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TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITY VS. SOCIALIST CULTURAL DIPLOMACY: CREATING THE INTERNATIONAL KODÁLY SOCIETY IN COLD WAR HUNGARY (1960S-1970S)*

Szabolcs László

Abstract

This article examines the clash between top-down state socialist agendas and bottom-up transnational community aspirations as viewed through the 1975 founding of the International Kodály Society (IKS) in Hungary. The IKS, born from an informal network connecting Hungarian Kodály-method advocates with global music educators, faced tension as Hungarian authorities sought to bring it under state control for international propaganda. The article traces the origins of the Kodály-method's global promotion, highlighting the role of Hungarian mediators, of US financial and institutional support, and the subsequent appropriation attempts by the Hungarian state that aimed to capitalize on the method's popularity for socialist cultural diplomacy. Through this example, the article sheds light on the broader features of conflict and interdependency between state and non-state actors during the Cold War. It explores the tension between competitive Cold War cultural diplomacy and the collaborative rationale of professional networks, revealing the limitations of state authorities in the face of established transnational dynamics. The study concludes by highlighting the resilience of the trans-Atlantic Kodály-community against state efforts to shape it into an international propaganda tool.

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Keywords: Cold War, Hungary, state socialism, music education, cultural diplomacy, transnationalism

"I frankly doubt that man is capable of mustering sufficient moral strength and selfless labor to attain 'universal harmony' in the utopian meaning of the term, [but] thanks to the ideals of Zoltán Kodály and their active support by men like yourself, […] we are at least on the way to creating a healthy texture of international counterpoint" – wrote Alexander L. Ringer, professor of musicology at the University of Illinois, to Endre Rosta, president of the Institute of Cultural Relations (ICR) in March 1974.[1] The collaborative project that the American professor referred to was the creation of the International Kodály Society (IKS), envisioned as a global organization for music teachers interested in studying, promoting, and adapting the increasingly popular Kodály-method for music education.[2] The Society was the outgrowth of the informal and dynamic transnational professional network that connected the Hungarian "ambassadors" of the Kodály-method with their colleagues around the world – and especially across the Iron Curtain – since the mid-1960s.[3] The ICR, acting on behalf of the Hungarian state socialist authorities, took charge of preparing and hosting the founding meeting of the Society, with the promise of accommodating this global community.[4] However, as the international delegates assembled in Kecskemét – Kodály's birthplace – at the founding meeting of the IKS in August 1975, they soon realized that the Hungarian authorities were acting according to a forceful agenda, wanting to bring the future organization under state control. Disregarding the existing collegial dynamic of the trans-Atlantic community and its vision for a "texture of international counterpoint," the Hungarian state wanted to dominate the Society and use it as a tool for international propaganda.

Accordingly, the aim of this article is to analyze the clash between these two agendas: how the top-down intentions of the state socialist authorities conflicted with the bottom-up agenda of a transnational community of pedagogues. The informal network of music educators dedicated to using and promoting the Kodály-method was built up in the second half of the 1960s by a handful of Hungarian mediators and their international partners. During this initial period, the socialist Hungarian state was not involved in this promotional and educational work abroad – so the

trans-Atlantic mobility of experts and the transfer of skills and knowledge was realized overwhelmingly due to meso-level initiatives and with the help of federal and private funding secured by the American educators. Yet, as the Kodály-method grew into a global educational brand, the Hungarian state moved to capitalize on a fully formed and popular cultural product and appropriate it for the official socialist cultural diplomacy agenda.

By focusing on this example, the analysis will shed light on the general features of the conflict and interdependency between state and non-state actors, and between the geopolitical and the transnational realms during the Cold War period. Examining the preparation and the founding of the IKS will show the tension between the competitive logic of Cold War cultural diplomacy and the collaborative rationale of professional networks. Moreover, it will reveal the limitations on the reach of socialist authorities when faced with the established dynamics and practices of a transnational group of experts. As such, the article will start by presenting the semi-autonomous promotional activity of Hungarian mediators, move on to outlining the role that US support played in the buildup of the professional network, and close with a detailed discussion of how the socialist state aimed to incorporate the global Kodály-movement into its own cultural diplomacy framework.

1. The Bottom-up Promotion of the Kodály-method in Socialist Hungary

The composer and musicologist Zoltán Kodály started to focus on reforming music education during the 1920s, echoing an international trend of similar progressive efforts by such reform pedagogues as Émile Jaques-Dalcroze or Fritz Jöde. As per Kodály's oft-repeated slogan "Music is for everyone! (*A zene mindenkié*!)," he believed that everyone should have the right to obtain musical literacy and be trained on high quality music, because this would improve not just the lives of individuals, but also the national or political communities they belonged to. Despite his forceful vision for music education, Kodály never set out to propose and create a comprehensive method. It fell to his colleagues and students – most prominent among them Jenő Ádám, György Kerényi, Erzsébet Szőnyi, Katalin Forrai, and others – to build a coherent pedagogical edifice in terms of theory, techniques, and goals.

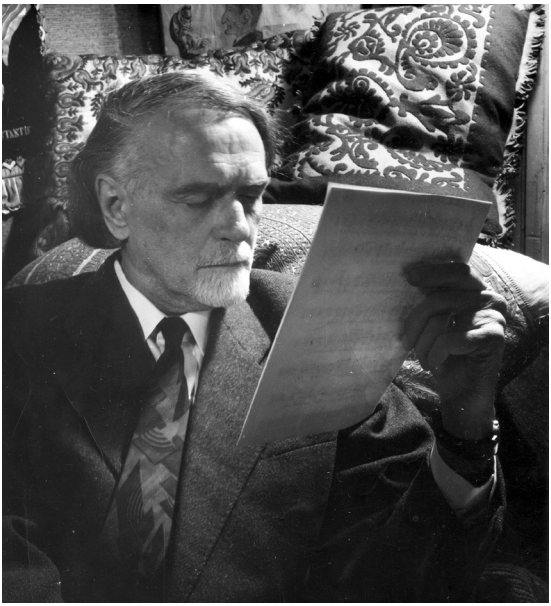

Photo 1. Hungarian composer and musicologist Zoltán Kodály (1882-1967). Source: Fortepan, 210928, by Kutas Anna, 1952.

The particular approach to music teaching that emerged from Kodály's writings and the work of his colleagues and students was aimed at offering to young children daily music classes following a sequential curriculum that prescribed the collective singing of Hungarian folk songs and the use of the tonic *sol-fa* (movable *do*) technique to teach the reading and writing of music.[5] These music classes were meant to progress from playing folk games in kindergarten to acquiring musical literacy through singing pentatonic folk songs in elementary school and arriving eventually to the comprehensive understanding of other nations' folk music and the established canon of classical music.[6] Accordingly, the eventual aim of building up the musical literacy of every child was to make them comprehend a dimension beyond the national, to gift them access to the shared and cosmopolitan world of European classical music that was – and, to a certain degree, still is – available only to urban elites.

Photo 2. School children learning music through the Kodály-method in 1962. Source: Fortepan, 135793, photograph donated to the Fortepan collection by the Sütő family.

Kodály's vision and the theoretical-methodological work of his followers came to be implemented in Hungary only in the late 1940s, in the newly configured and transitional postwar political environment. The revised education law of 1945-46 that created the institution of eight-grade "general schools" and made attendance compulsory stipulated that music should be taught at least twice a week through a focus on folk songs and the movable *do*. In 1948, together with Jenő Ádám, Kodály published a series of "Song Books" that provided the first comprehensive musical guide to his pedagogical principles throughout all eight grades of elementary school.

The communist takeover in 1947 had significant consequences for the implementation of Kodály's pedagogical vision. Within the new regime, the socio-political context in which his proposed approach could be applied was drastically expanded. Most importantly, forceful nationalization of all schools made it possible for Kodály's ideas to be introduced on a national scale. At the same time, ideological changes were imposed upon the "Song Books" written with Ádám. The new editions

excluded religious psalms, but retained the Hungarian folk materials and added a dozen marching songs and Russian folk songs. Nonetheless, until the early 1960s the national curriculum for music education, the content of music books, and the channels for teacher training were overwhelmingly determined by the work and personal influence of Kodály.

A change came with the 1961 educational reform, characterized by a push for vocational schools and the intention to prepare students for entering the workforce, downgrading the overall position of music education. Leaving only one class per week in the first grade of general school seemed to especially undermine the effectiveness of the Kodály vision that stressed the importance of children's early and intensive engagement with music.[7] Furthermore, Kodály's music books were replaced in 1963 by new ones that overemphasized newly composed ideological songs to the detriment of folk songs and Kodály's own compositions.

However, the domestic marginalization of Kodály's pedagogy was counterbalanced by its increased internationalization.[8] Relying on his world-wide prestige as a composer, Kodály and his close colleagues sought out and embraced international professional partners committed to reforming music education across the world.[9] The aim – and eventual result – of such an outward engagement was to create a reputation for Kodály's ideas beyond the borders of Hungary and, by leveraging this prestige, to entrench the professional credentials of his approach at home.

