

An Interview with Tibor Pok

Survival: Lives of Hungarians under Communist  
and Capitalist Governments 1956-2006  
Oral History Series

Interviews conducted by  
Virginia Major Thomas  
in 2005

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### **Biography**

Tibor Pok is a business entrepreneur not yet able fully to exercise his talents. He was born and brought up in Budapest. He went to a high school which trained students for the catering trade, but after graduation he worked only one year in that field before starting a small trucking business. This was in the 1980's when in Hungary the Communist government allowed small businesses to be run privately. Soon, however, after Tibor started his, small private trucking firms proliferated and Tibor's ceased to be profitable enough to support his family.

After 1989, when capitalism replaced Communism, he started a small tobacconist's shop which also carried a small assortment of food and household items like soap. It was located on the ground floor of his parents-in-laws' house in a suburb of Budapest and was run by Tibor and his wife only. But after ten years he could not compete with the many large international chains like WalMart which flooded Hungary. He is currently working as a waiter and his wife is working as a clerk, and under these circumstances they do not have to pay the heavy taxes and other expenses of owning their own business. He is advising his daughter to go to the west when she is grown because in the west she will have better business opportunities.

His life illustrates the difficult economic challenges presented to many Hungarians by the end of Communism and the coming of unrestrained competition in capitalism.

MT: Major Thomas, interviewer

MJ: Miklos Jakabffy, translator

TP: Tibor Pok, interviewee

MT: This is Major Thomas on November 22, 2005, with Jakabffy Miklos, who will interpret for me, and we are in the town of Solymar in Hungary, and we are interviewing Tibor Pok. And I think we'll start by asking you when and where you were born and a little bit about your family. You can talk in English too.

TP/MJ: I was born on February 10, 1964. My name is Tibor Pok. I was born in Budapest. My mother is Kovari Maria.

MT: And your father?

TP/MJ: Also Pok Tibor.

MT: And what does he or did he do?

TP/MJ: My mother passed away when I was 14. My parents were separated when I was 2.

MT: And you grew up in Budapest?

TP: I lived in Budapest until I married. For 15 years I have lived here in Solymar.

MT: Where did you go to school and what did you learn?

TP/MJ: I graduated from the elementary school in Budapest, and then I went to the high school specialized for the catering trade, and then I started to work.

MT: And the elementary school was 8 years and the high school 4. Tell me a little bit about your work Well, tell me first about your school, what you learned, what you studied.

TP/MJ: It was the first year after school when I worked in my trade. Then I started a private business.

MT: Doing what?

TP/MJ: At the beginning I was a good transporter. Then we opened up a private shop here in this town.

MT: Selling what?

TP/MJ: This was a small-sized grocery shop selling mostly tobacco but all kinds of goods and items, a small grocery shop.

- MT: Food?
- TP/MJ: Some limited foods, frozen foods, this kind.
- MT: This was in the 1970's.
- TP/MJ: He graduated from high school in '82, then one year's work as a waiter, and then he opened up his shop, until '89 he was a transporter and by '91 they started a private business, the shop.
- MT: When you say transporter, does that mean you had a car or a truck and you carried things?
- TP/MJ: I had several trucks, the big truck was carrying 3 and 1/2 tons of goods, the smaller one was carrying one ton.
- MT: Someone else owned the trucks and you were driving?
- TP/MJ: He owned the trucks.
- MT: So this was your business. This was then a private company, not a state-owned company.
- TP/MJ: The official name during that time of Communism was goods transporting small enterprise, private enterprise. He had 2 trucks, one with one ton, the bigger one with 5 tons, and then he stopped this kind of business.
- MT: Why did you stop it. I'm curious.
- TP/MJ: Because when I made one forint's profit, almost the whole one forint went to taxes, social security, insurance, and all sorts of taxes, leaving very little behind for me. At that time you could have a better income than the average, but the work you had to put in was much more than the revenue, it was not matching, the work and the income, you had to put much more work into the business to get a higher output than the average. At that time credit was different than in these years, and the commissioners who gave us the job possibilities, transporting their goods, were preferring newer types of trucks, newer makes of cars, and our income didn't make it possible to change the older type of Communist-made trucks for modern trucks. And all this resulted that we concluded that we will stop, finish, with transportation and start something new.
- MT: Did you then sell the trucks to someone else or sell the company with.....?
- TP/MJ: I sold the trucks and I had to sign an official paper that I was finished operating as a transporter, that was the end.

