late, but I had to arrange for the necessary work and had to go into the ~~red~~, I was constantly working under the danger of being accused with sabotage. Furthermore we did not have the necessary farming machinery and equipment. We collected the old machines and tools out of use and repaired them in our own plants. We used the buildings of the former large estates but we needed many more buildings. Because of the red tape, the erection of new buildings or the repair of old ones caused many problems. If I had to repair one window in a stable I could take the amount of the current funds. However, in the case of 2 windows I needed the ~~special~~ special investment fund. The investment fund was one of the special accounts of the statefarms which was closely controlled from Budapest. There was a special plan of investments worked out by the central office in Budapest and ignoring the local needs. Moreover, the investment fund was always short when compared to the necessities. We really built a few new stables, but they were built according to old plans. They were out-of-date at the moment of their construction. Milking

by machine could not be introduced, because the new stables were not built for such a purpose. The new stables were not equipped with lorries and the manure had to be taken out by hand work. We were not permitted to introduce selfregulating ^{ventilating towers} for the cows, neither electric lighting in the stables. At the statefarm at Csobokpuszt the leadership consisted of 3 persons who made up the shop-triangle. The general manager was a former worker for the factory of agricultural machines. He did not know anything about agriculture. The head of the personnel department was a former worker too and finally myself as an agronomer made up the third person in the shop triangle. The agronomers were supposed to be the experts in agriculture. However, old agricultural experts were not ^{valued} by the Communists. Later on even the agronomer was ^{dropped} and the secretary of the trade union became the third person in the shop triangle. The agronomer had all the responsibilities, but he had not voice, or a very small voice only, in the decisions. The general manager did not like to make decisions. He always wanted to put ~~me~~ off ^{the} ~~any~~ problems. I had to carry out ~~my~~ real fights in order to get things done. As a matter of fact, every agronomer can be charged with sabotage any moment of his work. Either he ^{adheres} ~~appears~~ to the plan coming from Budapest in which case his production will be ineffective or he puts the central plan aside and produces well, in which case he can be charged

with sabotage again. At that time I was still regarded as a good agronomist by the central office of the state and in July 1949 I was appointed to chief agronomist of the county of Veszprem. In this position I was supposed to be the chief agricultural leader of all state-farms in the county of Veszprem. I remember when I arrived in the city of Veszprem the head of the county land office told me that ^{they} had no such land at hand they did not know what to do with it. I took over immediately 3500 yokes. A part of it was uncultivated for several years. The estate of Sungs consisted of 300 yokes and has not been cultivated since 1945. The mines left there during the last war were still in the fields. In the 2 estates of Magyaropolany and Bakonyjako I found 300 to 400 yokes uncultivated. In the following month the extent of the state-farms was rapidly increased. By this time many kulaks left their land and offered it to the state. About the same time many church estates were taken over by the state. About the end of August 1949 the state-farms in the county of Veszprem extended over 12 000 yokes and in May 1950, when I left my job, their area extended over 19 000 yokes. At the last mentioned date the state-farms included 300 yokes of vine yards, 400 yokes of fruit orchards and 200 yokes of intensive growing. Here again the state-farms were divided in many small parcels. For example, the state-farm at ~~Magyaropolany~~ consisted of 1200 yokes in 1300 parcels. About

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At the same time, the central leadership of all state farms was built up. In 1949 when I got my job with the state farms they were led by the central office which was a department of the Ministry of Agriculture and which was in charge of the 240 state farms of the country. In the spring of 1950 the bureaucratic system was re-organized. The central office of the state farms became a separate ministry, independent from the Ministry of Agriculture. In every county a county central office of state farms was organized which then was in charge of the different state farms of the county. Certain special state farms such as Kápolna, Vasúshegyes, Horváthy, Pusokboly, the latter being the former Antonovo estate, were exempt from this organization and belonged to the Ministry of Agriculture. The experimental agricultural stations, although sometimes called state farms, did not belong to the organization of state farms, but were under the Ministry of Agriculture. This reorganization of 1950 did not live for a long time. In 1952 and then 1954 again the system was reshaped. For example, the state farms which produced sugar beets were taken away from the state farm organization and were subordinated to one of the industrial ministries and so on. As chief agronomist of the county of Vasprem, I organized 14 state farms in the county. Each of them had its own bookkeeping system and office. In the past a large estate of 2000 yokes needed one leading agent, one office worker, and one supervisor

on the fields. Now a state farm needed the 3 persons of
the shop triangle plus 8 to 14 clerical employees. The
clerical employees were kept busy with bookkeeping, with
the kadan cards, with political education, with
the system of social policy and so on. The white collar
employees of the state farms were recruited out of the
soviets and similar declared elements of the villages,
in particular out of the Communist Party. They received
a very low salary and usually used the common kitchen
of the state farm which they shared with the agricul-
tural workers. Like the workers themselves, the white
collar workers came from the neighboring villages and
sometimes walked 4-5 kilometers to reach their office.
The common kitchen was run by the state farm
with a necessary necessity and an advantage to the
workers. On the other hand they were directed by the
Communist as a center of Communist education, it was a
school for the Communist side of the agricultural workers,
the 3 leaders of the state farms were quite apart from
the other workers. In a sign of their leadership, each
of them had his own horse and a driver of their own, who served out the personal ser-
vices around them. The general manager of a state farm
very often tried to imitate the life of the old landlord
agent of the county. The workers of the state farms were
organized to a union of their own, called DEPOZ.
This DEPOZ was originally founded by the Communists