The pathway towards internationalization led through increased Hungarian involvement in the activities of the International Society for Music Education (ISME).[10] Like similar international organizations, the Society provided a professional forum for educators from the West, the Eastern bloc, and eventually, the Global South to meet and exchange ideas. The Hungarian approach to music education was introduced to the international professional community by two leading Kodály-experts: in 1958 by Jenő Ádám in Copenhagen and then again in 1961 by Erzsébet Szőnyi in Vienna. Bringing the 1964 ISME conference to Budapest proved pivotal in raising global awareness about the Hungarian model and kickstarting the process of its worldwide promotion.[11] During the conference – that had Kodály as its honorary president – several Hungarian music educators like Katalin Forrai, Klára Kokas, or Gábor Friss gave highly acclaimed presentations of the "Hungarian system" to pedagogues from 36 countries.[12]

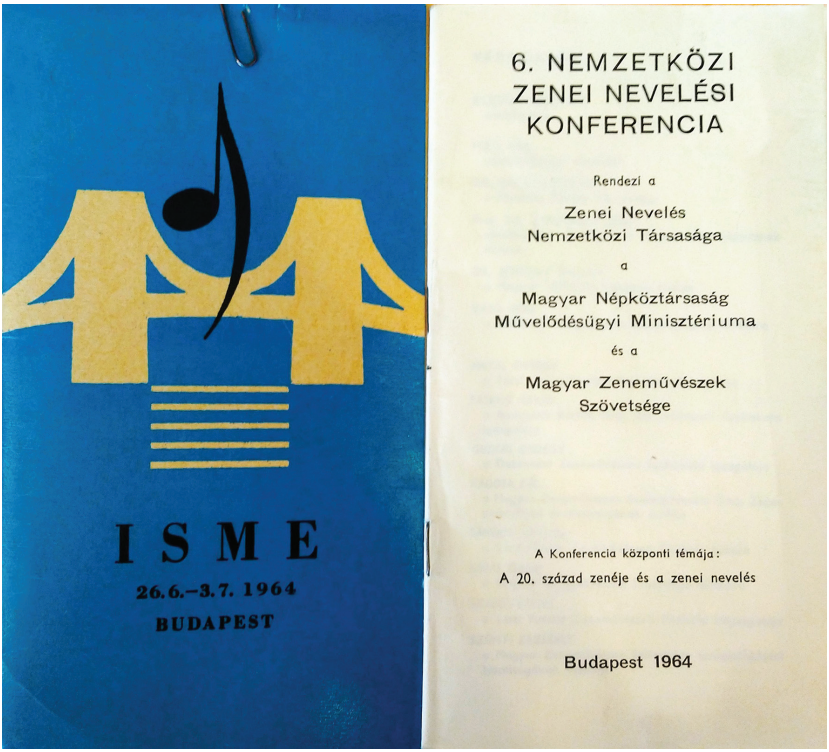

Photo 3. Booklet for the 1964 International Society for Music Education (ISME) conference organized in Budapest. Source: photo by author.

Photo 4. The venue for the conference, the headquarters of the National Association of Hungarian Construction Workers. Source: Fortepan, 158074, photograph donated to the Fortepan collection by the Preisich family.

In the months and years following the conference, Kodály and his disciples were flooded with invitations to give further presentations about the Hungarian model and also with requests to receive in Hungary educators and students interested in the method, especially from the US, but also from Japan, Canada, Australia, and the Scandinavian countries. Accordingly, the international promotion and dissemination of the Hungarian model was driven by the highly active cluster of Hungarian music educators who orbited around the figure of Kodály. They formed a tight-knit and well-defined community, dedicated to the continuation and further development of Kodály's vision in pedagogy and research. Members of this community were embedded in various state institutions, from the Academy of Music to many elementary and high schools

across the country, with some occupying influential positions in terms of instructing and mentoring the next generations of Hungarian music teachers.

It is important to note that during the first and decisive decade of this process for internationalization, the state institutions in charge of designing and implementing socialist Hungarian cultural diplomacy – *i.e.* the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture, and the Institute for Cultural Relations – merely tolerated the activity of this professional community without any significant top-down initiative to incorporate or guide their promotional work. Although the Hungarian press occasionally celebrated the growing foreign curiosity generated by the country's music education, top officials were generally ignorant of the details and indifferent to the implications of this newfound worldwide fame. The reasons behind this lack of official interest, while complex, were ultimately rooted in the state's ambivalent position towards the iconic figure of Kodály: while his global fame was acknowledged, and even instrumentalized, the authorities resented the fact that the successes of Hungarian music education abroad were explicitly associated with the work of an individual and not recognized as the achievements of the socialist state. Nonetheless, the authorities extended passive support to the internationalization process by allowing the mobility of Hungarian Kodály-experts and foreign music teachers at a time when such extensive travel across the Iron Curtain was still a rarity.

Given this top-down indifference, the active cluster of Hungarian music teachers took it upon themselves to devise their own practices of "bottom-up" musical diplomacy to win international adherents to the Hungarian model and to transfer their knowledge across borders and geopolitical divides. As "ambassadors" of the Kodály-method, they took advantage of the possibilities offered by détente and the relative outward openness of the Kádár regime to create and maintain a resilient and semi-autonomous transnational project.[13] Through their efforts, Kodály-teachers aimed to carefully and purposefully orchestrate the discovery and experience of Hungarian music education by their international colleagues. They engaged in two inter-related and parallel promotional practices for winning foreign adherents and transferring knowledge across borders.

One of these practices was to showcase the Hungarian model of music education abroad. Hungarian educators accepted yearly invitations to lecture at numerous summer universities and workshops across the world,

and especially throughout the US and Canada. Central among them was the composer and music professor Erzsébet Szőnyi, one of Kodály's closest proteges-turned-colleagues who taught solfege classes at the Academy.[14] Besides her activity in ISME, from the second half of the 1960s she also developed extensive professional connections bridging the Iron Curtain, contributing to the promotion of the Hungarian approach to music teaching through her multiple publications, lectures, and masterclasses.[15]

Photo 5. Hungarian composer and music educator Erzsébet Szőnyi (1924–2019). Source: The papers of Erzsébet Szőnyi at the Archive of the Kodály Institute, Franz Liszt Academy of Music.

The other main practice of promoting the Kodály-method was to invite all those interested to Hungary and showcase the success of the Hungarian model *in situ*. Starting with the 1964 ISME conference, the inflow of curious foreigners was channeled through the tight network of Kodály-experts and was carefully directed towards strategically selected educational displays. Opportunities to learn and hear from Kodály-experts

included the yearly "Danube Bend" University Summer Course on Arts in Esztergom (organized since 1965) and the International Kodály Seminars in Kecskemét (since 1970). For those wishing to study theoretical aspects of the method, the real-time observation of music classes could be complemented by enrolment in courses on solfege and folk music at the Academy of Music.

Viewed as a whole, the promotional discourses and practices employed by Hungarian Kodály-experts in the second half of the 1960s coalesced into a particular mode of musical diplomacy. Unlike the tightly controlled, centralized, and vertically integrated mechanism of Soviet cultural diplomacy, the "cultural show" of the Kodály-method was operated by the professional community of music educators in a semi-autonomous fashion.[16] Although embedded in state institutions, these educational experts held a near complete monopoly over the means, sites, and messages of propagandistic display and were able to choose their international partners themselves, conveying a high level of agency in carrying out their work.

It was during these years that, due to the transnational professional interactions and the exchange of ideas between Hungarian teachers and their Western colleagues, the Hungarian model of music education was identified and branded as the globally marketable and transferable "Kodály-method" (along the lines of the Dalcroze-, Orff-, or Suzuki-methods). That is, the moniker was introduced by international experts recognizing the Hungarian example as a quintessential "method" on the global marketplace of educational ideas. By the end of the 1960s, the method's identity solidified in both everyday usage and professional publications.

Accompanying this development was the gradual emergence of a wide-ranging professional and personal network that cut across the Iron Curtain and belied the divisions of the Cold War. This transnational network eschewed the competitive logic at the heart of Cold War cultural diplomacy that pitted against each other a putative "West" and "East." Instead, their "bottom-up" musical diplomacy was non-competitive, as it functioned according to the logic of sharing and mutuality. The classrooms of Hungarian music teachers were open to all who wished to observe and learn the method, regardless of which side of the Iron Curtain they came from. The Kodály-community was interested in disseminating the method as widely as possible, guiding projects of transfer and adaptation, and forming a close-knit transnational network in the process.