- MT: Could you make any money selling the trucks? Could you at the end make any money?
- TP/MJ: That was not a substantial amount of money that I got for the old used second-hand trucks.
- MT: So you couldn't make money with the business and you couldn't make money at the end.
- TP/MJ: At the beginning we had a better life than the average. This was the profit of the whole era, that first period.
- MT: I don't understand.
- TP/MJ: When he started doing this business, one year after he finished his studies, because he worked one year at his learned trade, then he started his transporting business and at the time when he started the business there weren't too many private transporting enterprises and that granted them a better income than the average, and at the time when he decided to stop operating this company there were too many or very many in the market.
- MT: Was he able to start this transporting business, could he buy the trucks and so forth with money from his year's job after high school, or with family money, or could he borrow the money, if I may ask?
- TP/MJ: At the very beginning I had the smallest available Trabant make car that I traded for a second-hand one-ton transporter car. When I got it, it was just one to one, it was a barter, we just traded cars, and then I put a lot of work to modernize, to fix up the truck that I got, and I started to work with it. As I got income with the small truck, from the profits I purchased a second-hand truck, and the two cars were not bringing enough income for us to run the company at a profit. We had to pay all the taxes, all the insurance, all the social insurance, and the other costs, buying new tires, and so forth, then there was not too much money left.
- MT: At first it was a profitable business.
- TP/MJ: Earlier there was during Communism just one good state-owned transporting company, and then they developed a few more, actually it was the same company, all state-run, state-operated, state-decided, and to meet the growing demands private persons got permission to transport goods with a small truck, and as the demands grew the permits allowed larger-sized trucks, so we had to form or be members in a company to which we paid a fee to have membership with a citizens band radio and this is how we got the orders where to go to pick up the goods. It was sort of the same as cabs in your country but this was goods transporting.

- MT: So as they allowed more competition, more smaller transporting companies, business got worse, is that right?
- TP/MJ: At that time, in the whole east bloc, you couldn't buy new cars. You could, obviously, but you had to wait 5 to 15 years for the delivery. It was typical, that the second-hand personal cars were more expensive than the new cars because new cars were only available from the state, the second-hand cars had a better price because you could get at any time second-hand cars, you just had to pay for it. This was more valid for trucks. You couldn't buy new trucks, you could only buy a truck if you had good friends or good partners at state-owned companies or cooperatives and a used truck which was not any more in good shape were sold and if you knew how to repair and you could take care of the wreck then you could start some business with it. This is what I did. It would have been easy to start a business with new trucks.
- MT: Did you like this business, though?
- TP/MJ: Yes.
- MT: So was it hard to give it up?
- TP/MJ: The same as cabbies today. But let me say this. There are a 100 orders a day. When there were 30 cars for that, it was a good living. When we became 300 for the market, and there were only 100 jobs, then it was less good. So one had to see it realistically. The prices didn't go down, the costs went up. The prices went up too but not as much as the gas prices, the other prices, the costs of operation. He says that there was something schizophrenic in this country, something you Americans cannot even think of, this can't happen, in your country there are laws or regulations for many things, here in this country it was also a very good business to run a dress store or whatever, a small one-man shop, when let's say there were 3 along the main shopping street. But immediately when in each door, in each gate, there was a private one-man shop, selling more or less the same items, the same goods, it was not anymore a good business. I have realized or recognized that in the "garden state", New Jersey, there are 2 liquor stores, and you can do whatever you want, you will not get permission to open up a third one. Here, as many people as wanted got a permit to do personal transporting, like taxis, goods transporting, what I did with a small truck, sell dresses, you found a dress boutique in almost really every gate.
- MT: This is under Communism?
- TP/MJ: No, this is the period of the so-called transition.
- MT: So this is a change from before the transition. The multiplication of the same business.