as a large scale organization of all agricultural workers. It was supposed to carry out a very important educational and organizational job and instill socialism into the agricultural population of the country. However by 1950, only the workers of the state farms remained within the DEPOSZ. The individual peasants never joined it and the numbers of the cooperatives stayed away too. By 1950 the DEPOSZ became the official representative of the workers of the state farms and the DEPOSZ signed the collective agreement, the so-called framework agreement between the state farms and the agricultural workers. In 1956 it had about 300 000 members which was the labor force of the state farms. The number of the employees of the state farms increased as the extent of the state farms increased. In 1949 the state farms covered 240 000 yokes, in the summer of 1950 700 000 to 800 000 yokes, and at present in the summer of 1954 they have 1 400 000 or 1 600 000 yokes. These figures refer only to the land of the state farms and any woods, meadows, pastures owned by the state are excluded. According to the original principles of Communism, about one tenth of the arable land of the country should be owned by the state farms. In Hungary the original proportion was exceeded because the cooperatives failed and a much greater sector remained in the hands of individual peasants than the Communists anticipated it. It should be mentioned that

the state farms were often extended at the expense of those new farmers who had received land during the land reform in 1945. When these new settlers were unable to carry out their work and got into debts, the state took the land back and it was joined to one of the state farms. In some cases the state was eager to turn a new settler out of his holdings and to lay its hand over the estate of the new settler. This was particularly the policy if the new settler got some important agricultural building from a former large estate or when his land holding was just between two parcels of a state farm. Although the Communist policy tried to favor the new settlers, none of them could stand up against the claims of the state farms and had to relinquish their land holdings whenever they were needed by the state farms. The wages and the working conditions of the workers of the state farms were arranged in those framework contracts ~~which~~ which were signed by the DEPOSZ. The workers of the state farms fell into 2 categories, the steady workers and the temporary workers. In 1949 and 50 a steady worker earned 490 to 600 forints which was raised by 1956 ~~to~~ to 700 to 800 forints. The temporary workers got originally 14 forints a day, by 1956 it was raised to 32 forints per day. As a comparison I want to mention that as an agrom I made 1350 forints a month which was considerably higher than the pay of the agricultural workers. It is very difficult to compare the situation of the state farm

workers with the workers of the old large estates. Undoubtedly, on the Communist system the agricultural workers got more money. As another advantage, the system was that, in the average family of the agricultural workers, both parents and 2 kids worked, each of them receiving a pay. Under the Communist system the agricultural workers received more cash than in the time of the large estates. On the other hand, the workers of the Communist system had their own complaints. For example, they could not keep a cow on the state farm, although later they were permitted to keep swines. Generally speaking, the workers of the state farms were better off than the members of a cooperative. But in both cases the workers try to supplement their pay through regular stealing. One chief shepherd of the state farms, who had 3000 sheep ^{under his care,} stole every day a ~~quantity~~ of wheat for his own cattle. If we take in consideration the stealing, the workers of the state farms made as much money as the industrial workers of the city. That was one of the main reasons why they stayed in the country side and did not move into the city. Moreover, there was a greater job security at the state farms. The industrial plants fired their unskilled workers from time to time whereas in the case of the state farms the workers had a contract for one year, but usually stayed there for several years. The temporary workers of the state farms came from those villages where there was a labor surplus.

In many cases they came from quite different areas of the country. The state farm had to insure board and room for them. Out of their wages mentioned above 8 and later 10 forints were deducted daily for room and board. For this money they received 3 meals a day, about 25 to 30 deka of bread. They received meat only 3 times a week and the supper consisted of a vegetable. Altogether their food is rather poor, particularly the bread is not enough for them. Their housing on the state farm is not much better either. There are some shopwindow state farms where the temporary workers are put into separate rooms and each of them has its own room. The general situation, however, is that 8 and 10 people are put in one room, each of them having only a bunk there. In most cases the old barracks of the large estates are still used for them. The sanitation of the old barracks has not changed either. In this respect the Communist system has not made a great improvement. At the present time there are 668 000 ~~peasant~~ peasant land holdings with ^{three} yokes or less land. The members of such families are willing to take jobs at the state farms. I mentioned above that the workers of the state farms number 300 000. At the present time I do not know whether this figure includes the temporary workers or not. It is very hard to evaluate the productivity of the state farms because of the lack of the necessary data. One official statement claimed that the state farms produce 26% more for the market than the individual

peasants. Such a statement does not permit us to reach any good conclusions. Moreover it does not state what is the productivity of the state farms per worker. According to a similar official statement the state farms have one tractor unit^s for each 153 normal yokes. This sound^s like a rather good degree of mechanization, however, the normal yoke is a theoretical concept and the tractor unit means a Hoffher tractor of 33 horse powers. When 2 theoretical definitions are used to reach a statistical statement, it is very easy to distort it. All I know about the mechanization of the state farms is that their tractors are of a very old ~~type~~ type. The Hoffher tractor is very much out of date when compared to the tractors presently used in Western Europe. It is produced now in Hungary and sold to China where it may mean a great improvement, but it is not good for Hungary. While working, it shakes and no finer work can be carried out with it. It cannot be connected with a sowing machine because of the same reason. I understand that the agricultural machinery production of Hungary is not working at full capacity. I think the reason for that is that there is not enough money and the so-called investment ~~fund~~ funds of the statefarms are always short. The combines produced in Hungary are the copies of an old American type produced about 20 years ago. Its "table" is too wide and a great amount of the corn is wasted. It ~~can~~ cut^s the grain at a higher level and

there is a great waste of straw. When using it, the combine is always followed by 2 or 4 people who rake up the straw left by the combine. Moreover, 9 people are necessary to service the combine when it works at full capacity which means it harvests, thrashes and sacks. It is another and characterizing shortcoming that the motor of the combine is the same as the engine of the Csepel car. Consequently people steal the engine parts of the combine and every year before the season starts, the combines have to be overhauled and the missing parts have to be replaced. Generally speaking, I think that the combines have a very limited use in Hungary and the country would need a small type of tractor as it is used in Austria. The working methods inherent in Communism make even more damage in agricultural production. First of all the Communist working brigades are in constant competition. Then every worker has to fulfill certain norms. The result is that the wheat is not harvested at the most appropriate time, but at the time specified by the conditions of the competition. This very often leads to a great waste of corn. It is true that the state farms do many things much better than the individual peasant. The individual peasant used 10 kilos of fertilizers for one yoke, whereas the state farms use 200 kilos. At the same time there is hardly any difference between individual peasant and state farm in the productivity per yoke. Private far-

mers produce more sugar beets or potatoes because they need more work. On the other hand, the state farms produce more milk. They produce 2200 l per cow, whereas the individual farmers seldom exceed the limit of 1500 to 1600 liters. The reason for that is that the individual farmer had to deliver his hay to the state which was then given to the cattle on the state farms.

