

THE IMPACT OF SOCIALISM ON THE RURAL  
LANDSCAPE OF HUNGARY  
(With Special Reference to the County of Somogy)

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Thesis presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
of the University of Ottawa in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Geography



Ottawa, September 1969

*Degree granted  
October 6, 1969  
M. Beauchamp  
Secretary*

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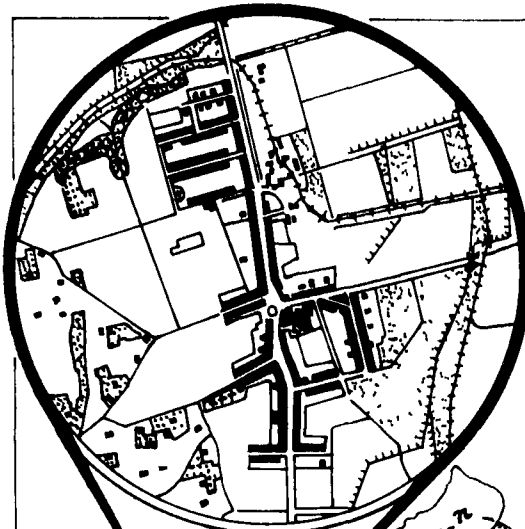
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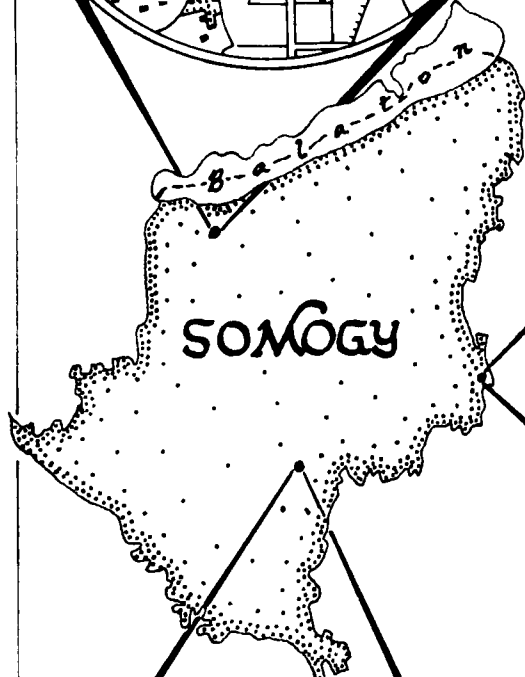
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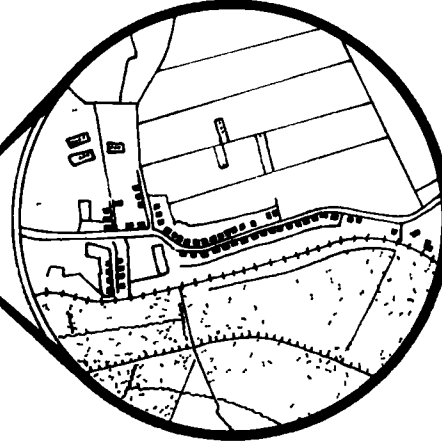
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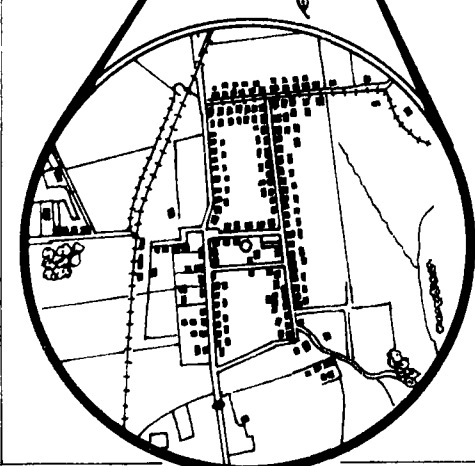
KÉTHELY



SOMOGY



KAPOSFULA



KADARKÚT

## PREFACE

This study has grown out of a number of visits to Hungary between 1966 and 1969. These included such fascinating areas as the Hortobágy and the Nyírség in the East, but they were particularly concentrated on southern Transdanubia which was studied from a base at Keszthely on Lake Balaton. An increasing familiarity with the Transdanubian countryside suggested the need for some assessment of the geographical changes which socialism has obviously brought about. It was clear that this would require a fairly rigorous comparison of the present and pre-socialist landscapes. It would have been a gigantic task to do this for the whole country, but it seemed that much might be learned from a detailed study of one county and, while all observations might not be generally applicable elsewhere, some of them probably would. Having made many friends in the area, the author chose the County of Somogy for this purpose.

Apart from a search of the written and cartographic sources to recreate the pre-socialist scene, a good many old estate owners and peasants were interviewed along with the county and district authorities. A detailed study of the modern cooperative farms at Kadarkút, Kapospula and Kethely was made and a number of others were visited. By combining the data thus gained with statistical material concerning the general state of agriculture in the county, an attempt was made to identify the main features of the new rural landscape, as well as the trends which current changes suggest.

The study is in part analytical and in part synthetic, in part statistical and in part impressionistic. No effort is made to compete with the research offices of the Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture or the Academy of Sciences. After long discussion with various authorities in the field, it seemed apparent that, while there is undoubtedly much more detailed analytical work to be done, the need, from the point of view of Western scholarship, is for some concept of the totality of the Hungarian rural scene. It is the dynamics, and what Vidal de la Blache called the "genre de vie", of rural Hungary, rather than details of its morphology, which escape us.

The notion that Soviet and East European statistics are distorted is widely held and no doubt had some basis in early socialist practice. The difficulty is two-fold-- the exaggeration of reports at the farm level in order to create a favourable image in Budapest, and the manipulation of aggregates at the policy level in order to put up the best front. Anyone who has carried out questionnaire field work in North American rural areas will be aware of the first of these problems, and anyone who has prepared advice for a Canadian minister will understand the second. There are also some problems of definition, but it is nonsense to regard socialist, and particularly Hungarian, statistics as a gigantic fabrication. The Hungarian statistical offices are as efficient as most in the West, and in many respects their work is more comprehensive. The general shape of Hungarian agricultural production is thus well-known, even if the economists' conclusions about its growth are sometimes confusing. The main outline of this development is set out in the various tables in this study, but this is only part of the story.

The problems of geographical epistemology have been discussed often enough -- perhaps most notably by David Lowenthal -- and they are particularly troublesome in a study of this kind. It would have been easy to accept the reformers' view of the old landscape, to discount the romantic memories of old estate owners and retainers, and to colour it black. In the same way, the modern scene can be assigned a monotone of one sort or another, depending upon one's political assumptions. But the real world has light and shade, tones and patterns, and it is from these that we must create the "living picture".

This work was made possible by generous grants from the Canada Council and the Social Science Research Council.

Deep indebtedness is acknowledged to friends in Hungary who helped in innumerable ways with field work and with explanations of the Hungarian rural scene. Dr. János Pótsabay, the former Vice-Rector of Keszthely Agricultural College, was particularly helpful in providing accommodation, transportation, introductions and advice. The author is also grateful to Dr. György Enyedi and Dr. Béla Sárfalvi of the Geographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Budapest, to Dr. Lóránd Nagy, Director of the Institute for the Development of Production in Keszthely, who assisted in detailed local studies, as well as to Dr. János Németh and to Dr. István Ecker; and last, but by no means least, to the Chairman of the Somogy County Council and his colleagues in Kaposvár, particularly Dr. József Kanyar, the Director of the Somogy Archives.

In Canada, invaluable guidance was received from Dr. H. P. Srivastava and other members of my supervisory committee at the University of Ottawa and from colleagues in the Department of Geography

at Carleton University. Also, in North America, the reminiscences of a number of former Hungarian estate owners and managers were enlightening and helpful.

Dr. Lewis A. Fischer of the Department of Economics, Macdonald College, worked closely with the author on the economic problems of Hungary and was a constant source of advice and encouragement; Mr. Lajos Seboek of the Dominion Archives helped greatly with the statistics and the problems of the Hungarian language, and Mr. Tibor Szirány was of great assistance in the field.

The maps are the work of Mr. Geoffrey Lester, until recently with the University of Ottawa and now with the University of Alberta; his contribution has also been very much appreciated.

"The past, of course, was always better than the present. At first I listened with enthusiasm to the old folk as they talked, then with the customary superiority of youth, I doubted them. Later, however, I thought they were right: the past they talked about was better."

Gyula Illyés,  
People of the Puszta (Puszták népe)

"On 1 January 1968, the Hungarian agricultural cooperatives crossed the threshold of a new "world". If they stand their ground and receive the assistance they need, this might indeed prove to be a "brave, new world".

Radio Free Europe,  
A New Era in Hungarian Agriculture

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## GLOSSARY

Alföld	=	Great Plain
Dunántul	=	Transdanubia (the area of Hungary west of the Danube)
fillér	=	one-hundredth of a pengő
forint	=	present unit of currency worth approximately 3 United States cents
járás	=	district subordinate to a county
kadastral hold	=	1.42 acres or .57 hectares (NOTE: in this text the simple term 'hold' is used.)
kilogram	=	2.2 pounds
kilometre	=	.62 statute miles
Kisalföld	=	Little Plain
megye	=	county
NEM	=	New Economic Mechanism (New economic policy instituted on 1 January 1968)
pengő	=	pre-war unit of currency worth approximately 25 United States cents
quintal	=	100 kilograms

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Hungary has been somewhat controversially referred to by an eminent historian as the "steppe frontier of Europe".<sup>1</sup> Although the writings of geographers and others tend to cast some doubt on the accuracy of this designation in detail, the term nevertheless catches the essence of the country.<sup>2</sup> Superficially, the Middle Danube basin appears on the map as a secure cradle for a nation but in fact it has played this role only for short periods. The historic mission of the Magyars has been to bear the brunt of excursions from the East, and reminders of this unhappy task are still apparent in the modern landscape. The Kiskunság and the Nagyunság are, for example, remnants of the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century where the Cumanians stayed after the tide of invasion had receded. The Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries left some monuments in the forts and minarets of the cities, in the settlement patterns of the Alföld, in the village-towns of the Hajduság with their defensive circular street patterns, and

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<sup>1</sup>William Hardy McNeill, Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500 - 1800, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 252. This work contains a valuable discussion of the interaction of the peoples of steppe and forest in the early days of the Hungarian nation.

<sup>2</sup>Norman J.G.Pounds, "Land Use on the Hungarian Plain", in Geographical Essays on Eastern Europe, (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1961), pp.54-71. Pounds questions the early existence of the Hungarian steppe and suggests that it may have been formed in historical times by human actions rather than natural conditions.

# HUNGARY

## SITUATION AND RELIEF

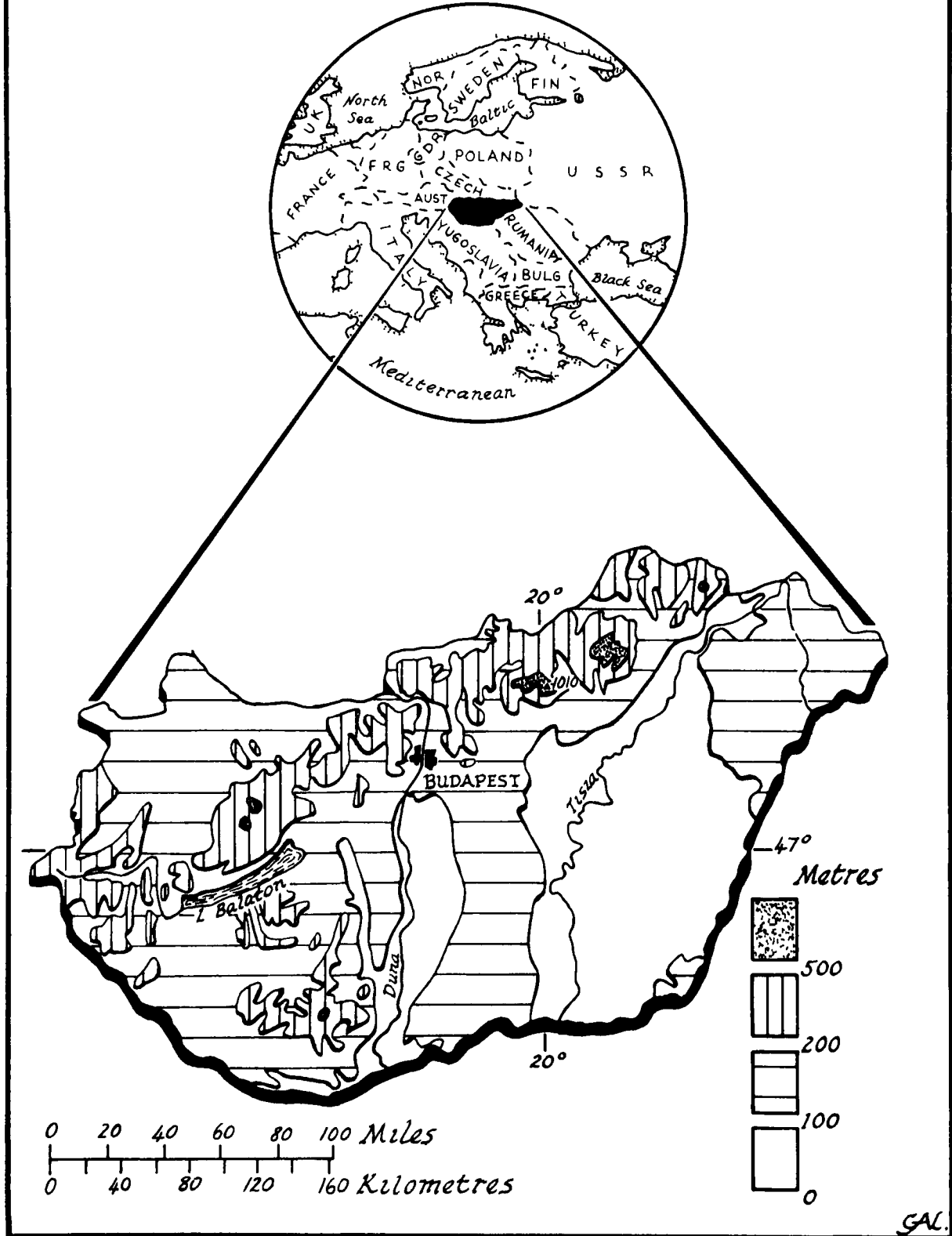


Figure 1

indirectly in the tanya system itself.<sup>3</sup> But, the threat to Magyar independence came not only from the East. For long periods, western, primarily German or more specifically Austrian, power was riveted on the area and the line of ruined castles through western Transdanubia bears witness to Austrian revenge for Hungarian resistance. And in Debrecen, on the eastern plains, Slavic and Austrian power combined in 1849 to stifle Hungarian independence.

In the wake of the Second World War, many western observers of the East European scene tended to regard the iron rule of Stalin over his newly acquired empire as total and permanent. This was always an unreasonable view and, in spite of recent events, has remained so. Empires are by nature ephemeral and the more so when they are imposed upon peoples accustomed for centuries to nurture their identity in the marchlands. Nevertheless, the recession of Soviet power in Eastern Europe is unlikely to be so complete that it will vanish without a trace. The Russians, like their predecessors, the Mongols, the Turks and the Austrians, will leave their mark and retain some of their influence and, in the long term, it will not all be bad. It is, of course, too early to guess the final outcome, but even at this stage it seems useful to attempt an assessment of the Soviet impact on the Hungarian landscape.

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<sup>3</sup>There is an extensive literature on the settlement pattern of the Eastern Alföld which reflects the Magyar reaction to the Turkish invasion and its aftermath. See for example: István Gyórrffy, "A Magyar tanya", *Földrajzi Közlemények*, LXV, 4-5, 1937, pp. 70-93, and E. Lettrich, "The Hungarian Tanya System", *Papers on Some Problems of the Hungarian Village*, 11, (Budapest, Research Institute for Agricultural Economics, 1967), pp. 49-68.

In 1935, the great American political geographer, Derwent Whittlesey, wrote:

"Political activities leave their impress upon the landscape, just as economic pursuits do. Many acts of government become apparent in the landscape only as phenomena of economic geography; others express themselves directly. Deep and widely ramified impress upon the landscape is stamped by the functioning of effective central authority".<sup>4</sup>

The depth of this impress is, of course, proportionate to the pervasiveness of state control and reflects the degree of state intervention in the economy. The Soviet brand of socialism, particularly in the days of Stalin, aimed at virtually complete direction of the economy from the centre. It envisaged a new society, a new economic system and even a new kind of man. While its reach exceeded its grasp in most things, it would have been strange indeed if so all-encompassing a view of the government role had not resulted in a substantial modification of the landscape. The so-called new socialist towns, such as Dunaujváros, were examples of the socialist modification of the urban scene.<sup>5</sup> But it was in the countryside that the most farreaching reforms were undertaken.

In 1945, the large estates of the old aristocracy were broken up under the Great Land Reform. Pál Szabó, in Isten Malmai (The Mills of God) has one of his peasant characters say, "we've got the land, that

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<sup>4</sup>Derwent Whittlesey, "The Impress of Effective Central Government on the Landscape", AAAG, XXV, 2, 1953, p.85.

<sup>5</sup>P.A. Compton, "The New Socialist Town of Dunaujváros", Geography, XL, 1965, pp.256-275.

is for sure and no one can take it away from us".<sup>6</sup> Describing the scene, Szabó agrees:

"They got their land. More men had gathered near the stakes. As time passed, only a few remained. The ones who were the first to get their land were stepping it out lengthwise. The rest were lost to sight as they proceeded along the track, like members of a dispersing army on the land that lay thrown open in its immensity".<sup>7</sup>

It was indeed a great transformation but, in the event, short-lived. With the inauguration of the First Five Year Plan of 1950, forced collectivisation began and the first attempt was made to establish Soviet socialism in the countryside. In Budapest, the Stalinist Mátyás Rákosi, the third and least worthy Mátyás to rule Hungary, found himself in mortal combat with Imre Nagy, partly as a result of Soviet machinations.<sup>8</sup> After this struggle, which had culminated in the bloody events of 1956 and the execution of Nagy, Stalinist socialism receded as the Hungarians began to search for their own solutions.

The first step in this direction was made when the second collectivisation was carried out in the late 1950's with somewhat more intelligence and efficiency than the first. By 1962 the countryside

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<sup>6</sup>Excerpts appear in translation in Ilona Duszynska and Karl Polányi (eds.), The Plough and the Pen, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1963), p. 231. The Hungarian radical writers of the 1930's, the so-called sociographers, provide a valuable source of information on the pre-war, pre-communist rural scene.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Imre Nagy on Communism, (New York, Praeger, 1957), especially chapters 12 and 13, pp. 138-175. No author or editor indicated.

had been almost completely socialised, at least in terms of its organisational forms.<sup>9</sup> The new agricultural map was drawn in Budapest largely without reference to local problems and without much scope for local initiative. Although it is difficult to generalise about this map, it meant that national needs were translated into directives for all farms without reference to particular physical conditions. As a result, the process of specialisation which is characteristic of modern agriculture is only now beginning. The deadening hand of the central planner moulded the rural economy to the supposed requirements of rapid industrialisation and socialist authority.<sup>10</sup> As difficulties mounted, the need for further radical reform forced itself upon the reluctant consciousness of the Budapest bureaucrats, and the notion of the New Economic Mechanism was born.

This much more radical departure from original socialist concepts was officially initiated in January, 1968, although gradual experimentation with new procedures had begun much earlier.<sup>11</sup> In essence, the new mechanism envisages the decentralisation of decision-making in agriculture and the creation of something approaching a market for

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<sup>9</sup>The term "socialised" is used here to include both State and "cooperative" farms.

<sup>10</sup>For a general account of the process see Béla A. Balassa, "Collectivisation in Hungarian Agriculture", Farm Economics, XLII, 1, 1960, pp. 35-51, or for the socialist point of view, Ferenc Erdei, "The Socialist Transformation of Hungarian Agriculture", The New Hungarian Quarterly, V, 15, 1964, pp. 3-28.

<sup>11</sup>Research Department, Radio Free Europe, "A New Era in Hungarian Agriculture", Hungary, III, 15 March, 1968. This contains a detailed analysis of laws No. 3 and 4 which embodied much of the new mechanism for agriculture.

agricultural products. While bread grain production remains under fairly strict control and only vegetables subject entirely to the operation of the market, meat and dairy products, as well as wines, are sold through contracts negotiated by individuals. It is this process of decentralisation which is currently underway in Hungary.

It is clear that important social, political and economic changes have resulted from all of these reforms, and these are touched upon in the following chapters. But what of the landscape itself? Is something emerging which can be properly called a "socialist rural landscape", or alternatively, are the processes of modernisation in the socialist and capitalist worlds productive of essentially the same geographic expression? Without pre-judging the issue, it seems likely that the truth lies somewhere in between.

The following chapters examine the evolution of the Hungarian countryside since the advent of socialism. Some of the changes would have taken place in any event, but many have been the direct outcome of socialist thought and practice. By attempting to make this distinction, it is possible to set out, at least in tentative form, the main features of a "socialist rural landscape" and to draw some conclusions about its structure and functions.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>The general approach of this study is not new and has been the subject of numerous geographical papers. See for example: "Morphogenesis of the Agrarian Cultural Landscape", *Vadstena Symposium*, 1960, IGU Congress, *Geog. Annaler*, XLIII, p.328; D. Whittlesey, "Sequent Occupance" *AAAG*, XIX,3,1929 pp. 162-65; Erick Isaac, "Religion and Landscape", *Landscape*, XI, 2, 1961-62, pp. 12-17; and F. B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing", *AAAG*, LV,4, 1965, pp. 545-577.

While there is an extensive literature on Hungarian agriculture, particularly its technical and, to some extent, economic aspects, relatively little has been written about its geography or the evolution of the Hungarian rural landscape. The work of György Enyedi, the Deputy Director of the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is an exception. In addition to his writings on land-use and agricultural typology, he has produced a number of papers on the recent development of Hungarian agriculture, including most notably, Le village hongrois et la grande exploitation agricole (1964), La collectivisation de l'agriculture hongroise (n.d.), and Analyse brève du problème de l'utilisation du sol en Hongrie (1964). These papers are, however, concerned with the general situation throughout Hungary and they do not include a detailed examination of any particular area. Nevertheless, they are very valuable for their analysis of the various factors which have influenced the development of the rural economy in the past two decades. Béla Sárfalvi, one of Enyedi's colleagues, has also made a valuable contribution to this general topic in his various papers on the recent changes in the Hungarian rural population including, for example, his demographic study, The Various Mechanisms of Social Restratisation and Geographical Regrouping of Population (1967). Finally, in Hungarian geographical literature, Béla Gertig's paper, The Agricultural Geography of Somogy County (1963), has been particularly helpful. While numerous other more or less related papers have been published, particularly in Földrajzi Értesítő and Földrajzi Közlemények, they have been mainly concerned either with the problems of particular crops, with particular physical conditions or with the description of small areas at a particular point in time. Moreover,

outside of the Hungarian language there is virtually nothing in English dealing specifically with geography, although there are a number of general descriptive texts covering the whole of Hungarian geography.

There is, on the other hand, a great deal of work by economists, both Hungarian and foreign, on the economic and organisational aspects of socialist farming. The work in English, for example Balassa's Collectivisation in Hungarian Agriculture (1960), tends to suffer from its dependence on aggregate statistics and a corresponding absence of any appreciation of the variety in detail which exists on individual farms. Much of the literature in this category also tends to contain broad assumptions about the long-term efficacy of collective farming which, depending on the bias of the author, ignore the wide spectrum of performance between the "good" and the "poor" farms. Furthermore, there is, in the writings of North American social scientists particularly, a lack of appreciation of the acceleration of change in Hungarian agriculture in the past few years and a corresponding downgrading of the prospects for improvement. Paradoxically, Radio Free Europe, in spite of its quasi political aims, has been most objective in recognising the possibility of rapid Hungarian progress. The Radio Free Europe document, A New Era in Hungarian Agriculture (1967), is perhaps the most valuable single publication available in English concerning the New Economic Mechanism as it affects agriculture.

In summary, therefore, the literature related to this study, although quite voluminous, rarely illuminates two essential themes of the following study the notions of change and variety. While general assessments of Hungarian agriculture are both necessary and potentially valuable, they suffer unless they are based on contact with the country-

side in detail. They suffer particularly if they are made in response to criteria which are irrelevant to the Hungarian historical and geographical context.

It was with these considerations in mind that the author decided to study four farms in detail. Furthermore, it was important that these four institutions should be chosen from the same general region where the historical and social background would not vary greatly. Each one also represented a different category of Hungarian agriculture. One was a state farm and the other three were cooperatives, one in each of the categories "good", "average" and "poor". It was, of course, apparent from the outset that no amount of detail from such a sample would necessarily substantiate or invalidate a particular generalisation about the Hungarian agricultural scene. It would, however, raise questions about the kinds of generalisation which could usefully be made and it would, in addition, isolate some of the factors which inhibit or encourage success under a socialised system.

Fieldwork included six visits of varying length to the region and involved the following steps in the areas chosen:

1. An examination of the physical resources for agriculture, particularly climate and soil.
2. An examination of the historical background, particularly land tenure and social conditions.
3. A survey of land-use.
4. An examination of the administrative and organisational structure.
5. An analysis of productivity and economic performance.

# SOMOGY

## LOCATION OF STUDY AREAS

- ① Balatonfeny ves
- ② Kéthely
- ③ Balatonszentgyorgy
- ④ Kadarkút
- ⑤ Kapospula
- ⑥ Barcs

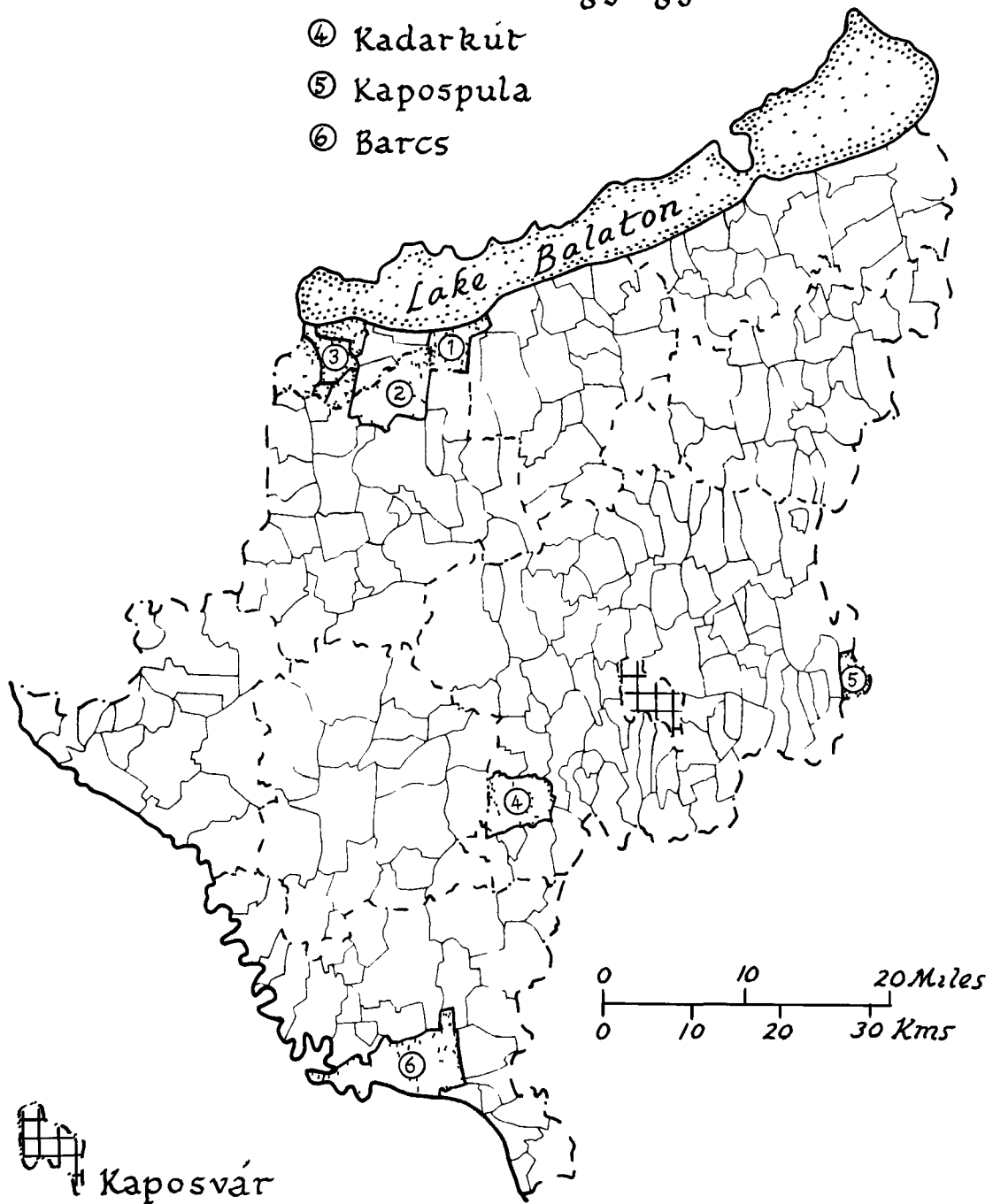


Figure 2

Note: The principal areas of study were Kadarkút, Kapospula, Kéthely and the Nagy Berek State Farm at Balatonfenyves.

GAL

The shortcomings in the literature made it particularly important to exploit the resources of local government offices and research institutes. In particular, the Agricultural College at Keszthely provided a great deal of information about Somogy County. The Institute for the Development of Production under Dr. Lóránd Nagy maintains a very detailed set of files on all the farms in the region and has, in addition, engaged in numerous research projects related to such topics as household plots, agricultural regionalisation and the development of new techniques. In addition, the county authorities in Kaposvar provided data about current trends in the county. Finally, long conversations with the staffs of the various farms shed light on certain aspects of the topic which had not been committed to paper. In all of this, it is important to remember that the communist world is very much terra incognita in John K. Wright's sense of the term. There is within the hierarchy a great sensitivity to criticism, and correspondingly an almost pathetic need for appreciation and understanding. As a result, the field worker operates under something of a handicap and is often inhibited in asking questions which might be posed without hesitation in other regions. This reservation does not, however, apply to the statistical material which was extracted from official files and carefully checked at each farm.

As a result of this procedure, it has been possible to include in the following study the most detailed maps and statistics so far available in the non-communist world on this subject. This was, however, only part of the problem; far more difficult was the task of tracing the process by which the present pattern evolved and assessing the trends which are currently underway. It was not possible to obtain

precisely comparable data for the pre-war period and for the earlier stages of collectivisation. Nevertheless, the Kaposvár Archives yielded a good deal of data about land-tenure, land-use and social conditions in the area prior to the Second World War, and the general evolution of collective farming in Somogy County since the war is well known. It is hoped that, by combining this information with the more elaborate data of the current era, a fairly accurate "moving picture" has been produced. While it may contain some distortions and omissions, it does, as the above comment on the literature suggests, add a much needed "local" dimension to the discussion of Socialist agriculture in general and Hungarian agriculture in particular.

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-SOCIALIST SETTING

The Physical Setting:

It is said that Prince Árpád, standing at the Carpathians in the late Ninth Century, sent a scouting party down into the Danube Basin with instructions to bring back samples of water, soil, and grass. The results were so satisfactory that he led the seven tribes of Magyars westward into their new homeland and laid the foundations of a state which was thereafter to draw its main strength from a thriving agriculture.

Since Árpád's day, the basic natural endowment of Hungary has been vastly modified. Later invasions contributed to a deterioration of the land and, perhaps, to the creation of the Hungarian steppe, but the great areas of wind-blown sand between the Danube and Tisza are now cultivated, and orchards have been planted in the Nyírség.<sup>1</sup> The broad swamps along the Tisza and the Danube which the first Magyar settlers encountered are now drained and fertile. Transdanubia and the Kisalföld were always hospitable to the farmer. In a land so blessed with a happy combination of climatic influences, terrain and soil, the difficulties and crises in agriculture have stemmed from problems in organisation, in technique and in social values. Whereas in Russia and Poland agricultural difficulties, so freely attributed to the "system", are at least

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<sup>1</sup>Béla Sárfalvi, "Sand Cultures of Hungary", in Geographical Types of Hungarian Agriculture, Studies in Geography, III, (Budapest, Akadémia Kiadó, 1966), pp. 47-56.

partly the result of natural limitations, there is no such question in Hungary.<sup>2</sup> The land is rich and therefore provides an appropriate laboratory for an examination of the socialist scene.