- TP/MJ: It was in the last years of Communism that you could rent shops, or what were flats earlier. And you got the flat or a garage or a shop and you had to pay a fee for that to the state, and you got permission to run that place as a shop, and as the changes happened, it was not all of a sudden one change but it happened slowly, and the name or the kind of the business, how it was called, it was not a share-holding company obviously, but earlier, during Communism, there was a special word for how it was called when you could rent a pub for example from the state, and you promised more payment for the state-owned company, you got the same shop as the other competitors who didn't offer as much money as you did, you were lucky you had a good shop, at the time of transition you had a good income, you could make good money. As the number of enterprises grew and overgrew, you had less good luck.
- MT: It sounds as if at the time of the change it became more difficult to make a living because of increased competition, or make a good living because of increased competition. Is that the case?
- TP/MJ: One part, yes, it was the competition, the growing competition. But we mustn't forget the limited buying power of money in the people's pockets. We talk, I don't know, about '86, 1986, then the monthly average income was, let's say, 4000 forints per month per person. And all of a sudden the market started to open much wider, as it was, so it was not only the competition in your own business but earlier you could never think to have fruit juices every week, and all of a sudden you found fruit juices everywhere, just one item as an example. You obviously couldn't afford to buy fruit juices for every week but it was there, so it was challenging you, in the same time that earlier there were red and blue chocolates available all of a sudden there were all colors of chocolates available, so you could buy not only fruit juices but all kinds of chocolates and all kinds of everything.
- MT: So there were more goods available, more things to buy. So there were more goods available but not bigger salaries.
- TP/MJ: At this point I can change from talking in the past exclusively because this is also valid in the present, that the incomes, the salaries do not grow at the same speed as life is speeded up. Another example is the gas prices. In the last 3 months we had the gas prices increased by about 10 times. Now the gas prices are more than double than in your country, and we know that your incomes are much higher than the incomes here. That is only one example. And it is easy to understand that the gas price dominates the price for almost all other goods because of transportation----bread, wheat, has to be transported, and so forth, that is true for everything.
- MT: Tell me about your changing from trucking or transportation, transporting, to the shop here. That was what year?

- TP/MJ: That we needed a little time, it was probably the years 1990, 1991, maybe 1992.
- I had to realize that the transporting was not granting the income that we needed, then we started to find something that was not such a super costly offer on the market, to find something to do but not too many debts to pay for. We had to give up one business, to survive we were escaping to open a new one.
- MT: Did you start the new one, was it a new new or did you buy somebody out?
- MJ: He says that he had to look around in the market in the country where there was less competition, in which branch of business where there was less competition than the average, this is what he says.
- MT: How did he go about that? How did he search around? Did he look in the want ads or how does one do that here? Did he visit towns to see what was available?
- TP/MJ: We finally found out that when we open up a tobacconist shop, at that time tobacco was an open price. Today there is a price on each box of cigarettes, that is the sales price of that certain box of cigarettes. At that time there was an open price, you could sell the cigarettes for any price, and this is what we did. So we got the products more or less from the same company which the other stores used, and whereas the store chains had at least 20 employees who worked for them we were only 2 with my wife, so for the same basic price, the net price, we added less profit than the other shops, so we could sell it cheaper, and so we got more turnover with these goods than other shops. This is how we started. And slowly to the tobacco we added other goods like soap and other items. When we stopped the shop we were selling about 1000 different goods. And this was in the same house here. The house is my parents-in law's house and this is where we ran the shop. The idea was my business idea.
- MT: Was this a better business than the transportation?
- TP/MJ: I can only say we had good timing when we opened up this shop. All of a sudden there were plenty of the same kind of shop.
- MT: After how many years?
- TP/MJ: We had this shop for about 10 years. When we started this business we only had a flat one level lower than where we are, this upper part didn't exist. There was an attic on the house. First we purchased a car for the family, then we started to develop and build the attic for housing for us.
- MT: It sounds like it was a good business.

- TP/MJ: That's right. We had to stop this business because international chains came all around us. I could tell you names, he mentioned Auchon, Desco and other names, they were opening businesses all around, and the poor people do not purchase enough to make a positive turnover. If somebody buys at least in the value of 10,000 forints, that is 50 U.S. dollars, then it would be a profitable business for us in the 2-man grocery shop. But when you are buying goods in the value of 10,00 forints or more, then you go maybe to the edge of the town. Actually we were competitors in the price level to the big chains. But the better higher living standards-----every family had at least one car in the family so the family members went easily to do the shopping-----the higher life standards permitted that people didn't care if the bottle of mineral water cost 89 forints or 103 forints, they were interested that the shop where they did their shopping would offer them all kinds of options, they could buy the mineral water, the milk, the fruit, the tobacco, the wine, the cleaning articles, watches and toys for the kids. And even if our prices were lower, it didn't give us enough turnover.
- MT: The supermarket syndrome.
- TP: Walmart.
- MT: Yes, yes. What kind of taxes and other costs did you have with this shop?
- TP/MJ: Where should I begin? Because you cannot imagine how many taxes.
- MT: More than under Communism? More than with the transport company? What I'm getting at of course is the differences between this business at different times and the other business at other times.
- TP/MJ: I'm not sure if you are wanting to record all kinds of taxes available applying in Hungary.
- MT: I guess I want just the general picture of where the burden was heaviest. Was it better after the changes in terms of taxes? Or was it worse?
- TP/MJ: During Communism there were no taxes but there were no incomes and there were no goods, so it was very good to have no taxes but you could not have afforded to pay taxes for anything.
- MT: But I thought he said there were taxes on his transportation company so he didn't make money because he had to pay so much to the government there wasn't enough left over.
- TP/MJ: During Communism, with my transport company, we had about one or two kinds of taxes. The basic was, the highest percentage was the social insurance which covered the pension, the age, and the health care. That was about 55% or maybe more of the income, it cost much but that was more or less the only,

