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The New Hungarian Quarterly

The Changing Hungarian Village — *Ferenc Erdei*

Restratification of the Working Class — *István Kemény*

The Thousandth Anniversary of St Stephen's Birth — *György Györffy*

The Timeliness of Lenin — *Ferenc Tőkei*

Financial Cooperation within CMEA — *Péter Vályi*

Poems — *Bálint Balassi, István Vas, Ferenc Juhász, József Tornyai*

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38

The New Hungarian Quarterly

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THE CHANGING HUNGARIAN VILLAGE

by

FERENC ERDEI

In the traditional Hungarian way of talking the word village means settlements outside towns, agriculture, and peasantry at the same time. All these concepts coincided for centuries, thus this summarizing name was justified and unequivocal. The fact that precisely in Hungary a considerable part of agriculture developed and a large part of the peasantry lived in market-towns* and outlying *tanya*** in the last century didn't cause particular confusions for both market-towns and *tanya* can be considered a specific variant of the village.

In our days the forms of settlement, the character of agriculture and the social conditions of the peasantry are undergoing radical changes as a result of which the earlier uniform pattern is disintegrating and a new social, economic and settlement structure is developing. Historical processes are taking place at the same time, as a result of which the traditional word "village" will soon become meaningless. Out of mere habit and for tradition's sake we can go on using it but we must be fully aware that it is just a symbol—the substance it designates has changed essentially.

General Characteristics of the Transformation

The processes which radically transform the village are not old nor did they develop simultaneously, but each of them is making energetic progress in our time and, taken together, they have already caused sweeping changes. The following are involved:

* Settlements without industry, the population of which was mainly engaged in agriculture; although the population amounted, in some places, to 30-40 thousand, market towns preserved certain rural features.

** A form of settlement on the Great Hungarian Plain which developed after the Turkish occupation. *Tanya* can either be single homesteads or clusters of huts or houses. The essence of a *tanya* is that it was originally semi-temporary accommodation, designed to solve the problem of travelling time between village or market-town and outlying fields. If a family has no house in the village in addition to their *tanya* accommodation the connotation is clearly that of a rural slum. See also Ferenc Erdei's article in No. 8 and "Children from the Tanya" by László Siklós on p. 17 of this issue. The number of those living in *tanya* amounted to about one million.

- changes in property relations,
- industrialization of the country and occupational restratification of the population,
- mechanization of agriculture,
- transformation of the Hungarian class structure,
- the process of urbanization, and
- the passing of generations, i.e. a generation which lived under old traditional village conditions is replaced by another one which has grown up under new conditions.

The national census carried out on January 1, 1970 will, once the data have been processed, provide a survey of the present phases of development. It is of course possible to produce quantitative estimations now, besides the qualitative aspects, and the history of the changes can be described even without precise figures.

During the past twenty years two revolutionary changes took place in the sphere of property relations: the land reform in 1945 and the socialist transformation of agriculture between 1949 and 1961, largely completed in 1960–1961. In 1945, large estates were redistributed to smallholders and the whole of Hungarian agriculture changed over to small-scale farming; as a result of the socialist transformation of agriculture about three thousand large estates were established carrying on large-scale agricultural production, in addition to millions of household plots whose production is by no means insignificant.

The transformation process of productive relations has not come to an end yet, however, the changes going on now do not have any great effect any more. At present a slower two-way process is going on. First, household farming is undergoing a change and gradually declining, secondly within the large-scale co-operative farms internal productive relations are taking a new form, tending towards entrepreneurial management and a special kind of relationship between members of the co-operatives and employed labour. However, there is a third important process going on: the dimensions of farms are growing and in line with this process co-operatives are establishing various kinds of common enterprises partly with one another and partly with other enterprises.

The industrialization of the country and the occupational restratification of the population considerably increased after 1949. Particularly stormy changes took place at the beginning of the fifties, but the process irresistibly continues even today although at a far slower pace. The most characteristic feature of this process is the considerable decrease in the size and proportion of the agricultural population. The number of the latter

reached a maximum with 2,200,000 persons employed in agriculture in 1949 (1,900,000 in 1900 and 2,000,000 in 1930), since then their number has decreased to 1,300,000-1,400,000. Up to 1949 around 50 per cent of all those in employment worked in agriculture, today only about 28 per cent. Those who left agriculture at first found jobs mainly in industry and later rather in the field of services.