2. Federal and Private Funding for the Kodály-method in Postwar America

Versions of Kodály-inspired music teaching were already used in the US during the late 1950s by Hungarian émigré musicians like Katinka Dániel and Árpád Darázs.[17] Later on, US teachers discovered the method for themselves, first among them being Mary Helen Richards, a supervisor of music at Portola Valley, CA.[18] She was most likely the first American pedagogue to visit Hungary with the specific purpose of seeing the Hungarian model of music education in action. After her 1962 trip – during which she met Kodály and was guided around in Budapest by professor Szőnyi – she gave an enthusiastic description of the country's "great music education program" in *Music Educators Journal*.[19] By 1964, Richards published her own adaptation of the method, *Threshold to Music*, based on the Hungarian music books by Kodály and Ádám, and her work was featured on local TV channels, prompting queries about the approach from Midwestern and Northwestern universities.[20]

By the end of the 1960s the Kodály-method had become a well-established brand name within the US educational community through various institutional settings. At first, its implementation was attempted through disconnected projects on both coasts and the Midwest.[21] Soon, workshops for the instruction of the method were organized in California, Wisconsin, and Indiana. Eventually, various interpretations of the method were introduced into public and private elementary school, undergraduate, and graduate curricula, and served as an organizing principle for new courses on teaching music.[22] In 1974 it was estimated that "well over 100,000 schoolchildren in the US – concentrated in the Northeast, but spanning from Main and Florida to California and Washington – [were] being taught music the Kodály way."[23] A 1979 study that focused on the states of Connecticut, Indiana, and Washington found that nearly half of the music teachers in their sample had training in the method and used it in their classes.[24] Concurrently, the application of the method in the US was fast becoming a topic of research in a string of MA and PhD dissertations across the country.[25] Finally, the method made an impact on popular culture and became part of the zeitgeist after the solfege hand signs were featured in the 1977 Steven Spielberg movie, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*.

Such popularity and proliferation of usage shows that the informal and transnational interactions of the 1960s between Hungarian and

US educators bore fruit by the 1970s in the form of financial support, institutional setting, and wide-spread recognition. Roughly a decade after McCarthyism, with the Vietnam War and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia dominating the headlines, the Kodály-method – the educational model of a small state socialist country – was taking US education and pop culture by storm.

At the heart of this development were American music educators who became interested in the Hungarian example, traveled to Hungary to observe it, and envisioned its adaptation in the US. Most of them started from the premise that during the 1960s-70s music education in their home country was going through a deep crisis. They saw the Kodály-method – through the lens of its idealized application within Hungary – as a comprehensive solution to a national educational problem. In her 1963 article, Mary Helen Richards declared that the place of music in the Hungarian educational system "seems almost utopian" when compared to the US.[26] For Alexander Ringer, who witnessed a demonstration of the method in 1964, Hungary's "comprehensive system" served as role model "wherever and whenever the question of musical literacy [was] raised."[27]

While their positive impressions were, no doubt, influenced by the selective showcasing arranged by their Hungarian hosts, it would be wrong to flatten the interaction of American and Hungarian pedagogues by suggesting that the former were duped by a Potemkin-village of Kodály-education. US observers were articulating exaggerated views in order to construct the Kodály-method as a viable alternative for their transformative projects targeting American music education. In these accounts, the Hungarian educational system and the musical literacy of the Hungarian people were held up as role models, with decidedly no reference to the country's state socialist regime. At the same time, the underlying structural factors that made the method work in Hungary on a national scale – mainly, the existence of a centralized and unified educational system with minimal variation that was paradigmatically different from the decentralized and plural American one – were downplayed.

Specifically, the presentations of the Hungarian success story were meant to convince federal and private donors to fund pilot projects designed to adapt the Kodály-method in the US context. Those planning these projects were encouraged by the increased attention that music education received in the 1960s and early 1970s, and especially by the generous support given to various experimental initiatives that aimed to

improve the quality and status of music teaching in public schools and music colleges.[28] The high volume of support for arts education in the period created a favorable legislative, financial, and institutional context for the introduction of new and foreign approaches to music teaching, like the Orff-, Suzuki, or Kodály-methods.[29]

Although there were several parallel and interconnected initiatives to create an institutional setting for the Kodály-method within the US during this period, I will briefly present two such programs. The first pioneering project was the Kodály Fellowship Program (KFP) created in 1966 by Alexander Ringer with funds from the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The NEA pledged $50,000 for the development of a "comprehensive model in terms of our own linguistic and cultural heritage, as a possible basis for a new approach to musical learning in the US."[30] In order to realize this, the KFP offered individual grants of $5,000 for a twelve-month study trip in Hungary for a cohort of ten young music teachers.

During the 1968-69 academic year, this group attended courses at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music under the guidance of Erzsébet Szőnyi, and later were assigned to observe music classes in schools in smaller Hungarian towns (Kecskemét and Székesfehérvár). The second part of the program consisted of a trial teaching year for the returned fellows, applying and adapting the newly learned method in American elementary schools. According to Ringer's final report, almost 800 children in 7 elementary schools from 3 cities "had learned how to read and write relatively unsophisticated musical patterns, had considerably increased their powers of aural recognition, and proved capable of improvising vocally at varying levels of complexity."[31] Due to the lively interest in the results of the program, Ringer was able to secure funding for two more cohorts to travel to Hungary in 1971-72 and 1975-76. With the KFP, Ringer created the first comprehensive program for transferring the Hungarian model and adapting it to the US educational context. The educational experiment he envisioned and supervised launched many of the teachers who went on the define the "Kodály-movement" in the US.

Besides the federal government, the Ford Foundation also supported music education projects in this period. In particular, it provided around $1,800,000 to various Kodály-based programs throughout the 1970s, with the purpose of creating a "cadre of music educators in the US who could adapt and apply the Kodály approach to the special features of the American musical experience."[32] One of the first projects envisioned with

this purpose in mind was the Kodály Musical Training Institute (KMTI), established in 1969 by Denise Bacon, head of the Dana Hall School of Music in Wellesley, Massachusetts. With a starting grant of $184,000 from the Ford Foundation, the new institution aimed to prepare musical materials necessary for an adapted version of the Kodály-method, to train personnel capable of teaching this way, and to advertise this approach to music teachers in the US.[33] Following the practice pioneered by the KFP, the KMTI also offered scholarships to young teachers to study in Hungary and then teach according to the Kodály-method in elementary schools in the wider Boston area. Under Bacon's leadership, the Institute received over $2 million in funding during its first decade of operation, $886,658 coming from the Ford Foundation and $784,899 raised from local foundations, family trusts, and individual donations.

While Ringer and Bacon worked on parallel projects that competed for the attention of their Hungarian partners and for the resources of American supporters, they ultimately reinforced each other's efforts in legitimizing the study and use of the Kodály-method in the US. Thanks to their work, Kodály-inspired music teaching was able to gradually consolidate in several school districts of the country, with subsequent generations of Kodály-teachers being instructed in US certificated programs modeled on these early projects. Moreover, both programs reinforced the professional collaborations that cut across the Iron Curtain, emphasizing the necessity of on-site, immersive knowledge acquisition in Hungary and the methodological-theoretical input of Hungarian experts.

Proving the vitality and dynamism of this transnational network, in the early 1970s Hungarian and American educators aimed to create an international forum for those interested in the Kodály-method globally. This marked the need to progress from an informal community to the level of a formal international organization and professional interest group that could facilitate exchange and coordinate the emergent national Kodály organizations. These plans found support from another US institution, the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX), a nominally independent organization that brought together private and federal funding to facilitate cultural and educational exchanges with the Soviet bloc.[34] As such, IREX provided grants for the preparation and then organization of the envisioned professional forum, namely the First International Kodály Symposium, held in August 1973 at Holy Names College in Oakland, California.[35] Altogether, IREX offered ten grants on Kodály-projects between 1970 and 1976, amounting to approximately $75,000.[36]

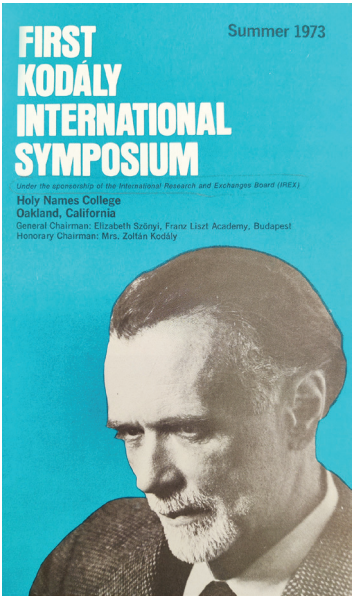

Photo 6 and 7. Booklets for the First International Kodály Symposium, held in August 1973 at Holy Names College in Oakland, California. Source: photos by author.

The fifteen-day event in Oakland, attended by 50 delegates and approximately 300 observers from 16 countries, coming from five continents, was the joint initiative of Erzsébet Szőnyi, from Hungary, and Sister Mary Alice Hein, in charge of Kodály-teaching at Holy Names College. The Symposium's stated aim was to "encourage an exchange of ideas among Kodály authorities of the world" and to "further stimulate the interest of American educators in the Kodály concept of music education."[37] Besides the leadership of IREX, the event was also attended and addressed by the representatives of the US Department of Education, the Ford Foundation, and the Music Educators' National Conference. Indicative of the indifference of the Hungarian authorities, next to the educators, Kodály's home country was represented at the Symposium only by a mid-level official from the Franz Liszt Academy of Music, Mrs. Gábor Gabos.