there was another turnover tax, that was not really an important amount. Today I cannot tell you how many kinds of taxes apply. I would rather tell you that the profit of 100 forints today is 5 or 6 forints clear profit, clear revenue. Earlier it was more or less better what was left to you.

MT: So it was harder to make money after the change?

TP/MJ: Yes. At that time you couldn't really make a quick or big development, even construction goods were available in that amount. You can make a quick or dramatic development now, but that is the question, the possibility is there, just the price is much higher.

MT: So economically things are not better?

TP/MJ: It is a better business life now than it was earlier, but I should say that today it is not worthwhile to do the kind of business we had because the profit is so much smaller. When I decided to close this private shop, then I went to work as a gas station attendant and then I changed from that to being a waiter. We started to calculate, with my family, and concluded when we do not have this private shop and we do not have to pay taxes, the social insurance and all kinds of things that applied that we call under one name, taxes, what I get as a salary would be more if I go to take a job, then the profit is left in our hands, and this is what happens.

MT: So actually, under both Communism and capitalism, the small private business had a hard time, is that right?

TP/MJ: I would put it this way: under Communism, it was easier to be or live as a business person, but it was much more difficult to get the option to become a business person. Today it is easy, very easy to start a business, but in my judgment no matter what kind of business you want to start, 80% of the starting businesses will die. I think it is a good ratio, we both agree it is probably a good estimation, a good guess.

MT: So what happened with the changes that was good? It doesn't sound like it was good for business.

TP/MJ: You want to hear it in respect to the business life or about the private life?

MT: I want to hear what he thinks, not what he thinks I want to hear. Both, because your business life affects your private life.

TP/MJ: I think the fact that the borders were opened, 1989 or 1990, that was very good, that was definitely positive.

MT: Why was that good and positive?

- TP/MJ: Because earlier travel was very limited, you didn't get much knowledge of what was on the other side of the border. We were only given the news and we couldn't experience it. Then we got the possibility to spend our money in the west. And we got the possibility to know the world if you wanted that. Maybe you do not know that to get a passport, the possibility to travel, that was very limited. I think we have too much freedom, too much liberty, because all of a sudden all kinds of enterprises were permitted and they were started and I think that therefore the point where the state, the regulations, had to be made, restrictions, there were not enough. Just an example: I think that it should have been done or controlled, that earlier there was a shortage of taxis, and it was obvious that many people wanted to buy a car and use this car as a cab. We have 10 millions in Hungary, it is very easy to understand that we cannot have 10 million cab drivers who all make a living. This is where I think there is a regulation or restriction needed.
- MT: In other words the market does not adequately control businesses which are not profitable, is that correct?
- TP/MJ: Nothing, none. You can look in towns or villages, we speak of a town of 20,000 people, and there are 5 or 6 different supermarkets with serving capacity each of them of 5,000 or 10,000 people. In your country there is a Walmart for one region. If you had 15 or 8 like here, a German, a French, an Italian, an American, an English, maybe a Hungarian business, probably all of them would be at the business limits of profitability.
- MT: I think in the States Walmart drives out small companies.
- TP/MJ: This is also happening here, but not by one company but by many.
- MT: You were talking about passports and travel. When did you first travel outside Hungary?
- TP/MJ: Maybe it was about '89 or '90, with a new passport, which was first issued or green-stamped after Communism, avoiding the restrictions.
- MT: What impressions did you have of the west?
- TP/MJ: We couldn't believe the available offer of goods. We could hardly understand that there is enough banana or orange and different fruits and there is no line to get them. Austria, one of the wealthiest countries in Europe, is our immediate neighbor, so that is the easiest to get to, and we were astonished how well dressed the people were. My impression: how many cars! You are a woman, you do not realize the different makes, but for us there were 5 or 6 brand names available in the East Bloc. In the west much more, 10 times more maybe. It was astonishing how well organized and how clean the towns were, along the roads where we drove around. Gardens----at that time we didn't have too many flower gardens because around the house you cultivated some