The industrialization of agriculture is a multi-stage process, the first step of which coincided with the first phase of the socialist transformation. At this stage agriculture was equipped with great numbers of machines and tractors which quickly replaced draught animals but did not produce the industrialization of agriculture since neither sufficient machines nor modern means of production and materials were available. The second stage was the final period of transformation when large quantities of new machines, equipment and chemicals were made available. However, even at this stage Hungarian agriculture did not assume an industrial character. Certain up-to-date technical elements were introduced, but modern technological systems did not supplant the old ones.

The qualitative change took place in the third phase, a few years after the reorganization. But even then the process had only just started and was not spreading evenly. In some branches (poultry, wheat, maize) it had made progress, in others (pigs, certain industrial plants and vegetables, wine, fruit) it is developing, in some areas, however, it makes little progress (cattle breeding, pastures, etc.). One might say—looking at the present situation from another viewpoint—that the scientific-technical revolution of our age is now on the verge of conquering Hungarian agriculture. Development is taking place at high speed: earlier, state farms took the lead, today, however, the co-operative farms are not lagging behind.

Industrialization of agriculture means, primarily, technical development, the introduction of new instruments of production of a higher standard into a hitherto backward agriculture. But over and above that, it implies a demand for more skills, an increased number of trained workers and agricultural scientists and the raising of working conditions to the level of industry.

The transformation of the class stratification of Hungarian society assumed revolutionary proportions, bringing about serious dramatic conflicts in the village. The result of the first wave of the transformation was the agrarian reform in 1945 due to which the landless agrarian proletariat became an insignificant minority and a considerable part of the poor peasantry, owners of dwarf holdings, became more or less independent smallholders. The second wave of the transformation took place between

1949 and 1953 in accordance with the then prevailing political conditions and Lenin's triple slogan: opposition to kulaks, alliance with the middle peasants, and support for the poor peasants. In practice demands going beyond and opposed to the above were made. Under the pretext of curtailing the kulaks, peasants with larger properties were liquidated as a class and instead of winning over the middle peasants, the latter were economically considerably restricted which produced political and social resistance. The third wave in the process ensued after the socialist transformation of agriculture was completed under changed political conditions on the basis of co-operative ownership relations. The essence of the latter is the gradual fading-out of the earlier peasant class stratification in co-operatives and the development of a new stratification under conditions of socialist proprietorship.

Important changes have taken place in the class stratification of the village during the past two decades. In the years prior to the liberation of the country, 6 per cent of the peasantry were kulaks, 25 per cent middle peasants and 68 per cent poor peasants. After the land reform the number of landless farm labourers decreased by half a million, whereas the number of independent peasants and their family members taking part in farming increased from 1,200,000 to 1,900,000. After reorganization on a co-operative basis the following stratification ensued: 16 per cent of those engaged in agriculture are employed in the state sector, 71 per cent in agricultural co-operatives and 13 per cent are members of some lower-grade association or independent farmers.

The progress of urbanization produced similar consequences in Hungarian socialist society as elsewhere in the world, particularly in European capitalist countries. The peculiar conditions prevailing in the Hungarian village and the process of the socialist transformation of agriculture led to some specific additional features. The main stages of the urbanization process in Hungary were the following:

The accelerated pace of industrialization (and the initial conditions of collectivization as well) led to commuting on a large scale between village and town, the places where people lived and worked. The large number of commuters (leading a double life) has not so far decreased and is one of the burdensome side-effects of urbanization.

When the socialist transformation of agriculture was decided on it was hoped that the many outlying *tanya** would cease at the same time. In view of this aim new communities were established and various actions organized for the "liquidation" of *tanya*. Although their number is decreasing, the

* See footnote on p. 3.

process is going on at a slower rate than had been anticipated and planned. It has become clear that getting rid of them will, in practice, take many years.

Towns are growing on a large scale and at a fast rate. This makes itself felt, first, by the expansion of the existing older towns (the bigger they are, the quicker the rate of increase) and, secondly, by the urbanization of village-like settlements. It should be noted that, at present, the number of town dwellers in Hungary is smaller than that of villagers. It is very likely that the position will be reversed within the next ten to fifteen years. The number of town dwellers has increased and the number of villagers has dropped. This process is expected to continue. The table below combines data available so far with forecasts for the next fifteen years.