(2) The Present Situation of Hungarian Agriculture.

Certain very important changes have happened in Hungarian agriculture since the Revolution of October 1956. In the years from 1950 to 56 the rural population migrated to the cities in great numbers. During the Revolution it turned out that the rural elements in the cities were anti-Communist. All of them behaved like kulaks and turned against the system. Under such experiences the new Communist system conceived a new agricultural policy which wants to lead back to the land a large number of people who had moved recently to the cities. To create a legal basis to the migration from the cities to the rural areas, a new law ~~is~~ was promulgated about reclaiming the small land holdings. Almost any peasant who left his land holdings before 1956 can now reclaim a small farm up to three yokes. The government even promises a certain financial aid to them. When evaluating this policy from a general point of view, it must be called rather good. Because of the

forced industrialization, because of the large-scale migration to the cities, because of the general insecurity concerning land ownership, a considerable part of Hungary's agricultural land was not cultivated between 1950 and 1956. In 1953 when Nagy Imre became prime minister, 2 000 000 acres were uncultivated mainly because of the forced collectivization. But even in 1957 1 000 000 yokes were not cultivated because of the reasons mentioned above. The present Communist government wants to utilize the whole arable land of the country and for this purpose it wants to repopulate the rural areas. It is unbelievable that this repopulation alone would increase the agricultural production of the country. In horsebreeding there has been a decrease in the number of horses in Hungary during the Communist system. Although certain state farms tried to maintain a good quality of thorough ~~breeds~~ ^{breeds,} generally speaking, the thorough bred breeding lost its old famous quality. On the other hand, the quality of the average horses of the small farmers improved, mainly because many thorough breeds were taken over by individual farmers right after ~~the~~ the war and bred with peasant horses. The decrease in the number of horses is mainly due to the Communist policy of mechanization of agriculture. In 1949 one pair of horses were planned for every 100 yokes of state farm land. Later on this ~~ratio~~ ^{ratio} has been decreased and now one pair of horses should serve for each 200 yokes of state farms. The Communist^s claim that the rapid mechanization

of Hungarian agriculture makes the horse dispensable. The situation, however, is that there are not enough tractors to replace the old horses. Consequently the individual farmers and particularly the peasant with less than 3 yokes use cattle, they even use a cow for agricultural work. The present forceful decrease of the number of horses is again one means of the Communist system to force the individual peasants to accept mechanization of agriculture and to accept the kolkhoz. Although I do not know any statistics on that point, I think there has not been any increase in the number of cattle in Hungary. However, there has been a deterioration ~~ration~~ of the quality. In 1951 the old system of ~~raising~~ ^{requiring the} cattle was liquidated ~~with~~ and without the system of ~~raising~~ ^{no good} no good cattle raising can be established. From that time on state farms and co-operatives emphasized the quantity ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{stead of} quality in cattle raising. They adopted for example, a Russian method of raising cows which allegedly saved milk. According to this Russian system, a calf was supposed to get only 300 liters of milk and the remaining part could be sold on the ~~mark~~ market. I saw its application in Hungary and my experience was that many calves died or got sick because of this system. Concerning hog breeding we have to distinguish between *lard* hogs and *meat* hogs. The Hungarian name of the *lard* hog is Mangalica. The Communist system took a rather good care

of breeding meat hogs. They imported a good Berkshire-type of sire from Denmark which was mixed with the generally existing Hungarian type and the result was pretty good. This type is now general in Hungary and furnishes the meat for home production and export. On the other hand the quality of the lard hog deteriorated very much. At the present time, the value of the lard hog stock of Hungary is only 40% of the value of the same stock before ~~the~~ the war. Under the present system it does not pay if the peasant keeps good lard hogs and this, in final analysis, contributes to the shortage of land that can be observed from time to time in Hungary. Under the present system the main aim of the peasant is to reach 130 kilos when the hog can be killed. Consequently they do not go for lard production. The sheep stock of Hungary is much greater than it was in 1938. In this field there has been a great amelioration. The results were partly achieved by the state farms and partly by individual peasants who keep 6 to 8 sheep. At the present time the wool can be sold at good prices and the peasants see the commercial possibilities and invest a great amount of work in sheep keeping. At the present time, there are 2 million sheep in Hungary, but the country still needs to import wool. With a somewhat better policy it would be possible to achieve that Hungary would be self-supplying in wool. The stock of goats has increased in Hungary very much which is usually a sign of poverty. Goats are particularly conspicuous

in the poor parts of the country, for example, in the slum areas around Budapest or in the mining areas of the country. The poultry stock of the country has deteriorated to a great extent. Poultry is a special kind of animal farming which *can be very lucrative* to the so-called chicken farmers. In old times those small entrepreneurs supplied the country with the necessary market poultry. The Communist system put them out of business and the result is a shortage of poultry and a very poor quality of the poultry. The deterioration of the stock became so conspicuous by 1953 that the Ministry of Agriculture imported breeding material from Denmark. Because of several circumstances, however, it was impossible to improve the Hungarian poultry. The individual peasant in Hungary who has 5 yokes or less does not produce poultry for the market. On the other hand, the state farms were unable to do a good work in this field because of the lack of good feeding material, medicine, ~~vaccines~~ material and so on. Because of the general lack of veterinarian care, the poultry plague which in old times ceased to exist in Hungary, became an acute problem. The poultry farm of Godolló which was advertised so often by the Communists became so poor that it had to be reorganized in the spring of 1956. As another point of the Communist policy they imported poultry stock from Russia which was no good from a Hungarian point of view and which was infected with poultry plague.