vegetables for your needs. We found locations, villages, towns, seeing them without fences, or very few----that is also surprising in your country more than in Europe, that there are not protected pieces of land around your houses or your farmlands. Just the quality of roads, the quality of sidewalks. We had shopping when they were showing one winter coat or maybe two, for the women and men, a male and a female winter coat, and that was it, and in the west the shopping was for the market society.

MT: You said you found it clean in the west, it was cleaner than in Hungary?

TP/MJ: I was speaking about the Austrian villages, that we saw on the road, not a toll road or a freeway, yes. The gas stations, at that time gas stations in the East Bloc didn't have public restrooms. Slowly gas stations were among the first to open up, but they didn't have facilities or shops, you were happy to buy gas at gas stations.

MT: Did any other things change in your personal lives after the change, what else was different after the change, anything?

TP/MJ: I got married.

MT: When did you get married?

TP/MJ: In 1990. That I have only one child, that is on purpose, because of both political and economical situations. We could have more children, it doesn't require more sense, it is just physical, but when you think that you want to have good education and possibilities and chances for a child then it must be only one. If we had 2 children or more, costs do not double but multiply.

MT: When did you first go to the States?

TP/MJ: It was in '99 probably. I was a tourist.

MT: And what were your impressions of the States? Did they seem very different from western Europe?

TP/MJ: It is different from western Europe. By sizes. Not only that, your country is a half continent. Just the size of the roads, which I especially liked very much. As I see it, the possibilities are much wider in your country. Economic possibilities, yes. I did like the multi-color society, and still people are getting along well, what you call tolerance. Everybody knows his/her duty and that is her duty.

MT: What is an example of that?

TP/MJ: I am speaking about a period in '99 when I got to the U.S. Just one very simple example. When we went in your country to a McDonald's restaurant

there were just that many employees that were needed to serve the number of guests. Whenever we went to the bathroom there, it was clean, and that is different from here. Here you can find more workers but the bathrooms are not always clean.

MT: Do you think this is a carryover from Communism?

TP/MJ: This is a difficult question. It is difficult to answer. I am not ready for such difficult questions, what causes the people's mentality. Maybe in the individual brains should we make an order. Definitely there is a carryover from Communism.

MT: In what way?

TP/MJ: This is what I cannot really determine because that generation is not active anymore. The new generation should work as it is expected and I can say that in 60% or more it is not the case. And I cannot name the reason. Maybe that 40% of Hungarian work power is outside of Hungary. (laughs)

MT: We must let you go, but I must ask you too if you think there is any change since the change in freedom of expression, in discussions, in the newspaper, on the radio, is it greater?

TP/MJ: This is what I would say, this is the positive change. This is definitely good. It is only with work that is different from what it should be.

MT: But people have told me they could always speak freely in their families, so there wasn't such a big change.

TP/MJ: Yes, in the family yes, but people always had different opinions than what you could read in the newspaper, for example. And in the TV and the radio the broadcasts were censored. That doesn't exist now. There were authors who were not permitted to publish. Today everything is possible.

MT: Would you want to go back to the earlier political and economic system?

TP/MJ: He was thinking, Would you go back, referring to the States, and he would say, Anytime. Now I made it clear you were referring to time. No, I wouldn't go back but there are too many, really many many things that should be done differently still today.

MT: Do you think many Hungarians want to go back?

TP/MJ: I don't think anybody would like to go back.

MT: And a word about the political situation or system now?

- TP/MJ: Yes, in a word about the actual politics, catastrophe!
- MT: What should change? In the political system?
- TP/MJ: Change from speaking to doing. Talking, there is lots and almost all sound, positive, just it doesn't show in facts. An American example: I've heard that a company in red figures got a new manager and he said he only wanted \$1 in salary for a month until he makes the company turn over positive. In this country you don't find such a person.
- MT: I think he's rare in the States too.
- TP/MJ: But you had some.
- MT: What are people doing? Do the Hungarian people ask the politicians to do the right thing, put pressure on the politicians? Do they vote them out and get somebody good?
- TP/MJ: No.
- MT: The Hungarian people are not taking responsibility?
- TP/MJ: No.
- MT: What can be done about that? Isn't that the way to change?
- TP/MJ: First, an order should be made in people's minds that those should be part of politics who have a brain working in a good way. An example: after elections the new government's first acts are to change the administration's furniture, computers, mobile phones, cars, secretaries. To my mind these could be forgotten, we should use that money for other purposes. So long as it doesn't happen we don't build up much hope.
- MT: I have heard that about changing the furniture somewhere before. How will it change, do you have any idea of what will bring about change, if people don't take responsibility?
- TP/MJ: That is also another difficult question.
- MT: Does he have hope?
- TP/MJ: Hope dies last. I also do not understand why things are going well in your country. I do not know.
- MT: Are they? Not everything, perhaps.