	Inhabitants (in millions)	
	Towns	Villages
1949	3.4	5.8
1960	4.0	6.0
1966	4.4	5.8
1970	4.6	5.7
1975	4.9	5.6
1980	5.2	5.4
1985	5.9	5.0

The "urbanization" of villages is advancing steadily and at an increasing pace. This is partly due to the fact that an increasing proportion of villagers is not working in agriculture, and also to a demand for urban living and working conditions by agricultural workers.

Urbanization goes hand in hand with improved administration and the introduction of public utilities. For more than ten years now a settlement network development plan has been in force which charts the future development of settlements, in this way influencing the establishment and development of work places, services and public utilities. Consequently, the more centrally situated villages are developing more quickly, the number of their inhabitants is increasing or at least does not go down while the smaller and more remote villages are withering away. Communal development policy aims at gradually establishing larger communal units and unites more and more smaller villages under one Council.

As a result of these progressive social processes one generation does not simply succeed another but a passing of generations takes place in the sense

that the older generation which has been living under the old conditions is slowly dying off and is being replaced by a generation which has grown up under the new conditions.

The passing of generations is particularly striking in agricultural producers' co-operatives. In 1968, 40 per cent of the working members of the agricultural co-operatives belonged to a generation which had come of age before the land was redistributed. By the beginning of the eighties—taking 65 years as the upper limit of working membership (some of the members are already too old to work)—they will no longer be of any importance. A round 25 per cent belong to that transitional generation which is 40–50 years old today and which was growing up in the years of the agrarian reform. They will be too old to work by the nineties. Thirty-three per cent of co-operative members are under forty years of age, and grew up after the land reform, in the years of reorganization. Most of them will still be working in the year 2000.

There are considerable differences between the succeeding generations as regards the conditions of life as well as in the length of time and content of their education and, consequently, in their world view. This is a constant source of conflict. The passing of generations causes critical labour-force problems in agricultural co-operatives and is in addition the source of social, cultural and political problems in village society as such.

Such processes are going on simultaneously in Hungarian agriculture and in village society. But what is present reality like in Hungarian villages?

The change as such, the transitional state, is the most characteristic feature of Hungarian villages. Every village without exception, even those like Penészlek and some others where there is no producers' co-operative, has woken up abandoning its traditional condition. This also means that each of these villages bears the stamp of its past showing whether it had formerly been a village of serfs, or a newer settlement, whether it had perhaps grown into a village from a *tanya* or estate, whether it had been smaller or larger, what had been the main line of production, when had the railway been built, and so on. On the other hand, in the transformation process one or another feature comes to the fore as an outstanding characteristic and each village has reached a particular phase of transformation peculiar to that special village. At one place commuting to the plants of the nearby town, at another one highly developed co-operative farming, at a third improved household farming and at a fourth the aging of villagers are dominant. Such an enumeration could be continued indefinitely. The main point is that each village has reached a certain phase in the transformation process and a number of factors determining its existence are

on the move; one might also say that one village is in a more advanced and the other one in a more backward state of development.

This also means that no fully developed types of the village under transformation have evolved so far. The process of development can only be planned to a certain degree. In the fifties a group of specialists had planned to transform Székkutas, a village in Csongrád County, that came into being through the amalgamation of a number of Hódmezővásárhely *tanya*, into a socialist model village. The plan came to nought, moreover it caused confusion and hindered development; building plots were allocated which nobody was willing to occupy under the given living conditions. At the same time, not far from there, in Fábíánsebestyén, spontaneous development brought about farming and settling conditions which turned it into an interesting and attractive variant of the socialist village. There are many variants of new villages. Ethnographers in the last century studied and mapped the features that interested them. Sociologists could do the same now.

One thing is clear, in spite of the differences: *the traditional unity of settlement, agriculture and peasantry has broken up*. In most of the villages those working in agriculture are in a minority, agricultural workplaces are generally situated outside the villages, and the dwellings of agricultural workers are distributed among towns, villages, *tanya*, farms and other kinds of settlements. What is more, the situation of agricultural workers is not uniform. The occupational conditions in state farms differ from those in agricultural producers' co-operatives, and within the latter they are not uniform either, moreover, those who carry on small-scale farming—within or outside special co-operatives—cannot be disregarded.