Describing the "Magyar Plain" (Alföld), Zsigmond Móricz wrote in 1930:

"In the Jurassic Age the Magyar Plain lay at the bottom of the sea. Now, in our time, this Age of Hunger, it is once more like the sea. No hillock, no rise of any spot, flat earth encircled by the sky. The plain is so level it might be the sea's surface, except that no sea has such rigidity. The wheat stands as evenly as though celestial engineers had traced out the height of each stalk with a ruler, so that no one would break the silky smoothness of the field."<sup>3</sup>

This Great Plain occupies nearly half of Hungary's surface (about 45,000 square kilometers). The basin which it fills was created in the Tertiary Period and its present configuration has been attributed to the post-glacial river development of the Quaternary during which the present vast deposits of sand, silt and loess were laid down. Móricz's description, evocative as it is, hardly gives the measure of the variety of the Hungarian Plain. Although there is little variation in relief, other natural conditions combine to create a great diversity of rural landscape. The great sand plains between the Tisza and Danube, and in the Nyírség, were for generations poorly farmed or unused and remained so until early in this century. They extended over some 12,000 square

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<sup>2</sup>For an interesting discussion of the importance of physical factors in Soviet agriculture see Neil Field, "Environmental Quality and Land Productivity: A Comparison of the Agricultural Land Base of the USSR and North America", Canadian Geographer, XII, 1, 1968, pp.1-14.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted in I. Duszynska and K. Polányi, op.cit., p.33.

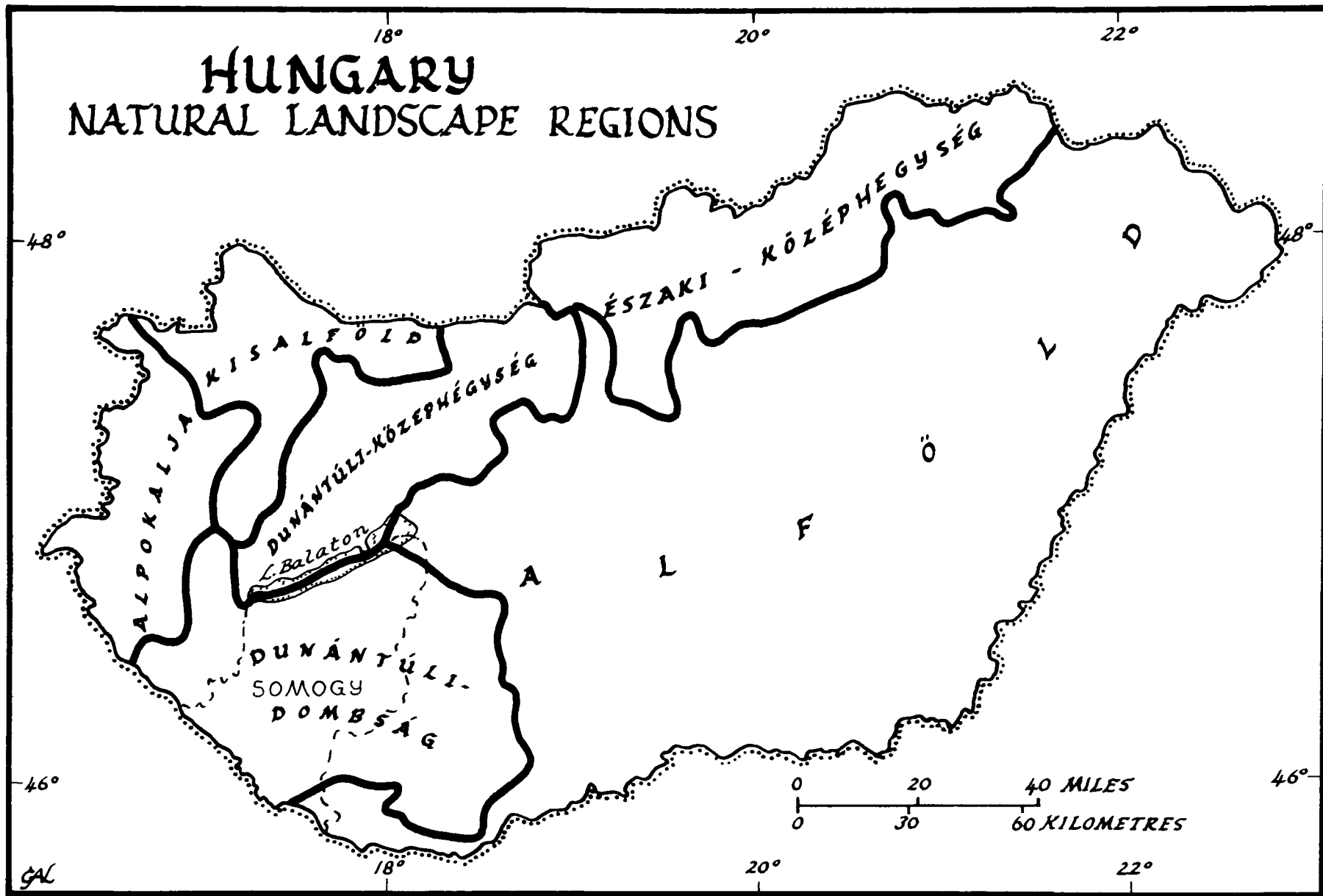


Figure 3

Source: Magyarország Nemzeti Atlasza, (Budapest, Kartografiai Vállalat, 1967), p.36.

km. or 13-14 per cent of Hungary's territory.<sup>4</sup> The soils in these areas are of poor quality with low humus content and low water-preserving capacity. They are, however, high in lime and, in many areas, suitable for growing stone-fruits, vegetables and grape-vines.

In great contrast, the grassy steppe of the Hortobagy is covered by recent floodplain deposits of alluvial clay and loam. The regulation of the Danube and Tisza has turned the area into increasingly alkaline, low-grade grasslands - the home of the "csikós, gulyás and juhász" - the horse-herder, cowboy and shepherd of Hungarian legend. Nearby are the ploughlands of the Hajduság where the soil is a rich chernozem. Irrigation in this area and in others, like the Nagykunság, now provides for a rich agricultural development.

It is not, however, the purpose of this study to set out in detail the physical conditions of Hungarian agriculture as a whole, but merely to indicate that a surprising variety exists even within regions of generally similar conditions of relief and climate, a variety that is even more pronounced in Transdanubia (Dunántul), west of the Danube.<sup>5</sup> Here a much more complex geological history has provided a varied landscape of hills, mountains and intervening valleys, as found in the Transdanubian Hill Country, and the Bakony, while in the north of the area the Little Plain (Kisalföld) lies against the outliers of the Alps.

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<sup>4</sup>Béla Sárfalvi, op. cit., p.49 and p.52.

<sup>5</sup>M. Pécsi and B. Sárfalvi, The Geography of Hungary, (Budapest, Corvina Press, 1964). For a general description of landscape regions see Chapter VII, pp. 87-150. More detailed sources on physical geography are found in Földrajzi Értesítő, the Journal of the Geographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

# HUNGARY CLIMATIC REGIONS

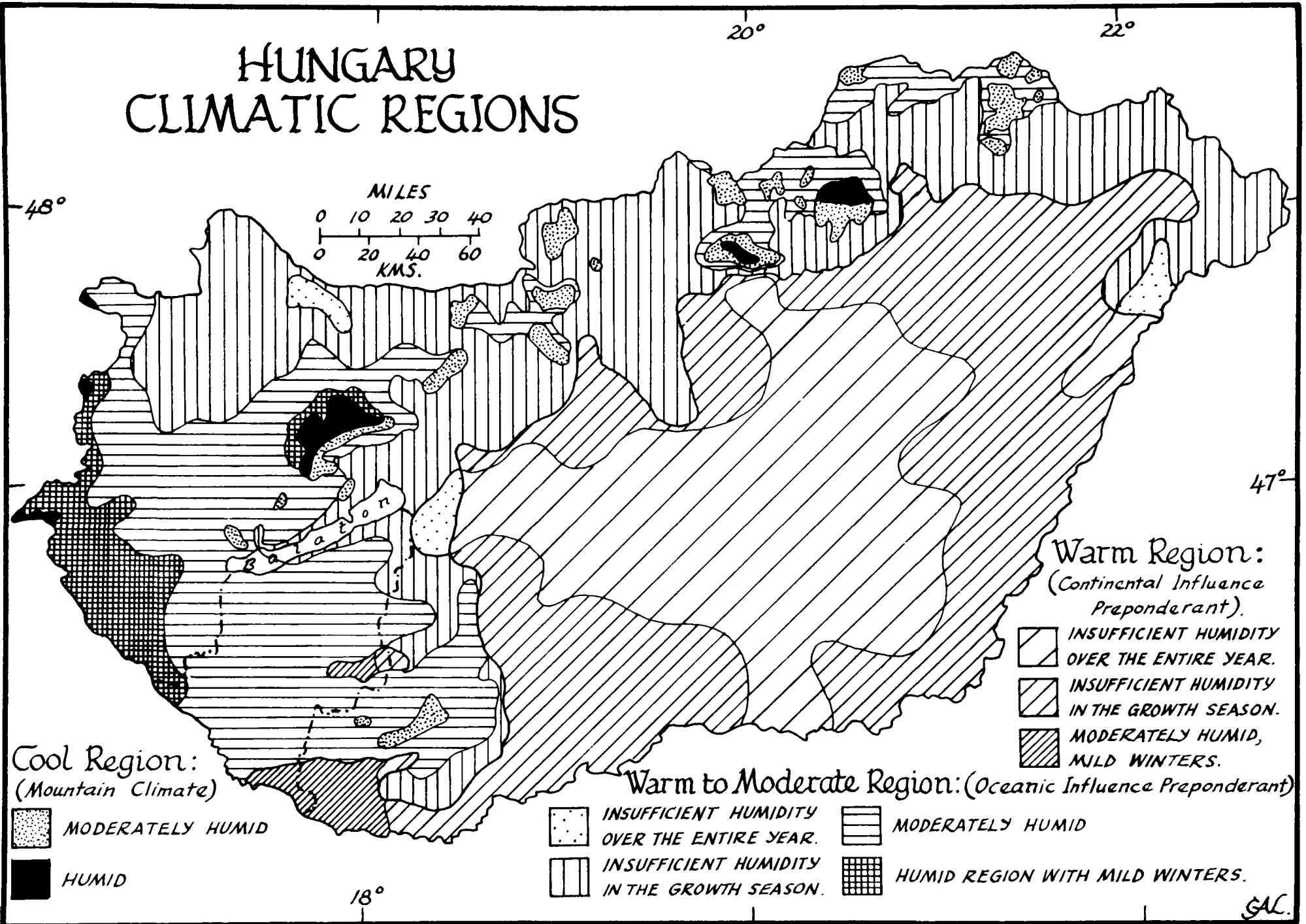


Figure 4

Source: Magyarország Nemzeti Atlasza, (Budapest, Kartografiai Vállalat, 1967), p.25.

And finally, along the northern boundaries of the country, the complex mountain systems associated with the Carpathians form the frontier with Slovakia.

The socialist mould has been applied to this complex physical pattern and has produced an equally varied cultural scene. Something of the variety of agricultural resources is indicated with respect to soils in Table 1 and with regard to landforms and climate in Figures 3 and 4. The vineyards on the loess of Tokaj or the basaltic hillsides of the Balaton Highlands, the cattle ranches of the Hortobagy, the mixed farms of Somogy are all socialist in design, but their geographical expression is varied. Since the data in this study are taken principally from Somogy, the reader should be cautious of simple extrapolation.

Somogy is the fourth largest of the nineteen counties of Hungary and occupies about 6.5 per cent of the total territory.<sup>6</sup> It lies in the midst of the gently rolling Transdanubian Hill Country which is geologically part of the Transdanubian Basin. The surface of these hills is mostly covered with Quaternary fluvial deposits, sand and gravel, overlain by a thick blanket of loess. In some areas, a brown glacial loam has developed and in others, particularly Inner Somogy, sand dunes were formed from the late Pleistocene deposits. The hills in Inner Somogy are parallel, flat-topped ridges, mainly below 200 metres, covered by loess and thin sheets of sand and separated by longitudinal valleys. East of the Upper Kapos, the parallel valleys gradually fade out and the drainage follows the pattern of the NNW-SSE fault lines.

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<sup>6</sup>Guide for Land Utilization Conference in Hungary, May 1964, Hungarian Academy of Sciences. No author or editor indicated.

TABLE 1  
Main Soils in Percentages - Hungary

	Transdanubia	Great Plains	Northern Mountains	Hungary
Wind-blown sand	0.1	8.0	0.4	3.8
Dark coloured mountain forest-soil	4.1	0.3	3.7	2.3
Central and S.W. European brown forest soil	55.2	12.1	62.6	36.1
Chernozem soils	14.6	37.3	2.6	23.5
Alkali (white saline) soils	0.2	12.1	2.4	6.1
Meadow soils	14.7	23.9	21.3	20.0
Bog soils	2.9	1.2	0.3	1.7
Forest soils of swamps and floodplains	0.	0.7	0.	0.3
Alluvial soils	6.4	3.4	6.7	5.0
Lakes and built over areas	1.8	1.0	0.	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Agricultural College, Keszthely, unpublished material, 1966.

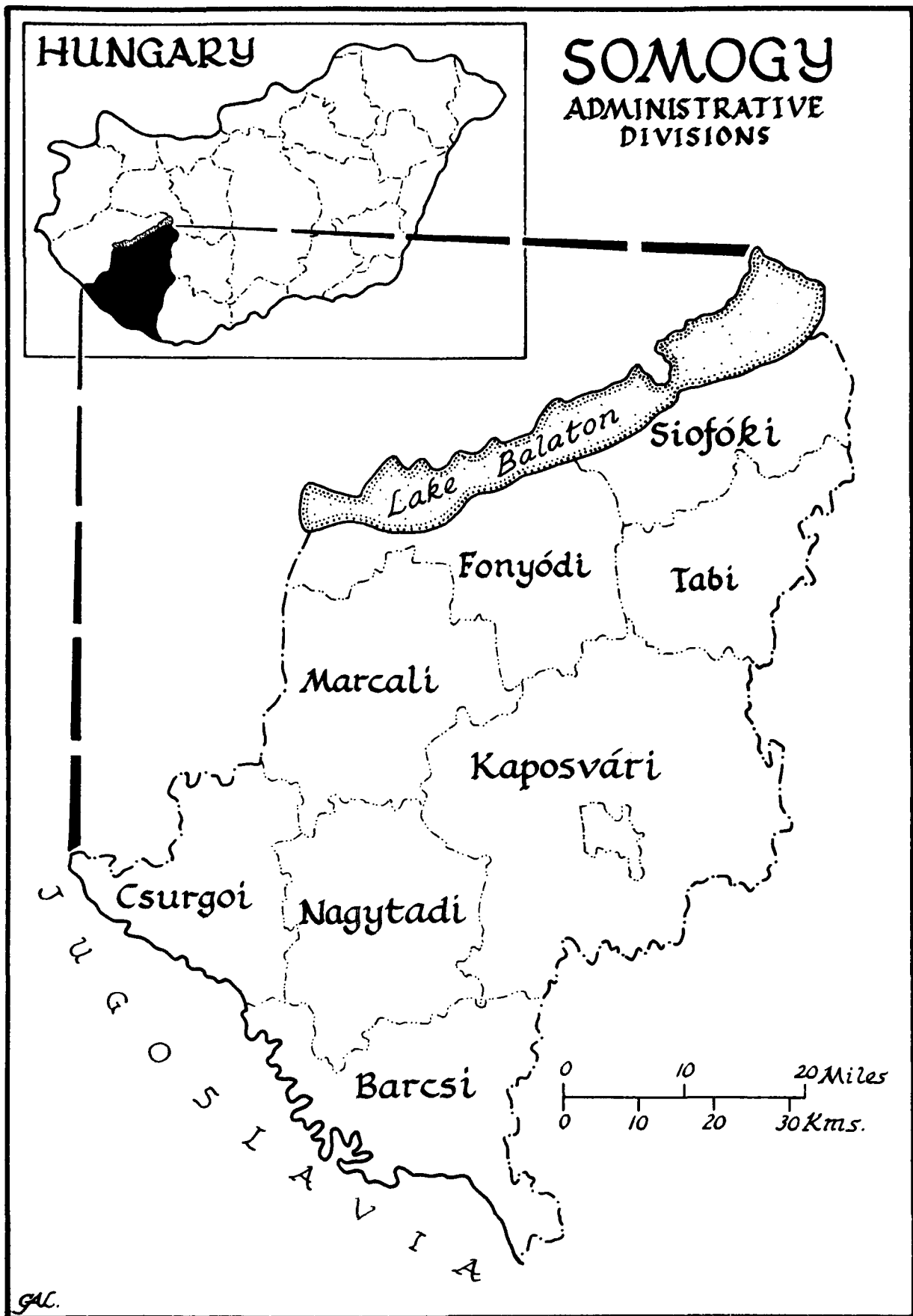


Figure 5

Source: Somogy megye, személyi és családi adatai, Evi Népszámlálás, 1960.

The Hills of Outer Somogy rise to 300 metres and extend from the Balaton to the broad valley of the Kapos which separates the Zselic Hills from Outer Somogy.

The distribution of crops is largely related to the pattern of soils which fall into two broad groups. In Outer Somogy, Zselic, the Marcali ridge and in the middle and western parts of the Csurgói district are found the brown and, to a lesser extent, grey-brown forest soils. They are most fertile in Outer Somogy where they have a humus layer of some 30 to 50 cm. In this region the proportion of ploughland and wheat is higher than elsewhere. In Inner Somogy grey-brown forest soils predominate; they are often sandy, poor in calcium and weakly acidic. In the valleys of Inner Somogy, however, there are calcareous greyish-black and black meadow soils, and in the Nagy Berek and the region of Kisbalaton black bog soils predominate.<sup>7</sup>

TABLE 2

Climatic Data - Somogy

Station	Frost Free Days	First Day of Frost in Fall	Frequency of Late Frost March-May	Average Precipitation in Growing Season in mm.	Sunshine Hours April September
(30 year average)					
Barcs	158	X.30	11	442	1375
Igal	168	X.23	13	358	1427
Kaposvár	167	X.24	13	420	1411
Zákány	162	X.28	11	476	1325

Source: Földrajzi Értesítő, I, 1, 1952, pp.106-118. No author indicated

<sup>7</sup>Béla Gertig, "Somogy Megye Mezőgazdasági földrajza", Földrajzi Közlemények, LXXXVI, 1, 1962, p. 47.

Somogy is one of the most rainy areas in Hungary with 90-100 days rain and a total annual precipitation of 600-800 mm. Three-quarters of the sunshine and a large proportion of the rain occurs in the growing season. Annual total precipitation in Zselic, for example, never goes below 600 mm. and most of this falls during the growing season when it averages 380 to 450 mm. There are 20 to 25 days with snowfall and the area is covered with snow for 40 to 45 days. The temperature during the growing season averages 17°C.

Partly because of these physical conditions and partly because of its relatively remote situation, Somogy has remained predominantly agricultural. In this setting, the system of latifundia became entrenched so that the county became archtypical of Hungary's agrarian and political problems in the years before the Second World War.

The Agrarian Problem:

As Alexander Woolcott noted many years ago, the western observer of Eastern Europe tends to see what he wants to see, the presence or absence of security restrictions notwithstanding. Certainly many students of Hungarian agriculture see their subject through the lenses of their political assumptions. On the one hand, the relatively slow growth of agricultural production and trade is attributed to the dogmatic stubbornness of socialist administrations and to the inherent

weakness of collective systems.<sup>8</sup> On the other, there are those who emphasise, almost to the exclusion of other factors, the feudal heritage of Hungary, the system of latifundia, the rural poverty and the obsolete methods which brought agriculture to the verge of bankruptcy and left a Herculean task for the socialists.<sup>9</sup> As might be expected, the truth seems to lie somewhere between these extremes. Whatever the past or present shortcomings of socialist agricultural administrators, a large part of their difficulties have derived from the earlier history of the economy from 1920 to 1945.

Among the fragments resulting from the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the so-called Trianon-Hungary was a predominantly agricultural unit. More than half of the population was directly

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<sup>8</sup>See, for example, Fred E. Dohrs, "Incentives in Communist Agriculture: The Hungarian Models", Slavic Review, XXVII, 1, 1968, p. 23, Dohrs writes, "Although some areas of Eastern Europe and large parts of the USSR can be classified as physically marginal for agriculture, the low levels of agricultural productivity are primarily attributable to defective organisation and operation. There have been years when crop failure in this or that area was the direct result of drought, flood or other natural causes, but the catastrophies cannot be blamed for the low yields which characterise the longer run. The major obstacles to production gains lie within the collectivised system".

<sup>9</sup>G. Enyedi, "The Changing Face of Agriculture in Eastern Europe", The Geographical Review, LVII, 3, 1967, pp. 358-372. The argument is made here that there was no rational alternative to collectivisation and, by implication, that subsequent difficulties were the inevitable result of past shortcomings. "The economic conditions necessary for the successful creation of large-scale farming were almost entirely absent", and there was "little chance to overcome the capital shortage in agriculture".

engaged in agriculture and the only industry of any importance--food processing -- was based on agricultural raw materials. Thus, it was estimated that the well-being of 75 per cent of the population depended upon the land.

TABLE 3  
Development of the Agricultural Population -  
Hungary - 1880-1940

Year	Total Population Index 1880=100	Agricultural Population	
		Index 1880=100	In Percentage of the Total Population
1880	100	100	68.8
1890	113	109	66.4
1910	143	115	55.6
1930	173	122	51.5
1949	187	123	49.1

Source: B. Sárfalvi, A mezőgazdasági népesség csökkenése Magyarországon, (Budapest, Akadémia Kiadó, 1965) p. 52.

In this situation, one might well have expected that government policies would have attached overriding priority to the modernization of agriculture. For political reasons and in an effort to reinforce Hungarian independence, however, the emphasis was placed on rapid industrial growth. In due course, quotas and tariff barriers were erected and, during the first decade after the First World War an artificially protected "hothouse" industry created a superficial but attractive prosperity, and agriculture fell behind. The extremely high proportion of land held in great estates contrasted with the fragmentation of holdings in some areas, and agrarian reform was a

perennial prospect.<sup>10</sup> In the face of potential expropriation of a substantial part of their holdings, estate owners refrained from investments in machinery, fertilizers and the like. Such investments were further discouraged by legislation regulating the use of machinery, and estate owners were obliged to employ manual labour for most important jobs, such as harvesting.

The Great Depression of 1929-30 and the deteriorating political relations with neighbouring countries had a further serious effect on Hungarian agriculture. Foreign trade was closely related to foreign political relations. The more the latter deteriorated as a result of Hungary's commitments to Germany and Italy, the larger the imbalance of trade.

In the spring of 1930, for instance, Prague approximately doubled the ad valorem import duties on wheat, flour and rye and raised the duty on porkers about five-fold. Budapest reciprocated by increasing its tariffs on sugar and by restricting imports of Czech consumer goods. Thus began the tariff war, which within a few years came close to decimating the value of exchange between the two countries.<sup>11</sup>

Agricultural products were unsaleable in some regions and farm product prices dropped below the cost of production. In spite of these and a host of other difficulties, however, Hungarian agriculture progressed and reached a considerably higher standard than that of other

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<sup>10</sup>Fifteen per cent of the total area was owned by 84 individuals while another 14.4 per cent was owned by 1,389,264 persons. See S.D. Zagoroff, T. Végh and A.D. Billimovich, The Agricultural Economy of the Danubian Countries, 1935-1945, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1955), p. 160

<sup>11</sup>J.M. Montias, "Economic Nationalism in Eastern Europe Forty Years of Continuity and Change", Journal of International Affairs, XX, 1, 1966, p. 50.

TABLE 4

Number of Wage Earners - Hungary - 1930-1963  
(in 1000's)

National Economy	1930	1941	1949 <sup>1</sup>	1960	1963
Agriculture	2031	2166	2196	1872	1566
Industry, Mining and Construction	829	1005	961	1682	1810
Transportation, Commerce, Service Industries and Public Service	1003	1152	1008	1322	1414
Other Retired	135	180	244	437	774
Total	3998	4503	4409	5313	5564
Dependents	4687	4813	4796	4648	4508
Population	8685	9316	9205	9961	10072

Source: B. Sárfalvi, A mezőgazdasági népesség csökkenése Magyarországon, (Budapest, 1965), p.52.

<sup>1</sup>The figures apply to the boundaries of Trianon Hungary. The boundary adjustment after the war was so slight that it does not significantly affect comparisons.

East European countries. Table 5 shows some indicators of productivity and demonstrates the superiority of Hungary on the eve of the Second World War compared with three other predominantly agricultural countries.

The program of every Hungarian government after 1918 envisaged some kind of agrarian reform. Various political parties obtained electoral support from the poverty-stricken peasantry by promises of fundamental changes in the agricultural structure. Yet, the impact of reforms during the two decades 1920-1940 was insignificant because the ruling political groups were able to prevent the successful implementation of any plan. During the period 1920-1935 nearly one million cadastral holds out of sixteen million were redistributed.

Yet, the core of the agrarian problem remained untouched. Four million holds of the latifundia, the tenure of which was regulated by ancient, medieval laws, remained. In practice, the ownership of this land was only nominal, since its transfer was restricted and it could not be used to provide security for loans. At the same time, the number of non-viable small holdings was increased as the average unit distributed in the land reform was between one and two holds. There was a general consensus among agricultural economists at that time that five holds was the minimum size of farm capable of supporting a family. Végh shows that out of the total agricultural population of 4.5 million persons, nearly 3 million (landless labourers included) lived as

TABLE 5

## Average Productivity of Agriculture - Four East European Countries - 1938-1939

Country	Net product of agriculture per head of agricultural labour force	Gross return per hectare of cropland	Cropland per head of agricultural labour force (hectares)	Gross return per head of agricultural labour force	Net product of agriculture per hectare of cropland
	(U.S. dollars at adjusted exchange rate)			(U.S. dollars at adjusted exchange rate)	
Hungary	120.0	55.9	3.15	176.2	38.1
Rumania	55.2	36.5	1.78	64.8	31.1
Yugoslavia	54.7	43.8	1.78	77.9	30.7
Bulgaria	53.7	52.6	1.51	81.6	34.6

Source: S.D. Zagoroff, et al., op.cit., p.19.

"have-nots" on land under that limit.<sup>12</sup> Since legal emigration was practically non-existent, a landless, embittered and poorly educated proletariat was created under the pressure of rural poverty. The promise of agrarian reforms became a powerful weapon for right wing extremists whose only concern was the acquisition of followers. Thus, the so-called "land reform" of 1936, which pretended to plan the expropriation of big estates and badly cultivated land, existed practically only on paper. As the system of National Socialism took power in Hungary, a new "land reform" was aimed at the expropriation of land owned by persons who fell under the provisions of the Jewish Law of 1939. In the event, the reform of 1939 had no effect at all and the new government of 1945 was to face essentially the 1935 situation.

Land Tenure:

On the eve of the war, Somogy, even more predominantly agricultural than most other areas of Hungary, appeared deceptively secure and comfortable in its traditional ways. Its cultural landscape, however, was the product of a land-tenure system that had only a few years to live.

The pre-socialist rural landscape was the result of a thousand years of rule by the Magyar and German aristocracies. It was a landscape which intimately reflected the history, as well as the physical

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<sup>12</sup>J. Vég, "Agriculture and Food in Hungary During World War II", in Zagoroff et al, op. cit., p. 160.

character of the country and differentiated it clearly from its neighbours. Hungary escaped the deep cultural impressions of the kind left upon Poland by one hundred and fifty years of partition. It lacked, on the other hand, the relative uniformity given to East Germany by the Prussian nobles. It had been deprived of the land reform which the ousting of German landlords had made possible in Czechoslovakia after the First World War. At the same time, the influence of the Osmanli Turks had not been so prolonged as to result in the subsistence agriculture characteristic of the Balkans which had remained in the backwaters of European agricultural development for some four centuries.

The Hungarian system displayed a concentration of land ownership and a degree of rural poverty which was difficult to match to the west. Four per cent of the population owned some two-thirds of the land, but this concentration was most apparent west of the Danube, where the Austrian and Catholic interests had been most strong. Under this system the Roman Catholic Church alone owned about 900,000 holds, while estates of individual families ran as high as 200,000 holds for the Ezterházys and 100,000 holds for the Festeticses.<sup>13</sup>

In Somogy county, there were 43 estates with a total land area of 382,000 holds out of a total of about 1 million holds of agricultural land in the county (see Table 6). A further 74 estates accounted for 129,000 holds. At the end of the scale, 62,000 parcels under five holds made up about 100,000 holds. In short, half of the land of the county

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M. Pécsi and B. Sárfalvi, op. cit., p. 233.

TABLE 6

Number and Size of Estates (in cadastral holds) - Somogy - 1935

Estate Size Groups (in hold)	Total Number of Estates	Area of Estates according to Branches of Cultivation								
		Total Area	Plough	Garden	Meadow	Vine- Yard	Pasture	Forest	Reed	Area ex- empt from Land Tax
0-1 without Ploughland	14,699	4,505	-	1,643	723	932	162	259	12	774
with Ploughland	13,766	7,870	6,205	287	480	419	17	36	-	426
1-5 without Ploughland	1,330	2,275	-	225	840	667	109	250	21	163
with Ploughland	32,625	84,157	66,305	2,300	8,410	3,955	427	500	45	2,215
5-10	15,651	114,783	89,201	2,336	13,940	4,376	691	1,949	28	2,262
10-20	10,630	149,230	118,158	2,533	17,911	4,805	1,386	1,504	33	2,900
20-50	3,311	93,387	71,497	1,219	10,759	2,217	2,529	1,839	19	3,808
50-100	416	28,236	15,159	232	2,119	276	4,127	1,860	4	4,459
100-200	219	30,910	9,901	196	2,385	197	7,130	4,348	23	6,730
200-500	220	69,413	19,126	252	2,941	299	22,590	17,385	49	6,771
500-1000	92	62,494	24,976	390	2,916	211	12,036	16,728	17	5,220
1000-3000	74	129,636	59,787	655	7,427	323	18,210	29,386	109	13,739
Over 3000	43	382,416	144,246	1,516	23,266	927	38,566	125,797	1,801	46,297
Total	93,075	1,159,312	624,561	13,784	94,117	19,604	107,980	201,841	2,161	95,265

Source: Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv, LI, LII, LIII, LIV, Budapest, 1948.

belonged to 117 families or owners, while over 93,000 families owned the rest, 62,000 of them with less than five holds. All this omits the landless farm-labourer of whom there were some 50,000 in the county as a whole.

The distribution of private estates of over 1000 holds throughout the county was as follows by district:

Barcsi	20
Igali	9
Kaposvári	21
Lengyetóti	24
Marcali	13
Magyatádi	19
Szigetvári	13
Tabi	11
	<hr/>
	130

Thirty-nine of these estates were entailed and could not legally be divided or change hands. By far the most important group was made up of those under the primogeniture system. They numbered fifteen and occupied 140,754 holds or about 12 per cent of the total land area. The next largest block of land was occupied by five large estates of the Roman Catholic Church which held 61,383 holds. The remainder were as follows:

State Land	1,859 holds
Fee Estates and Estates of Joint Tenants	14,549 "
Publicly and Privately Endowed Land	15,096 "
Land or Credit Banks	12,797 "
Corporation Land	3,594 "

Altogether the entailed estates accounted for 250,000 holds or approximately 25 per cent of the agricultural land of the county.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Les conditions de la propriété foncière en Hongrie dans l'année 1935, Publications Statistiques Hongroises, Nouvelle Serie, CII, (Budapest, 1937).