- TP/MJ: Why don't we copy things working well in the West? Just one example: people are making a big effort to invent a new taxation system here. Taxation has worked for centuries in the West. Nor anything else. We do copy one part, maybe the bigger part, of the working system in the West, but we add our own invention which destroys the whole.
- MT: What is the one working part that he mentions?
- TP/MJ: In your country there is taxation, and then people see that roads are being built from the taxes. For example, in your country the local telephone calls are free. In your country, I realize, when I pay tax, where the money is being spent. Here we don't know and we do not see where the tax money is spent.
- MT: Do people not ask?
- TP/MJ: Yes, we did ask the minister why he needs to have at least one car with driver when the car costs 2 million dollars.
- MT: And he said?
- TP/MJ: His answer was that is included in the deal. Sort of from the old administration.
- MT: The solution to that is you throw the rascal out. Except I understand that's not working, it doesn't always work. In other words, you vote him out next time you vote.
- TP/MJ: So the next will also buy a new car.
- MT: But you are not without hope. You think things can change, maybe will.
- TP/MJ: Where there is life, there is hope. I haven't given up hope, but I told my daughter, learn and study so you can continue in the West.
- MT: But you came back here.
- TP/MJ: Because my wife doesn't want to live in the West.
- MT: What do you think of your daughter's education?
- TP/MJ: I let her study English language, computer and-----she has lessons in English language on the computer.
- MT: Does she get any lessons in school that have to do with citizenship? The kind of thing Berne was telling us the other night, of asking questions about how

do you change things in this country, the procedures, any kind of education in democratic politics, in democratic functions?

TP/MJ: Yes, get a gun. [Miklos says this was a spontaneous interruption or remark by Tibor Pok] Not only is there no teaching of politics but there is no mention about what you can ask or think of, there is nothing of this kind in schools, so education is sort of standing way back, almost as education was during Communism.

MT: During Communism, you got education in theory, is that right, in Marxist ideology?

MJ: That is the only difference, that there is no longer any Marxist teaching, otherwise it is the same process.

TP/MJ: I think that the politicians do something like self-study courses, how to do politics. I don't know how it happens.

MT: I was thinking of the kind of thing that Berne described where the students say they want to change Hungary because they don't like, they don't like the dirtiness, so then she asks them, do you smoke? yes. what do you do with your cigarette? and they throw it on the street; and she asks them do you drive a car? yes. do you have the check-up to be sure that it doesn't emit pollution? no they don't. It's questions about individuals taking responsibility for things they don't like in order to change them, and of course that's supposedly what you do when you vote too. This is the kind of education that I'm asking if his daughter gets, of course some of it you get at home.

TP/MJ: There is not such an education. So most families who think the same way that I do, they brief their children the way I do to try to make the child understand there's better hope for a better world when he or she continues in the West.

MT: But you're Hungarian.

TP/MJ: That is only a matter here. I think there are no public data available how many Hungarians are working in the western part of the European community since there is the possibility existing, and I am pretty sure that those who have left for the west to find a job there, because it is not possible and not easy everywhere, but those who have gone they didn't go to make money and come back but to start a new life there.

MT: What does that new life consist of if not to make money, what is the basis of the new life, it's not money?

TP/MJ: The person realizes that his tax, his going in that direction, pays tax, roads are being built, the education in school is going positively.

MT: Are there some questions I should ask that you think of?

TP/MJ: I was very happy to hear you ask what to do, what do we do to get positive changes, because I would be happy if you could give us some advice or evidence what to do because I'm afraid we are just standing still and not moving ahead because we do not know what to do to get moved. We don't know what to do.

MT: Is there anything else he would like to say about anything? Maybe off tape. Thank you very much, Tibor. And many thanks to you, Miklos, for translating for us this evening, thank you.