All this might give the impression of confusion and disorganization. One might even ask, how it is possible that a socialist village could not be developed in a quarter of a century? The truth, however, is that these are signs of growth, they embody—under the conditions of a socialist society—up-to-date farming, a rising standard of life, more decent social relations, and the urbanization of the villages. One cannot blame history for the fact that all this didn't develop in accordance with the patterns laid down beforehand.

Following urbanization, similar phenomena could be observed throughout the world. The breaking up of the traditional unity of village-agriculture-peasantry can be observed in the capitalist states as well. A closer inspection shows that the main features of village conditions in Hungary are similar to the ones in other socialist countries although other variants can be found there. These are general recurrences and tendencies on the basis of which conclusions can be drawn regarding the future.

Conditions in agricultural producers' co-operatives

The Hungarian agricultural co-operative movement looks back on a past of twenty years. Looking at the present situation from a distance one can see the progress of the past twenty years in its true light. At that time development started with a definite agricultural co-operative pattern in mind. In the past twenty years far-reaching social processes took place bringing about many kinds of modifications as compared to the original pattern in respect of both organizational relations of co-operatives and the situation of the members. The stages of development were the following:

—In the initial period of co-operative reorganization (1949–1956), the application of the original pattern was enforced by administrative means and economic-political measures; this led to repeated crises, zigzags and to the shattering of the worker-peasant alliance.

—In the final period of the reorganization (1957–1961) the worker-peasant alliance was reestablished and more elastic organizational methods became general. Economic-political means of influencing, financial interestedness and co-operative autonomy increasingly asserted themselves and local methods of farm organization were accepted to a higher degree; on this basis the reorganization was successfully completed.

—In the period of consolidation (1962–1967), the internal conditions of the agricultural co-operatives were settled, the organizational framework (associations, etc.) established, and well-proved forms of organization and management of large-scale farms universally accepted and consolidated. The principles of co-operative democracy and independent farming increasingly asserted themselves. This was the phase when inevitable compromises had to be made, and various local solutions had to be found as regards the payment of wages and the organization of work.

—The period which started in 1968 can be considered the phase of up-to-date large-scale farming, the milestones of which were: the reform in the direction of the economy, the codification of the new co-operative law and the establishment of the association of agricultural co-operatives. More precisely: the application of modern technological methods, increased activity on the market, expansion of accessory production, setting up various joint enterprises, and universal acceptance of the organizational forms of enterprises and their wage systems.

The original conception of collectivization included the expectation that a "uniform co-operative peasantry" would come into being. This expectation continues to exist in two respects.

First, from a historical viewpoint, the peasantry, formerly divided into classes, can be considered a uniform class today in so far as its existence is not determined by smaller or larger holdings, but uniformly by co-operative property and farming in common, and by the relationship of members and their families to common husbandry, and their place within the latter.

Secondly, in the future, when industrial conditions will prevail in agricultural co-operatives, the importance of household farms will diminish, family cultivation will cease, labour conditions similar to those in industry or in state farms will be established, and the only remaining differences will be those deriving from co-operative ownership. This is of course an essential difference and justifies (moreover only this justifies) that in this phase of development workers of agricultural producers' co-operatives being a "co-operative peasant" class should be distinguished from those who work in state enterprises.

At present the working conditions and earning systems and, as a result, the social-economic conditions of co-operative members in general, are still extremely varied and particularly complicated. An examination of these problems throws considerable light on conditions prevailing in co-operatives at present.

The working conditions in agricultural co-operatives are quite specific ones and cannot be compared without distortion either to earlier circumstances that prevailed under individual ownership or to the present stratification in state farms. Some phenomena are particularly striking. For example: the number of members differs from that of those actually working, a relatively small proportion of the members is permanently engaged there, the number of the permanently employed is high and the proportions of different kinds of workers vary dependent on whether their number or the hours worked by each are taken as the criterion. Thus work by those who belong to a member's family is usually on a part-time basis. All this indicates that in the agricultural producers' co-operatives highly complicated working conditions have come into being, rendering a survey very difficult.