Marcalidistrict typified this general situation. The land there was held as follows:<sup>15</sup>

Public Land	15 Estates	230 holds
Roman Catholic Church	69 "	734 "
Entailed Estates	16 "	34,597 "
Other	141 "	12,525 "

The dominant position of the latifundia is exemplified in particular in the village of Kéthely which in 1935 had a population of 3500 of whom 70 per cent owned less than 1.6 holds. The bulk of the farms were about 10 holds, with the exception of that of the village priest which was 33 holds. Count Hunyadi owned most of the remainder. Altogether his holdings in Hungary amounted to 27,000 holds and some 8,000 of these were in the village of Kéthely.

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

The Settlement Pattern:

Settlement patterns in Hungary varied regionally, reflecting the heritage of particular regions. In general, however, they mirrored the social and economic system which they served. According to Gyula Illyés, over half of the arable land of Hungary was cultivated by labourers living in "pusztás". He describes them as follows:

"The farm servants live under one roof in long, low, single-storey houses like slum tenements separated from each other only by thin walls. The slum-like long houses are so divided inside that there is a common kitchen with an open range between each pair of rooms. According to a law enacted at the beginning of this century, only one family may occupy one room. This law is now observed in many places, but there are quite a few where it is not. In the heart of Somogy county I have seen several farm servants' houses which did not even have chimneys; the smoke from the common kitchen escaped through the door, and several families lived together in each room. What this really means can be imagined only when we realise that farm servants tend to be quite prolific. Generally there are six or seven in the family, and even today some families consist of ten or twelve members."<sup>16</sup>

There are 253 settlements -- villages and towns -- listed in the 1960 census for Somogy. One hundred and twenty-two of these had less than 1000 inhabitants in 1930 and only 13 exceeded 3000 in population. The only sizeable town was Kaposvár with 33,226: the next largest was Barcs with 7,971.<sup>17</sup> Somogy was thus a predominantly rural county with

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<sup>16</sup>Gyula Illyés, People of the Puszta (Puszták népe), (Budapest, Corvina Press, 1967), pp. 7-9.

<sup>17</sup>Somogy megye, személyi és családi adatai, 1960, Évi Népszámlálás, Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, (Budapest, 1962).

the bulk of the population of 350,372 engaged in agriculture.

The original settlement pattern was primarily defined by three factors - distance to work, the pattern of the large estates and the need for central services. Unlike the settlements of the Great Plains, those of Somogy had not been greatly affected by the Turkish invasion and had retained much of their medieval form.<sup>18</sup>

The village of Kéthely was fairly typical of the general settlement pattern, although it was somewhat more advanced than the others in its general social conditions. It lies south of Lake Balaton on the edge of the Nagy Berek and its old pattern is still visible in spite of the changes which have taken place since the Second World War. The settlement lay along the main road in a ribbon pattern made up of small, usually two-room houses with mud walls and either thatched or tiled roofs. To the east of the road at the north end of the village lay the buildings of the Hunyadi farm. In the centre there was the Roman Catholic Church and hard by the original Hunyadi house, now the headquarters of a collective farm. The more recent Hunyadi "castle" was built some two or three kilometres from the village.

Hunyadi was a good deal more enlightened than many landlords of the time and is still remembered for his generosity and relatively advanced ideas. As a result, the social facilities of the village were fairly well developed. There was a doctor, paid for by Hunyadi, who served five villages including Kéthely where a small hospital of 15 to 20 beds was maintained. Education was provided by the Roman Catholic

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<sup>18</sup>G. Enyedi, "Le village hongrois et la grande exploitation agricole", Annales de Géographie, LXXIII,400,1964,pp 687-700.

nuns in an eight-room school and there was also a small nursery school.

Life was nevertheless hard, particularly for the landless workers who earned very low and somewhat uncertain wages. By modern standards, even those owning 10 to 15 holds of land could eke out only a meagre living with the techniques then available.

#### Land Use:

In 1935, practically the whole population of Somogy derived its living from agriculture and the only industry was concerned with the processing of agricultural produce, mainly sugarbeets in Kaposvár.

The distribution of crops in percentages of the sown area was as follows:

Wheat	25.5
Rye	14.1
Fall Barley	6.5
Oats	6.3
Corn	18.5
Potatoes	6.8
Fibre-fodder Plants	18.6
Other	3.7
	<u>100.0</u> <sup>19</sup>

In 1935 there were some 200,000 animals in the county distributed as follows in percentages:

Cattle	52.1
Horses	24.9
Pigs	18.2
Sheep	4.8
	<u>100.0</u> <sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Béla Gertig, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

Somogy had a somewhat smaller proportion of cultivated land than the national average and a correspondingly higher percentage of forest. Although an area of mixed farming, it was predominantly a grain producing region with, nevertheless, a substantial production of fodder crops and animals. The relatively low percentage of cultivated area reflected the poor development of such areas as the Nagy Berek and Kisbalaton in the North along the shores of Lake Balaton, and the limited value at that time of the sandy areas in Inner Somogy. It also reflected the high concentration of very large estates which could be matched in few other countries. There was, nevertheless, a good deal of local variation.

Marcali járás presented a great variety of physical conditions and soils. Before the Second World War 64 per cent of the agricultural land was arable, but 12 per cent consisted of poorly drained meadows and 23 per cent was taken up by grazing land. It was predominantly a stock-raising area, with cattle predominant, although there were pockets of vineyards and orchards where drainage and slope permitted these crops.

The village of Kéthely reflected this variety, as it does today. Light clay covered 68.5 per cent of the area, but a good deal of the remainder had bog soils. About 18 per cent of the area was covered by forest, only 41 per cent was under the plough, and 33 per cent of the agricultural land was in meadow or grazing land. Although vineyards occupied only 3 per cent of the area, they were locally important.

Wheat and rye were the predominant crops, with oats and fodder crops in second place. Other crops included corn, potatoes, and various industrial plants. Yields were low and most of the work was done by

# SOMOGY

## CROPS 1938-39

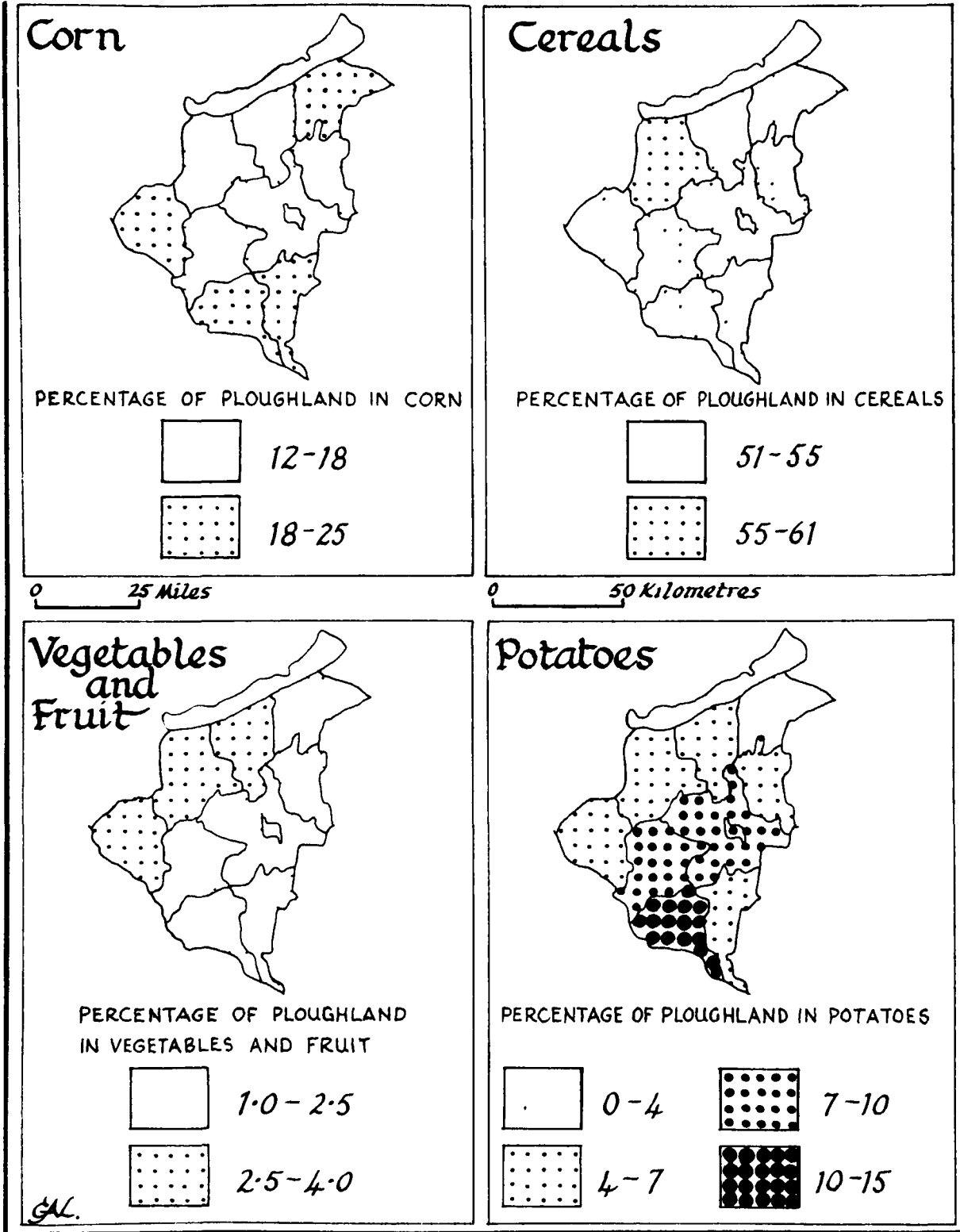
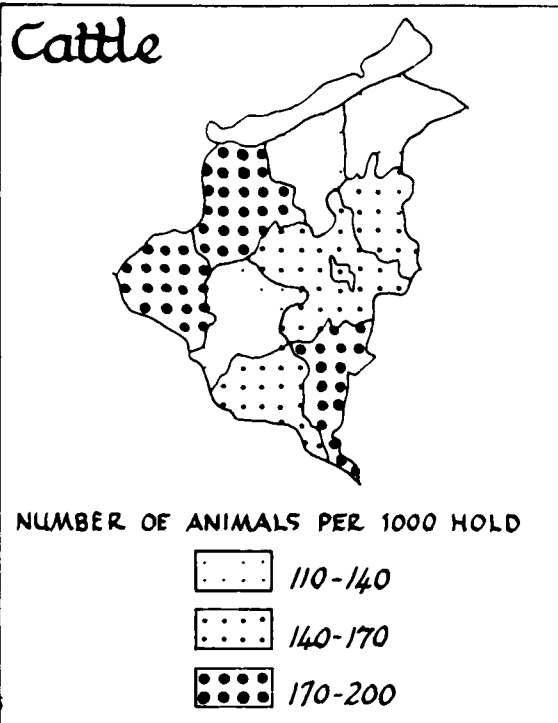


Figure 6

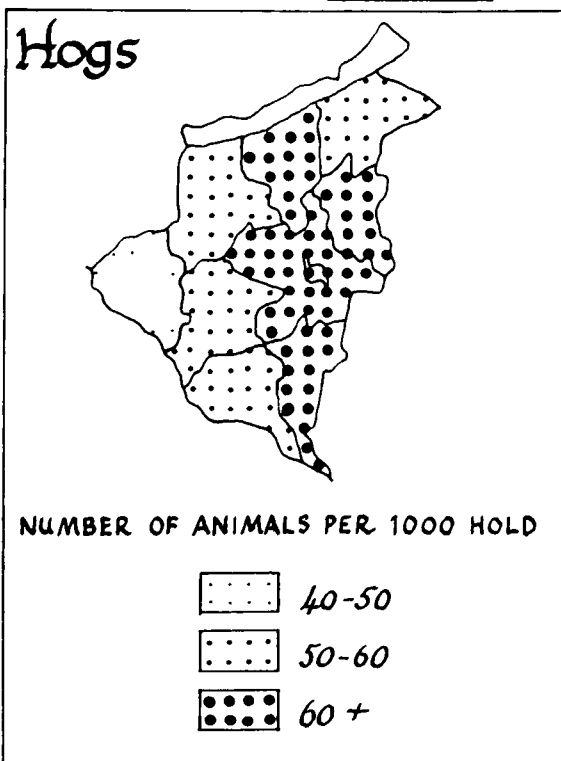
Source: Béla Gertig, op.cit., pp.54-60.

# SOMOGY

## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY 1938-39



0 25 Miles 0 50 Kms.



GAL.

Figure 7  
Source: Béla Gertig, op.cit., pp.54-60.

hand, although some mechanisation and the use of other modern techniques had begun in the period immediately before the Second World War. There was as a result a considerable variation in yields according to size of estate as indicated by the following figures for Marcali járás. The large estates of over 1,000 holds had average wheat yields of 9.4 quintals per hold, while those below 100 holds yielded only 7.8. There were similar differences for potatoes and rye.<sup>21</sup>

Somogy on the Eve of Reform:

The American scene has been described as a "universe of uncontrollable chaos inhabited by happy accidents".<sup>22</sup> The English countryside on the other hand, has seemed "a world of ordered beauty obscured here and there by sad contrivances".<sup>23</sup> The landscape of Somogy in the 1930's was a province of neat but disquieting anachronisms.

It was a gentle land where the small houses with thatched roofs clustered in villages and pusztás, and blended with the background of rolling hills. Even the puszta settlements and poorly run estates were harmonious in outward expression and suffered only on close examination, and by comparison with happier, or at any rate, richer lands. It was a landscape dominated by the "castles" and stately homes of the great estates where each settlement was provided with its church which,

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<sup>21</sup>József Nadujfalvy, Somogy megye szociális és gazdasági helysetképe, (Kaposvár, 1939)

<sup>22</sup>David Lowenthal and Hugh C. Prince, "The English Landscape", The Geographical Review, LIV, July, 1964, p.325.

<sup>23</sup>Idem

together with the Church estates, bore witness to the power of the Roman Catholic Church in Transdanubia.

In the fields, the predominance of extensively cultivated grain crops reflected the role of Hungary as an exporter of grain. The forests were in part a source of revenue and in part playgrounds for the privileged. Apart from these two dominating features the small holdings of the more fortunate peasantry, produced varied crops and represented a precarious wedge between the masters of society and the hapless, landless labourers, although in some areas, pockets of yeoman farming reminiscent of countries to the west and north had been created. It was, to a large extent, an immobile society where life centered on the villages from which there was little incentive or opportunity to move, and towns a few kilometres away were visited only on market days.

Beneath this superficial orderliness, there lay strong forces which were to transform the scene under the direction of more powerful but less ordered lands to the east. Foremost among these forces was the hunger for land. It had caused the poor peasants and the landless to rise in support of Béla Kun in the first socialist insurrection of 1918. Their enthusiasm turned to anger and resentment as it became clear that the new regime intended to hold the land itself.

"Having failed to receive its expected share of land, the organized rural proletariat had pushed for more immediate benefits in terms of exceedingly high daily wages in kind. The result was that the pre-war ratio of 201 kilograms of wheat marketed per yoke fell to 60 kilograms, defeating the socialist-communist assumptions concerning the higher yields of nationalized lands, and the organized peasants, who suddenly had changed from "natural allies" into "objective enemies", became the target of high-

handed anti-labor policies by the bitterly disappointed government."<sup>24</sup>

Then Horthy's officers cut a swathe of fear through the country and toppled the socialists. An officer of the time wrote as follows about the village of Marcali:

"Young Count József Széchenyi again called on me to complain about his farm-hands; he found it impossible to get on with them, as they were being incited and egged on to acts of sabotage by the communists. Marcali and vicinity was indeed infected with communism, which was no wonder, since very many shady Jews lived in the village. On my arrival I found some 30 people in the village jail; some 15 Jewish ringleaders and a Catholic priest were pointed out to me by Chief Constable Toth himself as people that were fit for the gallows. The popular sentence was carried out, on these and other people. Several people interceded for the priest - the dean himself pleaded for mercy for his colleague. But as the man did not deserve it, I refused to grant it." <sup>25</sup>

The peasants then returned to their former condition. It is difficult to judge just how bad this condition was. The memories of old retainers and poor labourers do not coincide very closely. Probably things were somewhat better than the more zealous socialists have painted them, but doubtless not as idyllic as they seem in the more comfortable memories of the well-to-do. They were certainly bad for the landless labourer as may be seen by comparing the 70 filler daily wage of a woodcutter in 1931 with the following price list:<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Rudolf L. Tókéš, Béla Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic, (New York, Praeger, 1967), p. 187.

<sup>25</sup>Quoted in István Darvasi, Is there Some Change in Hungary?, (Budapest, Pannonia Press, n.d.) trans. István Farkas, p. 22.

<sup>26</sup>These figures were given to the author in the village of Zalavár which lies in the Kisbalaton area just outside of Somogy. Those for other villages varied somewhat, but there seems ample evidence that the lot of the labourer was a sad one.

Lard	per Kg.	1.0 to 1.20	pengő
Pork	per Kg.	0.60	"
Beef	per Kg.	0.40	"
Salt	per Kg.	0.40	"
Sugar	per Kg.	1.12	"
Milk	per litre	0.12	"
Wheat	per quintal	7.80	"
Pair of Boots		27.00 to 30.00	"

In short, four bushels of wheat cost ten days pay and some 45 days of work were required to purchase one pair of boots. In such conditions, the staple diet was potatoes, peas and bacon, and sometimes only gruel. On the other hand, a faithful and valued servant could end up after twenty years or so with a fairly comfortable small-holding.

Something of the lot of the rural people at this time is shown in the photographs on page 44. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think of them as totally without consolation. They had a rich folklore and contrived to make their small dwellings attractive with the products of folk art. In good years and on feast days they lived fairly well, but always on the terms laid down by the landlords who dominated the economy, the legal system and social life generally.

The contrast is apparent in the photographs on page 46 which show the Hunyadi "castle" and the house of a medium land-owner. Elsewhere in the region these contrasts were even more marked as, for example, Keszthely where "puszta" type dwellings of the Festetich family are located near one of the finest country houses in Hungary containing a world famous library and many other treasures.

In general, therefore, life was hard and uncertain for the country people, and it was their unhappy condition which prepared the landscape for change which in the event was to be more far-reaching than any but the most radical anticipated. The processes by which this change was brought about are traced in the following chapter.



Figure 8: Keszthely: Festetics Estate- Puszta Type Accommodation.



Figure 9: Kéthely: Old Abandoned Peasant Cottage.



Figure 10: Sármallék: "Long House" Type Peasant Dwelling



Figure 11: Kéthely: The Hunyadi Castle



Figure 12: Sármallék: Medium Landowner's House.

## CHAPTER III

## THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

The Great Land Reform of 1945:

The reform of 1945 expropriated 34.6 per cent of the total land under cultivation in Hungary and brought about a fundamental transformation of the farm economy. At the same time, the demographic structure was altered as the number of agricultural labourers decreased from 786,000 (1939) to 282,000 (1949) and the number of independent farmers increased from 1.3 million to 1.9 million. In Somogy County 40,000 persons applied for and received land; of these, 9,000 were workers on the large estates, 9,445 were agricultural labourers in other categories such as migrant and part-time labour, 12,150 were owners of dwarf plots and the remainder were small-holders.<sup>1</sup> In addition, 16,019 received building lots and 1,730 families received land in other categories.<sup>2</sup> This resulted in a fragmentation of the land, albeit temporary, and in the creation of a field pattern not unlike that in such areas of Eastern Europe as Slovenia or parts of Poland where the small farmer had traditionally been dominant.

Agricultural cooperatives were also formed at this time although

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<sup>1</sup>István Honfi, Béla Jávor and Károly Rostás, Somogy, 1945-1965, (Kaposvár, 1965) p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

not on the socialist model. In Somogy there were, for example, in the first half of 1947, 213 agricultural cooperatives and 151 milk production cooperatives, but they were limited in their powers and did little to modify the fragmenting effect of the Great Land Reform.

The following table shows the distribution of land in Somogy after the reform:

TABLE 7

The Great Land Reform - Somogy-1945

Size of holding	Before 1945 Reform		After Reform	
	Number	Area (in holds)	Number	Area (in holds)
0 - 5 holds	71,870	115,520	45,370	146,758
6 - 10	15,301	110,405	31,958	243,661
11 - 20	10,981	151,701	16,062	228,327
21 - 50	3,520	98,014	3,158	92,642
Total	101,672	475,640	96,548	711,388

Source: J. Honfi, et al., op.cit., p.46.

When considering the impact of these changes, it is important to note that the Land Reform Bill fully acknowledged the principle of private property. For political reasons, collectivisation was rejected and even Rakosi, the most powerful political figure of the time, stated that "the peasantry must be assured that we shall defend its land as well as its private property".<sup>3</sup>

The peasantry welcomed the land reform as an abolition of the

<sup>3</sup>Address in Mezöhegyes, reported by Népszava, April 27, 1948.

"feudal" system combined with a just redistribution of land. Economists warned, however, that nearly 20 per cent of the arable land was held by 900,000 "land owners" lacking any professional skill. These people were not in a position to acquire even the most primitive means of production and it became evident that the great majority of their holdings would not be viable in the long-run. Another 20 per cent, representing the units over 20 holds consisted partly of privately owned farms and to a lesser extent of state farms. While the state farms benefitted from various kinds of support from public funds, privately owned units over 20 holds were generally considered as dangerous to the regime and therefore had to face serious financial difficulties. As a result, only about 10 per cent of the section over 20 holds took part in the constructive reorganisation of agriculture. On the other hand, the 700,000 peasants of the 5-20 holds category made every effort to rebuild the farm industry. In spite of compulsory delivery rules and in the wake of the tremendous losses suffered during the war, they made substantial progress. The gross agricultural product in constant prices recovered to 85 per cent of that of 1938.<sup>4</sup>

This impressive reorganisation of agriculture was completed without foreign aid and reflected the basic strength of Hungarian agrarian resources. It became evident, however, that the agricultural structure created by the Reform Bill suffered from two basic weaknesses. First, the problem of growing rural poverty was inherent in increased rural over-population. Families living on land under 5 holds found themselves

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<sup>4</sup>P. Szakal, "A Magyar mezőgazdasági termelés fejlődése 1950-56", Közgazdaságtudományi Intézetének Közleményei, XVI, 1961, p. 3.

without any prospect of improvement. While the newly created manufacturing industry offered opportunities for a great number of labourers, many were reluctant to give up the albeit symbolic - status of landowner. Secondly, the farm industry was confronted with the urgent need of adjustment to modern methods of production and marketing. At that time, economic forces all over the world were bringing about fundamental changes in agriculture. The rise of the productivity of inputs, as well as their changing composition, were the main characteristics of this development, often referred to as a "revolution in agriculture". Increases in productivity resulted from the substitution of machinery for labour and the changing input-mix involved the increased application of non-farm resources. Obviously, the prerequisite for this kind of transformation was capital. None of the three categories of post-war Hungarian agriculture (dwarf, 5 - 20 holds, and above 20) possessed even a fraction of the capital needed to acquire the tools of technological progress. The uncertainty both of land ownership and of government banking policy ruled out the possibility of long-term loans for farmers. The necessary funds were only obtainable from public sources or through government guarantees. Consequently, the government faced the dilemma of providing the viable farm units with capital and promoting the consolidation of scattered holdings or turning to the collectivisation of agriculture. It was a real dilemma, and not merely a question of political dogma, growing out of the heritage of the Hungarian pre-war system of land tenure.

The problem is illustrated in the following table:

TABLE 8

Number of Holdings and Distribution of Arable Land - Hungary 1949

Categories of holdings	Number of holdings (in thousands)	Total arable land (in thousands of holds)	Percentage of total arable land
under 5 holds	883.9	1,796.2	19.1
5 to 20	698.3	5,620.0	59.7
over 20 holds	77.8	1,983.0	21.2
Total	1,660.0	9,399.2	100.0

Source: Ferenc Erdei, "Agrárfejlődésünk a felszabadulás után," Közgazdasági Szemele, XII, 4, 1965, p. 415.

The Collectivisation of Agriculture:

The beginning of collectivisation coincided with the formative period of the new Communist Government. Implemented when Stalinism dominated both politics and economic thought, collectivisation was a central feature of the First Five Year Plan introduced in 1950. It is beyond the scope of this study to determine to what extent the weaknesses of the agricultural policy of this period contributed to the events of October - November 1956. Some indication can be derived, however, from a statement of December 1956 issued by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party. It stated that the Rákosi-Gerő clique "forced upon the population an economic policy which misused the economic resources of the country and hindered the improve-

ment of living standards".<sup>5</sup> No other segment of the national economy was adversely affected by the provisions of the first plan as agriculture, and the seeds of many current problems were sown at that time.

The essential characteristic of the plan was the accelerated transformation of the entire economy after the socialist model. Once again in Hungary, overriding priority was given to heavy industries regardless of available resources. A major goal of agricultural planning was also to eliminate the possibility of an independent peasant political organization. Thus, collectivisation was forced at a rapid pace without any effort being made to ease the adjustment by increased investment. The first draft of the plan assigned 20 per cent of all investment to agricultural reorganisation, but this was gradually reduced to 9.8 per cent.<sup>6</sup> State farms had ten times and the cooperatives twenty-five times as much land in 1956 as in 1949, yet their total output grew at a much slower rate - six times and seventeen times respectively. Even more revealing, per unit output remained practically unchanged during this period of six crop years.

The planners in Hungary apparently failed to understand the essentials of agricultural growth, in particular the complementarity of the various sections of farming. Investment priority was arbitrarily given to a single factor regardless of the impact on other factors.

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<sup>5</sup>T. I. Berend, Gazdaságpolitika az első öt éves terv megindításakor, (Budapest, Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1964), p. 38, translated.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

Today's farmer "combines labour, power, machinery, services, seed, fertilizer, pesticides and sometimes irrigation water and other resources, with land to produce crops".<sup>7</sup> In their obsession with individual projects, the planners forgot such basic considerations and the results were disastrous. The consequences on the domestic scene appeared in form of food shortages. As early as 1951, a strict distribution system for flour and sugar was re-introduced and further compulsory regulations followed, although wartime rationing had been abolished in 1948. It was from this unhappy situation that Hungarian agriculture moved through the great crisis of 1956 and on towards its second, and full collectivisation in 1959-62.

Imre Nagy correctly attributed the initial failure of collectivisation to the brutality and stupidity which had marked its implementation. He wrote as follows:

"The conclusions of the Central Committee's June resolution dealing with farm cooperatives and the advice of the Soviet comrades proved correct and were direct consequences of the brutal and widespread violation of the principle of free choice for the sake of exaggerated collectivisation by intimidation and financial pressure (taxes, crop requisitions, etc.) and by the application of punishments and other lawless procedures, in the course of which dissatisfaction in the villages flared high, and hundreds upon hundreds of unviable farm cooperatives came into existence wherein the forcibly recruited members simply did not work".<sup>8</sup>

His notions about remedies, however, were highly controversial and, popular as they were in many parts of the countryside, were deemed by some to threaten the consolidation of socialist power. In January

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<sup>7</sup>J. R. Hedges, Farm Management Decisions, (New York, Prentice Hall, 1963), p. 70.

<sup>8</sup>Imre Nagy on Communism, (New York, Praeger, 1957), pp. 153-154.

1954, he wrote as follows:

"The farming opportunities of the peasants with medium holdings, the government program, as well as the resolution dealing with the development of agriculture, afford great possibilities for increasing production. The peasants with medium holdings love to work, know how to farm, and if in the villages they work in exemplary fashion, espousing the cause of increased agricultural production with the good farmer's sense of responsibility, if they spur on the weaker and less successful farmers with their advice and if need be with their economic resources - increasing production by supplementing the state's extensive help with their own contributions and their own investments, then indubitably we shall meet with success in realizing the aims of the resolution. Parallel to the promotion of large-scale farm cooperatives, an indispensable condition to the swift elimination of our agricultural backwardness is the development of the prosperity and increased production of the peasants with medium holdings".<sup>9</sup>

This emphasis on the role of the middle peasant implied the creation and reinforcement of a class of independent farmers. Whatever the benefits of this may have been in terms of short-term gains in production, it relegated socialisation to a distant and uncertain future. It had also resulted in a flight from the cooperatives and an erratic fluctuation in their numbers. The impact of Nagy's ideas were apparent throughout the country but were exemplified in Somogy.

At the end of 1950 there were in Somogy County 127 cooperatives with 5,862 members and 35,555 holds. They increased in number until 1953 when, under the Nagy program 64 were dissolved and 13,276 members left the cooperatives so that their land area decreased from the 136,605 holds they had reached at that time to 71,635. They gradually gained

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 165-66.

in strength again until 1956 when they accounted for 21.8 per cent of all ploughland. Then came the debacle - in that year 90 per cent of the cooperatives were dissolved.

The errors of the planners had reinforced the suspicion which the peasantry naturally felt for cooperative systems. They had been deprived of land for generations; they had seen it come within reach under Béla Kun only to find that the Communists kept it; they had watched the landowners frustrate reform in the inter-war periods;<sup>10</sup> and, at last, they had received their heritage in the 1945 reform. The First Five Year Plan had been a bitter experience for them. Even with the most subtle persuasion and lavish capital investments, it would have been difficult for the leaders to have successfully demonstrated the advantages of cooperative farming. Without these things the task was hopeless. Although some of the better managed cooperative farms stayed in business after 1956, the majority disintegrated as indicated in the following table:

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<sup>10</sup>For an example of the arguments used to prevent agrarian reform, see The Confidential Papers of Admiral Horthy, Szinai and Szűcs (eds.), Budapest, 1965, pp. 122-124. They were for the most part cogent and equally applicable to the 1945 reform. The dilemma rested in the difficulty of bringing about social change, particularly with regard to land tenure, without paying a large economic penalty - Count Gyula Károlyi's estimate, six million pengő of national income for every 10,000 holds distributed.

TABLE 9

Development of Cooperatives - Somogy - 1950-1964

Year	Number	Total Area in Holds
1950	127	35,555
1952	289	136,605
1953	225	71,635
1955	308	121,035
1956	39	10,517
1958	121	46,655
1962	246	521,863
1964	240	529,141

Source: I. Honfi, et al., op.cit. p.50.

The Second Collectivisation, 1959 - 1962 was carried out with much greater skill. There were two fundamental differences. First, the members of cooperatives were allowed to choose a chairman from among their own number, if they wished, whereas under Rákosi unknown, and often unknowledgeable, party leaders had been imposed from outside;<sup>11</sup> secondly, there was no attempt to turn the poorer peasants against the richer, whereas Rákosi had shown in such an attempt a complete lack of understanding of the social cohesion of Hungarian villages and had ended by alienating everyone. Nevertheless, there was a good deal of

<sup>11</sup>An interesting short story by Erzsébet Galgócsy, "One Million Kilometres to Budapest" appeared in Kortárs, Budapest, in February, 1968, and was reprinted in East Europe, XVII, 8, August 8, 1968, p. 20. It describes the career of a brutal and corrupt farm administrator in this period and illustrates the general recognition of the mistakes that were made.

resistance to collectivisation and strong political or, perhaps more accurately, psychological pressures were used to overcome it. Intransigent villagers were submitted to interminable meetings and haranguing until they finally agreed to collectivise, partly from exasperation and fatigue.

By 1962, Somogy like the rest of the country had accepted, albeit reluctantly, the socialist system. The few farms which remained outside were of little economic or political consequence. Passive resistance, nevertheless, continued; one cooperative farm chairman described to the author how he and two colleagues had unloaded chemical fertilisers by hand at the railway station, while the membership of the farm either stayed away or sullenly watched.

The resentment against the land owner which Illyes described in the thirties was often transferred to the chairmen and party leaders. Only gradually, as conditions improved were these attitudes to change, and even yet the memory of the "old days" and the brutal fifties lingers to bedevil the New Economic Mechanism and to hinder the current regime. It is with this gradual consolidation of the socialist system that the remainder of this study is concerned.