There is a very great Russian influence upon Hungarian agriculture, but its value is still very dubious. From 1950, the young agronomes were sent to Russia to study there for at least 2 years. From 1953 on these young people came back to Hungary and found a job either with the state farms or with some of the cooperatives. There they tried to realize their learning. My impression is that their education received in Russia is no good in Hungary. I mentioned the failure of the Russian system of calf breeding. The Russian system of chicken breeding proved to be a similar failure. The Russians claim that they worked out a ~~zhikuzh~~^{chicken} breeding whereby a great amount of feed can be saved. I do not know exactly how this system operates, but I was told that the Russians give green feed instead of oats and barley to the chickens. If it is so it must be a ridiculous system which must end in a failure. As a summary of the animal husbandry in Hungary it can be stated that, except for meat hog and particularly for sheep, animal husbandry is in a much poorer state now than it was in 1938.

The other great shortcoming in the Communist agricultural system must be ~~attributed~~^{attributed} to the poor organization. I doubt very much whether such an all-out state planning as the Communists do, ~~is~~ can be effectively realized in agriculture. Moreover, the Communist state planning is tied up with the Party ~~parizi~~ policy. Thus for example, kader policy comes always before effective production.

The important jobs are given to good leaders and not to ~~xxx~~ experts. The work norms are established on the basis of the Party policy rather than on the basis of practical experiences. The policy of mechanization of the agriculture is a strange mixture of large-scale plans and miserable local failures. The work competitions do an extreme harm to agriculture. At the time when I was agronom of the state farm, we participated in a work competition. At that time we connected 3 small sewing machines with the tractor and the tractor went over the field at a speed of 20 kilometers per hour. In such a way we won the competition and achieved almost 1000%. On the other hand the value of the work was perhaps 10% only. The whole mechanization is good for the large estates only such as state farms and cooperatives. The mechanization of the state farms is now on the level where Western Germany was about 10 years ago. However, the machines are pretty much out-of-date and sometimes very faulty. The Hungarian harvesting machines cannot be used. The good ones used in Hungary are manufactured in Czechoslovakia. About 1/3 of the harvesting work is now done by combines in Hungary. At the same time the individual peasant still cannot use the tractors and other machines. He carries out his work on the ancestral way through handwork and through his animals. The ploughing with tractor generally results in very poor results. The tractor leaves out certain strips which then remain

uncultivated or are taken up by weeds. The Russian-type machines are too large for Hungary and cannot be used economically. Hungary would need the same kind of small tractors and machines which are used in Austria and Germany. Moreover, a good mechanization would mean the private ownership of those machines.

(3) The individual peasants.

For all practical reasons there are no peasants in Hungary with a farm of more than 20 yokes. Actually there are very few land holdings with 12 yokes or more. The majority of the medium peasants as they are called by the Communists have now about 8 yokes. However, the majority of the individual peasants have 3 or 4 yokes only. The equipment of the peasant farms is very poor too. The peasants are not permitted to own any machinery and their animal stock is insufficient too. There are about 770 000 horses in Hungary and about 2/3 of them are in the property of individual peasants. However, 300 000 of the horses cannot be fully used, which means that there are only 200 000 pairs of horses for work available. If all these horses were used by individual peasants they would not be enough to carry out the necessary work. As a result, the great majority of the individual peasants live in a great poverty and try to find some other ~~or~~ work outside of their farm. Many of them do ^{carting} ~~dragging with horse and cart~~, working for state farms, for certain cooperatives, or at the con-

struction work in a nearby city. All the peasants tried to find ways in order to make money. For example, their milk production is very important, in spite of the fact that they have to deliver so much feed to the state. I know of many cases where the peasant bought the cattle feed for money and his milk production was still lucrative. They tried to make money out of poultry or out of their fruit orchards and in such a way the economy of the individual peasant became very intensive in the last few years. A peasant with 8 yokes has a standard of living similar to the white collar worker in the city and he makes 1200 to 1500 a month. The small peasants, which means the majority of the peasant class, make only 6000 to 7000 forints a year, but one has to add to this sum the rent and the food for the family. The present system has achieved at least one thing: it has demolished the differences in the income of the rural and urban population. The Communist state has several organizations which buy up the products of the peasants, for example the Gyumert buys up the fruits, the Zoldsegert buys up vegetables and similar things. At the same time the peasant has the freedom to go to the market place of a nearby city and sell his fruits or vegetables there, but he cannot sell any wheat, animal feed, or some other things which are the monopolies of the state. In such a way there is still a limited free competition for the peasant. For example, a few years ago sheep keeping be-

came lucrative and all the peasants tried to acquire a few heads of sheep. Some other peasants went into vegetable or fruit gardening and bought on the market the wheat which they were supposed to deliver to the state. In spite of these circumstances the peasant cannot save money ~~in the economy~~ ^{just} as the workers of the city cannot save either. The state controls the flux of the money and finds the ways to block the accumulation of capital by peasants. When sheep keeping became a good business with the peasants the state lowered the prices, paid for the wool. The same thing happened with the prices of vegetables and fruits. In such ^a way the peasant has no money to invest and to improve or to enlarge his holdings. It is impossible for him to buy a new piece of land, in spite of the many uncultivated plots that can be found in every village. It is impossible for him to erect a new building or to acquire new machinery. The peasant farms are generally very poorly equipped. The factory of Salgotarjan which produced most of the agricultural tools for the country turns out such poor products that the peasants refuse to buy them. When visiting the peasant farms, I have not seen but very old disks, shovels, hoes, which are sharpened and repaired at home. From 1948 to 53 the peasant population constantly migrated to the cities, particularly the sons of the kulaks left their home village and took up jobs in the cities or even with the state farms. During those years, one could see how the

