more than 53 percent of Hungary's total pork products--a very significant figure when one considers that Hungarians consumed 92 lbs. of pork per capita that year, and that pork and pork products accounted for fourteen percent of the agricultural and food exports in 1977 (Volgyes, "Dynamic Change" 431).

The key to the relative success of the reforms of 1968 was the government's recognition of the place for small-scale, private production alongside large-scale, collectivized production. The Hungarian government made a pragmatic choice by recognizing and supporting the small-scale production of livestock and fruits and vegetables--products that can be produced relatively efficiently without large capital or machinery inputs--and by concentrating its investments in the large, collectivized production of grains. Furthermore, by allowing the workers to retain ownership of the plots and the products produced, the government tapped into a labor resource that otherwise would have been idle: Had the workers not owned the plots, they wouldn't have worked any longer than the 48 hours required of them (as demonstrated by earlier attempts at collectivization). Now, however, they worked the set hours for the cooperative and also several more per week on their own plots, producing food not only for themselves, but also for the urban-dwellers and also some for export.

During the 1970s, new types of agricultural organizations were launched. These include agricultural associations, agricultural combinates, and agro-industrial collectives. The horizontal integration of several collectives or state farms to accomplish a certain task constitutes an agricultural association. For instance, three cooperatives, a state farm, and the State Meat Trust joined together in the early eighties to build a large slaughterhouse. Combinates, on the other hand, are typified by vertical integration. Their focus is the planting, production,