TABLE 10

## Effects of Collectivisation - Hungary - 1950-1956

State Farms	Unit	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Percentage of total arable land	Percent	5.3	8.0	13.1	16.3	14.7	14.7	14.4
Index of land increase	1949=100	375	569	839	1000	895	947	1007
Index of gross product value	1949=100	250	312	404	587	570	610	550
Index of output per land unit (value)	Total country average 1949=100.	123	101	89	107	95	117	99
<u>Producers' Cooperatives</u>								
Percentage of total arable land	Percent	4.4	13.2	18.7	25.9	18.0	17.4	22.2
Index of land increase	1949=100	532	1114	1754	2584	1819	1774	2450
Index of gross product value	1939=100	425	1003	1216	1840	1380	1550	1682
Index of output per land unit (value)	Total country average 1949=100	110	121	90	92	99	116	95

Source: P. Szakal, "A Magyar mezőgazdasági termelés fejlődése 1950-1956", Közgazdaságtudományi Intezetenék Közleményei, XVI, 1961, p.3.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE

At present, 97.6 per cent of Hungarian land is incorporated in the socialist system. There are 214 state farms occupying 13.1 per cent of all arable land, while over 3,000 farmers' cooperatives and the associated household plots account for 84.5 per cent of the total. The remaining area is in very small privately owned holdings mainly located in remote or hill areas without adequate productive resources.<sup>1</sup> Somogy county displays an equally high degree of socialisation, but the concentration in state farms is somewhat higher when all land is considered. State farms controlled 37.6 per cent of the land in the county in 1964, while cooperatives held 50.2 per cent, not including the household plots.<sup>2</sup>

The Institutional Setting:

State Farms:

State farms existed prior to 1945 in Hungary. They occupied some 33,000 holds and specialized in the production of high quality animals;

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<sup>1</sup>The development of the hilly areas has presented problems for the socialist planners. See, for example, G. Enyedi, "Utilisation Problems in the Mountainous and Hilly Districts of Hungary", Földrajzi Közlemények, XIV, 1, 1966, pp. 49-58.

<sup>2</sup>I. Honfi, et al., op. cit., p. 51.

TABLE 11  
Distribution of Total Land and Ploughland According  
to Type of Farm - Somogy - 1951-1964

Year	State	Cooperatives	Household	Private and Auxiliary Farms
		(in percentages)		
1951	19.2	5.7	0.5	74.5
	6.9	9.1	0.9	83.1
1958	44.3	4.5	0.3	50.9
	15.5	6.4	0.4	77.7
1962	40.4	49.3	6.9	3.4
	14.0	49.3	6.9	3.4
1964	37.6	50.2	7.9	4.3
	13.4	71.8	9.6	5.2

Source: I. Honfi, et al., op.cit., p.51.

they were world-famed suppliers of breeding stock for domestic and foreign breeders. These estates were not broken up during the post-war reforms but remained under state management. Their area increased rapidly under the socialist agricultural policy as large estates and middle-size farms were expropriated. Thus, the land area of state farms increased to 1.8 million holds in the 1960's.

Following the example of Russian sovkhozes, the state farm serves as a model for efficient management, as an experimental unit to examine and disseminate technological progress and as a supplier of high quality farm products, including pedigree seeds and animals.<sup>3</sup> In

<sup>3</sup>By 1966, 29 state farms were devoted to scientific research and 120 offered special training for agricultural youths.

addition, the plans suggest that state farms contribute in an important way to the supply of farm products on the domestic and international market. Their technical material base enables them to carry out intensive farming and on occasion in the past the food supply of the non-farm population has depended almost entirely on the state farms. At present, they cultivate an average 14 per cent of all arable land and supply more than 20 per cent of all food consumed in Hungary.

TABLE 12

State Farms, Number and Share of All Farm Land and Arable Land  
Hungary 1961-1966

	1961	1963	1965	1966
Number of state farms	271	217	217	215
Farm land (1,000 holds) in state farms	2,011	2,095	1,923	1,696
State farms' share in total farm area (percentage)	13%	14%	13%	11%
Arable land in state farms (1,000 holds)	1,156	1,206	1,213	1,110
State farms' share in total arable land (percentage)	13%	14%	14%	13%

Source: Magyar Statisztikai Zsebkönyv, 1964 and 1967.

In the period 1950 - 1964 an average of 30 per cent of agricultural investment went to the state farms. In 1963, in all agriculture every tractor had to service 155 holds or arable land, while on the state farms the amount was 110 holds. The average size of a state farm varies between 6,200 and 8,000 holds. During the past ten years, an average 180,000 persons were employed on these farms, including 160,000 workers and 20,000 employees in management and administration. The

responsibilities of a director, however, may include in some cases the direction of regional organisations of 160,000 or more holds. The average wage of state farm workers amounted in 1966 to 1,480 forints monthly while technical or administrative employees received about 2,500 forints. Along with fringe benefits - cheaper meals and some clothing - workers may receive an allotment of 1 hold.

The role of state farms in Somogy has increased considerably since 1948 as the following figures indicate:

TABLE 13

Area in State Farms - Somogy - 1948-1964

Year	Area (in holds)
1948-49	20,000
1955	62,849
1964	100,551

Source: I. Honfi, et al., op. cit., p. 55.

In the last fifteen years the state has invested 800 million forints in machinery, buildings and other capital developments in this sector of the county's agriculture. At present, about 13 per cent of the livestock is in the state farms which produce about 32 per cent of all livestock products for the market.

The state farms are also notable for their relatively high level of specialisation. In Somogy County, for example, Lábod, Bóhönye, Kutas and Bárdibükk specialise in seed potatoes. At Lábod, 10 per cent of the cultivated area (1500 holds) is used for this purpose, and fruits are also grown particularly at Kutas and Bárdibükk. At Daránypuszta, 40 per cent of the cultivated area is in flowers for perfume mostly for

export. Seventeen per cent of the ploughland (220 holds) at Balaton-ujhely is in vegetables and there are also substantial orchards. Oreglak specialises in producing seeds for gardens, and at Balaton-boglar, 36 per cent of the arable area is in vineyards and 32 per cent in orchards. Olsobogot concentrates on fruits, including plums, apples, peaches and apricots.

Nagy Berek State Farm: Located on the shore of Lake Balaton and specialising in the development of bog soils, the Nagy Berek State Farm is particularly interesting. The great marsh (Nagy Berek) lying to the south of Lake Balaton was in pre-war times regarded as non-agricultural land. The water table was everywhere close to the surface and much of the land now occupied by the State Farm lay one metre below the level of the lake.

The farm occupies 16,500 holds and its land has been rendered useful by the construction of some 200 kilometres of canals. The three pumping stations are capable of discharging 11 cubic metres of water per second into Lake Balaton. As a result 55 per cent of the area of the farm can now be used as arable land, while another 25 - 28 per cent is in forest, mainly poplar for the paper-making industry. The rest of the area is taken up with meadows and pastures as well as roads and other service facilities. As a result of the soil and drainage conditions, cereals, except for corn, do not grow well. The main crops are therefore fodder grasses, corn, poplar, vegetables and herbs. There is also a small vineyard on the sandy area near the lake.

The restricted possibilities for the growing of cash crops has led to a concentration on animal production. The farm carries an

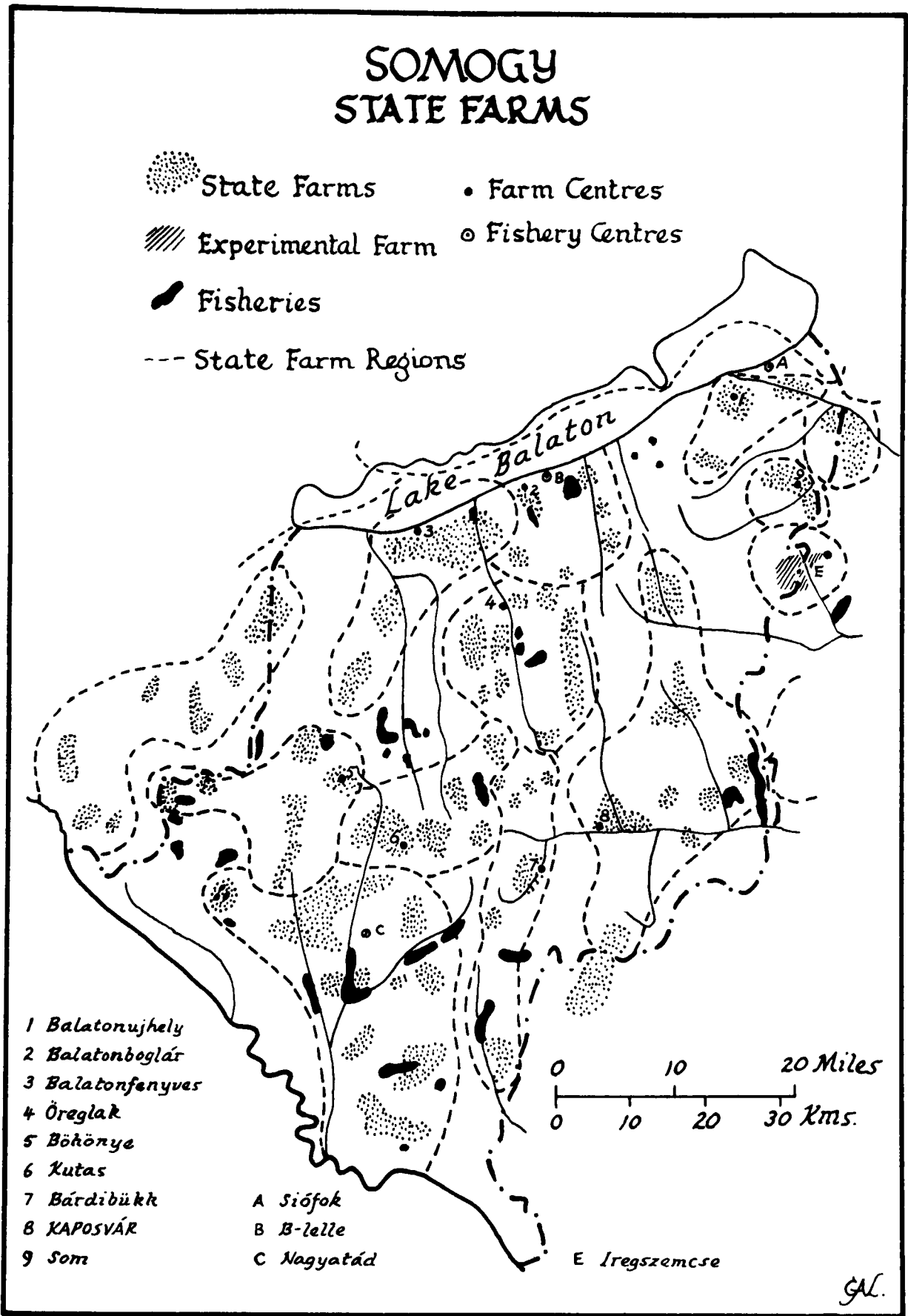


Figure 13  
Source: Magyarország Nemzeti Atlasza, (Budapest, Kartografiai Vállalat, 1967), p. 50.

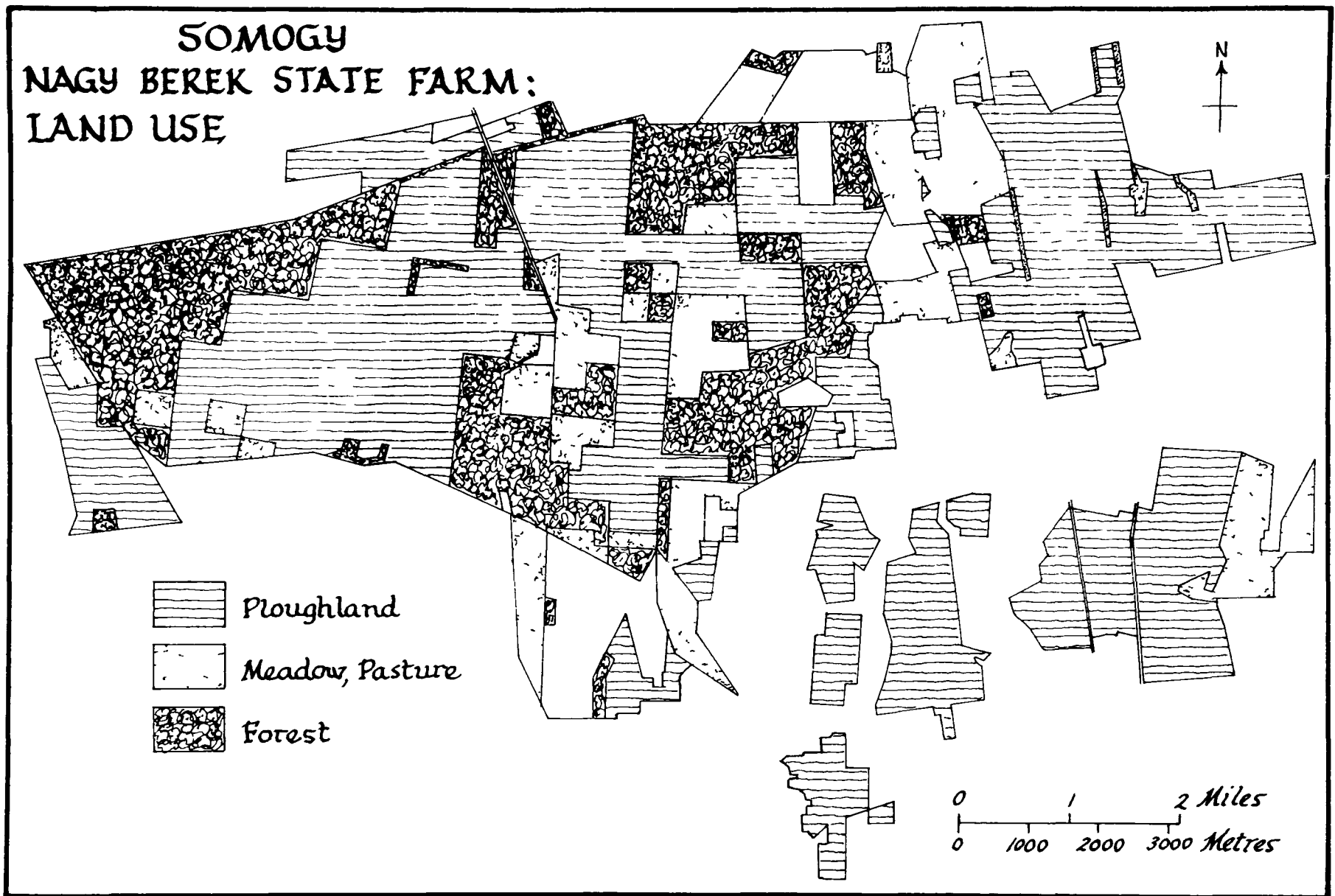


Figure 14

Source: Field observation and unpublished records of Nagy Berek State Farm.

average of five standard animals per hold. There are 2,500 head of cattle, 5,000 sheep and 500 sows (8,000 fattened pigs averaging 105-110 kgs. are marketed each year). In addition, 40,000 poultry produce 10 million eggs annually, and hares and pheasants are bred for sport.

The farm is organised into five farm units by product (livestock, crop production, horticulture, forest and poultry). The central management makes the principal policy decisions and the area units are then left to work independently. There are 1,000 labourers, of whom 35 per cent are women, and an administrative staff of 80 people. Altogether 60 per cent of the labour force is engaged in animal husbandry, the women working mainly with the poultry. About 85 per cent of the labour force are inhabitants of the village and are permanently employed. The remainder are on contracts of from six to ten months. Salaries for farm labour are about 2000 forints per month, with the cost of meals averaging 13 forints per day and rents 80 forints per month.

Until recently only the production of bread grains and rye was planned from outside the farm and the rest of the production plan was left to the Manager who made his own contracts. Now the whole plan is made on the farm. He retains 50 - 60 per cent of the net profits to be used or reinvested on the farm as he sees fit.

The farm is fairly highly mechanised with 15 corn combines, 10 wheat combines and 100 tractors (in 15 h.p. units). There are three drying plants and 50 kms. of narrow-gauge railroad. Fertiliser dressing and pesticides are applied by airplanes of the Ministry of Agriculture. There are 24 aircraft available to the ministry, of which two are used on this farm. Nevertheless, 140 draught horses are still kept.

The Nagy Berek is a prime example of the impact of socialist



Figure 15:: Nagy Berek State Farm Drainage Canal



Figure 16, 1 Nagy Berek State Farm - Pumping Station



Figure 17 : Nagy Berek State Farm - Machine Repair Shops



Figure 18 : Nagy Berek State Farm - Cattle Barns



Figure 19: Nagy Berek State Farm - Administrative Buildings.

policies on the landscape. It was founded in 1950 and since that time has transformed a largely unused marsh into a productive area. While in size it is not unlike the old estates, and technologically it is not vastly different from a large capitalist farm, it has been productive of a somewhat distinctive geographical expression. This distinctiveness is particularly evident in the settlement pattern both on the farm itself and in the village. The farm buildings and lay-out reflect the social character of the institution, including the rather top heavy bureaucracy characteristic of socialist management, the communal rather than individual nature of services and facilities, and the conscious paternalism of the authorities. Housing is provided on the farm for contracted labour, both for families and single persons; and there are central dining and recreation facilities. The village of Balatonfenyves with a population of 2,544 in 1964, has changed principally in the provision of new housing and social facilities.

Producers' Cooperatives:

According to Marxist-Leninist theory, collectivisation is the sine qua non of any socialist system and regardless of temporary setbacks, it is held to stimulate economic growth. Marxist-Leninist writers stress that:

1. collectivisation frees the labour force needed to accelerate industrialisation;
2. it creates the preconditions for an adjustment to large scale farming;
3. it improves the living standard of the rural population, and
4. in the long run, benefits accrue to all other segments of the national economy due to the expansion of the

purchasing power of both farm enterprises and the farm population. 3a

There is some confusion about the term "cooperative farming". In its Western concept it means the voluntary association of farms, but the producers' cooperatives in the socialist system are the result of more or less direct government intervention. In 1966, there were 3,278 cooperatives in Hungary, cultivating about 5 million holds. Upon the formation of a cooperative farm the peasants joining it turn over for common use part of their means of production, i.e., land, animals, farm buildings and equipment, while the rest is left in their hands for private management and small scale husbandry. The means of production that are added together constitute the common property of the cooperative farm, while the means of production that are left for the individual use serve as a foundation for the household plots of the cooperative farmers.<sup>4</sup>

Due to preferences inherent in the national planning system, inventories on state farms represent four times as high a value as those on cooperatives. In the course of their development, many cooperatives have run into debt to such a degree that they are unable to meet their obligations toward the state. This particularly applies to the 1,300 so-called "weak" cooperatives which have been able to pay their members only with the help of considerable state subsidies. In a recent press conference, Ferenc Erdei, Director of the Agricultural Research

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<sup>3a</sup> See for example Rezső Nyers, The Cooperative Movement in Hungary, (Budapest, Pannonia, 1963), p. 156 ff.

<sup>4</sup> G. Varga, "The Household Plot", The New Hungarian Quarterly, VII, 23, 1966, p. 7.

Institute, provided the following information about the status of cooperatives members.<sup>5</sup> There are 1.1 million members, 800,000 of whom participate in the production process, while the others are retired or inactive for health reasons. Out of the 800,000 as many as 300,000 are permanently employed in animal husbandry, while 500,000 are temporary workers in plant production.<sup>6</sup> In 1963, the proportion of male workers over 50 years of age was 63 per cent compared with 37 per cent in the age bracket 20 - 49.

The main income of cooperative members flows from two sources, collective farm operation and household plots. The net income of farm operations is distributed to individual members, while family income consists of this amount plus the income from the household plot and other sources. Accordingly official reports distinguish between "personal income" and "family income" (Table 14). The remuneration system for cooperative members has been subject to numerous experiments. At first, the Soviet-Russian "labour-unit" (troudoden) concept was adopted. This determines the member's income on the basis of the gross income of the enterprise measured by the fulfilment of the official plan, after deducting various kinds of actual and alleged costs. Although the total risk of the operation was thus carried by the member, he was given little incentive to work hard. Since 1960, Hungarian planners have tested many systems including sharecropping, hourly wages, labour-unit calculation or combinations of all of these.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Magyar Nemzet, April 29, 1967.

<sup>6</sup> Mezőgazdasági Statisztikai Zsebkönyv, 1964, p. 271.

<sup>7</sup> Fred A. Dohrs, op. cit., p. 29.

TABLE 14

Source of Family Income in Cooperatives - Hungary - 1959-1964  
(Income of Average Family in Current Forints)

Source of Income	1959		1960		1961		1962		1963		1964	
	Income	% of total	Income	% of total	Income	% of total	Income	% of total	Income	% of total	Income	% of total
Collective farming	11,400	55.3	8,400	49.4	7,800	45.6	9,000	48.4	10,000	49.8	10,400	47.6
Household plot	9,200	44.7	8,600	50.6	9,300	54.4	9,600	51.6	10,100	50.2	11,400	52.4
Total	20,600	100.0	17,000	100.0	17,000	100.0	18,600	100.0	20,100	100.0	21,800	100.0

Source: G. Varga, "The Household Plot", The New Hungarian Quarterly, VII, 23, 1966 , pp. 7-23.

According to Vági, the gross production of "good" cooperatives is on the average almost twice as much as that of the "weak" ones.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, in 1964 the annual income of a member was 8,811 forints in the "weak" 11,629 in the "average" and 15,007 forints in the "good" category.<sup>9</sup>

It is often said by economists that productivity is very low on the cooperatives. However, the extremely complicated spatial structure of the cooperative system precludes a precise assessment of labour productivity, although some data is available about estimated land productivity. Both gross and net output per unit of land in the cooperatives is considerably below the national average and, of course, is much less than that on the state farms. The net output per unit on the household plots substantially exceeds the corresponding data for cooperatives, state farms and the national average. In other words, land productivity appears highest on the household plots. The simple conclusion that the plots are more efficient is nevertheless somewhat misleading.<sup>10</sup>

The development of cooperatives in Somogy, together with the further development of the state farms has resulted in substantial changes in land use, as the following table indicates:

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<sup>8</sup>F. Vági, "Mezőgazdasági kulöbözeti jövedelem," Közgazdasági Szemle, XIII, 1963, pp. 539-552.

<sup>9</sup>There are 1400-1500 "average", 500-600 "good" and about 1200 "weak" cooperatives, Fred A. Dohrş, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>10</sup>This study is not primarily concerned with such economic judgments. Readers interested in the fallacies inherent in most comparisons of collective and private agriculture will find an excellent analysis in J. Tepicht, "La discussion sur le transformation de l'agriculture en Pologne", Recherches Internationales, XLI, Bordeaux, 1967.

TABLE 15

Changes in Land Use - Somogy County - 1931 and 1963

(in percentages)

Crops	Sown Area 1931	Sown Area 1963
Bread grains	39.5	20.8
Fodder grains	12.7	12.4
Corn	18.5	25.4
Potatoes	6.8	7.7
Sugarbeets	0.6	1.7
Rough Fodder	16.4	20.4
Greens	0.1	1.5

Source: I. Honfi, et al., op.cit., p.52.

The change has been primarily in the direction of the intensification of crop production but there have also been increases in livestock densities, particularly hogs.

TABLE 16

Density of Animals - Somogy County - 1935 and 1964

(per 100 holds of ploughland)

Animals	1935	1964	1964 as % of 1935
Cattle	22.8	28.1	105.7
Hogs	58.2	74.4	127.8
Horses	10.9	3.8	34.9
Sheep	24.1	25.1	104.1

Source: I. Honfi, et.al., op.cit., p.54.

The decrease in the number of horses reflects, of course, the increasing mechanisation of agriculture. Soil improvements are carried out annually on some 10 - 12,000 holds and there is increasing use of fertilisers, pesticides and irrigation equipment. These changes are dealt with in greater detail below.

Three Examples of Cooperative Farms:The English literature suggests that one of the greatest temptations in considering socialist agriculture is to generalise about the productive possibilities of the cooperatives. While some such generalisations are useful and even necessary, it is important to realise that cooperatives vary greatly throughout Hungary and even within one county such as Somogy. The variations derive from the physical conditions, the labour situation, the availability of capital, managerial skill and technical resources. It is on these factors that the classification "good", "average" and "weak" is ultimately based. To illustrate the variations in Hungarian agriculture, three farms have been selected from three different geographical regions within Somogy, each one representing a different category of development. They show in more detail the changes in land-use discussed above and also the difficulties of adequate generalisation. The following descriptions are in general terms; the farms are later examined in detail for purposes of comparison.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>The general information about these farms was obtained in the course of several visits to the area. The statistical material was taken from the files of the Institute for the Development of Production at Keszthely and augmented by personal interviews with farm managers and their staffs.

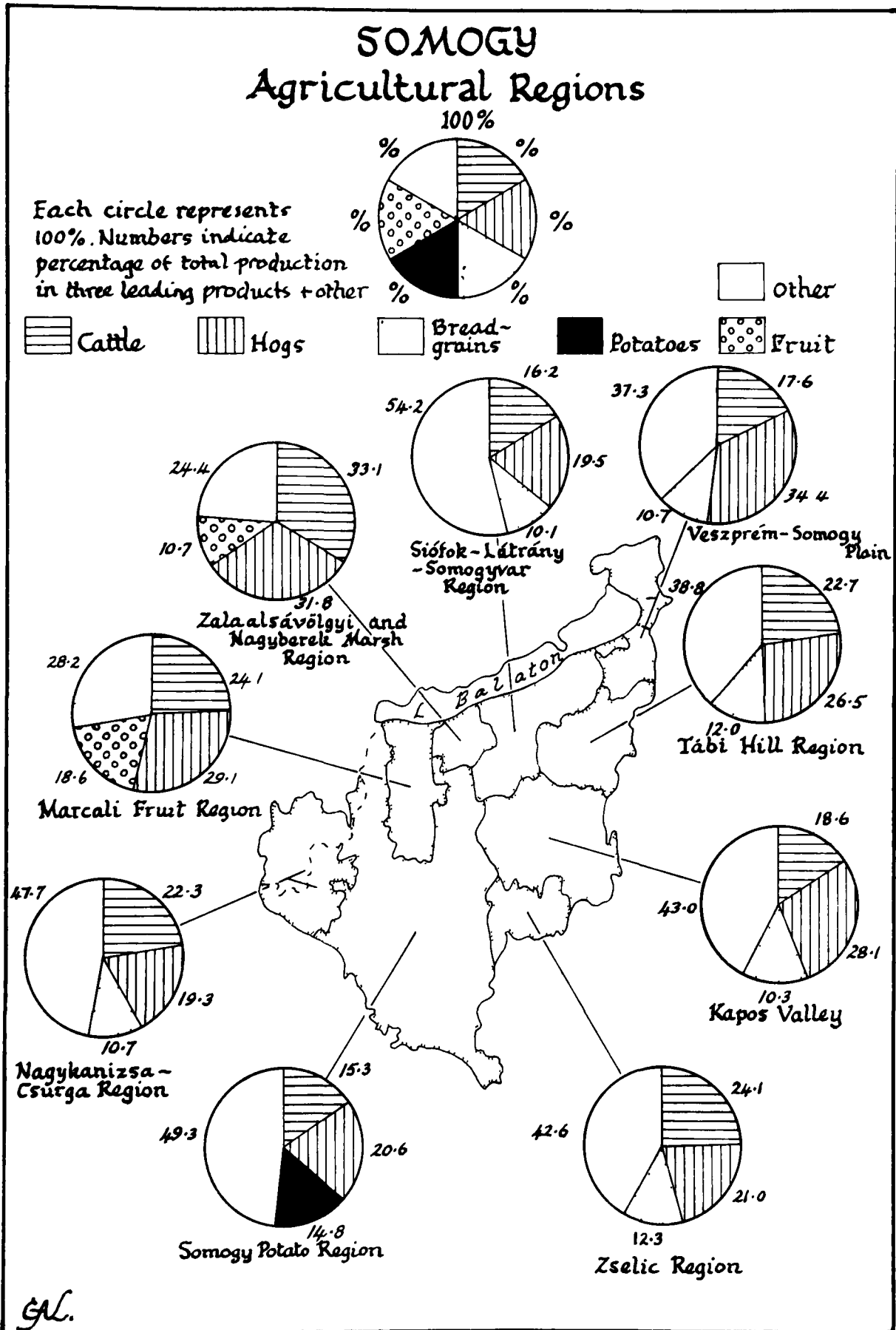


Figure 20

Source: L. Nagy and T. Faragó, A délnyugatdunántúli termelőszövetkezetek 1964. évi üzemgazdasági eredményei, (Veszprém, 1966).

TABLE 17  
 Composition of Ploughland Production -  
 Special Study Areas - 1967

Crops	Kadarkút	Kospula	Kéthely
	(in percentages)		
Breadgrains	29.0	30.5	31.6
Fodder grains	9.3	16.9	13.8
Corn	18.6	29.2	19.4
Sugar Beets	-	3.4	5.0
Tobacco	1.6		-
Potatoes	12.9	2.6	1.1
Perennial legumes	11.1	5.3	13.8
Fodder Plants	10.1	7.1	7.7
Others	7.4	5.0	7.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Keszthely Institute for the Development of Production, unpublished material.

Kadarkút is a "weak" cooperative and lies in the so-called "potato region" of Inner Somogy (Figure 20). The area is moderately hilly and the bulk of the soils are sandy and acidic, often excessively so. According to the soil utilisation categories of the Keszthely Institute the possibilities for crop production are rather limited. The ploughland

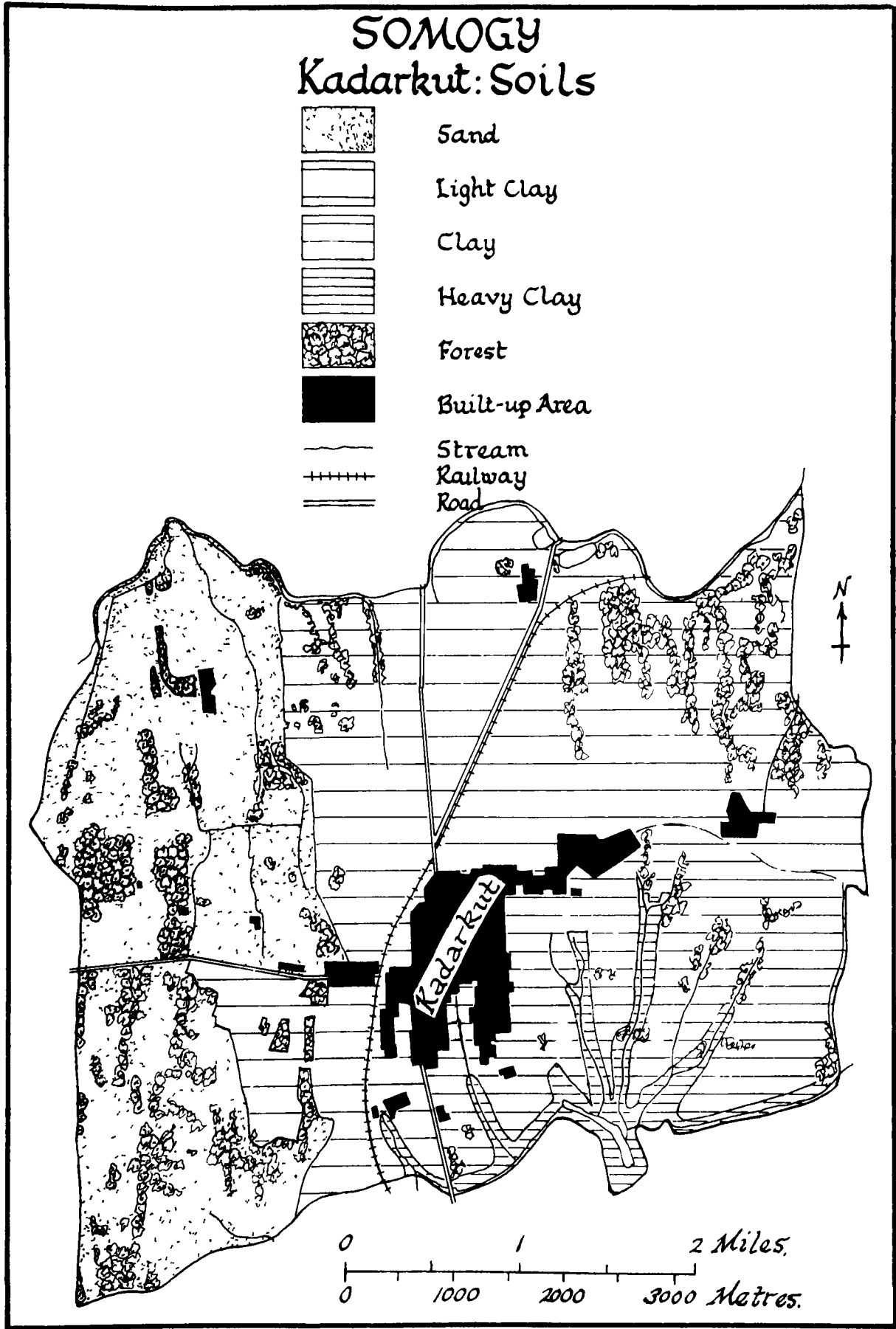


Figure 21

Source: Unpublished Records of Kadarkut Cooperative Farm.

of the area is said to have the following potential in terms of the percentage of the total arable land which may be planted to various crops.