youth disappeared from the villages and only the middle-aged people remained there to cultivate the farms. Because of the many constructions carried out by the Communists, the occupation of the kubikos became more numerous than ever before. Since the Revolution the trend of migration has been reversed and the peasants are leaving the cities and return to their villages. There they take up the uncultivated lands and turn their own land holding into an intensive small farm. There is a great need for an intensification of agriculture. The average annual wheat production of Hungary is 22 to 24 million ^{tons} ~~metric tons~~ which is scarcely enough to cover the whole consumption. The consumption of wheat increased in Hungary. At the present time the average annual consumption of wheat is 2 tons per head, moreover about 3 1/2 million tons are necessary for seeds. This is why the government tries to increase the wheat production. In the summer of 1956 a new campaign was launched which intended to raise the country's wheat production to 30 million tons. This aim would enable the state to export 1 million tons and to storage 4 million tons for the future. As far as I can estimate, this goal of 30 million tons will not be achieved in 1957. At the present time, there are 3 million yokes sown with bread wheat and we can count with 8 tons per yoke as the average production. Because of the Revolution, the fall sowing was not carried out and this is why we have about 500 000 yokes less sown with wheat. Since in

this year we have to provide the Russian troops stationed in Hungary, it will be hardly possible to export from the home production. As a strange contradiction, the Communist government exports wheat because it has different commitments because of the foreign trade agreements. The result is, that Hungary is exporting wheat to certain satellite countries, for example to Czechoslovakia. At the same time it imports wheat or flour. As mentioned 8 tons per yoke is the average yield in wheat which is a rather poor achievement. The wheat generally produced in Hungary is of the so-called banki type which is now an old type and could be greatly improved. The soil labor is generally poor. Ploughing very seldom goes into the depths of 25 centimeters. The wheat fields are full of weeds because there is not enough chemicals ~~used~~ to fight the weeds. There is not enough fertilizer either, because it is exported. In the lack of the necessary fertilization the soil became exhausted and finally many peasant land owners do not give the necessary fertilizers to their land because of the general insecurity of the land ownership. This general insecurity of land ownership is connected not only with the forced cooperative system, but also with the commassation of the lands. The first great wave of commassation began in the fall of 1949. At that time the main aim of the Communist policy was to establish those large tables of land which lent them-

selves for large estate cultivation in state farms and cooperatives. Consequently the land of such state farms and cooperatives which were in many small parcels were now commassated and the land of the individual farmers lying in between was exchanged. This commassation was carried out according to the instructions of the Agricultural Ministry and it did not take into consideration the individual wishes of the peasants. They received an exchange property for their former landholdings,; however the exchange was carried out in a way which gave birth to many grievances. The exchange property was usually of poorer quality and was at some distant part of the community. Moreover, it happened that the exchange property was of much smaller size ~~than~~ than the original property of the peasant. Between 1950 and 1953 this commassation was carried out as an act of terror which was felt in every village. There were villages where almost every peasant was affected by the commassation, had to relinquish one piece of land or all of his land and accept another one allotted by the state. In many cases the peasants who wanted to save their original landholdings joined the cooperative rather than to accept the exchange property. When Nagy ~~Imre~~ became the prime minister in 1953, he stopped this forced commassation immediately. By the time there were 2 million yokes uncultivated in the country, mostly in the hands of the state as the so-called *individual*

land. Nagy Imre offered this residual land as a 5-year lease to the peasants and in such a way many new peasant farms were established. In 1955 a new wave of forced collectivization came, and the peasants were again forced to join the cooperatives. In the fall of 1956 shortly before the Revolution the Ministry of Agriculture issued a new order about collectivization. This order was conceived in the spirit of liberalization and wanted to give certain rights to the peasants. It was supposed to become a valid law in September 1956. However, because of the Revolution it has not been carried out. As a great change when compared to the situation before the war the Hungarian peasant lives now in a money economy. The peasant with 8 yokes does a great deal of trading. He sells his products on the market and with his money he buys what he can. There is more money now in the villages than ever before which however, does not mean that the whole standard of living of the rural peasant population has greatly increased. There have been certain improvements. For example, electricity has been introduced into almost every village. Similarly the number of radio sets has increased very much. There is a great competition among the peasants in obtaining such luxury items. If one peasant buys a radio set, his neighbour must follow him. In such a way those conspicuous differences in the way of life which distinguished the rural population from the urban population in old times have now disappeared. This is very conspic-

changes in clothing. The old peasant clothing almost disappeared and particularly it disappeared in the younger generation. The peasants wear the same kind of clothes as the workers in the city. When working, they have an overall. The old white shirts or the peasant boots disappeared. The education of the youth in the villages has greatly improved. Many youth go to the cities to attend a middle school or even a university. As a new trend in Hungary, the peasant youth returns to his village after he got his university diploma and he works in the farm of his father and participates in the communal life of the village. Altogether a new intelligentsia developed in the villages which played a leading part in the local affairs. The same intelligentsia of peasant origin had an important role in the Revolution, not only in local relationships but even in Budapest. The university students of peasant origin sided with the Revolution since they saw the real situation in the country-side. The new intelligentsia of peasant origin may play a very important role in the future too.

(4) The Cooperatives.

An interesting note to the development of cooperatives, I want to mention that the establishment of cooperatives in Hungary started in July 1948 when a meeting of all the political parties was called together under the chairmanship of Nagy Imre. I attended this meeting and I remember

that at that time Nagy Imre was for the original Communist blueprint of establishing cooperatives. I remember this case because it shows that Nagy Imre has underwent a great change in his convictions. He was willing to realize the faults committed by the Communist system. As it is well known there are 3 types of cooperatives under the Communist system. As far as I know, at the present time there are only ~~types~~ type 1 and type 3 cooperatives in Hungary. However, there is a ~~forced~~ ^{with} type of cooperative, the specialized cooperative which means a ~~corporation~~ ^{cooperation} of farmers for cattle raising or hog breeding or anything like that. The special cooperatives are quite independent from the system of the other types of cooperatives. The history of the cooperative movement under the Communist system is well known. It is not repeated here and all I want to mention about it is that this system of establishing forced cooperatives, ~~and~~ with its sudden changes, contributed to the general insecurity of the life in the countryside and to the growing discontent of the peasants. Before 1950 2 types of people joined the cooperatives. First the former workers of the large estates who could not manage their farms because of some special difficulties and the second type, the new settlers who did not have the necessary capital. I remember one of those early cooperatives established at Bakonyjako ~~where~~ where the new settlers came from the Lumpenproletariat of Budapest. With the aid of the state they established a cooperative