Beyond professional interactions, this truly global forum was used to make announcements about further institutional configurations for the promotion and study of the Kodály-method. It was at the Symposium that Sarolta Kodály, the composer's widow, announced the plan to establish a Kodály Institute in Kecskemét (to be discussed in the next section), and where the Canadian delegation informed their colleagues about the creation of the Kodály Institute of Canada.[38] Moreover, the event also served as an occasion for the Ford Foundation to announce that it will provide Holy Names College a two-year grant for the purpose of expanding its already existing graduate Kodály-program.[39] The first global gathering of Kodály-teachers also led to further organizational activity, resulting in the eventual creation of the Organization of American Kodály Educators (OAKE) in 1974, and, equally important, the conceptualization and preparation of the International Kodály Society (IKS), founded in 1975 in Hungary. Consequently, the widespread and generous support for the Kodály-method in the US by federal and private entities, donated with the purpose of reforming and strengthening American music education, had a significant side-effect: the simultaneous consolidation and institutionalization of the transnational professional network of Hungarian and American Kodály-teachers. The financial assistance requested and offered for specifically domestic goals was crucial in creating the frameworks for the mobility of experts and the transcontinental transfer of ideas and practices.

3. Appropriating the Kodály-method Brand for State Socialist Cultural Diplomacy

By 1970 there were institutions dedicated solely to the teaching and promotion of the Kodály-method in the US and Japan, and special courses on the topic were popping up in many countries. Yet in Hungary there was still no institutional foundation that could address and anchor the growing international interest in Kodály-inspired music education. Foreign teachers coming to observe the Hungarian model were received and guided by the informal network of Kodály-educators. Nonetheless, these bottom-up activities of educators and musicologists were not met by any top-down plan for the coordinated promotion of the Kodály-method abroad or for the systematic reception of teachers from around the world. As illustrated by the example of the First International Kodály Symposium, the most

significant initiatives related to organizing the cross-border professional interactions involving the method originated in the transnational realm and came mostly from outside of Hungary. Although the global recognition of the newly labelled Kodály-method was covered in the Hungarian press, as mentioned earlier, up until the end of the 1960s the Hungarian authorities showed no sign of wanting to incorporate this phenomenon into their cultural diplomacy agenda.

Official attitudes began to change toward the question at the beginning of the 1970s, as authoritative figures in the ICR and the Ministry of Culture understood the extent of the financial and moral support the Kodály-method gathered in the US and Canada. In particular, the funding received by Ringer from the National Endowment for the Arts and the one that Bacon and Hein each secured from the Ford Foundation elevated the method as an international issue worth the authorities' attention. Initially, this simply meant that the influx of students and visitors was recognized as a source of hard currency for the Hungarian state. Gradually, the previously dismissive bureaucrats started to warm up to the idea that the Kodály-brand could be a veritable gift for Hungarian cultural diplomacy. With this recognition came the corresponding intention to appropriate, supervise, and monetize the method as a cultural product representing state socialist Hungary. The authorities also wanted to (re)integrate and consolidate this worryingly independent phenomenon, to refocus the attention from the iconic figure of Kodály to the supposed achievements of the socialist state.

Within the transnational professional network that was formed through the promotion and transfer of the method, Hungarian teachers, many of them former students of the famous composer, possessed unequaled cultural capital due to their direct association with the source of the Kodály-brand. Given the growing multiplicity of adaptations worldwide, the only authenticating stamp available to international Kodály-followers was the Hungarian connection: detailed knowledge of Kodály's writings complemented with in-depth observation and prolonged learning in Hungary. Furthermore, the knowledge and skills accumulated by Hungarian teachers through decades of experience in developing and applying the method could not be simply copied and reproduced in different contexts without their participation. The direct input, guidance, and legitimizing touch of Hungarian partners was crucial in starting most foreign projects based on the Kodály-method. In turn, the Hungarian authorities were aiming to appropriate exactly this local ability to bestow

a stamp of authentication on a global brand. By securing the integration of the Kodály-method into the official cultural diplomacy agenda, it was hoped that the widespread popularity of the educational model would be an asset for the country's foreign policy.

One of the early – and ultimately unsuccessful – ways in which the Hungarian authorities aimed to carry out this appropriation was by trying to instrumentalize the existing collaborative US-Hungarian projects for the purposes of state socialist propaganda. Such plans mainly targeted the KMTI created by Denise Bacon. In 1970, the attaché of the Hungarian Embassy in Washington reported back to Budapest that "with the proper assistance and influence, we [*i.e.* the Hungarian state] could develop the institution into a Hungarian 'cultural center' in the US"[40] The rapporteur of the ICR working on Bacon's case evaluated her project as "politically and economically beneficial" for Hungarian interests, because the KMTI "would allow us to promote our cultural values in the field of American public education with the financial and moral support of the Ford Foundation."[41] In other words, the hope was that the dissemination of socialist Hungarian discourse would be financed by US foundation money under the guise of promoting knowledge on music education.

In her relationship with the ICR and various ministries, Bacon proved to be a cooperative partner while retaining her autonomy. Her main priority was to build the pedagogical and research activity of the KMTI on the professional relationships she developed with the Kodály-community during her stay in Hungary. To make the partnership with the authorities work, Bacon was willing to nominally make concessions, like promising not to hire anyone to the KMTI who has "left [*i.e.* defected from] Hungary since 1956, at least for the first three to five years of the program."[42] Yet, given that the funding for the Institute came entirely from within the US, the Ministry of Culture was forced to admit that Hungarian officials had limited leverage over Bacon's plans and actions.[43] Despite the intention to use the KMTI for the agenda of state socialist cultural diplomacy, I found no archival evidence to indicate that the ICR or the Ministry had any identifiable influence over the institutional identity or the functioning of the American institute.

Another – more effective – step towards appropriating the Kodály-brand for the diplomatic and financial purposes of the Hungarian state was to centralize and concentrate the management of the increasing number of foreigners interested in learning the method in Hungary. To address this challenge, the already mentioned Zoltán Kodály Pedagogical Institute for

Music was founded in 1973 (on paper), opening its doors in a renovated Franciscan monastery in Kecskemét in the fall of 1975. The aim was to channel all international interest in the Kodály-method into one institution for training, research, publication, and archiving. The new institution eventually offered year-long courses in English, organized international summer seminars on the Kodály-method, and held regular workshops for Hungarian music teachers.[44] Importantly, since it was mainly targeting participants from Western countries, the Institute was seen as a source of foreign currency. Accordingly, pricing was relatively high, with tuition, room, and board costing $2,350 for the 1975-76 academic year, plus another $375 for local transportation and miscellaneous, as compared to an average of $1,663 for a year in a public university in the US.[45]

The official handling of the creation of the Kecskemét Institute highlighted two crucial aspects of the Hungarian authorities' approach to appropriating the Kodály-method brand. On the one hand, it revealed the state's duplicity in wanting to exploit the symbolic capital of this transnational phenomenon, but without allocating significant – or sufficient – resources and funds. Despite clear state interests in having the Kecskemét Institute up and running, the project was not handled as a priority by the various central and local authorities. Specifically, throughout 1973 and 1974 the officials of Bács-Kiskun county (where Kecskemét is located) repeatedly pushed the deadline for finalizing the renovation of the monastery building while requesting more funds for the construction budget. In the end, despite attempts from the Hungarian Kodály-community to speed things up, the facilities of the Kodály Institute were not ready to welcome the participants of the Second International Kodály Symposium organized in Kecskemét in the summer of 1975. The failure to inaugurate the intended iconic center indicated that there was a significant gap between the official recognition of the diplomatic worth of the Kodály-brand and the Hungarian state's ability to meaningfully and responsibly promote it.