Wheat, corn and red clover. . . . .	38%
Rye, potatoes and lupine. . . . .	20.2%
Rye, potatoes and other clover. . . . .	20%

The annual precipitation is 700-800 cm. and the average annual temperature is 10°C.

The branches of cultivation in the region as a whole are divided as follows in percentages of total arable land.

Ploughland. . . . .	71.7%
Meadow. . . . .	11.8%
Grazing Land. . . . .	13.8%
Garden and Vineyards. . . . .	2.8%

There are 88 cooperatives in the region of which 31 are classified as "good", 43 "average" and 14 "weak". The average size of land for each cooperative is 2,212 holds with an average gross income of 1,464 forints per hold in 1964. Although classed as "weak", Kadarkut is a fairly typical farm of this area.

It was organized in 1949 and reached its present size in 1962. It has 602 members, of whom 503 are workers. However, about 200 of these are pensioners working only ten days or so per year so that the effective labour force is 330. Kadarkut is fairly well mechanized with 21 power machines, including 28 tractor units, or 65.5 holds of arable land per unit. The cooperative has a private machine shop and is well supplied with machine tools. It has, in addition, its own brick works and a wood mill. The arable and meadow percentage is under the county average but that of the pasture exceeds the average by a considerable margin.

# SOMOGY

## Kadarkut: Land Use Pattern

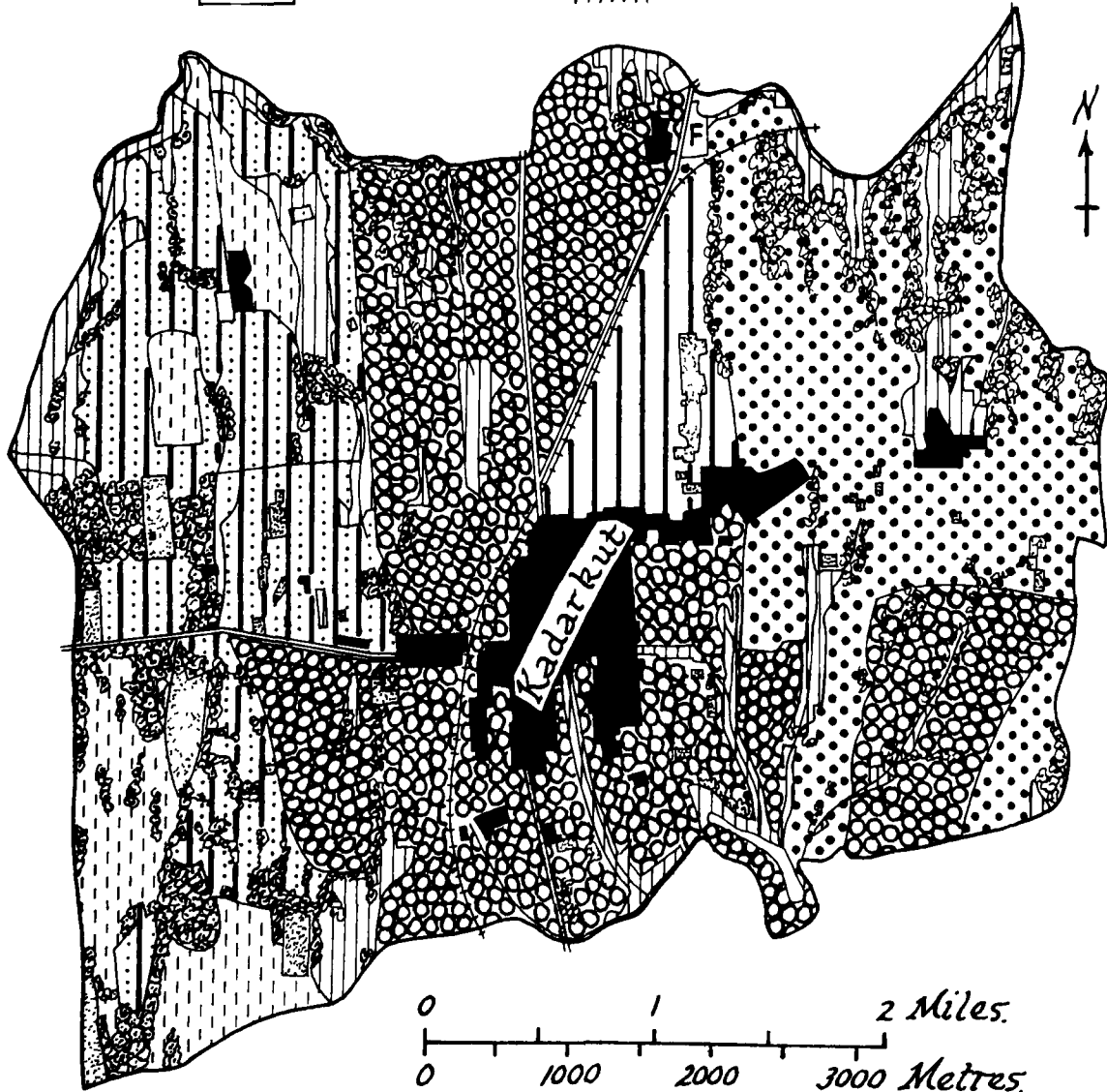
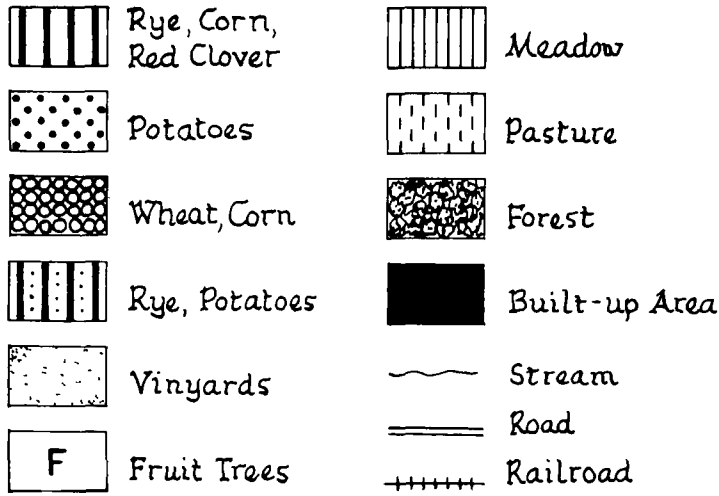


Figure 22

Source: Field Observation and Unpublished Records of Kadarkut Cooperative Farm.

TABLE 18  
Share of the Branches of Cultivation  
Special Study Areas 1967

Type of Cultivation	Kadarkút	Kospúla	Kéthely
	(in percentages)		
Ploughland	71.5	77.4	65.5
Meadows	6.3	14.1	16.8
Grazing Land	21.3	6.8	13.6
Vineyards	0.3	-	2.8
Orchards	0.6	1.7	1.3
Total Culrivated Area	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cultivated Area	88.1	97.5	93.6
Forest	11.4	2.5	5.6
Fishpond- Reeds	0.5		0.8
Total Productive Area	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Keszthely Institute for the Development of Production, unpublished material.

The share of wheat and maize produced on the excessively acid soil of the area is far below the national average, while that of potatoes and tobacco is far above it. The average yields of potatoes and tobacco also exceed the national average. Seed-potatoes are produced on two-thirds of the area devoted to potatoes and give yields of 29 quintals per hold. The management intends to increase the sown area of both potatoes and tobacco. Some 56.4 standard animals are kept per 100 holds of arable land on the cooperative and private plots

together which is average for the area. The density of standard animals is 41.4 per 100 holds of agricultural land.

TABLE 19

Stock Breeding - Special Study Areas 1967

Type of Animals	Kadarkút	Kospula	Kéthely
Cattle	797	503	515
of which: Cows	200	179	101
Hogs	1158	777	534
Sheep	611		
Horses	137	67	88

Source: Keszthely Institute for the Development of Production, unpublished material.

Kospula is an "average" cooperative and lies in the Kapos Valley Agricultural Region in the northeast part of Kaposvari district. The area is gently rolling with an average elevation above sea level of 150 -300 metres, although the valley of the river is flat. The productivity of the soils is good in comparison with those of Kadarkut. They are mainly calciferous and neutral adobe (loess) with only a few areas of sand. Thus, 52.4 per cent of the ploughland is classified as suitable for wheat, corn or red clover and 21.5 per cent for wheat, sugar beets and alfalfa. The average annual precipitation is 650 - 700 mm. but in most years it is higher than this. The mean annual temperature is 10°C.

There are 45 cooperatives in the region of which 15 are classified as "good", 17 as "average" and 13 as "weak". The average farm size is 2,026 holds with a gross income in 1964 of 1,786 forints per hold.

The Kospula Cooperative was organized at the beginning of

# SOMOGY

## Kapospula: Land Use Pattern

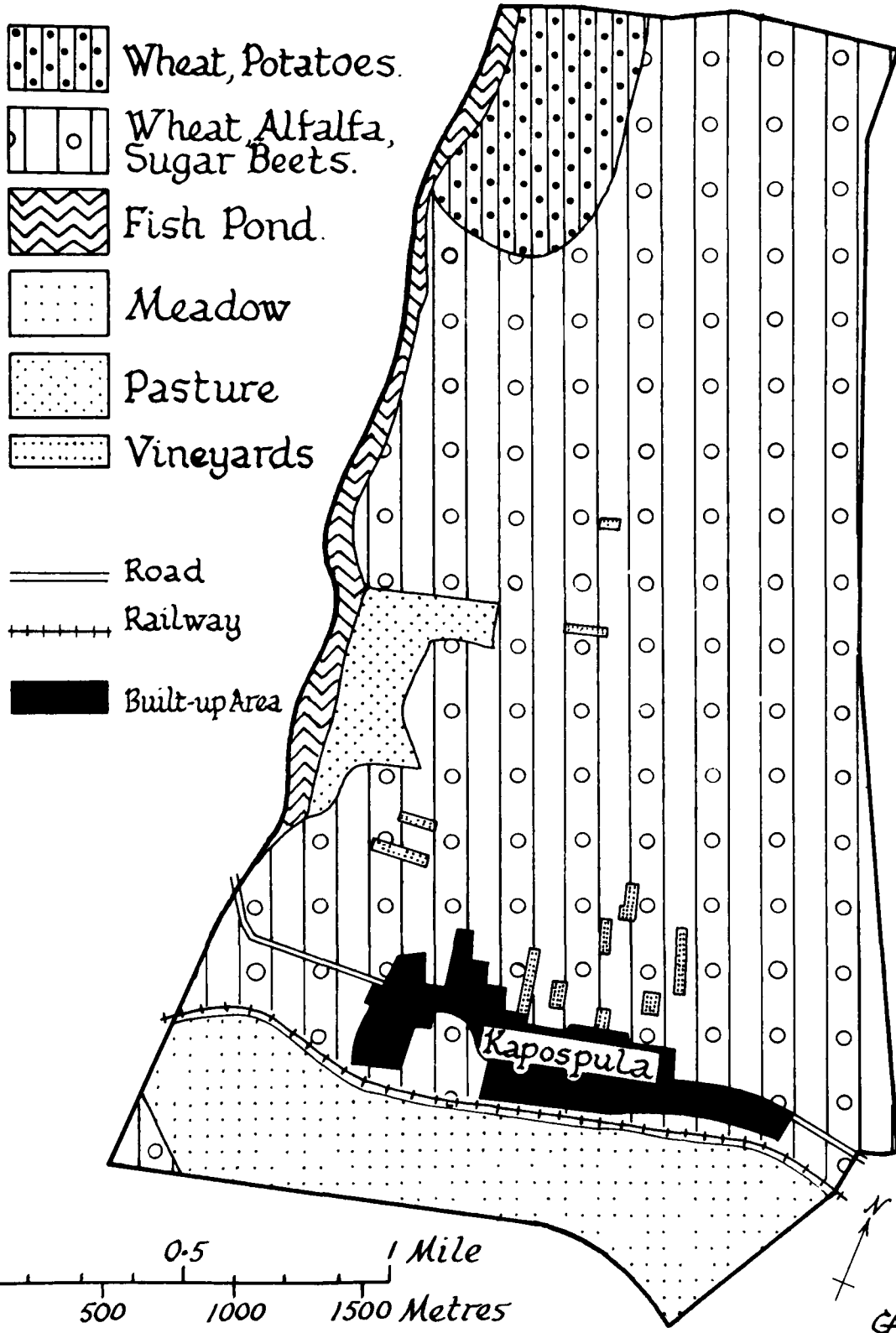


Figure 23

Source: Field Observation and Unpublished Records of Kapospula Cooperative Farm.

1959 and has 354 members, and a labour force of 290. The share of arable land and meadow in the agricultural area is above the national average, while that of pasture is under it. The percentage of sown areas and average yields of wheat, barley, maize and sugar beet exceed the national averages. The cereal forage production is particularly high with maize, barley and oats occupying 45 cent of the arable land. Cereal and rough forage production, together with meadow, makes possible a relatively high production of livestock. The majority of livestock consists of cattle and hogs with 66 standard animals per 100 holds of arable land which is 25 per cent over the county average. The density of animals is 51.8 per 100 holds agricultural area but as high as 200 on the private plots alone.

Kéthely, a "good" cooperative, is situated in the Marcali Fruit Region among the hill chains of the central Marcali district. The average elevation of the hills is 200 - 300 metres and soil conditions are generally favourable to agriculture. There is, however, a great variety; clays and acidic adobe (loess) soils are common but sand occupies 16.4 per cent of the agricultural land, calciferous soils 28.8 per cent and bog soils 14.4 per cent in the area adjacent to the Nagy Berek. Seventy per cent of the area is classified as suitable for wheat, corn and red clover. Average annual precipitation is 650 - 750 mm. and the mean annual temperature 10<sup>0</sup>C.

There are 15 cooperatives in the region of which 4 are "good", 6 "average" and 5 "weak". The average size of farms is 2,779 holds with a gross income of 1,482 forints per hold.

The Kéthely farm has 620 members and a labour force of 350; the remaining members are pensioners. The total area of the farm's plough-

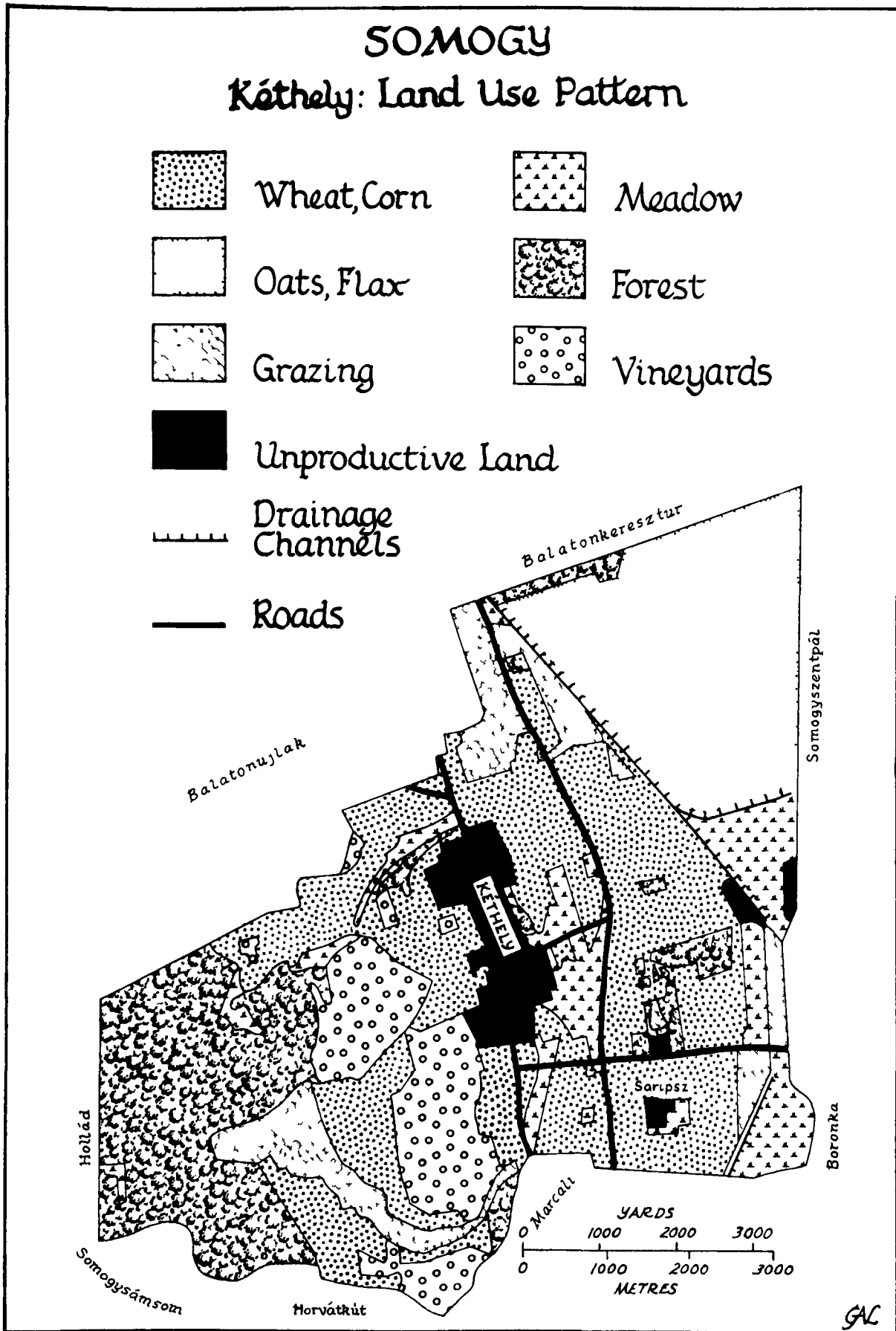


Figure 24.

Source: Field Observation and Unpublished Records of Kéthely Cooperative Farm.

land is 1,037 holds of which 60 per cent is devoted to fodder crops, of which 29 per cent is in wheat, yielding 16.8 quintals per hold.

The farm owns 3 combines and the wheat operation is almost completely mechanized. The vineyards are also being reorganized to permit mechanisation and this work is already far advanced (Figure 19). Forty-eight per cent of the income of the farm is derived from the raising of livestock.

Household Plots:

The agricultural policy of socialist countries has recognised the need for private plots in cooperatives and has maintained or even strengthened them over time. In Hungary, the size of an average household plot is one hold, plus 0.28 holds for vineyard, orchard or garden. There is an organic link between the cooperatives and the household plots, since the head of the family can acquire a plot only by participating for at least one year in cooperative work. The economic and political significance of household plots lies in their intensive production of goods for domestic and foreign markets, and in the supply of food for the members of the collective farm. Their output accounts for an average of 23 per cent of total agricultural production although, for the period 1961 through 1964, their share amounted to only 12.6 per cent of all arable land and to 53 per cent of all gardens, orchards and vineyards. Time and again officials have attacked the existence of the household plot considering it an alien element in the socialist body, and leaders of collective farms often worry about the attachment of members to their private plots. However, leading Hungarian economists have pointed out the importance of the plots and

have even advocated greater state support for them. For example, G. Varga<sup>12</sup> indicates that from 1961 through 1964 the share of household plots in the national income from agriculture averaged 30 per cent. He has also shown that both plant production and animal husbandry is much more intensive in the household plots than on either the state farms or the producers' cooperatives.

The relation between the cooperatives and the private plots in animal husbandry is particularly striking as indicated in the following figures for Somogy:

TABLE 20  
Distribution of Animals in Relation to Agricultural Area  
Somogy - 1960

Type of Farm	Area	Animals
(in percentages of total)		
Cooperatives	60.7	25.5
Household Plots	8.8	45.2
State Farms	11.4	13.2
Others	6.7	0.2
Private and Auxiliary Farms	12.4	15.7
	100.0	100.0

Source: Béla Gertig, "Somogy megye Mezőgazdasági Földrajza" Földrajzi Közlemények, X, 1, 1962, p. 63.

The relatively intensive nature of household plot production is apparent but is even more striking in absolute terms. There are 9.9 standard animals per 100 holds on the collective land and 122 on the household plots in Somogy.

<sup>12</sup>G. Varga, op. cit., p.93.



Figure 25: Kéthely: Vineyard Designed for Mechanised Operation

As a result the plots produce 52 per cent of the cattle, 51 per cent of the pigs, 24 per cent of the horses and 15 per cent of the sheep. Expressed in value terms, this makes the plots appear highly productive per unit and even in relation to labour and capital. It should be remembered, however, that the cooperatives produced 77.7 per cent of the bread grains in 1960 and a high proportion of the fodder which are inputs into the private plot livestock industry.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the peasants are able to take advantage of marginal methods and marginal labour on the plots, although these are unlikely to provide a long-term solution to production problems.<sup>14</sup>

TABLE 21

Production Value per Hold According to Type of Farm - Hungary -1964

	State Farms	Cooperative Farms		National Average
		Common Farming	Household Plots	
	(forints)			
Value of production on ploughland	5,257	5,027	6,714	5,173
Value of production in gardens and orchards	12,305	11,674	14,903	13,608
Value of production in vineyards	32,200	25,139	31,857	28,139
Value of animal husbandry on agricultural land	4,287	1,827	14,603	4,441
Total value of plant cultivation on agricultural land	5,403	5,247	10,153	5,985
Total value of agricultural production on agricultural land	9,690	7,074	24,756	10,426

Source: The New Hungarian Quarterly, VII, 3, 1966, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup>See Footnote 10, p. 73

<sup>14</sup>F.Fekete, G.Varga and M. Némethi, "Household Plots of Cooperative Peasants in Hungary", Papers on Some Problems of the Hungarian Village, II, Bulletin 15, Research Institute for Agricultural Economics, Budapest, 1967, pp. 5-48.

The household plot operators sell their surplus on the free market direct to consumers or to the official state purchasing authorities. There are no statistics available about goods sold on the free market, but it is probable that the gradually increased inflow of tourists has augmented the volume of free sales significantly. Table 22 shows the share of household plots in the most important products in state purchases.

TABLE 22

Share of Household Plot Products in State Purchases of  
Selected Farm Products - Hungary- 1960-1963

Farm Product	1960	1961	1962	1963
	(in percentages)			
Potatoes	10.3	12.5	3.4	4.1
Vegetables	1.7	5.3	3.3	2.4
Fruits	18.7	14.0	23.0	16.5
Wine	2.2	11.0	16.3	15.5
Cattle	16.7	19.2	15.4	11.1
Hogs	17.9	29.0	27.8	27.6
Poultry	33.1	29.2	18.5	15.5
Eggs	42.2	58.5	52.8	50.9
Milk	25.7	29.8	28.6	30.9

Source: I. Sándor, A mezőgazdasági termékek központi készletgyűjtésének forrásai, Közgazdasági Szemle, XII, 7-8, 1965, p.945.

Since state purchases determine the supply to the domestic and export markets, it is apparent that the household plot production plays an important role in the economy.

Since 1964-65 there has been a remarkable decline in the physical

and monetary volume of household plot production. The causes are numerous, including the off-farm migration of young people, the hostile attitude of collective farm managers and the over-utilisation of tools and equipment. Nevertheless, the most important and common source of decline is the lack of investment funds and consequently the lack of purchased inputs such as machinery, fertilizers, pesticides and the like.

The new economic mechanism promises to strengthen support for household plot operations, but the wisdom of this is doubtful. The Agricultural College at Keszthely recently carried out a study of 52 private plots of which 11 were in Somogy County; the remainder were in the neighbouring counties of Zala, Veszprém and Vas.<sup>15</sup> It was found that the average size of family was 4.4 persons of whom 50 per cent worked regularly on the cooperatives. Altogether the members spent about half of their working time in the cooperatives, about one quarter on their private plots and the remainder elsewhere.

The private plots consisted primarily of ploughland and vineyards with an average area of one hold. Maize (53 per cent) and potatoes (24 per cent) took up most of the ploughland, reflecting the importance of animal husbandry. The number of standard animals per household plot was 2.4 with cattle predominating. This emphasis on stock has resulted in heavy demands on the fodder supplies of the cooperatives. For each household plot the cooperatives needed to put aside an equal area of ploughland and two-thirds as much grassland. Pastures were also made

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<sup>15</sup>J. Németh, Working and Income Conditions of 52 Household Farms in South-West Transdanubia, (Keszthely Agricultural College, 1968).

available for private stock but no figures were available. As a result, the provision of fodder for household livestock tied down about 3 holds of cooperative land not counting pasture. In considering the spatial structure of the cooperative system, these facts are of the utmost importance, particularly with regard to the comparative productivity of the cooperative and the household sector. The simple fact is that they must be regarded as a unit, or at the very least as a single system.

Of the 41,000 forint average annual income of families in this region, over 50 per cent was derived from the cooperatives, 33 per cent came from the household plot and the remainder from elsewhere.

"Working-hours per work unit amount to 5.59; work unit per working-hour is 0.18. The cash value of one work unit was 28.56 forints on the average, of which 24 per cent were in kind, and 76 per cent were in cash. The cash value of one work unit per working-hour was 5.10 forints."<sup>16</sup>

Over 80 per cent of the income derived from household plots came from livestock, and over half of this from cattle. Only in the wine producing areas was the cultivation of plants of major importance.

It thus seems clear that the household plots play an important part in supporting the cooperative family. Eighty per cent of the product consumed by families comes from this source and permits a relatively high dietary standard (4,015 calories per person per day and 127 grammes of protein). In addition, 1,500 forints on the average are spent annually by each family on clothes and consumer durables.

The Keszthely study recommended the doubtful proposition that other household plots in the county should be enlarged to be equal in

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

size to those studied. The doubt arises from the attitude of the younger generation to working on the plots. While the older peasants are prepared to work long hours on their own land, younger men tend to prefer regular hours and large-scale, mechanised operations. On the "weak" collectives there is evidence of a lingering attachment to private farming, but the "good" collectives find a decreasing interest in this activity. Young men prefer to have a regular wage, to watch television in the evening, to visit a nearby town and to buy "processed" foods. For these "social" reasons the days of the private plots seem to be numbered, although their life expectancy varies greatly from region to region. Impressive as the figures for private production may be it is hard to envisage the system lasting in an increasingly capital intensive urbanised society. Their contribution is reminiscent of "digging for Britain" which may be well in an emergency but can hardly represent the wave of the future.

Private Farms:

Privately owned farms occupy an insignificant part of Hungarian agricultural land, but their output in fruits, vegetables and beef cattle is out of proportion to their area. The maximum legal size of each private farm is one hold, but in practice most individual peasant families work on five or seven holds of arable land. There are about 140,000 families on these farms, the owners of which have avoided collectivisation for a variety of reasons, including particularly the inaccessibility of their land.

Much of the private farming is confined to hilly areas which have been traditionally occupied by smallholders, while the large estates took up the more level and therefore better land. At the time of collectivisation these areas were largely ignored by the socialist planners. Where collectivisation was tried it was much less successful than elsewhere; Enyedi notes that cooperative farms in these areas in 1961 had incomes 25-30 per cent below the national average. These poor results were partly because of a deficiency of labour input and partly because of poor physical conditions, especially erosion. Difficulties of transportation and the limited amount of agricultural land in each village added to the problem. As a result, many of these areas have been allowed to stagnate. Presumably, as more capital becomes available, efforts will be made to draw them into the socialised system. Other scattered private farms in the vicinity of towns are likely to continue indefinitely as fairly profitable market gardens and the like.

A special kind of private farm is the "complementary farm plot" which includes the land given to some civil servants (state farm, machine pool and forestry workers, and village teachers). These farms, which consist of one hold each have not been taken into public ownership because of their small size and odd locations. The total number of farms belonging to these groups is about half a million and they provide additional income to about the same number of families.

Table 23 shows that the privately cultivated area is a very small part of total land and indeed its share in grain production is insignificant. It plays, however, an important role in livestock production, including 7 per cent of all cattle, 17 per cent of all hogs and 36 per cent of all poultry recorded in 1965. Vegetable production and garden-

ing have shown an upward trend in this sector, and it seems that eventually their activities will be restricted to this kind of production.

TABLE 23

Arable Land - Total and Privately Cultivated -  
Hungary - 1965

Type of Cultivation	Total	Private Farms	Complementary Farm Plots
	(1,000 holds)		
Area	6,979.8	211.0	235.4
Field Land	5,086.2	157.8	129.8
Gardens and Orchards	309.5	14.4	62.5
Vineyards	242.6	14.1	25.5
Grassland and Pasture	1,341.6	24.7	13.8

Source: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1966.

Patterns of Administration:

The difficulties with the socialist administration of agriculture derive from two principal sources which embody the essential paradox of the socialist dream. First, there is the emphasis on planning which suggests the direction of the whole complex mechanism of a modern society from the centre. Secondly, there is the essential gentleness of the system which refuses to leave anyone out. Whereas in other systems, the farmer who chooses bad land, or is otherwise deficient, is simply allowed to fail, the socialists insist on including all of the families of the village in the cooperative enterprise. These two notions go far to explain the extremely top heavy nature of the agricultural administration in Hungary and the excessively large labour

force.

It is naive to assume that the Hungarian agricultural establishment has not been aware of this dilemma. It is only recently, however, that concrete measures have been introduced to resolve it. These measures are embodied in the New Economic Mechanism which was formally instituted in January, 1968. As early as August, 1965, however, the authorities had begun to modify the extremely rigid mechanism of agricultural planning which had obtained in the fifties.<sup>17</sup>

At that time, farms were relieved of the necessity of responding to the production guide lines of county and district authorities. Instead they were permitted to make their own production plans with the exception of those relating to bread grains which were still made by decree from the centre. Since that time there has been a gradual diminution of the direct interference of the central authorities in local agricultural affairs.

This process of decentralisation was particularly reinforced by the passage of Laws No. 3 and 4 in the autumn of 1967.<sup>18</sup> These laws were concerned respectively with the "agricultural producers' cooperatives" and with the "development of the ownership and use of the land". They constituted an "organic part of the New Economic Mechanism". They freed the cooperatives from the interference of state agencies; they instituted measures designed to ensure the availability of adequate and

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<sup>17</sup> Keletmagyarország (Nyiregyháza), August 25, 1965, quoted in Kiss Sándor, "Hungarian Agriculture under the NEM", East Europe, XVII, 5, August, 1968, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> S. Kiss, "Hungarian Agriculture Under the NEM", East Europe, XV11, 8, p.12.

dependable manpower; and they sought to rid the farms of non-working, "fictitious" members. In addition, provision was made for the cooperatives to own their own land.

The impact of these measures at the local level has been far-reaching. For the first time, there is a mechanism whereby the cooperatives can consolidate their control over their own land, reduce their membership and manage their assets on the basis of local resources and initiative. This process of change is apparent in Somogy where the initiation of the "New Mechanism" has set in motion a new set of forces which bid fair to revolutionise the rural scene.

From 1 January, 1968, each cooperative farm in Somogy became a separate, largely independent entity. Previously, the county council, which maintained a staff of some 228 agricultural administrators, handed down targets to the 225 cooperative farms of the county. Now farm managers are to make their own plans. Approximately 600 million forints of cooperative farm debts have been liquidated and provision is being made for regular wages to be paid up to 80 per cent of the previous year's payments and pension schemes are being made comparable with those in industry. All these measures and others are designed to increase the efficiency of agriculture and to stop the drift of the young people to the towns.