on 300 yokes and made a very advantageous contract with the machine station. According to this contract all the work was done by the machine station and the members of the cooperative had ^{only} to sell the products. It was one of the few Communist schemes which flourished for a few years, then it had to be dissolved by the Party. After 1950 the forced cooperative movement came and the peasants were simply forced to join them. From that time on the situation was that the membership of a cooperative consisted of all kinds of people, of old peasants who stuck to their land, of new settlers who wanted to make some money fast and of former agricultural workers who tried to be as idle as possible. Under such conditions good work and efficient production was almost impossible. Most of the cooperatives worked with a loss which in final analysis had to be paid by the state. According to a statement made by Cabinet Minister Feher Lajos in the summer of 1956, the state had to support the cooperatives with 4 milliard forints. This money was spent as wages of the machine station, was spent for constructions ^{of} buildings and for buying live stock. On the ^{other} hand, there were some cooperatives which did an excellent job. For example, at Kisber I saw a cooperative established by 36 former agricultural workers who built up an excellent estate. I still remember their stable which was covered by glass. The workers of a cooperative are usually divided into 2 brigades, one for the plant

growing and the other one for animal husbandry. The brigade for animal husbandry is usually regarded as the worst kind of job since it involves work all year round. The work and its recompensation is calculated on the basis of a very complex formula. Let's suppose that the cooperative owns 500 yokes out of which 120 is fall wheat, another 120 yokes is spring wheat, 120 yokes is for feed, 120 is for corn. Then the agronom of the cooperative establishes that 1200 working hours are necessary to carry out the work on that farm. Out of the 1200 working hours 600 will be done by the machine station. The other 600 have to be done by the members. If there are 10 members it means 60 working hours for each. This is how the work unit for each member is established. Then at the end of the year let us suppose that the 500 yokes brought in a certain sum. Out of this sum the fee of the tractor station, the taxes, and the deliveries are deducted. The remaining part is divided among the members according to work units. If all the 10 members fulfilled their work units equally, the remaining money is divided into 10 equal parts. This is, however, an exceptionally easy case. The usual situation is that some members fulfilled more than one work unit whereas some other ones less. Altogether a tremendous system of bookkeeping is necessary not only for the cooperative as a whole but for each member. The system of bookkeeping is usually not understood by the individual members which causes many

further grievances. The whole system of bookkeeping was complicated and unpopular. After the Revolution all the remaining cooperatives tried to work out a new charter for themselves which included an easier system of bookkeeping. It has to be seen whether the new Communist government will permit that the cooperatives should have their own individual charter. In the brigade for animal husbandry the average work unit is the unit of 10 cows to be cared for by one member. Since the cooperative does not own a round number of cows, some of the members care for 8 cows or other ones care for 13 ones, which makes the calculation of work units even more complicated. The care of 10 cows would entail on the worker 12 hours of work in the summer and 10 hours in the winter. The mechanical help in this kind of work is still minimum, only 3 or 4 % of the cooperatives use mechanical milking. The removal of the manure is carried out almost everywhere by handpower. The worker in the brigade of animal husbandry received only one vacation of 8 days a year. The worker in the plant growing brigade can ~~at~~ leave the cooperative for a few days and make money by working somewhere else. The worker in the brigade of animal husbandry is bound to the cooperative all year round. Consequently all workers try to ~~work~~^{earn} money through their own household plot or in Hungarian *Hastaji gazdasag*. Originally every member of the cooperative was supposed to receive a household plot of one yoke. But now the

extent of this household plot has been decreased in many cases ~~as~~ it is half a yoke or even less. The members of the cooperative work really hard on their household plot doing there either fruit growing or dairy farming in order to get some cash. Under such ~~the~~ circumstances it is very difficult to estimate how much money the members of the cooperatives make. It is true that only the poor peasants joined the cooperatives and the medium peasants always resisted ~~any~~ attempt of the government to force ^{them} into the cooperatives. ~~It~~ would follow from such an observation that the cooperative ~~members~~ members cannot make as much money as the individual medium peasant who owns something like 8 yokes. According to one of the general rules of the cooperatives, 30% of the income must be invested into the cooperative, invested for example in buying machinery, which then becomes the property of the cooperative and ~~not~~ not of the members. The situation, however, was that the cooperatives were forced or enticed to buy many poor machinery and since they could buy machinery they incurred debts. Most of the cooperatives are in debts and if any member wants to leave the cooperative, he has to pay his part of the debts. He cannot get his part of the machinery owned by the cooperative, but he must pay his part of the debts. In many cases his life stock is sequestrated as a security of his debts and he is forced in such a way

in the cooperative. One of the great problems of the Communists was to find the necessary leaders of the cooperatives. In many cases the Communists applied pressure on the good smallholders of the village and they pressured ^{him} to become ^{was} the chairman of the cooperatives. If he did a good job with the cooperative, he was left there. However, if there was any trouble, the same ^{person} was called a kulak and was charged with sabotage. This is how the Communists carried out ^{the idea of forcing the best people} ~~and enticed~~ election in the leadership of the cooperatives and only those people remained as chairmen who did not have anything to lose. At present there might be a certain change in this line. Those youth of the village who came back from the universities are willing to accept the chairmanship of the cooperatives and such youngsters are able to carry out a good work there. On the other hand one should not forget that the chairman of the cooperative has a rather limited authority. His pay is somewhat more than the pay of the ordinary members, but the ordinary members usually make more money out of jobs outside of the cooperative. Generally there is an equality within the cooperative. None of the members are better off or worse off. For the individual member of the cooperative it is very difficult to get ahead on an individual basis. His final pay depends very much on the work of the other members. Such a dependency is another reason for the great unpopularity of the cooperatives.