On the other hand, the establishment of the Kecskemét Institute also showed the limitations of the top-down approach both in terms of conception and operation. The idea for such an institution came from one section of the transnational Kodály-community, spearheaded by the composer's widow, Mrs. Sarolta Kodály, and substantively assisted by Denise Bacon. Moreover, its implementation reflected the practices of the already existing trans-Atlantic Kodály-community. In effect, it came to serve as a partner institution to the KMTI in Hungary. For one, the

institution's direction was given to the 29-year-old Péter Erdei, freshly returned after four years in the US, assisting Bacon's Kodály-projects. Furthermore, the new Kecskemét Institute was created according to an American blueprint: its courses, scheduling, and examination followed those of the KMTI, with participants receiving letter grades instead of the number grades customary in Hungary. The summer seminars held in Kecskemét since 1970 and then hosted by the new institution were also modelled on the US and Canadian summer university courses that Hungarian Kodály-experts lectured at since the mid-1960s. Once established, the profile of the institute was entirely unprecedented in the country and for several years was not integrated into the wider Hungarian higher educational system, serving overwhelmingly foreign students.[46]

At the same time, the establishment of the Institute – and the political-administrative agenda behind it – caused an internal rift within the professional community of Kodály-teachers, both in Hungary and in the US. Those Hungarian experts, like Professor Szőnyi, who facilitated the studies of international educators at the Liszt Academy, and the American experts, like Professor Ringer, who devised the training schedule for the Kodály Fellowship Program, were opposed to the top-down channeling of all activity to the new Kecskemét institution. Ringer interpreted it as a power move intending to monopolize the international interest in the Kodály-method, considering the new Institute a "Kodály ghetto in the heart of Hungary" that was "totally unsuitable for the kind of cultural immersion that has been the ultimate secret of our past successes."[47] He suspected that the Hungarian authorities wanted to "restrict foreign students to the walled confines of a former nunnery in a small Hungarian town," in order to "forestall regular contacts between these students and their Hungarian colleagues, not to speak of the population at large."[48]

A third and ambitious step in the effort to incorporate the Kodály-brand into state structures was to orchestrate state-led Hungarian dominance within the global professional organization of the Kodály-network, the future International Kodály Society. In their attempt, the authorities encountered similar limitations to their top-down efforts and displayed once again duplicitousness when it came to (the lack of) substantial and sustained financial support. The noted difference in this case was that in the conflict between the agenda of transnational professionals and that of the paternalistic state the abovementioned internal rift became much more pronounced and was readily exploited by the Hungarian authorities.

Hungarian officials were notified about the plan to create an international organization by Erzsébet Szőnyi, upon her return from the First International Kodály Symposium in Oakland.[49] Learning about the ongoing preparations for the IKS, it became evident to the architects of Hungarian cultural diplomacy that, unless they act promptly, the international guardianship of the Kodály-method might slip away from Hungary. The director of the ICR pleaded with the Ministry of Culture to "examine more closely the international ramifications connected to Hungarian music education" and to "take an official stance regarding the issue of the planned International Kodály Alliance (*sic*!)."[50] By March 1974, the ICR and the Ministry articulated the official Hungarian approach to this international development and submitted a proposal to the Central Committee. It started by outlining the looming threat: "governmental institutions and large private foundations in the US and Canada are eagerly interested in using [Kodály's] pedagogical method for their educational, cultural, and even political aims," with the planned IKS supposedly being an instrument toward these ends.[51] This was a reference to the fact that IREX had sponsored the organization of the Oakland Symposium and had offered grants to pay for the travel of American and Canadian music educators to the Second Symposium to be held in Hungary.

Unsurprisingly, the document deliberately overemphasized the supposed geopolitical implications of Western sponsorship and silenced the overwhelmingly grassroots and transnational origins of the envisioned organization. The proposal went on to point out that the Hungarian state "cannot obstruct the formation of the international society, nor would that be in our interest." Instead, the aim would be to reclaim the pedagogical method named after Kodály as "an international cultural propaganda tool" by securing Hungarian dominance over the IKS.[52] The ultimate intention behind this appropriation was to convince the international public sphere that, while the "unquestionable merits of Kodály" should be acknowledged, the promoted method had been able to develop into an "effective pedagogical tool for the improvement of musical culture *only* because of the socialist cultural policies of the Hungarian People's Republic."[53]

Importantly, the authorities' proposal put forward a strategy on how to ensure the future hegemony of the Hungarian state over the planned IKS. The primary and non-negotiable requirement was to have the organization's headquarters in Hungary, in order for the state to be able to "influence the functioning of the Society according to [its] political

aims and interests, and to fend off Western attempts to appropriate it."[54] It was hoped that a Budapest office would make it possible for the ICR – and thereby the Ministry of Interior and the State Security – to supervise the organization's operation. Incidentally, the transnational Kodály-community also envisioned an organization based in Hungary, as befitting the legacy of the famed composer, yet operating as an autonomous, non-governmental, professional body.

Next, the authorities were aiming to prepare by-laws for the IKS that were favorable to Hungarian state interests in terms of shaping the leadership and membership of the organization. The preparatory committee, following Ringer's conception, imagined the future IKS as an elite and professional organization that limited membership to those with considerable accomplishments in the fields of music education or musicology. Moreover, they favored the idea of collective membership by national Kodály-societies, delegating representatives to an International Council within the IKS that could advise the society's Board of Directors.[55] Interpreting this as a thinly veiled attempt to ensure American dominance, the Hungarian authorities opposed such designs, insisting on individual membership and the unchallenged leadership of the Board.[56] Furthermore, they intended to create a strong operational position for an executive secretary within the Board, stipulating that the role should be permanently held by a Hungarian, "representing the interests of the Hungarian state at board meetings."[57] Revealing significant differences in viewpoints, no final and complete version of the statutes was produced before the beginning of the founding meeting for the IKS in August 1975.

Upon the approval of the Central Committee, the ICR assumed responsibility for coordinating arrangements for establishing the IKS, effectively turning this process into a full-fledged strategic operation run by state bureaucrats – some of whom doubled as informants for the State Security.[58] Through a Cold War rhetoric, the authorities were constructing a stark antagonism between the categories of malicious "Western" educators versus Hungarian music teachers assumed to be loyal to the socialist state, a dichotomy that had been alien to the nature of the transnational professional network of Kodály-teachers. Ringer was especially singled out and characterized as suspicious and antagonistic. A State Security report, dating from Ringer's early visits to Hungary in 1968, described him as "untrustworthy" and a "stubborn enemy of socialism."[59] At the same time, issuing an official commitment and devising a battle plan were only slowly and haltingly followed by actions, proving the duplicity of the

Hungarian authorities once more. Because of the complex inter-ministerial briefings and clearances that these top-level machinations necessitated, actual preparatory tasks were delayed: the approved invitations went out in January 1975 and funds were requested as late as May.[60]

Because no consensus was reached on who could take part in the first plenary meeting and vote in the statutes and the Board, effectively creating the IKS, the authorities hoped to manipulate the composition and outcome of the meeting by restricting participation to those officially invited by the ICR. Yet, their room for maneuver was limited in this regard, since the ICR could not ignore the already-formed network of the Kodály-community and deny invitations to the most authoritative and active figures from the US, Canada, Japan, and Australia – all participants at the First Symposium in Oakland. Nonetheless, the authorities' plan was to outnumber these incoming "Westerners" by filling up the meeting with a high number of Hungarian delegates and with delegates from other socialist countries. The ICR leadership worked with the assumption that local and neighborly attendees were loyal and would vote unanimously according to the top-down directives. However, despite the encouraging circulars sent out to socialist embassies in Budapest, the Kodály-method was little known and scarcely adopted in most Soviet bloc countries and comradely solidarity did not materialize.[61] Once again, this failure showed the limitation of state efforts: while the members of the global community of Kodály-educators, built from the bottom-up, were willing to travel to another continent, the artificially conjured transborder alliances could not be mobilized.

The internal communication between the ICR and the Ministry of Culture makes it clear that the upcoming founding meeting of the IKS was treated as a battle to be won, with plans on selecting and preparing Hungarian participants for their tactical role in the encounter. For example, an internal memo from November 1974 requested the "instruction of professor Szőnyi on what professional, political, and personnel decisions she should support during the meeting."[62] It is highly doubtful that Szőnyi, who had been chairing the preparatory committee and was passionately involved in the organizational activity, would have accepted to follow top-down instructions, yet her further involvement was made impossible by an illness that required hospitalization and long convalescence.[63] Upon her request, Szőnyi's role was taken over by Ringer who then served as chairman during the proceedings. Nonetheless, the authorities found willing local partners who accepted the "us vs. them" narrative

and were ready to secure "Hungarian interests" at the founding meeting. These Hungarian delegates were not closely connected to the already existing transnational Kodály-community, evidenced by the fact that the list of their names was not made available to the preparatory committee before the meeting.

Several factors made the already challenging and conflict-laden founding event even more difficult. Although the constitutive meeting of the IKS was included into the program of the Second International Kodály Symposium, there was not enough time allocated to setting up and finalizing the procedure and the list of those eligible to participate. As such, the meeting was held at the end of the Symposium, on a Sunday evening, lasting until midnight. The issue of participants was also decided under pressure and tendentiously, resulting in a situation where the international delegates who had taken part in the Oakland Symposium were joined by a large group of Hungarian delegates nominated by the authorities. During the meeting, this contingent voted *en bloc*. The newly elected leadership of the International Kodály Society reflected a strong Hungarian dominance. Accordingly, Mrs. Zoltán Kodály was elected lifetime honorary president. For the position of president, Alexander Ringer (US) was voted out in favor of Deanna Hoermann (Australia). Péter Erdei (Hungary) and László Vikár (Hungary) were voted vice presidents, Sister Mary Alice Hein (US) as secretary treasurer, and finally, Davide Liani (Italy), Pierre Perron (Canada), and Éva Rozgonyi (Hungary) as directors. At its first meeting, this Board chose László Eősze (Hungary), a musicologist and Kodály's biographer, for the position of the executive secretary.