The cooperatives are being asked to form regional associations with several farms in each which will be responsible for study and recommendations concerning local problems of production and sales. The number of agricultural administrators in the county offices has been reduced from 228 to 122. The county council will retain authority over major construction, animal hygiene and plant protection, but in general

its administrative role will be greatly reduced. Throughout the recent discussion of these changes, the autonomy of the collective has been emphasised as the following quotation illustrates:

"The new agricultural cooperative law defines the agricultural cooperative in a much more substantial and complex manner than did the former law. This difference is of key significance, since it shows both the extent of the evolution which has taken place in the collectives since the beginning of 1959 and the impact of new law upon its future role and way of operation. Thus, the new law not only states that the cooperative is a "socialist agricultural large estate", created through the voluntary association of its members and their property, but one which conducts independent, enterprise-like activity in agreement with the interests of the national economy. This activity is based on the property of the cooperative, the work of its members, and the combination of the collective farm and the private plots. It operates within a system of cooperative democracy and brings about the social unity and socialist education of its members".<sup>19</sup>

The functions of the regional associations are as follows:

"The First National Congress of Cooperatives met in April, 1967, and set in motion the formation of the cooperatives' social organizations, one of whose principal task is to guarantee the protection of the collectives' interest. The other principal task of social organizations also directly follows from the conditions created by NEM. The independence guaranteed for each and every agricultural cooperative does not mean that they will be wholly independent of one another. Collectives which exist side by side in the same agricultural region, characterized by common conditions (which seldom coincide with the administrative boundaries of the districts) should pay attention to their neighbours and mutually coordinate their economic activities in order to exploit their natural and economic resources to the full. In the past, such coordination was imposed from "without" and from "above" mainly through the "operational" interference of the district councils."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Radio Free Europe, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

In 1967, there were 225 cooperative farms in Somogy of which 37 were classified as "good", 115 as "average" and 73 as "weak". In 1968 this number was reduced to 206 and it is anticipated that it will be further reduced in 1969 to 191.<sup>21</sup> This process of consolidation occurs through the linking up of the more prosperous farms with those that are in trouble. It is difficult to forecast how far the process will go over the next few years, but it seems likely that under the New Law there will be some further amalgamation as the most successful farms seek to expand their operations, and as the members of the "weak" cooperatives seek the benefits of better management and larger resources.

There appears to be general agreement that these changes have had a beneficial effect on both agricultural production and on the general atmosphere in the villages. The gap between agricultural and industrial incomes is shrinking and there are some signs of a move back to the countryside. The reaction of farm managers in particular has been favourable and although some of them are reluctant to make full use of their new found freedom, it seems likely that as they gain confidence they will take increasing advantage of market opportunities. There is, in short, an atmosphere of renaissance in the Hungarian countryside with the more active managers taking obvious pride in successful initiatives and boasting particularly about rewarding "deals" which they have made.

The most important feature of the new economic mechanism is the transformation of the national planning system. In the past, essential plan ratios and development priorities were determined by one or a few

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<sup>21</sup>Personal communication, Somogy County Council.(See Chapter 5, p.142 ff).

persons. Furthermore, planning was assumed to be an attribute of socialism alone, while production for market demand was regarded as a strictly capitalist phenomenon. Under the new system, the central planning body continues to indicate the targets of national policy, but in the stage of implementation economic means and methods replace imposed administrative decisions.

In principle there are three kind of plans:

1. The long-term plan, generally for fifteen years. It will determine long-term basic objectives (the expansion of international relations, improvement of living conditions, the directions of economic development, etc.).

2. The medium-range plan for five years. It will contain the concrete development tasks and more important investment programs of the five-year period. The regulations stipulate as a basic principle that the plan must be elaborated on the basis of extensive consideration of market conditions.

3. The short-term plan of one year. Its object is to define the tasks of each year within the five-year period, and to modify, as necessary, the individual elements of the longer term provisions.

Obviously, long term plans remain in functional relationship with political goals. Centrally made decisions remain the basis for the scope and execution of economic policy. The essential innovation is the abolition of the so-called "plan breakdown" system which conveyed compulsory guidelines and production indices to the enterprises. This method determined the detailed production program of the enterprises and excluded any kind of initiative as managers were subject to administrative persecution if the programs were not fulfilled. Under

the new system a more flexible form of relationship may develop between the enterprise and the planning body. In the words of Janos Kadar:

"The enterprises will draw up their own plans based on their own market information and on data obtained from central organizations. Direct relations and communications between individual enterprises will become the general rule".<sup>22</sup>

Such a rule is likely to include the acquisition of productive resources through inter-enterprise exchange. In the course of such developments, enterprises gradually obtain a certain kind of independence. Hopefully, an entirely new phenomenon is appearing in the socialist world, referred to by Rezső Nyers, Director of the Economic Reforms in Hungary, as a "socialist manager". Nyers maintains that the socialist manager must have the same qualifications as his capitalist counterpart, that is, professional background, marketing experience, and efficiency in organisational techniques. In addition to this, however, he must be able to get along with Party executives, labour unions and various political organisations.<sup>23</sup>

The independence of enterprises and the decision making power of managers greatly depend upon the future role of the Party. While stressing the independence of the enterprises and the need for efficient management both the Central Committee and Nyers emphasize the leading role of the Party.

The independence of enterprises and the importance of market behaviour is reflected in the provisions of the new price policy. The

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<sup>22</sup>J. Kádár, "Report to the Ninth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party!", Népszabadság, November 29 1966, translated .

<sup>23</sup>R. Nyers, "A magyar gazdaság a mérlegen", Népszabadság, March 13 1966, translated .

central planning body will determine:

1. Fixed prices for certain raw materials, public utilities, staple foods and probably for some important types of industrial equipment.
2. Minimum and maximum prices for goods of a so-called medium importance.

However, for a group of articles, called "goods of minor importance", prices are to be agreed between production and consumer enterprises. Obviously, all export prices and almost all of the import prices belong in categories 1 and 2.

A Price Control Board and Supply Center have been set up to carry out the new measures dictated by NEM. According to Béla Csikós-Nagy, president of the Price Directorate, separate price systems have been worked out for industry, agriculture and consumers. The price planning system as such will be based on information concerning production cost, purchasing power and market behaviour.

Another consequence of the relative independence of enterprises is the gradually increasing attention paid to the profit position of individual operations. Since Lieberman and Trapeznikov, two Soviet economists, have shown that the concept of profit is an organic element of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, it has been incorporated into socialist economic thinking. This was manifested in the June, 1966 resolution of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party which emphasized the importance of profit as the basis of the material incentives of state enterprises. Furthermore, the resolution stated that the scope afforded the development of an enterprise will depend on its profitability which will also affect considerably the personal

incomes of employees. This means that wage differentials are bound to emerge between enterprises in the same production sector, as well as between workers having different professional skills, efficiency and educational background.

It might also imply a freer movement of manpower between different branches of the economy and different enterprises. The practical application of these principles has already stirred a great deal of controversy. This derives from the orthodox Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the right of the working class in the face of new economic evaluation of efficiency in production. The new Labour Code has given complete freedom for labour mobility and as a consequence some sectors have lost a great part of their labour force and some have unfilled openings. In addition, an undisclosed number of Hungarian workers have left for East Germany, thus compounding the confusion in labour relations. This remains one of the unsettled economic problems of the NEM, as socio-political objectives conflict with economic reasoning.

Another unsolved sector is that of investment. The distribution of investment, that is, the determination of priorities still rests with the central authority. Enterprises may submit suggestions but the selection will be made at the top. The state as sole owner of production resources and the ruler of credit policy will ensure the realisation of centrally prepared objectives by economic means. The regulations of the investment resources and the resulting direct or indirect influence on net income, both of enterprises and individual workers or employees, is one of these means.

It would, of course, be unrealistic to suppose that the new mechanism will rapidly solve all administrative problems. The

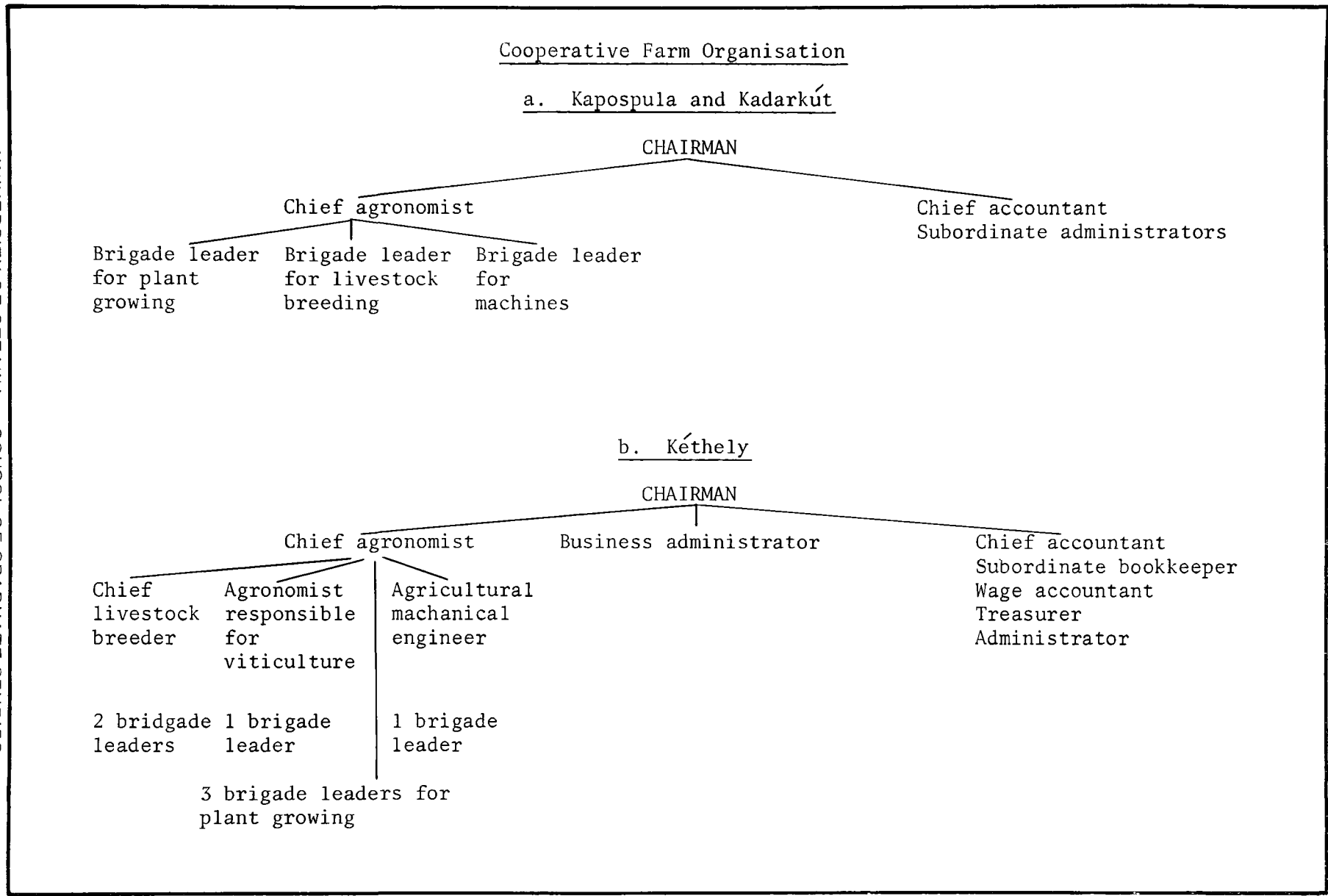


Figure 26

difficulties associated with an excessively large and entrenched bureaucracy are likely to change but slowly. The large, surplus, aging labour force in the countryside will not disappear overnight. Nevertheless, the new measures provide the means to improve management, to consolidate land ownership and to rationalise the labour situation.<sup>24</sup>

The internal pattern of administration for individual farms is fairly standard and is given in Figure 20 for the three farms studied. The Chairman is elected for a four year term which is renewable. The full membership originally met once a quarter but now it meets annually and in the interim business is carried on by a small council and various committees. The day to day running of the farm is in the hands of the agronomist.

There has been much talk recently about the broadening of democracy in the cooperatives. Secret balloting has been stipulated for the election of the leadership and each cooperative has recently passed new basic statutes covering the rights of members and the methods of management. At the same time, there is a paradoxical tendency in the interests of efficiency to enforce procedures which leave the management more free to develop the farm without interference from the membership except at annual meetings. The regulations governing these matters are extremely complex and what really happens depends a great deal on the leadership qualities of a particular Chairman. He must be able to give the membership a sense of participation without allowing the technical aspects of farm management to be hampered by long debate. An interesting example

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<sup>24</sup>Antal Ács, Sándor Bélák, László Kovács, Mezőgazdasági nagyüzemek vezetésének gyakorlata, (Budapest, Mezőgazdasági Kiadó, 1968)  
This volume contains an exhaustive analysis of the problems of socialist management.

of an annual questionnaire used at one farm with this end in view is to be found at Appendix A.

The Changing Use of Land:

The major changes which have taken place in the land-use pattern of Hungary since the advent of Socialism have centered on a decrease in the land under cultivation, a reduction of the area devoted to cereals, particularly bread grains, a diversification of crops, an intensification of production and an increasing regional specialisation.

As Enyedi has pointed out these changes have derived from a number of sources - the general modernisation of agriculture and the urbanisation of the country, the effort to diversify both domestic diet and foreign trade, the need to intensify agriculture for greater returns per unit area and the effects of collectivisation.<sup>25</sup> All of these factors have been closely interrelated in a most complex fashion. It is reasonable to suppose that, at least in the very long term, many of the developments which are noted below would have taken place in any event. There is little doubt, however, that the imposition of socialist policies greatly accelerated the processes of change, although not without much hardship and disruption.

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<sup>25</sup>G. Enyedi, "La collectivisation de l'agriculture hongroise, son contenu humain et économique", op.cit., p.14ff.

These processes are illustrated in detail in the development of the agricultural landscape of Somogy.<sup>26</sup> Here, the proportion of land devoted to agriculture has also decreased between 1935 and the present, and the area used for gardens, forests and for unproductive purposes has correspondingly increased as the following figures indicate:

TABLE 24

Changes in Agricultural Land - Hungary and Somogy - 1935-1960

	Somogy	Hungary
Decrease of agricultural land 1935-1960	3.9%	4.7%
Proportion of agricultural land in total land 1960.	69.3%	76.7%

The proportion of agricultural land is greatest in Outer Somogy and least on the Balatonmellék and on the acidic sands of Inner Somogy. Ploughland, with few exceptions, occupies a larger area than all other branches of cultivation together. Again, its percentage is highest on the favourable forest and steppe soils of Outer Somogy and least in Inner Somogy and on the bog soils of the Balatonmellék.

Meadow, on the other hand, is best developed in the wetter areas and on the acidic sands and bog soils. It occupies over 20 per cent in certain villages of the Nagy Berek. Kisbalaton and in the south eastern part of the Csurgói District where it forms the basis of a well-developed animal husbandry. In other parts of Somogy meadows have the same percentage as the average for Hungary, and in these areas animal husbandry is based largely on grain. Grazing land occupies much the

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<sup>26</sup> Béla Gertig, op. cit., pp.46-52.

same proportion of productive land as meadow. The largest percentage is found in the Nagy Berek and in the Kisbalaton region. In certain villages, however, such as Fonyód, Taska and Vors, it occupies larger areas than ploughland. In Outer Somogy, where the soils are well adapted for crop growing, the percentage, 3 - 7 per cent, is far below the national and county average.

The distribution of gardens shows great variation. The highest percentages are found in the Balatonmellék and in the Csurgói District (2.8 per cent - 2.9 per cent respectively) and they are particularly high in the vicinity of the Balaton resorts because of the large local market. At Balatonboglár, Balatonmária, and at Balatonlelle, for example, 7 - 12 per cent of the land is in gardens, at Fonyód and Siófok 9 per cent and at Balatonföldvár 17.8 per cent. Vineyards occupy only 1.8 per cent as Somogy is one of the only two counties in Transdanubia without an important wine region, the other being Vas. Although the general breakdown in use of agricultural land has not changed greatly since the 1930's (Table 25), the crop structure has changed substantially.

TABLE 25

Changes in Use of Agricultural Land - Somogy - 1935-60

	Ploughland	Garden	Vineyard	Meadow	Pasture	Total
Somogy 1935	73.1	1.5	2.3	10.7	12.4	100.0
Somogy 1960	74.6	2.2	1.8	10.6	10.8	100.0
Hungary 1935	74.0	1.5	2.7	8.8	13.0	100.0
Hungary 1960	74.4	2.6	2.9	6.9	13.2	100.0

Source: B. Gertig, op. cit., p. 49.

In 1931 - 1940, the greater part of the sown area consisted of crops that needed little intensive cultivation. Wheat and rye occupied 39.6 per cent of the sown area, and grains altogether, including fodder, occupied 52.4 per cent while corn occupied 18.5 per cent in second place after wheat.

By 1960 the following changes had taken place:

1. The bread grain area decreased by about 40 per cent.
2. Corn came to occupy first place with 25 per cent of the crop area.
3. Fodder crops altogether expanded to occupy nearly 60 per cent.
4. The growing of industrial crops increased fourfold.
5. Vegetables grew in importance.
6. Plants were introduced that could be used as green manure.
7. The percentage of fallow ploughland increased.

Wheat and rye are the predominant types of bread grains. Their sown area has decreased significantly but this has not been balanced by increased yields. In 1960, the yields of wheat on state farms were 3.7 quintals per hold higher than in the cooperatives and 6.1 quintals higher than on the private farms. However, the yields of wheat in Somogy which in 1930 were 0.6 quintals higher than the national average, had in 1960 dropped below the national average by 0.4 quintals. Yields for rye, however, remain higher than the national average.

In 1960, 77.7 per cent of the bread grain of the county was produced in the cooperatives and the rest was evenly divided among state and private farms. In the cooperatives, bread grains occupy about 30 per cent of the ploughland or 4 per cent more than the national average; in the state and private farms, they occupy about 15 per cent of the

ploughland. Outer Somogy is an important national wheat growing area with high yields, but Inner Somogy is more noted for rye and oats.

Corn is the leading ploughland plant. On the Marcali ridge in Outer Somogy and along the Drava River it occupies large areas, but in the county as a whole its importance is far below the national average. High yields of over 20 quintals per hold are achieved due to the reliable precipitation which provides 70 mm. rain in July, the critical month for the growing of corn.

Fibre-fodder crops are grown mainly in the eastern part of the county where meadows and grazing lands are fewer. The most important crop of this group is red clover and Somogy produces 8.6 per cent of Hungary's total. Its cultivation is increasing because its yields are satisfactory even on poorer soils, but alfalfa, which needs better soils, is grown mainly in Outer Somogy, which is famous for its animal husbandry.

The potato production of Somogy is substantial, particularly on the calcium-poor, sandy soils of Inner Somogy, and within this region there are certain villages where potatoes occupy larger areas than corn and are grown on 15-20 per cent of the ploughland year after year.<sup>27</sup> This is due mainly to soil and precipitation conditions and to the fact that in these areas tobacco is the only other successful cash crop. The average yield of potatoes in Somogy (32.6 quintals per hold) is 34.4 per cent higher than the national average.

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<sup>27</sup>The villages referred to are Bélavár, Barcs, Babócsa, Csokonyavisonta, Darány, Rinyaújlak, and Rinyaújnép.

Tobacco production is of national importance. In 1960 Somogy had 6.7 per cent of the tobacco area of Hungary and 52.7 per cent of the area devoted to tobacco in Transdanubia. The famous Szulok tobacco is grown on 0.3 per cent of the ploughland, 90 per cent of it in Inner Somogy, especially on the humus rich, sandy soils of Barcsi and Nagyatadi Districts and in Marcali. In some villages, for example in Szulok, Mike Lábod, Somogyszob, Böhhönye, it occupies 3 - 5 per cent of all ploughland. Cooperatives produce 71.8 per cent, state farms 18.2 per cent of the crop.

Of the oil producing plants only sunflowers are of any significance. The area sown to them has increased ten times since the war but there is no special growing region as they can be grown on a great variety of soils. Hemp is grown mainly in Outer Somogy and in the Nagy Berek, and flax is significant in Kaposvári, Csurgói and Siófoki Districts.

Somogy is in first place in Transdanubia in the number of fruit trees. However, 94.5 per cent of them are in small gardens and in vineyards so that the area distribution is very uneven. In the city of Kaposvar and in the Csurgói, Fonyódi and Siófoki districts the number of trees per 100 hold of agricultural land is 200 - 400 per cent higher than the national average. It is an important feature of the Balaton tourist region where 75 per cent of the apricots, peaches, pears, walnuts and cherries are found. The Csurgói district is famous for its apple production and has about 20 per cent of Somogy's apple trees.

These general changes and patterns are reflected in the different structure of the three cooperatives, Kadarkút, Kospula and Kéthely. The percentage of cultivated land is much higher at both Kospula in

the Kapos Valley region, and at Kéthely near the Nagy Berek, than at Kadarkút in Inner Somogy. The proportions of ploughland are not vastly different but meadows are much more important at Kéthely, which has to contend with bog soils and at Kapospula, than at Kadarkút. On the other hand, Kadarkút has a relatively large forest area, few vineyards and a large proportion of grazing land. These variations are, of course, a reflection of physical conditions which in turn result in a much lower value being placed on the total productive area at Kadarkút. This basic variation must be the starting point of any assessment of cooperative farm performance. The relatively poor performance at Kadarkút cannot be put down solely to "system" without encountering some difficulties in explaining the relative success of Kéthely.

The basic handicaps of Kadarkút are revealed still further when we turn to consideration of yields.

In almost every category Kadarkút is at the bottom of the list with the notable exception of potatoes and alfalfa where it rises to second rank, above Kéthely.

Kadarkút makes a similarly poor showing in animal husbandry where it holds second place only in the number of hogs per unit area. Its performance in achieving weight increases, however, is very much better, especially in the hog category, reflecting the large potato production, as well as managerial efficiency and experience although the advantage is offset by the relatively low density of animals.

Generally, therefore the pattern of the land use on the three farms reflects their local conditions. Kadarkút, for example, is the only farm with tobacco and has a much larger percentage of its total ploughland in flax and potatoes, although Kéthely also has a

TABLE 26

Average Yield of Important Crops Special Study Areas - 1967  
(in quintals per hold)

Type of Cultivation	Kadarkút	Kapospula	Kéthely
Bread Grains	13.5	22.1	16.8
from which: Wheat	14.0	22.1	17.1
Fodder Grains	9.8	18.2	14.9
from which: Winter Barley	12.3	13.2	14.4
Spring Barley	5.9	17.3	17.1
Corn	21.5	23.7	26.1
Sugarbeets	-	221.8	211.5
Tobacco	7.5		
Sunflowers			10.0
Potatoes	28.8	59.5	28.6
Alfalfa	25.6	36.2	25.2
Red Clover			18.5
Corn and Corn Thickly Sown for Fodder	91.6	119.5	186.0
Turnips	285.3	307.4	412.0
Grapes	6.4	-	36.8
Meadows	9.1	21.2	13.0
Grazing Land	4.8	7.5	10.0

Source: Keszthely Institute for the Development of Production, unpublished records.

substantial area in potatoes. Kapospula's crop distribution reflects its relative concentration on animal husbandry with high percentages of corn and barley. Kéthely has a much more varied pattern as befits its complex physical resources; a substantial proportion of its income is derived from its small but efficient vineyards.

There is, however, a strange anomaly in the fact that all three farms devote about 30 per cent of their ploughland to bread grains. In

view of their greatly differing soil conditions, it seems likely that this is a reflection of the old system of socialist planning under which the farmers were directed to produce given quantities of bread grain, but it also derives from the relatively favourable prices currently offered by the State. This is likely to inhibit the specialisation of farms in the region and may well have a hampering effect on the efficiency of agriculture. Since bread grains at Kadarkút yield only 13.5 quintals to the hold, compared with 22.1 at Kospula and 16.8 at Kéthely, it would seem reasonable for the former to change to fodder grains such as winter barley or corn for which its position is much more favourable.

Nevertheless, the variations in land use generally reflect the differences in local conditions and are likely to become more pronounced as the managers seek to maximise their output in relation to labour, capital and land. They are hindered in this process by a number of factors. Of these, the inertia resulting from the rigidities of the earlier planning system is perhaps the most important, but it would be misleading to place all of the blame in that quarter. A great deal depends upon the efficiency of management, upon the effectiveness with which capital is applied and upon the extent to which new techniques are used.

There remain, however, looming over all these considerations, the serious demographic problems of the Hungarian countryside. The efforts of the socialists to include all rural families in the farm system is at the root of many of their troubles. In this respect as well, it will be seen later that Kadarkút has some serious handicaps. The problem is mentioned here only to remind the reader that the

difficulties of the cooperative system derive from many sources. The evidence of the degree of success which farm managers have so far had in overcoming them is partly apparent in the changing land - use pattern which contrasts strikingly with that of 1935.

The New Technology:

It would be misleading to attribute the application of modern techniques in Hungarian farming solely to the advent of socialism. Mechanisation had begun before the War and many of the better estates, including those of the Church, had adopted the latest practices. Nevertheless, the establishment of State Farms and Cooperatives over most of the agricultural area had made possible the application of scientific methods over a much wider area. In this sense, the modernisation of Hungarian agriculture has been a socialist phenomenon and, while much remains to be done, a great deal has been achieved although not without difficulties.

The introduction of new techniques has been seriously hampered in Hungary by over-population or under-employment in rural areas. In spite of the formation of greater production units, none of the advantages of the economy of scale could be easily introduced because, in spite of large migrations, much of the population remained on the farms and needed some kind of employment. This and the lack of funds hindered the mechanisation of the farms. Yet, mechanisation was urgently needed because the machinery taken over from previous owners was insufficient, obsolete or, most frequently, not in working condition. In addition, the inventory of draught animals decreased as a result of constantly heralded modernisation embodied in the Plan which emphasized the

importance of machinery supply, particularly of tractors. Szakal states, however, that not more than 62 per cent of the tractors foreseen in the first Plan were purchased and delivered to agriculture.<sup>28</sup> While the State Farms obtained and maintained their own equipment, both the cooperatives and the remaining private farms received mechanized labour from the Machinery Stations. Subsequently, the state farms were openly favoured as indicated by the fact that in 1954 the average number of holds of arable land per tractor was 150 holds on the state farms while the proportion in the cooperatives was 1 tractor per 800 holds. At the same time the proportion was 1 tractor to 40 holds in the Federal Republic of Germany and 60 holds to 1 tractor in Austria.<sup>29</sup>

In advanced countries, modern agricultural development has been characterised by the changing "input mix". In other words, non-farm inputs such as mineral fertilizers, pest control material, concentrated feed products and the like have been the main factors in the spectacular rise of output per land unit. There are very large areas in Hungary where the soil needs constant improvement due to unfavourable PH conditions. In these areas the application of fertilizers depends on many factors including the adequate distribution of livestock. The designers of the first plan failed to consider the relationships between various inputs which are of primary importance in the agricultural adjustment process. This can be detected in the abrupt allocation and subsequent restriction of capital investments. The following table demonstrates the lack of constructive and regular planning in the provision of fertilizers.

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<sup>28</sup>p. Szakal, *op.cit.* p.12.

<sup>29</sup>Landwirtschaft in Europa (München, KRO Verlag, 1961).

TABLE 27

Quantity of Fertilizer Used - Hungary - 1950-1956  
(kilograms per hold)

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
State Farms	169	175	115	104	141	106	96
Cooperatives	121	81	40	29	47	51	54
Private Farms	7	7	8	6	10	9	7

Source: P. Szakal, *op.cit.*, p.16.

Similarly, in animal husbandry, Berend indicates that only 25 per cent of the livestock accommodation foreseen in the Plan was completed on time, in spite of the fact that the greatest part of the investment in livestock production (3.6 billion forints in six years) was devoted to construction work. Since feed production was entirely neglected in the socialised sector, the existing livestock supply could not improve in quality. Instead, it decreased, even quantitatively, as the impact of the Plan was felt. The number of both hogs and cattle decreased by five per cent from 1949 to 1950 and Table 27 shows that the policies of this period were particularly damaging in the socialised sector. These figures reflect the importance of the private sector as well as the insufficient supply of capital to the socialised sector.

Domestic feed production was neglected in spite of the fact that procurement of non-farm feed products was impossible because of lack of funds. Paradoxically, feed grain production was lower by 15 per cent and forage production by 20 per cent than in 1938, whereas the number of livestock was 3 to 4 per cent higher. It is not surprising, therefore, that the net value of output in livestock was lower by 15 per

TABLE 28

Value of Livestock Production Per One Hold in the Socialised Sector Compared With Private Sector - Hungary - 1950-56

Value per hold	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Private Sector	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cooperatives	68	65	64	62	74	83	67
State Farms	75	67	70	64	60	78	68

Source: P. Szakal, *op. cit.* p. 29.

cent than in 1938.<sup>30</sup> As time went on, however, the performance of the agricultural planners and, concomitantly, the relationship between capital and labour improved.

Lack of planning efficiency has not been the only factor tending to inhibit technical progress. Education, technical training and professional efficiency are the main variables affecting the quality of the labour force and György Fekete of the Hungarian Planning Office has made the following comments in this regard.

"As is known the level of operational efficiency and particularly the technical skill of our peasantry is much lower than that in countries with advanced agriculture. In large-scale operations, however, they encounter additional difficulties. Even the accumulated knowledge of successful operators becomes obsolete, since work distribution and the technical basis of operations differs from their conventional experience. In consequence, the people's economy is damaged by losses valued at hundreds of millions of forints. Some examples follow. In crop production losses attributable to pests amount to 2 billion forints (some experts estimate 5-6 billion).

<sup>30</sup> P. Szakal *op. cit.* p. 4.

Analogous situations prevail in several sectors of horticulture. Fruit quality losses occur during harvesting, storage and transportation. Elimination of this kind of loss would increase the value of our fruit output by 25 to 30 per cent....We observed startling examples of damages attributable to the uninstructed handling of machinery. A significant portion of new machines has been damaged or probably even ruined." 31

The first post-war reform bill in 1945 created 400,000 new farm units. The new operators were in need of the most primitive tools of farming. The state farms saved some old, in some cases, defective equipment which could hardly do any useful work. As collectivisation progressed the shortage of machinery exerted a tremendous pressure on the farm economy. Following the Russian system of machine tractor stations, cooperatives were not allowed to acquire their own machinery but were dependent upon the services of the machinery station, a system which proved to be a complete failure.

The re-organisation of the cooperatives in the early sixties attached the highest priority to mechanisation. The fluctuation of annual investment in agricultural machinery is shown in Table 29; the number of tractors increased from 36,379 in 1959 to 71,848 in 1963. The density of tractors is now substantially higher in Hungary than in other socialist countries in the Danubian Valley, although it is far below that in Western Europe. FAO statistics indicate 150 holds of arable land per tractor in Hungary. 184 in Yugoslavia but only 15 in Austria. Even these statistics do not reveal the core of the problem. Dr. B. Fazekas, of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office outlines it as follows:

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<sup>31</sup>"A mezőgazdasági munkaerő-politika!" Közgazdasági Szemle, XIII, 12, 1963, pp. 1469-1470, translated.

"We met the shortage of mechanical power by imports. Yet, the selection of tractors was determined by the capacity of the supplier and not by our actual needs. As a consequence, now, there are about 26 different tractor models in use. Some of these models are already out of production, others will be discontinued soon. Thus, the replacement of parts or repair presents grave difficulties." <sup>32</sup>

Discussions with agricultural economists in Hungary have confirmed this statement. Some state farm managers estimate the useful lifespan of a tractor at two years only and calculate depreciation costs on that basis.

TABLE 29  
Annual Machinery Investment in Agriculture Hungary -  
1959-1963

	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
Tractors, numbers	5,493	10,108	4,877	7,288	10,081
Mechanic Drilling Machines, numbers	4,552	5,705	3,181	1,706	2,138
Grain Combines, numbers	672	1,475	800	1,155	2,110

Source: Mezőgazdasági Statisztikai Zsebkönyv, 1964, p.205

The application of fertilizers has increased significantly. In 1960 the quantity used was 140 kilograms per hold, 10 times as much as in 1938, and this had more than doubled to 291 kilograms by 1966.<sup>33</sup> With this figure, Hungary leads among the Danubian countries but again it lags far behind the advanced countries of Western Europe. Once

<sup>32</sup>"A mezőgazdaság fejlődéséről!" Statisztikai Szemle, XLIII, 8-9, 1965, p. 882, translation.