(5) The Tractor Stations.

At the present time, there are about 24 000 tractors in Hungary which when divided for 9 million yokes is a rather low ~~of~~ ~~per~~ per yoke. 3 types of tractors are used. First the ~~small~~ ^{small} called Zetor type which has 22 horsepowers and which is out of the 3 types the best adapted to the Hungarian conditions. The second is the G 35 Hoffer type which is now pretty much obsolete and the third type is the Stalin 55 horsepower type which originally was designed for Russian conditions and can be used in Hungary for certain works of cultivation only. The tractors are owned by the state farms or by the tractor stations in accordance with the principles of the socialized agriculture. There are 260 tractor stations all over the country. Each of the tractor stations has a large staff consisting of a general manager, a deputy general manager, a manager of the personnel department, a technical manager, ~~and~~ an agronom, 3-4 clerical employees, a storekeeper and 3-4 mechanics. Altogether they have a ~~xx~~ too large administrative apparatus. The 260 tractor stations are servicing about 3400 communities which means that each of them has to service 10 or 12 villages and ~~xx~~ they have to move over a large territory, wasting a lot of time and gasoline. As another disadvantage of the large territories it is almost impossible to control the tractors and the tractor operators. The tractor operators accept

so-called black or illegal work and *prochut* the income. The tractor operators and the mechanics of the tractor stations are rather inexperienced since the experienced mechanics go into a factory where they can receive a higher salary. As a consequence there are many troubles during the operation. The replacement of parts is very difficult because the factories manufacture whole tractors only but no parts according to the 5-year plan. The 5-year plan did not provide for premiums in case when the factory was manufacturing tractor parts and not whole units. In the case of any breakage, the tractor has to be removed from operation and it takes often several months before the necessary parts can be obtained. During the same time the tractor operator has to be paid since he has an annual contract with the tractor station. At the beginning each tractor had 3 tractor operators, since the plan was that the tractors will be working 24 hours a day. Later, the Communist planners had to see that this is impossible and nowadays each tractor has 2 and sometimes only one operator. In the great working time at summer one tractor is supposed to work 18 to 20 hours which practically means that one tractor operator is with his machine 10 or 12 hours a day. Since he needs rest in the meantime he puts on his son on the tractor while he is eating. Such inexperienced kids do some further harm in the work. The tractor operator is usually an outsider in the village who does not know the local conditions and has

no individual interest in the affairs of the community. He has a certain norm to fulfill and the norm takes into consideration the quantity but not the quality of the work. As a consequence deep ploughing has been generally neglected in the country. The furrows are not straight and there is always a space between them which is an excellent place for the ~~waxka~~ weeds. Consequently the peasants do not believe in the tractor stations. The production yields ~~did~~ not justify the tractor stations and many peasants are willing to believe that the best yield can be reached through hand production only. The tractor stations are usually short of disks and cultivators. Moreover, the ploughing norm is better, consequently they plough instead of disking. As another unforeseen effect of the mechanization of agriculture, the conservation of water has been neglected in Hungary which might have disastrous effects pretty soon regarding the dry climate of Hungary. I have met quite a few agronomes from the tractor stations. They complained that they have to supervise 10 to 12 villages and there was not enough time left for them to get acquainted with the local conditions. The 260 tractor stations are organized into 13 districts which are subordinated to the ministry in Budapest. This whole system requires a huge administrative force. Altogether there are more than 20 000 people busy with the tractor stations and they represent a heavy burden upon the agricultural income of the

country. This factor alone will explain why the rentability of the present state farms and cooperatives is lower than the rentability of the old large estates in Hungary was. As it is well known, another duty of the tractor stations is to educate the people for socialistic agriculture. As far as I can make it out, the tractor ~~stations~~ stations failed entirely in fulfilling such a Communist duty. They are generally disliked by the individual peasants. The individual peasants do not use the tractors but their own animals. They rather hire animals than to make a contract with the tractor stations. The statistics published by the state do not ~~show~~ show what amount of work was done by the tractor stations for the individual peasants. My opinion is that the tractor stations with their present organization did a counter-propaganda for the mechanization of agriculture. When Communism will be over we will need a special propaganda to persuade the peasants to mechanize their farming.

(6) The Revolution and the Hungarian Agriculture.

The Revolution in the country-side of Hungary did not manifest itself in ~~the~~ political demonstrations as it happened in Budapest, but in certain actions centering around the distribution of the land ownership. The Revolution in the country-side was directed against the state farms and against the cooperatives. In the state farms the general manager and the manager of the per-

sonnel department disappeared on the first day of the Revolution. The agronom being an expert usually stayed there. A Revolutionary Council was elected in almost every state farm which wanted to establish an independent farming unit, independent from the ministry. They wanted to establish a pay of 1200 forints for each worker and to insure a share from the profits for them. These demands were sensible, but against the Communist system. This is why it became necessary to liquidate the Ministry of State Farms after the Revolution and the state farms were subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture. In the case of the tractor and machinery stations the Revolution meant that the machines were taken away and seized by different people. I must add that this movement should not be regarded as an outright stealing. In many cases the tractors had belonged to individual farmers in old times who now reclaimed them ~~for them~~. In some cases the peasants established a machinery cooperative in their village and distributed the stock of the machine station. The situation was even more confused in the case of cooperatives. First of all everybody tried to grab his own parts in the cooperative and insure it for himself. In many cases the cooperatives worked out their own charter according to their own case. This would have meant a real democratization in the cooperative system of Hungary. Many bookkeepers and other white collar workers were fired by the cooperatives. At the beginning of 1957 it became a grave