According to the ICR's post-meeting evaluation, their operation "achieved its most important aims" and should be seen as a success from the perspective of the Hungarian authorities.[64] In contrast, several of the participating US educators found the proceedings disturbing and denounced the event in various ways. Stephen Jay, the head of the Wisconsin Conservatory of Music and the freshly elected president of the Organization of American Kodály Educators, adopted the inverse Cold War rhetoric and stated in an interview that Hungarians with "dubious musical credentials […] began playing political ploys," undermining the attempts of "Westerners to operate under parliamentary rules of order."[65] While for most music teachers from the US or Canada, who had significant ties to Hungary through professional collaborations and friendships, such a geopolitical dichotomy was not relevant or acceptable, the conflictual meeting caused by the covert interference of the Hungarian authorities

was, in the short term, a disruptive experience that threatened the unity of the transnational Kodály-community.

Unsurprisingly, Alexander Ringer was angered by both the experience and the results of the meeting. In a letter written to John P.C. Matthews of IREX after returning from Hungary, the professor stated that the "highly political developments that culminated in the founding of the International Kodaly Society […] exceeded even my worst expectations."[66] According to him, the presence at the meeting of "large numbers of Hungarians previously unknown to us, acting strictly in accordance with directives received from roving superiors" produced an outcome that was "outright farcical, my frantic efforts notwithstanding."[67] That his dismissive attitude towards the IKS remained unchanged with time was evidenced by a 1976 letter to Eősze, in which Ringer still held that the circumstances of the founding of the IKS would have ignited the "wrath of the very man to whose life's work it is ostensibly dedicated" and have "grievously offended not only my [*i.e.* Ringer's] sense of fair play but also my lasting devotion to the memory of Kodály."[68] He considered the organization to be nothing more than a "Hungarian society with foreign members" and refused to become a charter member.[69] No doubt it was this stance that earned him the characterization within internal ICR documents as being "extremely malevolent and antagonistic" toward the Hungarian People's Republic.[70]

Lois Choksy, the author of a widely used 1974 handbook on the Kodály-method in North America and an educator who had been active in preparing the event from the US, described the meeting later as a "power-grab from some who seemed to me far removed from the ideals Kodály espoused."[71] According to her recollection, the event was defined by a "seemingly irresolvable conflict in which one group of delegates tried to push through an agenda and slate of officers that an almost equal number of others found utterly abhorrent." She described the end result as an "uneasy truce," the IKS coming into a "formal, if shaky, existence" with a "compromise president and board."[72]

As the composition of the newly elected Board of the IKS shows, other international educators accepted leadership positions within it, yet they also had critical observations about the founding meeting and identified the crucial problems very similarly to Ringer and Choksy. Sister Lorna Zemke, a Kodály-educator at Silver Lake College, Wisconsin, who took a position in the Committee of Auditors, fully agreed with Ringer's account transmitted to IREX, calling the proceedings of the meeting "nightmarish."[73] Sister Mary Alice Hein, member of the preparatory committee and the

new Secretary-Treasurer, submitted a report on the event to IREX in which she noted that the IKS was "brought forth amid many difficulties" due to the "political situation prevailing in Hungary at the present time" and the "internal political maneuvers leading up to and including the time of the Symposium."[74]

According to Hein's diagnosis, the difficulties were partially caused by Szőnyi's withdrawal, leading to the "lack of organization and strong leadership during the time of the Symposium."[75] This was worsened by the two-fold appointment of Péter Erdei, the director of the Kodály Institute in Kecskemét, as both the local leader for IKS preparations and also the Chairman of the Symposium, because his attempt to "coordinate these two undertakings [resulted in] great disorganization and confusion."[76] Furthermore, the report stated that the abovementioned rift between those Hungarian educators who favored the establishment of the Kecskemét Institute and those who opposed it "tended to create tensions and factions among the delegates present."[77] Importantly, Hein surmised that the "paranoiac tactics" through which the Board of the IKS came to have a "disproportionate number of Hungarians on it" was "an attempt, albeit a misguided one, to ensure that Hungarian interests would not be overridden by an outside majority."[78] Nonetheless, the report ended on a decidedly conciliatory and optimistic tone regarding the future operation of the IKS, with Hein expressing her hope that the Board will be able to work together and that "useful dialogue will still be able to be carried on, which to me is a far better outcome than if negotiations had broken down completely."[79]

After declaring victory in the operation targeting the IKS, the Hungarian authorities went on to ignore their responsibilities towards the newly created organization. Although the ICR fought for the right to supervise the Society, for almost an entire year after its creation they were unable to allocate office space for the IKS, despite the consistent pleadings of the new executive secretary.[80] When the ICR turned to the Ministry of Culture for help, they suggested that Előszе do his secretarial tasks at his current workplace and use the ICR's conference rooms for meetings.[81]

Moreover, despite the Hungarian state's one-time pledge of 600,000 Forints ($30,000) for the functioning of the IKS, the society was not granted a bank account until January 1976. Until then, Előszе had to finance the beginnings of a substantial international correspondence with new members and the Board of Directors out of his own pocket. By May 1976, complaining about the lack of tangible results for the sixth time, it seemed that the musicologist had had enough. "Unfortunately, it has

become obvious to me that the ICR is not willing to secure the necessary conditions for the IKS to function properly," he wrote, concluding the letter by tending his resignation.[82] Eventually, the authorities started addressing the basic requirements of the Society and Eősze remained in his post until 1995, but the IKS functioned as a precarious and bare-bones organization both before and after the 1989 regime change.[83]

As the global recession of the late 1970s engulfed Hungary, and the entire region, the Hungarian state faced a dilemma regarding its appropriation of the Kodály-brand as "an international cultural propaganda tool." On the one hand, the authorities were determined to maintain their dominance over the IKS for diplomatic reasons, while on the other hand, it proved increasingly difficult to finance the organization. According to a 1979 report, the yearly cost of running the Society was 400,000 Forints ($20,000), in addition to the state's obligation to pay the fees ($20) for 57 Hungarian members.[84] Although the ICR repeatedly insisted that the Society become financially independent by relying on foreign membership fees, this was untenable. Membership numbers oscillated depending on the years with or without Symposia, dropping from an initial 400 to 133 and then back to 260, providing around 15% of the necessary budget.

The ICR further suggested that membership be increased by asking "friendly" socialist countries to encourage their music educators to join the Society, yet this proved as ineffective as in the case of the founding meeting in 1975.[85] This meant that, although the Hungarian state paid the bills, the majority of members were and remained "Westerners," jeopardizing the hard-won Hungarian dominance in the long run. This was proven during the next leadership elections for the IKS at the Fourth International Kodály Symposium held in August 1979 in Sydney. Since the Hungarian authorities were willing to pay for the travel expenses of only 14 delegates from Hungary, they did not constitute a decisive presence at the 80-strong plenary meeting.[86] The authorities had to accept an outcome that did not satisfy official expectations: in the new Board, only three out of eight were now Hungarians.

This internationalizing trend would intensify later as the Board aimed to represent the global diversity of Kodály-societies, having only one member from Hungary in subsequent periods. Gradually, national Kodály-societies were formed in several countries and currently there are 15 such organizations associated with the IKS.[87] Accordingly, while in the short run the circumstances surrounding the founding of the IKS were experienced as disruptive and traumatic for the transnational Kodály-community,

threatening with its fragmentation, in the long run, as the organization strengthened and integrated more and more participating countries, it became the global professional forum that it was intended to be.

4. Conclusions

Referring to his first discussions with the leadership of the ICR in 1966, Alexander Ringer recalled suggesting that "for once we forget about the so-called political realities of the day and devote ourselves to a people-to-people program."[88] The emergent transnational Kodály-movement was indeed built according to an educator-to-educator program, even if the Hungarian authorities went on to effectively ignore the growing global popularity of the Hungarian model for music education. Hungarian music teachers devised a non-combative and bottom-up cultural diplomacy practice both at home and abroad, finding a host of willing partners across the Iron Curtain. The promotion and transfer of the Kodály-method during the 1960s and 1970s was carried out by an informal and dynamic professional community based on mutuality and sharing, and composed of Hungarians, Americans, Canadians, Japanese, Australians, etc.

The Hungarian authorities started paying attention to the international phenomenon of the Kodály-method only as a reaction, after registering the intensity of foreign interest and investment – especially those occurring within the US. Driven by the competitive logic of the Cold War, the authorities wished to appropriate the Kodály-brand and incorporate it into their official socialist cultural diplomacy framework. As presented above, this agenda of appropriation was attempted in various forms, yet yielded only partial results. Although having the entire state apparatus at their disposal, the authorities' top-down efforts nonetheless faced several limitations.