<sup>33</sup>Magyar Statisztikai Zsebkönyv, 1969, p.81.

again, the availability of, rather than the requirement for, this particular input determined the quantity used. Domestic fertilizer production just met a fraction of the demand while imports were difficult. The same problem inhibits the adequate allocation of other non-farm resources such as pesticides, herbicides, milking machines and the like.

It took a considerable time for the leadership to recognize that the transformation of thousands of small holdings into large scale units, combined with the adoption of new techniques, had augmented the need for agricultural specialists. Particularly great deficiencies appeared following the massive exodus of 1956-1957. There is, however, a range of excellent educational institutions in Hungary, both on university and technical school levels. Also, research institutions and research stations are well equipped with competent personnel. These professional organizations probably have the capacity to educate and to train specialists needed in the years to come. Yet a recent study analysing the trends between 1960 and 1963 established that "labour" conditions and working circumstances are relatively unfavourable as compared with other branches and ...a significant portion of the engineers and technicians who have finished their studies have chosen employment outside agriculture.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> L. Vargha, A mezőgazdasági szakemberszükséglet és tervlata rendezése, (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1965), p.113.

Nevertheless, bearing in mind all the difficulties which the post-war governments faced, substantial progress has been made. Between 1952 and 1964 the number of tractor units in operation increased from 14,575 to 99,047 in the whole of Hungary. Before the war in Somogy there were 471 tractors, but by 1964 there were almost 2000. In the four years from 1960 to 1964 the amount of land worked by one tractor decreased from 168 to 115 holds.

Similarly, the use of commercial fertiliser has been increasing throughout the county. The amount used per hold increased from 118 to 148 kgs. between 1961 and 1964. Over the same period the amount of land treated with pesticides increased from 330 to 35000 holds. Progress with plant-breeding, soil improvement and irrigation is also apparent. In animal husbandry 316 million forints had been invested in buildings by 1963.

On the individual farms studied, Kéthely is currently investing 1 million forints on the improvement of bog soils involving 700 holds of currently useless land. In 1971 it is hoped that 400 additional head of cattle will be raised on the farm as a result of this endeavour. Similar projects are underway throughout the county. It is tempting to compare the results achieved with those of the best farms in the West, and by this standard the Hungarians still have a long way to go in creating a modern agricultural system. All chairmen agree that they could use twice as much fertiliser as they receive. However, a more realistic comparison of current achievements can perhaps be made with the past as indicated in the following figures for Kapospula:

TABLE 30  
 Indices of Agricultural Production  
 Kapospula Cooperative 1935-1968

Item	1935	1959	1968
Wheat (quintals per hold)	10	11.7	18.9
Corn (quintals per hold)	12.6	15	28.3
Tractors		1	18
Pay in forints (per labour unit)	n/a	42	75

Source: Kapospula Cooperative - Files.

While North American yields are often very much higher than these, especially for corn, there is evidence of substantial progress which can be largely attributed to technical change. Given the difficulties involved in the traumatic experience of the Great Land Reform, and the even more traumatic Rákosi years, the performance particularly in the past few years has been creditable. But the old difficulties of lack of capital and trained management are still formidable. Although the Hungarian State Bank is making more capital available under the new laws, priority still goes to industry. And as late as January 1969 the Hungarian press reported that 50 per cent of cooperative chairmen and 29 per cent of brigade leaders had attended only elementary school, while only 50-60 per cent of chief agronomists had high school or university training.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Népi Ellenőrzés, January, 1969.

In any event, these new institutions have had a great impact on the human geography of the area and have begun, in particular, to create a new pattern of settlement which is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

The Process of Migration:

As with most of the aspects of the Hungarian rural scene which have so far been considered, the development of the settlement pattern has depended upon a complex interaction of many factors, some of them socialist in origin, some specifically Hungarian and some related to the general process of urbanisation common throughout the developed world.

As György Enyedi has written,

"Au moment où après des préparatifs soignés, la réorganisation de masse de l'agriculture a commencé en Hongrie, les paysans étaient en face d'un double choix; soit s'affilier aux coopératives récemment créés; en prouvant ainsi leur confiance dans l'exploitation de grande culture, soit rester des paysans individuels. Mais une grande partie des paysans ont retenu une troisième solution: ils ont quitté le village et l'agriculture. Bien entendu, la réduction de la population rurale fut observée il y a longtemps. C'est un corollaire de l'industrialisation. Mais, dans les années suivant la collectivisation agricole, l'exode rural a dépassé les limites qui peuvent être justifiées au point de vue économique: non seulement la main-d'oeuvre superflue libérée par le progrès technique a migré, mais aussi une partie de la main d'oeuvre encore nécessaire pour le niveau technique du moment."<sup>1</sup>

The rural population of Hungary has been declining since the end

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<sup>1</sup>G. Enyedi, "La collectivisation de l'agriculture hongroise, son contenu humain et économique", op.cit. pp.14-15.

# SOMOGY POPULATION CHANGE 1949-1959

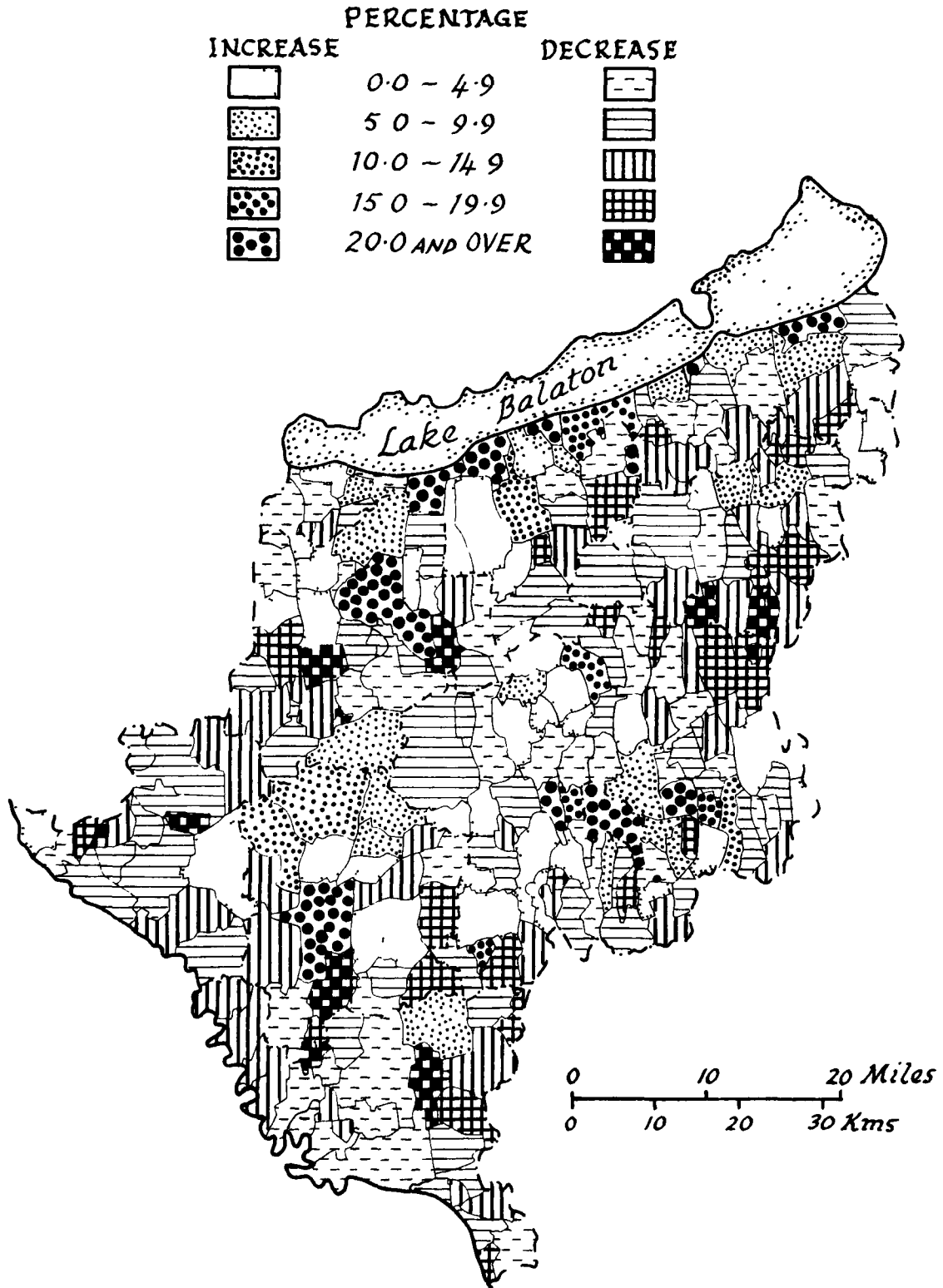


Figure 27

Source: Somogy megye, személyi és családi adatai, Evi Népszámlálás, 1960.

of the last century, when 68.8 per cent of the wage-earners were classified as agricultural, as compared to the 1960 figure of 35.2 per cent. Although the large scale emigration between 1899 - 1901 made a great impact on the agricultural population, the chief cause of decreasing rural population has been the growing industrialisation of the country which has created new employment and has resulted in the growth of existing industrial towns and the creation of new settlements. The impact of industrialisation has been greatest during the last fifteen years which, in terms of per capita production, have transformed Hungary from an agricultural nation to the third ranking industrial state among socialist countries, after the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

The industrialisation, and the accompanying urbanisation, together with the development of a more dense transportation net, has diminished the agricultural area from 14,758,000 holds in 1958 to 14,599,000 holds in 1963.<sup>2</sup> At the same time the greater demand for food and other agricultural products has demanded the intensification of agriculture and the development of marginal areas, such as sand plains and marshlands. This increased demand has resulted partly from an increase in food consumption, and partly from changes in the dietary pattern, the crop structure and the composition of foreign trade. Generally speaking, however, the impact of industrialisation on the social

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<sup>2</sup>The following analysis of population movements is derived largely from the work of Béla Sárfalvi, particularly his A Mezőgazdasági népesség csökkenése Magyarországon, (Budapest, 1965) and "Various Mechanisms of Internal Migration in Hungary", in Research Problems in Hungarian Applied Geography, (Budapest, 1969), pp.139-150.

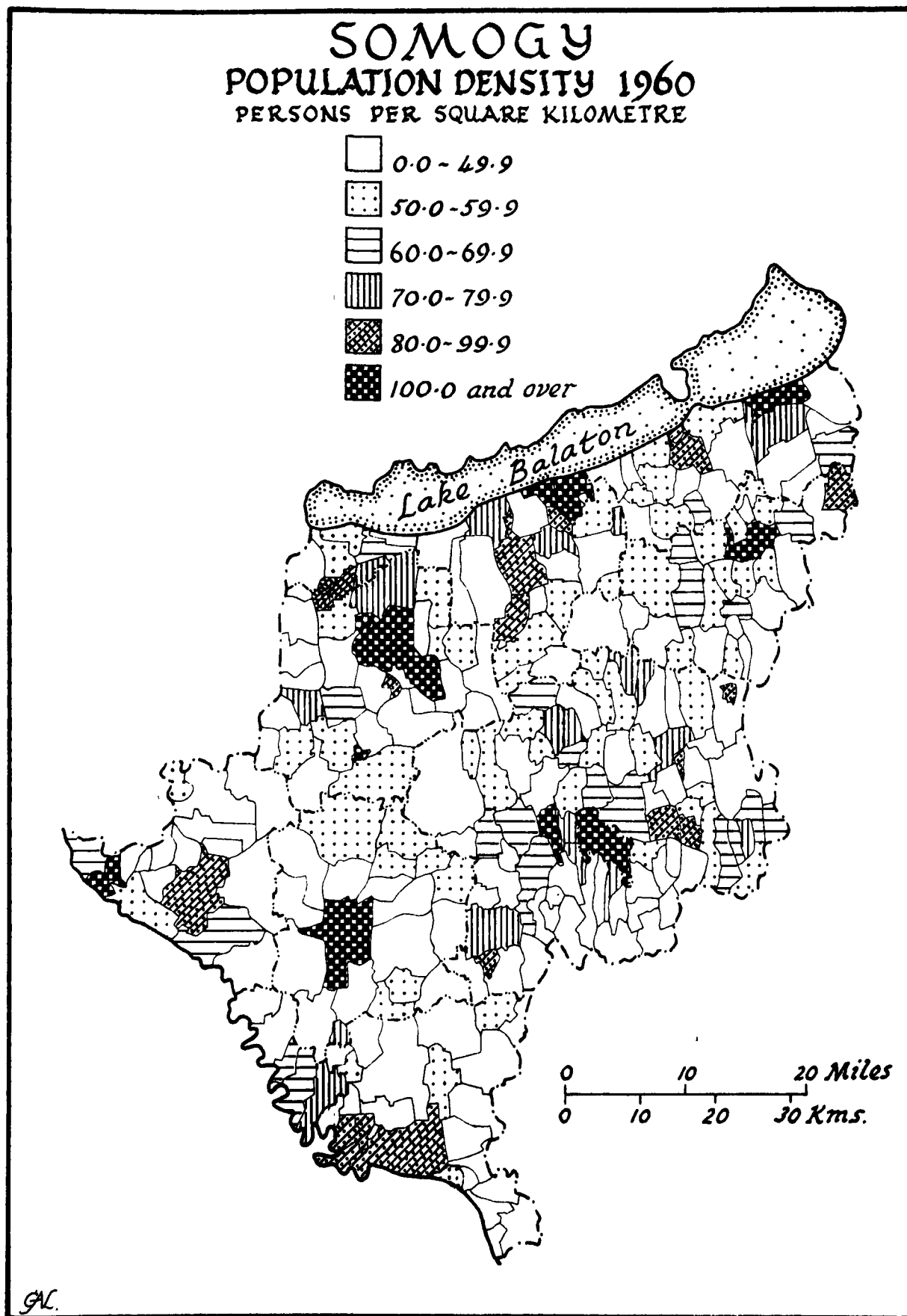


Figure 2  
Source: Somogy megye, személyi és családi adatai, Evi Népszámlálás, 1960.

structure and settlement pattern has been more far-reaching than on the area of productive agriculture land. The developing industry depends upon agriculture for labour which is recruited from two groups of the agricultural population - the surplus and the dissatisfied elements.

Although the land reform of 1945 distributed 5.4 million holds (34.8 per cent of Hungary's area) about one third of all agricultural labourers remained landless, and because the socialist cooperative system was relatively poorly developed at the beginning of industrialisation, the excess in the agricultural labour force moved toward industrial jobs.

Another source of agricultural over-population that tends to supply the industrial labour market is the above average natural increase, especially in areas where the total investment and the yearly creation of non-agricultural jobs are low so that local agriculture is unable to absorb all the labour available. In areas such as Borsod and Fejér people change not only their occupation but their location as well. Of the "over-populated agricultural counties", where the percentage of agricultural population is above the national average, Borsod and Fejér have been most fortunate because their surplus agricultural population was easily absorbed by the extensive industrial development in towns such as Miskolc, and Dunaujváros. In these towns, industrial development proceeded so rapidly that the demand for industrial labour exceeded by far the locally available supply and this led to migration toward them. Other counties solved the problem of "over-population" by immigration to industrialized areas and therefore have had a net outflow of population. The major cause of migration has thus been the pulling force of industry and the jobs associated with it.

Growing industrialisation has been accompanied by the mechanisation of agriculture, especially during and after the socialisation of the farms. In the period 1949 - 1961, the increase in the farm machine stock added to the surplus of agricultural labourers. However, very little of this surplus was immediately available to industry because only 11 per cent of total agricultural work could be mechanized and the concurrent intensification of agriculture absorbed much of the labour freed by machines.

The impact of industry on the dissatisfied element and on that part of the population which left rural communities because of the greater attractions of industrial work is more elusive. The more secure and better paid industrial jobs certainly influenced people to give up farming, and the differences in income and in investments have been great enough to make city life more attractive, especially for the younger generation, but a precise quantitative statement is impossible.

In most of the counties, where the proportion of agricultural population in the total is above the national average, the gap between the average earnings of the cooperative worker (10,000 forints) and those of industrial workers (18,000 - 19,000 forints) is sufficiently great to make city life more attractive. This is especially true in Somogy which shows a high negative migration balance. Taking into account the uncertainty and fluctuations of agricultural income, and the much lower per capita investment, which promises a much slower future economic growth, it seems reasonable to assume that the pulling force of industry has affected the dissatisfied rather than the surplus labour force as such. This is perhaps borne out by the fact that the great majority of the migrating population belongs to the 15 - 30 age

group of males which is the most productive and consequently least likely to be laid off as surplus.

Between 1949 - 1960, over 334,000 people in Hungary left agriculture for industry within the counties, not counting inter-county migration. Those counties that had a well established industry or new industries which were developing fast lead the list. Meanwhile counties with relatively little industrial development such as Somogy, lag behind, regardless of their natural resources or agricultural character. The shifting of the agricultural population towards industrial centres has affected the age composition of the rural population. Because the majority of the migrating population is between 15 and 30, the average age of the agricultural worker has increased and the possibility of regeneration in rural areas has been diminished; on the other hand, the larger proportion of young people in industrial areas increases the natural reproduction rate in counties such as Fejér where now the natural increase index is among the highest, although for the past 40 years it had belonged to the lowest. The main direction of the shifting of population between 1949 - 1960 has thus been from village to industry. Since the beginning of large scale industrialisation the population of villages has been decreasing steadily as Table 31 indicates.

The regional impact of industrialisation shows a rather clear pattern which is particularly significant for Somogy. The predominantly agricultural regions of Hungary in western and southern Transdanubia and in parts of the Alföld are characterized by decreasing or slowly growing population, while the northern and north-eastern industrial districts are characterized by heavy population increase.

TABLE 31

## Distribution of Population in Settlements of Various Sizes - Hungary - 1930-1960

Inhabitants	1930		1941		1949		1960	
	No. of settle-ments	Pop. as % of natl. total	No. of settle-ments	Pop. as % of natl. total	No. of settle-ments	Pop. as % of natl. total	No. of settle-ments	Pop. as % of natl. total
Less than 1,000	1,705	10.9	1,537	9.5	1,516	9.6	1,407	8.0
1,000 to 5,000	1,440	34.2	1,473	33.3	1,511	34.8	1,581	34.1
5,000 to 10,000 *	161	12.4	151	11.0	152	11.4	169	11.0
10,000 to 20,000 *	66	10.0	78	11.0	62	9.0	70	9.4
20,000 to 50,000	37	14.2	40	15.0	32	10.5	35	10.3
50,000 to 100,000	5	3.8	5	3.7	5	3.6	7	5.1
100,000 to 150,000	2	2.7	3	4.0	3	3.9	3	4.0
More than 1 million	1	11.8	1	12.5	1	17.2	1	18.1
	3,417	100.0	3,288	100.0	3,282	100.0	3,273	100.0

\* In Hungary several settlements with populations of 10,000 and even 20,000 are not classified as towns. Part of the population of these "giant villages" live on scattered farmsteads outside the village proper.

Source: M. Pécsi, and B. Sárfalvi, The Geography of Hungary, op. cit., p. 169.

In a sense industrialisation has had a favourable effect on the rural population in that it absorbed the excess farm population, gave employment to dissatisfied elements and supplied agriculture with much needed agricultural machinery. On the other hand, it has been unfavourable inasmuch as it unbalanced the age structure of the rural population, and created a serious shortage of agricultural workers near industrial towns.

The degree of this unbalance is illustrated in the following figures for Somogy:

TABLE 32

Distribution of Agricultural Cooperative Members  
According to Age - Somogy and Hungary - 1967

Somogy County	Men		Women	
	number	percentage	number	percentage
Under 20 years	423	1.2	286	0.9
21 - 39 years	5,824	15.8	4,678	14.9
40 - 60 years	13,993	38.1	8,263	26.3
60 and over	16,510	44.9	18,235	57.9
Total	36,750	100.0	31,462	100.0
Hungary	Men		Women	
	number	percentage	number	percentage
Under 20 years	14,242	2.3	8,700	2.2
21 - 39 years	120,799	19.5	67,616	16.8
40 - 60 years	220,918	35.7	137,106	36.1
60 and over	262,559	42.5	188,487	45.9
Total	618,518	100.0	401,909	100.0

Source: Keszthely Institute for the Development of Production, unpublished records.

The fact that about 83 per cent of the labour force is over forty years of age has many serious implications for agriculture. Apart from the question of physical vigour, the older members of the cooperatives tend to be less receptive to new ideas, more attached to their private land and less easily directed. Furthermore, the large proportion of pensioners adds considerably to the cost of production. In Somogy, about one-third, or some 22,000, of all cooperative farm members are pensioners.

These difficulties, which are so apparent at the national and county levels, appear again in the individual farms. The statistics for the three farms chosen for special study are particularly instructive in this respect.

TABLE 33

Availability of Manual Labour Special Study Areas - 1967

	Kadarkút	Kospöly	Kéthely
Number of members	520	354	573
Work hours performed per annum by members and families	59,245	113,908	55,400
Work hours performed per annum by employees	2,576	6,264	19,297
Productive land per worker (in hold)	7.6	6.3	8.4
Productive area of farms (in hold)	5,107	2,107	2,750

Source: Keszthely Institute for the Development of Production, unpublished records.

In these figures again we see the great hazards of generalisation. The Kéthely labour situation is in some respects worse than that of Kadarkut and yet the general performance of Kéthely is much better. While this reflects in part better management and the relatively more intensive farming at Kéthely, particularly in relation to the vineyards, it is also the result of the higher and more effective use of younger and more productive employees in addition to members. Nevertheless, all three villages suffer from the general Hungarian, or one might add world wide, problem of the flight from the land. The difficulties are accentuated in Hungary, however, by the severe rural overpopulation as indicated by the amount of productive land per worker. While the performance of Kéthely is generally regarded as good, it carries a great burden in the form of a large non-active membership, a problem which only time can solve with the gradual acquisition of land by the cooperative under the new laws.

Another solution, perhaps more uncertain, lies in the return of young people to the countryside. Enyedi has noted that the flight from agriculture was partly involuntary:

"La majeure partie des migrants n'a pas voulu quitter définitivement l'agriculture et elle n'a considéré sa profession non-agricole que transitoire, jusqu'au moment où la grande culture s'est consolidée. La plupart des migrants n'ont pas changé de domicile, leur famille restait au village et les travailleurs rentraient de temps en temps, une fois par semaine ou par mois, en fonction de la distance. Ils allaient même jusqu'à participer à quelques travaux agricoles." <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>G. Enyedi, "La collectivisation de l'agriculture hongroise, son contenu humain et économique", op.cit., p.15.

Whether this hope for return becomes a reality will depend on many factors, but the efforts to equalise town and country incomes through the New Mechanism, the improved planning and development of rural centres and the greater availability of automobiles may do much to bring it about. Whether or not the age structure of the agricultural labour force improves it seems certain that its absolute size must decrease if Hungarian agriculture is to become fully modernised.

The Changing Village:

Most of Hungary's villages are primarily agricultural settlements and, in Transdanubia they display a settlement pattern which is of very long standing, in many cases pre-dating the Turkish invasion of the sixteenth century. The great changes in industry, transportation and agriculture since the Second World War has therefore taken place within an incongruous and outdated framework. Changes in the settlement pattern have, for a variety of reasons tended to lag behind the general reorganisation of the economy but, nevertheless, a process of change is underway which tends in the following direction:

1. The concentration of population in certain areas and cities.
2. The social restratification of the population in rural settlements.
3. The physical redevelopment of the villages.

There are approximately 3000 villages in Hungary of which some 1,000 have been subjected to the most detailed surveys as a basis for deciding on development plans. The impact of these plans as they are gradually implemented is likely to be farreaching. Villages which are

scheduled for development will become simply the dormitories for the adjacent large-scale farming enterprises. At the same time, the "first order" village will develop as regional centres and, as transportation improves (particularly the private ownership of motor vehicles), are likely to become the homes of an increasing proportion of farm workers over a wide area. Thus it seems reasonable to foresee an increasing concentration of population concomitant with the further consolidation of farm land which is discussed below.

East of the Danube, and particularly east of the Tisza, a special problem is presented by the widespread existence of isolated farmsteads or "tanyas". While these are gradually being eliminated as settlement concentrates around the newly created collective and state farms, the process is slow. In Transdanubia, however, and particularly in Somogy, settlement is concentrated in villages and their development is likely to be uneven. Kéthely, for example, has been scheduled as a "first order" facility centre, a central place in terms of services, and will be provided with an enlarged hospital, school and cultural facilities. As such it is likely to grow over the next decade or so. Kadarkút is in the same category, but in Kapospula it is considered unnecessary to build up all facilities of the first order - it is in the so-called "other" category. In between are the villages of the "middle" category which will undergo limited development.

There are three types of villages in Hungary noted by Pécsi and Sárfalvi, the "heap-like" villages or village-towns of the East, the "ribbon-like" villages of the late feudal era and the "chess-board" villages of the late eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>

M. Pécsi and B. Sárfalvi, op. cit., p. 172.



Figure 29: Nagy Berek State Farm - State Farm Worker's House

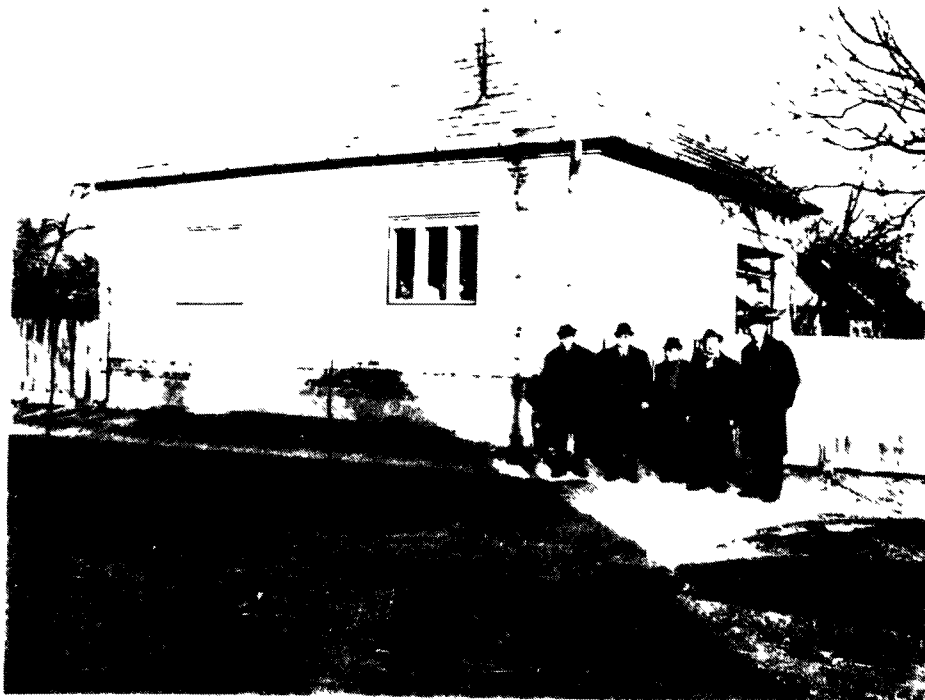


Figure 30: Kethely: New House

Most of the villages of Somogy are some variation of the ribbon type with a substantial number of isolated "pusztás". They are primarily an expression of the pre-war system of agriculture. The pusztás, as noted above, were directly tied to the great estates, and the ribbon villages reflected the importance of peasant plots and gardens as well as the limited capital available for road building.

These settlements are now undergoing substantial modification. As indicated in Figure 23, the changes are related to the new economic and social requirements of the "system". In Enyedi's words:

"l'aspect intérieur des villages hongrois se transforme également. On y construit de nombreuses maisons nouvelles dont la forme indique déjà qu'il s'agit ici d'un bâtiment dont la fonction est uniquement l'habitat. La fonction de production est transférée aux centres de grande exploitation. Il n'y a plus d'écuries ou de remises. L'apparence extérieure des maisons de familles est tout à fait la même que celle des maisons des employés ou des ouvriers avec jardin planté construites autour des grandes villes. La seule différence est que les terrains à bâtir sont à la campagne, plus étendus." 4

In the process of designing these "new" villages certain guidelines have been adopted.<sup>5</sup> It has been agreed that the minimum requirement for the profitable establishment of a four room school, very basic shopping facilities and administrative services is a population of 900. Water service can be added to this if there is a population of 1500, and a village of this size can service two cooperatives of the average

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<sup>4</sup>G. Enyedi, "La collectivisation de l'agriculture hongroise: son contenu humain et économique", op.cit., p.21.

<sup>5</sup>K. Perczel, "Milyenek lesznek a szocialista falvak Magyarországon" Epitésügyi Szemle, V, 7, 1967, pp.194-204.

current size where people can walk to their work. While this is an economical settlement form, it is impossible to provide sewage service and houses are usually one storey.

When the population of a village rises to 2400-3000, however, much more elaborate facilities become possible, including an eight room school, kindergarten, house of culture, physician, pharmacy, fire department, police and sports field. This population also permits the installation of water and sewage service, as well as small shops. This is, in effect the smallest type of settlement in which rural living standards can approach those of the town. Such villages can service 3 to 5 cooperatives of the current size and provide transportation for some 20-30 per cent of the workers.

Settlements of 5000 and over can support highways, technical institutions, district administration, magistrates' courts, department stores and market places. They can serve 6 cooperatives and provide public transportation for half the labour force.

In settlements of over 7000, which are not common in Somogy but quite frequent in the Alföld, there are services for 10-30 cooperatives and transportation is provided for most of the workers. This is, however, regarded as unprofitable as well as impinging on the amount of leisure time available. At the same time, the provision of additional cultural and social facilities is not considered worthwhile until a population of 20,000 is reached, at which point we are no longer speaking of a strictly agricultural settlement. In effect, therefore, a settlement of 5000 is regarded as optimum for an agricultural area and is likely to be selected as a first order village for development. Villages of 2400-3000 are in the "middle" category and the remainder

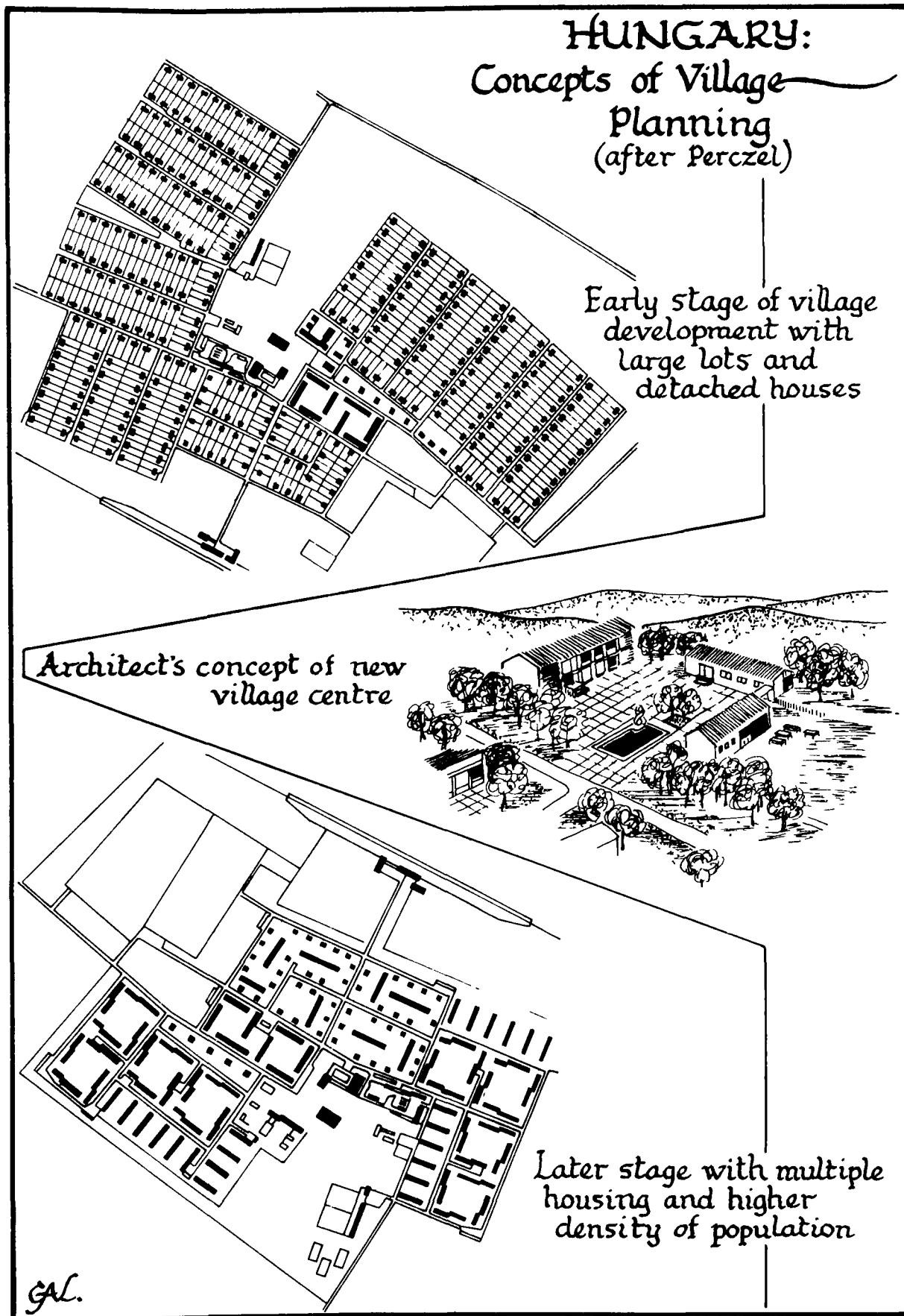


Figure 31

Source: K. Perczel, op. cit., p. 195.

are classified as "other".