problem how to insure jobs for them. Finally they were absorbed by the local councils and the sub-county councils. Actually it was a policy of the Kadar government to leave the former white collar ~~employees~~ employees of the cooperatives in their former neighbourhood that they should instigate the establishment of huger cooperatives there. In the villages the local councils were immediately liquidated and the chairmen usually escaped. Then the villages established their own Revolutionary Councils, sometimes called national councils and organized their own freedom fighters movement in Hungarian nemzetjörseg. They established an administration of their own and took back many old notaries. The Yugoslav newspaper Politika published an article in November stating that there is complete order in the Hungarian villages. The villages were generally well informed about the Revolutionary events in Budapest. They received the informations mainly through the radios which are now in every village and partly through the fact that many peasants are at the same time industrial workers. Here is the case of the famous industrial triangle around the city of Eger which is situated between Eger, Egerfarnos and Sirok. This area became an important factor of military industry during Communism and according to my estimates there must be at least 25 000 worker-peasants^{families} living in this area where one member of the family goes into an industrial plant to work whereas the other members of the family cultivate their own farm or are sometimes members

of a cooperative. The great industrialization of Hungary carried out by the Communists did not mean that the peasants became entirely uprooted. Most of them were unwilling to relinquish the security given by their own farm. They were rather willing to shoulder the burdens of 2 works, the work in the factory and the work in the ~~at~~ farm at home. It is quite common that the wife is a member of the cooperative whereas her husband is a worker in a factory. It is true, that this system brought forth a great weakening of the family ties. The members of the family became separated which had been unknown in the old agricultural Hungary. This breaking up of the families explains the great animosity which can be nowadays observed in the Hungarian village. The population of the villages became homogeneous from a financial point of view. But the Communist system instilled a great mistrust and hostility into the rural population. I give full credence to those reports published by the Hungarian press which say that the rural population denounce one another before the present police system. In spite of such phenomena there is a general feeling against Communism. Even the Party functionaries in the ~~villages~~ villages or the chairmen of the cooperatives do not make any secret ~~that~~ out of the fact that they hate Communism. My prediction is that in the wake of the Revolution the forced establishment of cooperatives and statefarms will slowed down and the ~~Kdar~~ ² ~~gaxaxaxaxax~~ _^

government will give a greater freedom to the individual peasants.

(7) The Agricultural Innovation of the Communist System.

From time to time the Communist press announces large-scale plans of agricultural ameliorations. As far as I can see, only some small fragments of those plans have been realized. Concerning construction work ~~2~~ large plans were announced. One of them was the power plan at the river of Tisza and the other one was the watering canalization between the rivers Duna and Tisza. I am not qualified to make any judgement about the technical details of the power plant of the Tisza. However, the plan has some very important agricultural objectives. The regulation of the water level between the rivers Tisza and Bodrog is an age-old requirement of Hungarian agriculture. I think it would be easy to extend the arable land there at the expense of the *bogs*. At the same time, it would be very desirable to establish there a system of watering canalization. According to the newspaper reports both were objectives of the original plans of the Tisza Power Plant. However, up to the end of 1956 it was impossible to extend the arable land. On the contrary, because of the construction work, the former good arable lands were *turned into bogs*. At the same time, only a very small part of the watering canal was built, and no plans were worked out to utilize the possibilities of the

watering canal. The other great construction project of the Communists, the watering canal ^{between} the Danube and the Tisza became one of the great failures of the system. The work on that canalization system was begun and the canals reached the Atokcsatorna and one branch of them went as far South as the city of Baja. However, the construction work was suddenly ^{by} stopped without finishing the whole project and as a result some parts of it were ruined by the weather. What is even worse only a small part of the canalization system has been organized and a great amount of water is still not utilized, although it is available. Concerning the other ameliorations of Hungarian agriculture, the introduction of new plants was of great importance. Experiments with rice growing in Hungary started around 1940. In the Communist system rice production was taken over by the state farms and was supposed to be carried out according to the 5-year plan. The state planning became catastrophic for rice production in Hungary, since it did not take into account that rice can be grown on the same land for 3 years only. The state farms tried to grow rice as a steady crop. The result was that in 1955 the rice yield failed entirely and the state farms did not get back their investment. In 1955 about 100 000 acres were used for rice production. But in 1957 I do not expect more than about 20 000 acres with a rather poor yield. The experiments with cotton growing in Hungary did not give better

results either. At the height of the experiments about 60 000 yokes were in cotton production. But the Hungarian cotton was of such a poor quality that finally the whole plan was given up. I think that cotton production could be done in Hungary, but only by individual peasants which is against the Communist principles. The Communists worked out a very ambitious program concerning the amelioration of the soil. The program was supposed to be carried out by the Talajjavító Nemzeti Vállalat which did indeed a very good job, particularly with the soil corrupted by the alkali ~~salt~~ salts. But at the same time a large acreage of good soil stayed uncultivated. To make up a just balance sheet it is necessary to mention those destructions which happened in the Communist agriculture. This destruction is particularly conspicuous in those branches of agriculture which are of vital importance for Hungary. At the present time Hungary has 400 000 yokes of vineyards which is about 50 000 yokes less than the country had in 1938. As it is well known many vineyards were destroyed because the old vine stocks were not replaced ~~and~~ because there ^{were} ~~were~~ not enough *poles* or chemicals and there is not incentive to produce a good quality. In vine growing the state farms do an extremely poor job. I remember in the county of Veszprem the state farms had 300 yokes of vineyards which were not given the necessary care and produced less than 150 yokes should have produced under ordinary circumstances. The

destructions of the Hungarian forestry are due to the exploitation of unripe wood material. Forestry is always suitable for large-scale production. However, the inner construction of the Communist system explains why state management became so destructive in the Hungarian forestry. As another point it is necessary to mention that potato cultivation decreased from 500 000 yokes to 300 000 yokes. Only one reason for that decrease is the Colorado bug which already reached the lane of the Tisza and so far no protection has been invented against it. The production of industrial alcohol had represented in old times an important source of ~~agriculture~~ agriculture. Now it has been decreased under Communism. The factories decreased from 64 to 40. The main reason for that decrease is that the state farms are not free to utilize their local sources. For example, they are supposed to use their own *molasses* for feeding purposes and cannot turn it over to the production of alcohol.