First, this top-down ineffectiveness was caused by self-limitation: although the Hungarian state wished to exploit the global prestige and symbolic capital of the cultural product represented by the Kodály-method, it was unwilling to offer substantive financial and logistic support required for the brand's meaningful and sustained promotion. Furthermore, the Hungarian authorities expected the active assistance of neighboring "friendly" socialist states in orchestrating dominance over the transnational network of Kodály-educators, yet no such comradely solidarity

materialized. Unlike the authentic professional and personal bonds between music teachers, built from the bottom-up, artificial top-down ideological alliances could not be mobilized.

Finally, due to the significant delay in marshaling official interest in the Kodály-movement, by the mid-1970s the Hungarian authorities were faced with a solidified transnational network with its own professional logic, its own discourse and practices, and internal dynamic. Despite its forceful intentions, the Hungarian state could not influence the operation of the KMTI in the US, the American-inspired educational profile of the Kecskemét Institute, or the engaged participation of international educators in the founding of the IKS. Ultimately, instead of managing to transform the Kodály-network and Society into an international propaganda tool for socialist Hungary, the authorities had to accept the fact that the global understanding of the Kodály-method and the Hungarian system of music education could not be disentangled anymore from the existing transnational community. Moreover, by offering official support to the institutional dimension of this professional community, state socialist officials effectively legitimized the trans-Atlantic project of Hungarian and American pedagogues as culturally valuable and salient.

List of illustrations

Photo 1. Hungarian composer and musicologist Zoltán Kodály (1882-1967). Source: Fortepan, 210928, by Kutas Anna, 1952.

Photo 2. School children learning music through the Kodály-method in 1962. Source: Fortepan, 135793, photograph donated to the Fortepan collection by the Sütő family.

Photo 3. Booklet for the 1964 International Society for Music Education (ISME) conference organized in Budapest. Source: photo by author.

Photo 4. The venue for the conference, the headquarters of the National Association of Hungarian Construction Workers. Source: Fortepan, 158074, photograph donated to the Fortepan collection by the Preisich family.

Photo 5. Hungarian composer and music educator Erzsébet Szőnyi (1924–2019). Source: The papers of Erzsébet Szőnyi at the Archive of the Kodály Institute, Franz Liszt Academy of Music.

Photo 6 and 7. Booklets for the First International Kodály Symposium, held in August 1973 at Holy Names College in Oakland, California. Source: photos by author.

Endnotes

1 Alexander Ringer, letter to Endre Rosta, March 26, 1974, XIX-A-33-a, Box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

2 For a detailed history of the establishment and operation of the International Kodály Society, see Zsuzsanna Polyák, „A Nemzetközi Kodály Társaság története 1975-től napjainkig" [The history of the International Kodály Society from 1975 until today] (Eötvös Loránd University, PhD dissertation, 2023).

3 See Szabolcs László, "Promoting the Kodály Method during the Cold War: Hungarian Cultural Diplomacy and the Transnational Network of Music Educators in the 1960s and 1970s," *Múltunk (Special Issue: Openness and Closedness: Culture and Science in Hungary and the Soviet Bloc after Helsinki)*, (2019): 107-140.

4 On the Institute of Cultural Relations, see Szabolcs László, "Az új kalandozások kora": A Kulturális Kapcsolatok Intézetének működése az 1960–70-es években" [The age of new adventures: the Institute of Cultural Relations in the 1960s–1970s], in *Felsőoktatási intézményeink külkapcsolatai a 20. században: A 2020. november 12-én tartott konferencia előadásai* [Foreign relations of institutions of higher education in the twentieth century: presentations of the conference held on November 12, 2020], ed. István Lengvári, Egyetem és társadalom [University and society] 3 (Pécs: PTE Egyetemi Levéltár), 63–85.

5 Solfège (also called sol-fa, solfa, solfeo) is a music education method used to teach aural skills, pitch, and sight-reading of Western music. There are two ways of applying solfège: one is by using fixed do, where the syllables assigned to the notes of the scale are always tied to specific pitches; and another by using the movable do, where the syllables are assigned to scale degrees, with "do" always being the first degree of the major scale.

6 For approaches to the Kodály-method in Hungarian scholarship, see László Dobszay, *Kodály után. Tűnődések a zenepedagógiáról* (Kodály Intézet, Kecskemét, 1991); László Gönczy, "Kodály-koncepció: a megértés és alkalmazás nehézségei Magyarországon," *Magyar Pedagógia*, 109. 2. sz. (2009): 169–185. For a general overview of the Kodály scholarship, see Michael Houlahan and Philip Tacka, *Zoltán Kodály: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland Pub., 1998).

7 The situation of music education at the high school level was even worse, with general gymnasiums having music classes only in their first three years, yet professional and vocational high schools having none. The were only a few high schools which included specialized "singing" classes based on the Kodály concept (e.g. in 1975-76 there were only 9 in the country).

8 For a summary of this process, see Gábor Bodnár and Zsuzsanna Polyák, "International dissemination of Zoltán Kodály's concept of musical

education," *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, no. 37 (2021), 165-194.

9 In the context of internationalization during détente, Kodály enjoyed a new wave of recognition: in 1960 he received an honorary doctorate from Oxford University; in 1963 he was elected as an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Literature; in 1964 he got an honorary degree from Humboldt University of Berlin; and in 1965 he received the Herder Prize.

10 ISME was created in 1953 as affiliated to UNESCO and the International Music Council. See Marie McCarthy, *Toward a Global Community: The International Society for Music Education, 1953-2003* (Nedlands: ISME, 2004).

11 For more on the 1964 ISME conference, see Szabolcs László, "Világkörüli útra indul a Kodály-módszer: Két nemzetközi konferencia a kádári Magyarországon" [The Kodály-method goes global: two international conferences in Kádárist Hungary], Ujkor.hu, July 27.

12 See Breuer János, "Az ISME tanácskozásai és hangversenyei," *Népszabadság*, June 1964; "Beszámoló az ISME 6. konferenciájáról," *Parlando* 7-8., (1964): 1-16; Vikár László, „Zenei világtalálkozó – Budapest, 1964," *Család és Iskola*, nr. 12, 1964; Vanett Lawler, "Sixth International Conference ISME, Budapest, 1964," *International Music Educator*, 10 (October 1964), 347.

13 On détente, see Csaba Békés, *Hungary's Cold War: International Relations from the End of World War II to the Fall of the Soviet Union* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2022).

14 On her career, see Jerry-Louis Jaccard, *A Tear in the Curtain: The Musical Diplomacy of Erzsébet Szőnyi: Musician, Composer, Teacher of Teachers* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2014).

15 See, for example, Erzsébet Szőnyi, *Musical Reading and Writing,* translated by Lili Halápy; revised by Geoffry Russell-Smith (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1972).

16 On Soviet cultural diplomacy, see Michael David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to Soviet Union, 1921-1941* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

17 Katinka Dániel (1913-2010) and Árpád Darázs (1922-1986). See Jeri W. Bonnin, "Katinka Dániel and Her Contributions to Kodály Pedagogy in the United States," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Oct., 2005): 49-64; Árpád Darázs, "Comprehensive sight-singing and ear-training: Based on the Method of Zoltán Kodály," *The Choral Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (1964): 18-21.

18 See Trudi Lee Richards*, "Wake up Singing!" My Life with Mary Helen Richards and Education Through Music* (Pangea Press, 2007).

19 Mary Helen Richards, "The Legacy from Kodály," *Music Educators Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 6 (Jun. - Jul. 1963): 27-30.

20 Norman E. Weeks, "Hungarian School Report of April – May 1967." Katalin Forrai papers, box 1, Kodály Institute Archive, Kecskemét, Hungary.

21 Significant among pioneers of adaptation was Mary Alice Hein, who started the Kodály Center for Music Education at Holy Names University (then Holy Names College) in Oakland, CA in 1969. Also, Sr. Lorna Zemke founded the summer Kodály Training Program at Silver Lake College of the Holy Family in Manitowoc, Wisconsin in 1973.

22 During the 1970s, Kodály courses were offered at the New England Conservatory, at Yale, the Catholic University in the East, Duquesne University, Silver Lake College, and Holy Names College.

23 Gail Miller, "Learning Music the Kodály Way," *The Christian Science Monitor* 28, January 1974.

24 See Charles R. Hoffer, "The Big KO: How Widely Are Kodály and Orff Approaches Used?" *Music Educators Journal* 6 (Feb. 1981): 46–47.

25 See, for example, Lorna Zemke, "The Kodály Music Education Method and its Application to Primary Grades in the U.S." (University of Southern California, MA thesis, 1968), transformed into a full-length book *The Kodály Concept: Its History, Philosophy, and Development* (Champaign, IL: M. Foster Music Co., 1977); Árpád Darázs, "A study of the Zoltán Kodály approach to music reading and its application to the high school selective choral organization" (Columbia University, PhD dissertation, 1973); Sara Baker Bidner, "A Folk Song Approach to Music Reading for Upper Elementary Levels Based on the Kodály-method," (Louisiana State University, PhD dissertation, 1978).