There is, of course, a great difference between the nucleated villages of the Northern Mountains and Transdanubia, and those of Eastern Hungary. Whereas in the Alföld so-called "giant" villages of 20-30,000 can be found, and those of 4-5,000 are common, in Transdanubia village populations of 2,000 are characteristic in the larger settlements, with many villages having less than 700 people.

It is, therefore, not infrequent in Transdanubia, including Somogy, for one cooperative to include more than one settlement. In such cases, the most centrally located settlement is chosen for development, and it becomes the centre of production and the site for administrative and other buildings. The object of public policy is to enlarge the population of the central village so that adequate facilities can be provided, and it is anticipated that the others will become depopulated.

Plans for future villages include the construction of central areas which will have three blocks of buildings (Figure 31)

administrative and cultural

commercial (shopping centre and bus station)

schools and sports facilities.

In the residential areas, it is hoped that the present detached houses with large gardens will be gradually replaced by dwellings providing for a density of 60 per hold. A schematic view of this progression is shown in Figure 25.

This preoccupation of the planners with the consolidation of rural settlements is closely related to the problem of keeping a younger labour force on the land. It is also part of a larger policy for the

consolidation of cooperative farms. In Somogy, there is a very active policy of farm consolidation set out in a memorandum of the county authorities, dated 11 April, 1969.<sup>6</sup>

In Somogy, there were in 1964 nine towns or villages with more than one cooperative. The villages including 21 cooperatives covered 8.9 per cent of the total cooperative area. By 1969 there were only 4 towns (Bersence, Csurgó, Segesd and Lábod) in this category, and the amalgamation of all cooperatives in any one town will be completed in 1970.

In 1964, the County Council developed a plan under which 83 large regional cooperatives were to be developed, each of them with an average area of 6173 hold or 5.6 - 7.9 hold per member. The amalgamation has shown considerable progress in the last three years as indicated in the following table:

TABLE 34

Amalgamation of Cooperative Farms - Somogy

Year	Number	Total Area (in holds)	Average Size (in holds)
1964	240	529,141	2205
1965	237	542,117	2287
1966	230	549,118	2387
1967	225	549,079	2440
1968	206	545,020	2646
1969	191	545,020	2853
Plan	83	528,959	6373

Source: Somogy County Council, Internal Memo., 11 April, 1969.

<sup>6</sup>The following material is based on the files of the County Authorities at Kaposvár.

By 1 January 1969 the number of cooperatives had decreased to 191 from 240 in 1964, and the average area had increased from 2205 holds to 2853. At present, 66 of the 191 cooperatives have areas exceeding 3000 holds. Of the three cooperatives studied, Kadarkút and Kapospula have recently incorporated adjacent farms, and Kéthely will add another farm in 1970. This kind of amalgamation requires that:

- one of the cooperatives, at least, should be sufficiently viable economically to absorb any losses resulting from temporary disruption:

- the members of both must consent,
  - a management plan must be made for several years ahead,
  - adequate managerial staff must be available.

Eventually after amalgamation there is an increase in the arable area and the number of livestock on the new farm. Farming becomes more intensive with higher yields of plants and animals. In addition, assets, gross income, invested capital all increase and are generally above the county average.

In the first year or two, however, there are usually some difficulties resulting in the stagnation or even the decline of output. At Balatonszentgyörgy, for example, which is a combination of three old cooperatives there were serious problems. In 1966, the third year of amalgamation the farm received 1.5 million forints to cover its deficit and an additional 6.3 million for development. The problem apparently lay with the management which was changed and after 1967 production started to increase. There was a similar decline at Tótújfalu for two years but the problem was solved without outside help. The problems at Nagyatád, on the other hand, which are also managerial have persisted

in spite of a good deal of financial assistance. On the whole, however, the performance of the amalgamated farms was above the county average in 1968 with the exception of Balatonkeresztur where a deficit resulted from the overpayment of labour and a miscalculation in advance payments to members. It should be noted that the amalgamated farms receive a much greater share of investment capital from the state.

Concurrently with the amalgamation of farms a number of cooperative associations have been established. In 1968 there were five livestock cooperative associations all dealing with pig production. Their progress has not been impressive. Of the five, the one in Barcsi has been dissolved, one of the two in Kaposvári will be dissolved, while the other has made no progress, and the one in Siófoki has also made no progress and the one in Nagytádi is said to be "developing". Nevertheless, the authorities regards the creation of these associations, which permit the concentration of capital, as very important and continue to persevere with their creation.

In 1968, there were also four machine repair associations and two marketing combines.

Perhaps most successful have been the construction associations. They have made a major contribution to the development of amalgamated farms as may be seen from the following figures:

TABLE 35

Development of Construction Associations - Somogy- 1965 - 1968

Item	1965	1968	% increase
Workers	256	1090	426
Technicians and Administrative Workers	23	132	574
Gross Production Value (million forints)	25.7	152.3	592
Net Income ( " " )	.87	1.7	1890

Source: Somogy County Council, Internal Memo., 11 April, 1969.

County authorities believe that a much better job needs to be done with respect to the political and economic preparation of future amalgamations. This involves the management of the cooperatives, the town councils and the local party leadership. The quality of management and its adequate financial reward are regarded as particularly important. It is also necessary to continue financial support to those cooperatives with less fortunate natural conditions. Stagnation in many cases can be explained by the unwillingness of the state to provide adequate capital and steps are being taken to remedy this to some extent.

It seems clear that the technical and administrative measures embodied in the policy of amalgamation will have a major impact on the settlement pattern over the next two decades or so. The concentration of administrative and technical centres, together with the plan to develop the "first order" villages, will result in the creation of some 80 "agrotowns" chosen from among the "independent villages" in Figure 32 and serving about 6000 holds each. The small "puszta" type settlements

("other settlements" in Figure 26) will stagnate and gradually disappear as the younger generation migrates to the attractions of the larger centres.

Kéthely and Kadarkút are cases in point as they are both scheduled for expansion as agricultural and service centres. At present, Kéthely's labour force of 1881 is broken down as follows:<sup>7</sup>

cooperative farmers	421
state farmers	39
administrators	7
teachers	24
transportation workers	3
brick factory workers	54
social service workers	73
foresters	27
commuters (to Kaposvár, Marcali etc.)	505
other workers	67
domestic and casual workers	661

As more farms are incorporated under Kéthely's wing, and as services are improved the farming population will probably increase in absolute terms, although service and industrial commuters will make a larger and larger proportion of the total. The small "pusztás" once associated with the Hunyadi estate will be abandoned and, as the old buildings themselves decay, a new pattern will emerge. This process

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<sup>7</sup>These figures were taken from the village files.

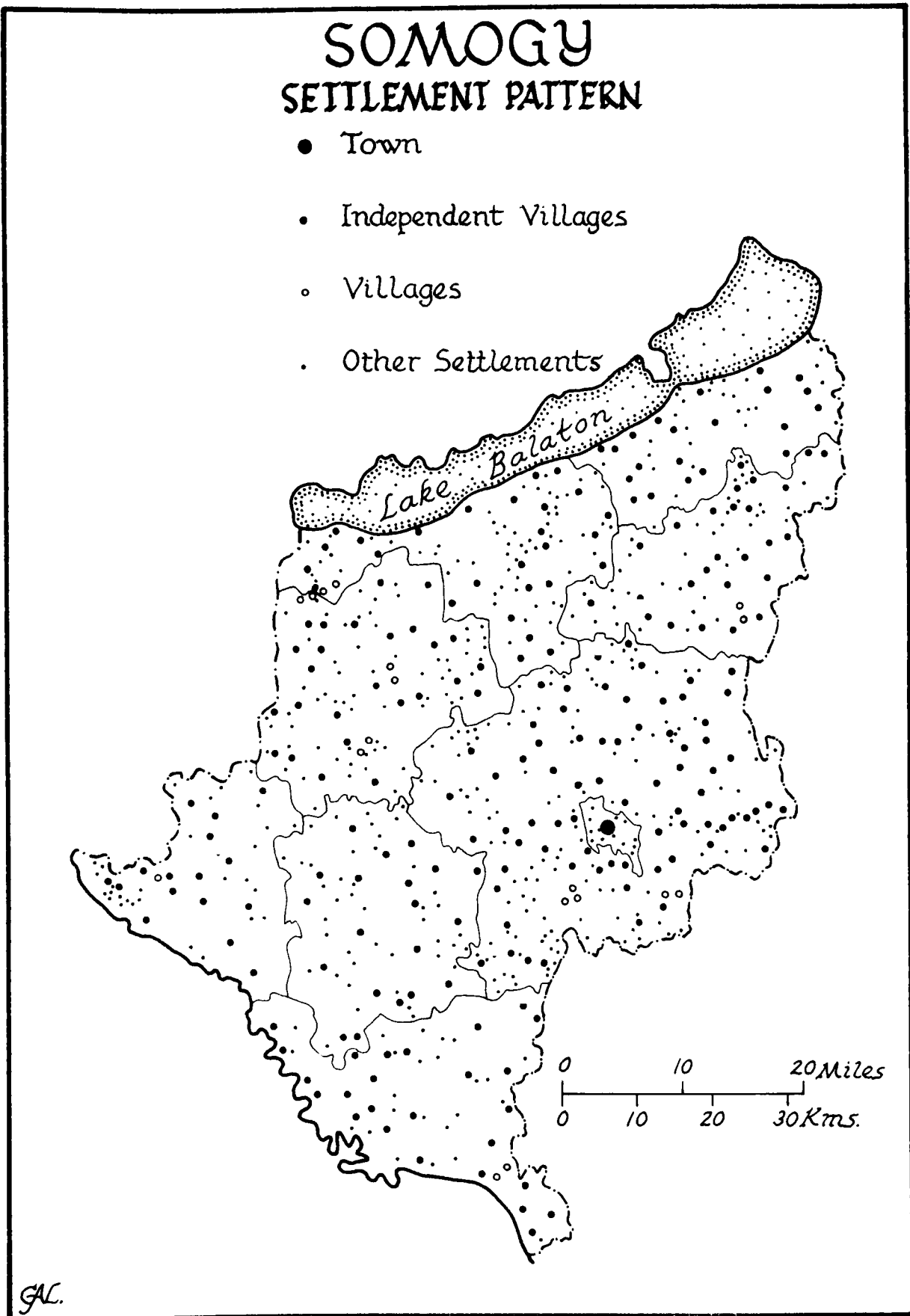


Figure 32

Source: Somogy megye, személyi és családi adatai, Evi Népszámlálás, 1960.

will be repeated throughout the country, and ultimately throughout Hungary, although it will be slower in the east where the "tanya" system presents special problems. So far in the study we have considered mainly land-tenure and land-use, but in the long run the impress of socialism on the landscape is likely to be most apparent in the new settlement patterns which are developing as a result of the policies discussed above.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIALIST LANDSCAPE

Shortly before completing the field work for this study the author took part in a discussion in the office of the Chairman of the Kéthely Cooperative. The group there was small - the forty-year old Chairman, the agronomist, who was about twenty-eight years old, the man in charge of animal husbandry and the chief of the vineyards, both of whom were under thirty.

The office was in the old house of Count Hunyadi who held most of the land in the area before the war. Not far away was the palatial residence which he had once occupied before it became a home for the aged and mentally retarded. On the wall of the office was a detailed land-use map of the farm showing the vineyards developed on the hill slopes, the meadows on the low-lying peaty soils and the cereals on the better drained clays. In this setting, it was natural to discuss the many changes which the Hungarian countryside has undergone in the past few decades. Many of these have taken place in an atmosphere of hardship and bitterness, but slowly a new rural landscape is emerging which, among other things, reflects a new pattern of land-use and perhaps a new attitude to the land.

Although Hungary differs in many ways from other East European countries, it shares with them a preoccupation with the problems of agriculture. The governments of the region have been engaged, for the last twenty years or so, in attempting under duress to establish a distinctive social and economic order. The rapidity of change in land

tenure systems has been startling, particularly in countries such as Hungary where a near feudal system prevailed before the Second World War. The development of agriculture and its place in the economy have therefore presented especially intractable problems for the socialist regimes.

It is partly for these reasons that Eastern European geographers have made a major contribution to the methods and techniques of agricultural geography and have thereby gained international recognition. Anyone visiting the Geographical Institutes of the various socialist academies is instantly impressed by the depth of detailed knowledge available. Many western geographers have noted with envy the wealth of statistical material in these countries.

As stated at the outset, no effort has been made in this study to compete with the Hungarian research institutes in this regard. Rather the object has been to present an integrated picture of the larger Hungarian agricultural scene based upon detailed reference to individual farms. This approach has made it difficult to share the pessimism of much of the current commentary on Hungary.

A good example of such pessimism is the following comment on the first six months of the New Economic Mechanism:

"At the same time, the reforms have not really inspired the peasantry. The leaders of the agricultural cooperatives are fearful of exercising their new independence and the members are chary of voicing their opinions in the cooperative members' assemblies. One reason is that the new measures ease old problems without curing them and help only part of the rural community, not all of it. The increase in economic independence accorded to the collectives still does not free them from the power of

the banks to control credit nor from the influence of the agricultural departments of the county councils." <sup>1</sup>

This seems to display an extraordinary lack of any sense of history, not to mention familiarity with the current scene. It is true that the peasantry is not exactly "inspired"; it is true perhaps that most farm chairmen are stepping warily until they have the measure of the new situation; it is plausible, to say the least, that the New Laws do not cure all evils or succour all men; it is obvious that the banks remain powerful and that the county councils have not altogether lost their influence.

But beyond these blinding flashes of the obvious there is surely a much more complex reality. The conversation at Kéthely covered the days of Hunyadi, the "Black Christmas" of 1944, the Great Land Reform, and the brutal times of Rákosi. As the discussion turned to events since 1959, and particularly to the New Economic Mechanism, there was an apparent sense of some pride in achievement and some confidence in the future. In attempting to assess the changes which these men and others like them are impressing on the Hungarian rural landscape, there are many factors to be considered. There is, first of all, the physical landscape itself which, irrespective of the policies or theories of the authorities, defines the basic character of the Hungarian countryside. Secondly, the Hungarian agricultural administrator has been confronted by a legacy from the past which has tended to limit the options open to him, while at the same time obstructing some of the more promising solutions. Thirdly, much of the development which

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<sup>1</sup>S. Kiss, "Hungarian Agriculture under the NEM", East Europe, XVII, 8, 1968, p.18.

has taken place in the last twenty years has reflected the general trends in agriculture throughout the world. Fourthly, the influence of the Soviet Union and her model has been a substantial and often an inhibiting factor in the development of schemes especially suited to the Hungarian situation. And finally, much that has taken place has been simply Hungarian and has reflected the Magyar character rather than any subtle combination of these other influences.

There are thus many pitfalls lying in the path of anyone seeking to define the Hungarian landscape in terms of its socialist individuality. It is therefore useful, perhaps, to identify some continuing themes before attempting any analysis of the newer elements.

Continuing Themes:

Politically, the Hungarian countryside remains conservative and its attachment to ancient modes is ironically reinforced by the recent migrations that have been associated with the modernisation of the country. The age structure of the rural population is such as to make old memories linger and partly as a result of this the attachment to private land remains strong. Although it varies from region to region, it continues to be an important determinant of the landscape. The garden, the small orchard or vineyard, the patch of ploughland - all these are prominent features of the modern landscape.

This attachment to private land is more, however, than a romantic notion. The private plot, as has been pointed out in previous chapters, is an important part of a transitional economic and social system. It is based on long memories and folk dreams. It provides moreover some fifty per cent of the peasants' income and is an organic part of the

present cooperative system. The recent attention to its role reflects the increasing flexibility of an administration which is prepared to come to terms with reality and history, even at the expense of principle and theory. It reflects also the deep historical attachment of the Hungarian peasant to his own land, which is not simply a reaction against socialism but a characteristic which he has nurtured from the times of the big land owners. The place of private land, therefore, presents one of the most difficult problems in assessing the long-term development of the socialist landscape.

Paradoxically, another continuing theme in the Hungarian countryside is the survival of the large land owners. There is, of course a fundamental difference in that the ownership is now collective. The geographical expression is, however, not unlike the old days and in some cases the new farm management even occupies the buildings of the former owners. For the agricultural worker, therefore, the change in his situation sometimes seems to be more apparent than real, particularly if he belongs to the older generation. He must take orders, obey rules and work on large tracts of land for "wages". In this sense, the perceived landscape tends to retain its old shape.

Finally, much of the old settlement pattern persists for the time being. Isolated farms are rare and the village remains the centre of the farm and the basis of social life. The Church, now state-supported is still well attended and many of the villagers look askance, not only at the new system of agriculture, but at the broader developments which make their children prone to become restless, less hard-working and ready to leave the land.

All this is true in some measure to which no precise quantity can

be given, but even the most conservative are probably conscious that their link with the past is breaking, that most of the changes that have taken place are in some measure permanent and that further more radical developments are inevitable. The evidence for this lies in the new features of the rural scene which are everywhere visible.

New Features:

Even to the most conservative, changes in the institutional setting, in administration, in land-use, in technology and in the physical aspect of the villages of Hungary must suggest, to use the words of Radio Free Europe (not a notably pro-socialist institution), that the Hungarian farmer is on the threshold of a "brave new world". This hope lies in the progress so far made, and already discussed, and in the provisions of the New Economic Mechanism as it affects agriculture.

The most important geographical features of this "new world" are likely to be as follows:

1. The consolidation of the cooperatives.
2. The diminution of the role of the private plots.
3. Increasing specialisation in land-use.
4. The social urbanisation of the countryside.

As noted above the consolidation of the cooperatives is already well underway in Somogy where it is anticipated that their number will be reduced from 191 in 1969 to 83 in the next few years. This reflects in part the provisions of the New Laws which permit greater independence in local organisation, but is also likely to be a countrywide trend.

The role of the private plot, which for the present remains important, is likely to diminish. Opinions among farmers in the country vary greatly on this point. At the "good" farms, such as Kéthely, it was thought that the private plots would not last more than five years. In Barcs, which is also classified as "good", the forecast was fifteen years, but at Kadarkút, a "weak" farm, the consensus was for an indefinite continuation of private farming. There are a number of factors which favour a gradual elimination of the private plot on the better farms. First, the younger generation does not favour the long hours of extra effort involved in private production; they prefer regular hours, a regular wage and television, or a visit to Kaposvár in the evening. Secondly, there is increasing mass production of processed foods, so that subsistence production, sometimes more expensive and always hard work, is becoming less attractive. Thirdly, on the better farms the quality of production is improving so that the product of, for example, the collectivised, mechanized vineyards, is surpassing that of the private plot. For the moment, marginal labour, marginal methods, long hours and the existence of an elderly, hardworking labour force makes the private plot an important source of income, but this is unlikely to endure.

A third important trend is toward specialisation. This process has been somewhat slowed down in the past by directives which demanded the production of breadgrains and other crops and, more recently, by price incentives which favoured certain types of production. Nevertheless, there has already been some movement toward specialisation which will undoubtedly increase under the New Economic Mechanism. A recent study has recommended the following:

"It is in southern and southeastern Transdanubia that livestock production is least specialized, though stockbreeding is well advanced. The enhancement of specialization is a prerequisite for further development. In the Mezoföld and the Drava Valley, pig-breeding is to be recommended. This would permit the elimination of the mixed type, which seems to be reasonable. In Inner Somogy specialized slaughter cattle should be developed; in Outer Somogy, developments in both cattle-fattening and dairying are of importance, whereas in the Kapos Valley, dairying should become the most important enterprise which, however, might be associated with large-scale bacon production." <sup>2</sup>

While the author suggests a mixed regime for most of Eastern Somogy, specialisation by farm is likely to increase at least to the extent of greatly reducing or eliminating bread grain production in all but the most favourable areas of Outer Somogy. Together with this there is likely to be an increased emphasis on fodder and the specialised breeding of cattle as more effective breeds are introduced from outside to replace the relatively inefficient native type.

These trends are closely associated with important changes in management and the labour force. At present, the agricultural labour force in Hungary is old, and particularly so in Somogy. Forty-five per cent of the working males in Somogy are over 60 years of age and 83 per cent are over 40. In contrast, there is an annual infusion of young management from the agricultural colleges and it is not unusual to find farms where all of the key positions are held by men under 40. Three developments are likely:

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<sup>2</sup>I. Asztalos, "A Geographical Study of Stockbreeding in Hungary", in Research Problems in Hungarian Applied Geography, (Studies in Geography in Hungary. 5), Béla Sárfalvi (ed.), Akadémia Kiadó, Budapest, 1969, pp. 202.

- a. An increasingly young and technically competent management.
- b. A reduction of the labour force as the old generation dies off and is not replaced, many of the younger people having migrated or moved into industry.
- c. Increasing mechanisation and improved economic conditions which will make possible the retention of a younger but much reduced labour force on the land.

The physical aspect of the landscape which will develop from these processes is already apparent. There will be perhaps 83 cooperatives and 12 state farms with centralised complexes of large modern buildings, including livestock barns, administrative buildings, workshops and, in some cases auxiliary industries. In most cases, these will be closely associated with established village or district centres.

How much of this development is distinctly socialist? Consolidation, the elimination of small plots, specialisation, technical management and the concentration of population are trends in many parts of the non-socialist world. In this sense, much that is happening in Hungary and in Somogy simply reflects the economic and technological realities of the modern world. Nevertheless, it seems to differ in two important respects.

First, there is the relative evenness and universality of these changes. This has been made possible, in part, by the authoritarian character of the political regime under which particular policies can be implemented with more or less uniform effect. In a deeper sense, it reflects a particular historical legacy, including related demographic

and economic problems, which would have made so-called "free enterprise" or "capitalist" techniques extremely difficult to apply. The experience of France with the Breton farmers in much more favourable circumstances suggests the problems which would have arisen in Hungary if land had been consolidated through the market. In Canada, rural poverty and overpopulation are limited to a few regions and to a relatively small proportion of the population and can therefore be politically contained with the help of a rapidly expanding industry based on foreign capital. It is at the very least doubtful whether the option was open in Hungary even without outside intervention.

Secondly, there is a uniformity about the emerging socialist rural landscape which is in contrast to developments elsewhere. Here again, the sources are partly socialist and partly historical or cultural. The uniformity in the architectural structure of farm complexes results in part from the centralisation of control over capital expenditures and planning. It may well be that this will be somewhat modified under the New Economic Mechanism. It seems unlikely, however, that it will change radically; with centralised research, architectural advice and technical training the tendency will be toward a uniform landscape.

In general, therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that Hungary, having opted for full collectivisation, is in the process of developing a distinctively socialist rural landscape. It is a landscape characterised by large, evenly spaced, highly centralised farms, by physical uniformity, by increasing specialisation and by the social urbanisation of the countryside. In spite of the greater decentrali-

sation of recent months, it is a landscape which reflects the truth of Whittlesey's phrase,

".....deep and widely ramified impress upon the landscape is stamped by the effective functioning of effective central authority".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Derwent Whittlesey, "The Impress of Effective Central Government on the Landscape", op.cit., p.85.

APPENDIX 'A'

Sample Questionnaire to Collective Farm Members

Dear Member,

Taking into consideration the usefulness of this process in past years, the management of our Cooperative asks for and expects again you and other members' constructive opinion and useful suggestions.

Remembering your support in the past, we ask you kindly to answer the questions below and to bring forward any proposals that may help our management in the difficult task of developing our Cooperative.

1. What is your opinion about the development and achievements of our Cooperative, taking into account the economic difficulties of the year 1965.

2. Do you approve the steps we have taken to update our Cooperative? (buildings, machines etc.)

3. What is your opinion about the development of our Cooperative and what are your proposals with regard to:

- a. Livestock. (beef and dairy, hogs, bee-keeping, fodder; attitude of management and workers to work;)
- b. Plant growing. (vineyards, gardens, sowing plan, adaptation of irrigation farming, meadow and pasture farming, utilization of draft animals;)
- c. Machine-fleet. (tractors, motor cars, utilization of machinery, maintenance of machinery, condition of machines, quality of work done in machine shops;)

d. Do you approve the development of auxiliary and secondary plants? (management of mines, introduction of machine-bookkeeping, construction groups like bricklayers, carpenters, cabinet makers; repair workshop, smith, barrel makers;)

4. Do you approve the steps we have taken, with regard to the protection of cooperative property and to discipline at work? In connection with these, how do you assess the management's attitude to work, that of the control commission and the workers' attitude? What are your proposals?

5. Did the management of the Cooperative listen to criticisms, rightful grievances and complaints that were brought to its attention? Have they taken any action?

6. Do you approve the method of remuneration (monthly payment in cash) that was used in past years?

7. How do you assess the work of the Cooperative's management with regard to administration and its attitude toward the collective community? Do you think that the present management is capable of carrying out its task?

8. Do you approve the assistance the collective farm has given to the household farms? (assurance of pastures, at prime cost, for private livestock; feed for hogs, fodder and help in form of collective hay cultivation;)

9. What are your observations with regard to the use of the social and cultural fund? (social grants, welfare, care for the aged, cultural performances, recreation, transportation refund, sick people, support

of institutions, and schools, community centre, athletic associations, KISZ;<sup>1)</sup> Do you regard the educational opportunities for our young people and their cultural situation as satisfactory? (including vocational and cultural opportunities)

10. In your opinion, what are those retarding factors that hindered the practical realization of our aims? (machine fleet, draft animals, misuse of working hours, faulty administration and organisation). In addition to the above mentioned, the management accepts with thanks any other constructive proposals and remarks.

"New Times"

Agricultural Cooperative.

Zalavar, Dec. 30, 1965.

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<sup>1</sup>KISZ = Kommunista Ifjusagi Szervezet, Communist Youth Organisation.

APPENDIX B

Operating Statistics  
for  
Three Cooperative Farms  
Kadarkút, Kapospula, Kéthely  
1967

Items	Unit	Kadarkút	Kapospula	Kéthely
<u>Branches of cultivation</u>				
Ploughland	hold	3,656	1,890	1,802
Meadow	"	320	344	462
Grazing land	"	1,086	167	375
Vineyards	"	16		76
Orchards	"	29	44	35
Total cultivated land	"	5,107	2,445	2,750
Forest	"	658	62	164
Fishponds and reed	"	31		23
Gold crown value of ploughland		28,723	36,945	24,958
Gold crown value of total productive area		31,432	44,382	40,832
<u>Composition of the sown area</u>				
Bread grains	hold	1,060	576	570
of which: winter wheat	"	831	576	520
Fodder grains	"	339	319	248
of which: winter barley	"	80	115	170
spring barley	"	50	115	63
Corn	"	680	551	350
Sugar beets	"		65	90
Tobacco	"	60	-	
Sunflower	"		-	5
Fiber hemp	"		-	-
Potato	"	470	50	20
Perennial legumes	"	407	100	249
of which: alfalfa	"	203	100	140

Items	Unit	Kadarkút	Kospula	Kéthely
red clover	hold	169	-	50
Fodder plants	"	368	135	139
of which: corn + corn sown thickly for fodder	"	288	95	139
Turnip	"	40	30	20
Ploughland greens	"		5	35
<u>Stock-Breeding</u>				
Cattle total	head	797	503	515
of which: cow	"	218	179	101
Hog	"	1,158	777	534
Sheep	"	611	0	0
Horse	"	137	67	88
<u>Manure</u>				
Area fertilized by barn manure	hold	363	350	384
Used manure	quintal	54,360	55,283	60,505
Area fertilized by commercial fertilizer	hold	2,604	2,120	2,196
Used commercial fertilizer	quintal	6,409	7,627	4,591
<u>Tractive power and results</u>				
Tractor units	15 h.p.	44.2	21.7	27.7
2 horse units	teams	51	29	35
Performed holds	hold	42,610	21,903	27,597
Performed working-days	wk.-day	10,706	6,764	9,450
<u>Number of Workers<sup>1</sup></u>				
Members + family members	head	741	386	267
Employed	"	26	11	83
Total available workers	"	767	397	350
Steadily available workers	"	477	279	305

<sup>1</sup>These figures do not correspond with those given in the text as they include family members, i.e., all persons who do any work on the farm.

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Items	Unit	Kadarkút	Kospula	Kéthely
<u>Performed work-days</u>				
Member + family members	wk.-day	113,908	59,245	55,400
Employees	"	6,264	2,576	19,297
Total	"	120,172	61,821	74,697
<u>Income</u>				
Member + family members	1000 forints	6,706	5,299	3,881
Employees	"	315	393	1,326
Total	"	7,021	5,692	5,207
<u>Production of important plants</u>				
Bread grains	quintal	14,292	12,724	9,578
of which: wheat	"	11,654	12,724	8,900
Fodder grains	"	3,323	5,835	3,706
of which: winter barley	"	981	1,519	2,450
spring barley	"	293	1,987	1,079
Corn	"	14,624	13,049	9,146
Sugar beets	"	-	14,419	19,032
Tobacco	"	450	-	-
Sunflowers	"	-	-	50
Fiber hemp	"	-	-	-
Fiber flax	"	-	-	-
Potato	"	13,558	2,976	571
Alfalfa	"	5,193	3,620	3,533
Red clover	"	3,814	-	925
Corn + corn thickly sown for fodder	"	27,786	11,356	25,852
Turnips	"	11,412	9,223	8,239
Grapes	"	102	-	919
Meadow	"	2,921	7,279	6,000
Grazing land	"	5,187	1,252	3,750
<u>Stock breeding products</u>				
Living weights total	"	2,336	2,053	1,603

Items	Unit	Kadarkút	Kospula	Kéthely
of which: cattle	quintal	1,128	1,077	1,032
hogs	"	1,178	976	571
sheep	"	17	-	-
poultry	"	13	-	-
Milk	100 liters	6,002	6,221	3,357
Wool	kilograms	2,069		
Calves born	head	322	207	99
Young pigs born	"	1,305	1,015	445
<u>Financial data</u>				
Gross production value	1000 forints	24,984	18,280	18,838
Total production expenses	"	27,519	16,190	8,204
Total income from sales	"	17,804	10,691	11,056
Total stock value	"	29,858	16,667	20,477
Net assets	"	18,205	12,173	13,267
Total loans	"	8,627	4,254	6,396
Subsidies from state	"	2,193	1,277	436
Net profit	"	-2,535	2,090	10,634

Source: Keszthely Institute for the Development of Production, unpublished records.

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