26 Richards, "The Legacy," 29.

27 Ringer, "Passing of Music's Elder Statesman," *Jerusalem Post*, April 7, 1967.

28 See D. R. Gauthier, "The arts and the government: the Camelot years, 1959-1968," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, 24, (2003): 143-63. According to Gauthier, the term "Camelot years" came from the report of Harlan Hoffa. See Harlan Hoffa, *An Analysis of Recent Research Conferences in Art Education* (Washington: Bureau of Research, Office of Education, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1970).

29 Florence Caylor, "A Critical Analysis of Contemporary Schools of Thought in Public School Elementary Music Education," in *Music Education in the Modern World*, ed. Kabalevsky et al. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), 311. Published in the U.S. as "On the Trendmill of Elementary Music Education: Twenty years of evolving thought have led us to," *Music Educators Journal*, 58(7), 33–37.

30 Fan Taylor, letter to Vanet Lawler, Executive Secretary, Music Educators National Conference, June 10, 1966. Alexander L. Ringer Papers, box 1, The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

31 Alexander Ringer, "An experimental program in the development of musical literacy among musically gifted children in the upper elementary grades with

emphasis on the potential impact of Kodaly-inspired musical education," October 1970. Final report submitted to the Office of Education (DHEW), D.C. Bureau of Research, 39. Alexander L. Ringer Papers, box 4, The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

32 Leslie Gottlieb, "Kodály: The Signs and Sounds of Music," *Music Journal*. Jan 1, (1979): 25-27.

33 "Development of a Kodaly musical training center in the United States," Ford Foundation grant description, September 9, 1969, XIX-A-33-a, box 221, National Archives of Hungary.

34 On the Cold War cultural exchange programs between the US and Eastern Europe, see Robert F. Byrnes, Soviet-American Academic Exchanges, 1958–1975 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (Penn State University Press, 2004), Szabolcs László, "Trans-Systemic Mobility, Travel Reports and Knowledge Acquisition in Cold War Hungary in the 1960s and 1970s," *European Review of History / Revue européenne d'histoire* 30, no. 2 (2023): 204–33.

35 Delegates represented Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Japan, Poland, Romania, the United States, and the Virgin Islands.

36 John P.C. Matthews, letter from to William G. Messner, December 6, 1979, RC 072, IREX Records, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

37 Lois Choksy, "Kodály Symposium," *Music Educators Journal* 60(5) (1974): 76-77.

38 The Kodály Institute of Canada changed its name to the Kodály Society of Canada in 1986.

39 The Master of Music Education with Kodály Emphasis at Holy Names College was the first higher learning institution in North America to offer a graduate degree in Kodály pedagogy. The program had an international cast of teachers, including Lois Choksy, Mária Farkas, Dame Margaret Holden, Eleanor Locke, Pierre Perron, Emma Serényi, and László Vikar. The Ford Foundation contributed $606,696 between 1973 and 1979, when the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation took over as sponsors. Sadly, due to financial difficulties following the Covid pandemic, Holy Names University was shut down in 2023.

40 Report from the Hungarian embassy in Washington, D.C., January 7, 1970. XIX-A-33-a, box 221, National Archives of Hungary.

41 Note by Gábor Vígh, ICR, February 27, 1970, XIX-A-33-a, box 221, National Archives of Hungary.

42 Denise Bacon, letter to Róbert Boros, January 14, 1970, XIX-A-33-a, box 221, National Archives of Hungary. This letter is the only time that this significant request from the Hungarian side appears in Bacon's records, as

she might have spelled out something that was meant to be kept implicit and hidden. However, she picked up the topic in 1974, reassuring a Hungarian embassy attaché that she firmly keeps to this policy and hires only experts from Hungary. Report from the Hungarian embassy in Washington, D.C., November 27, 1974, XIX-i-7-z, box 1, National Archives of Hungary.

43 Note, Ministry of Culture, January 6, 1970, XIX-A-33-a, box 221, National Archives of Hungary.

44 Katalin Zsitva "The New Kodály Institute of Music Pedagogy," *Hungarian Review* 4 (1976).

45 See National Center for Education Statistics, Table 330.10. Average undergraduate tuition and fees and room and board rates charged for full-time students in degree-granting postsecondary institutions, by level and control of institution: 1963-64 through 2012-13. Accessed July 16, 2022. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13_330.10.asp?fbclid=IwAR3Q9x0u-3nl73IxsdugIDXUqukf2uhUiy81yWOvwxnFSLSAJhKV8oSBFGA

46 See Laura Kéri, "A Kodály Zoltán Zenepedagógiai Intézet megalakulása és története (1973-2005)" [The establishment and history of the Zoltán Kodály Institute for Music Pedagogy] (Eötvös Loránd University, PhD dissertation, 2008). According to its 1975-76 brochure, a full academic year course at the Kecskemét Institute could be applied toward a U.S. Master's degree in music education through the affiliation of the KMTI with the New England Conservatory of Music, Hartt College of Music, University of Connecticut at Storrs, American University in Washington, Catholic University.

47 Memorandum by Ringer to all Kodály Fellows, August 28, 1975, Alexander L. Ringer Papers, box 7, The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

48 Alexander Ringer, letter to John P.C. Matthews, August 28, 1975, RC 074, IREX Records, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

49 Erzsébet Szőnyi, letter by to Endre Rosta, November 28, 1973, XIX-A-33-a, box 11, National Archives of Hungary.

50 Endre Rosta, letter to Jenő Simó, December 18, 1973. MNL OL, XIX-A-33-a, box 11, National Archives of Hungary.

51 Endre Rosta, letter to to György Aczél, March 4, 1974, XIX-A-33-a, box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid. (Emphasis mine)

54 Mihály Kornidesz, "Proposal to the Political Committee for the establishment of the International Kodály Society," March 12, 1974, 288. f. 5/632. ő. e., National Archives of Hungary.

55 Alexander Ringer, "Preliminary Draft of Statutes, IKS," February 5, 1974, MNL OL, XIX-A-33-a, box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

56 Notes by György Kalmár, June 12, 1974, XIX-A-33-a, box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

57 Memorandum, June 30, 1975, XIX-A-33-a, box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

58 Concretely, the ICR rapporteur charged with handling the preparations and the negotiations over the by-laws, and who then took part in the founding meeting of the IKS was a trusted and long-time informant of the State Security. For the relationship between ICR and the State Security, see László, "Az új kalandozások."

59 ÁBTL, Mt-106, Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security.

60 Endre Rosta, letter to György Aczél, May 21, 1975, XIX-A-33-a, box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

61 Ibid. The Soviet delegation canceled its visit at the last minute.

62 Note, November 6, 1974, XIX-A-33-a, box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

63 Erzsébet Szőnyi, letter to ICR, November 24, 1974, XIX-A-33-a, box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

64 Note on the establishment of the IKS, August 14, 1975, XIX-A-33-a, box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

65 Jay Joslyn, "Even Music Succumbs to Politics in Hungary" *Milwaukee Journal*, 1975.

66 Ringer to Matthews, August 28, 1975, RC 074, IREX Records, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

67 Ibid.

68 Alexander Ringer, letter to László Ősze, March 31, 1976, Alexander L. Ringer Papers, box 16, The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

69 Notes on the meeting between Alexander Ringer and László Ősze, October 27, 1975, XIX-A-33-a, box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

70 Note from January 20, 1977, XIX-A-33-a, box 252, National Archives of Hungary.

71 Jaccard, *A Tear,* 201. See Lois Choksy, *The Kodály Method: Comprehensive Music Education From Infant to Adult* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974).

72 Ibid.

73 Sister Lorna Zemke, letter to Alexander Ringer, September 3, 1975, RC 074, IREX Records, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

74 Sister Mary Alice Hein, "Report on the Second International Kodaly Symposium," October 23, 1975, RC 074, IREX Records, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 Sister Mary Alice Hein, "Report to IREX on the Board Meeting of the International Kodaly Society," January 19, 1976, RC 074, IREX Records, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

79 Hein, "Report on the Second."

80 László Eősze, letter to Miklós Nagy, May 20, 1976, XIX-i-7-bb, box 5, National Archives of Hungary.

81 László Eősze, letter to ICR, December 5 and 18, 1975, XIX-i-7-bb, box 5, National Archives of Hungary.

82 Ibid.

83 According to Eősze, „up until 1990, we used to meet with political difficulties, but after that time, we had to face economic ones. So, the change of regime did not make our efforts any easier." Quoted in Jaccard, *A Tear*, 203.

84 László Eősze, Report of the executive secretary, XIX-A-33-a, box 1244, National Archives of Hungary. This budget excluded the cost of the biannual Symposia that was covered by the host countries.

85 Note on the IKS, May 10, 1978, XIX-A-33-a, box 1233, National Archives of Hungary.

86 László Eősze, Report on the trip to Australia, August 22, 1979, XIX-A-33-a, box 1244, National Archives of Hungary.

87 Accessed July 16, 2022. https://www.iks.hu/affiliations/23-affiliated-national-institutional-members.html

88 Ringer, letter to Rosta, March 26, 1974, XIX-A-33-a, Box 1128, National Archives of Hungary.

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