The effect of the different kinds of differentiating factors produces further complications. For example, employment varies according to the season and/or calendar months, the proportion of men and women engaged in work is far from uniform, the situation continues to change from year to year even after the consolidation of the co-operatives and, finally, there are considerable differences in the employment level between individual agricultural co-operatives. This survey, however, is simplified if it is based on the occupational force in the fourth quarter and/or the end of the year, if men and women are taken together, if those who work in agricultural

co-operatives are counted on a national basis and, finally, if one particular year underlies the survey. On this basis the following data are obtained for 1967:*

—total number of membership of agricultural co-operatives	1,020,000
—of these pensioners and annuitants	344,000
—non-pensioners and non-annuitants, i.e. members below retirement age	676,500
—number of working members	667,300
—number of co-operative members and family members with 200 or more working days a year to their credit	279,000
—members below retirement age working more than 200 working days a year	241,000

Thus, of the by and large one million recorded agricultural co-operative members a full quarter of a million are able-bodied full-time workers of working age and of these only 20,000 are women. This regular pool of workers performs the major part of the work in the joint husbandry of agricultural co-operatives. As for the rest, it is mainly performed by other members and family members, and partly by persons employed permanently and temporarily.

Total working hours in 1967
(per cent)

—younger members below retirement age	63.1
—older members	11.5
—family members (not-co-operative members and not on the payroll)	7.4
—permanently employed	11.5
—persons employed temporarily and doing odd jobs and family members on the payroll	6.5

This was how the work done was distributed amongst the various categories. However, the number of those taking part in the work shows quite

* Source: Periodical Publication of the Central Statistical Office. Agricultural data I, 1969, pp. 30-31; further, Central Statistical Office: Mechanization, Employment and Personal Income in Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives. March 1969, pp. 22, 25, 37 and 40.

other proportions and taken together exceeds the total number of co-operative members. The figures are uncertain, the number of employed differs from the labour force available. There is a periodical turnover for those employed. Nevertheless, the outlines of the distribution of all those connected with co-operatives and the current stratification is becoming apparent. In the past few years the total permanently available labour force of co-operatives amounted to 1,200,000. A greater number than that are working in co-operatives but these seasonal, casual labourers cannot be included in the occupational force of agricultural co-operatives, for their livelihood isn't closely connected with the co-operatives. (Their number is considerable; it amounts to more than a hundred thousand and depends on who is included.)

The most typical distribution of the permanently or regularly working and/or permanently available co-operative occupational force of 1,200,000 is at present by and large the following:

—members, family members and persons employed in permanent jobs	400,000
—members and family members working regularly —though not throughout the whole year—in the co-operatives	250,000
—pensioners and annuitants a small part of whom work permanently, the major part regularly and/or periodically in the co-operatives	350,000
—temporary (seasonal) working family members	200,000

These groups differ from each other greatly as regards both working places and age groups. The majority of those who work in permanent jobs consists of young people and this group also includes administrative and professional employees and skilled tradesmen. Older persons, but below retirement age, form the majority of those who work regularly but not permanently in the co-operatives; the latter are mainly engaged in plant cultivation as sharecroppers. Temporary workers are generally younger family members who have not yet decided on a career or older persons who did not join a co-operative but who are still willing to work, dependent upon their working ability and the opportunities to work.

This stratification is also connected with household farming.* Those permanently working in the co-operative are least interested in household

* $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ bold (0.14 to 0.42 hectares) are allotted to each member of a co-operative as a household farm on which he may if he wishes produce not only for domestic consumption but also for the market.

farming and are cutting it down at a fast rate, on the other hand, those who work on a non-permanent basis, regularly or seasonally, work more intensively on their household plots, the work they do there sometimes exceeds the amount of work performed by them for the co-operative. One might say that the main occupation of some is farming in common whereas it is only a part-time job in the case of others.

Not only working conditions shaped in a peculiar way in agricultural co-operatives but the modes of calculating income according to work as well. It is therefore particularly difficult to form a clear picture as regards the personal income of the members.

In the reorganization period the earnings of co-operative members were determined by the share per work unit. At that time this was a recognized index though a very peculiar one. It indicated the share a member or family member obtained for a labour unit performed, that is, the level of earnings in a particular agricultural co-operative. More precisely, it gave an answer to the question: did co-operative workers obtain a socially necessary reward for their labour or did they obtain wages plus share in the profits or wages minus share in the losses. This index also indicated the standard of farming in one or another agricultural co-operative. In this respect there were—and still are—considerable differences between individual co-operatives, however, in the greater part of agricultural co-operatives the share per work unit amounts to about the socially necessary wages. The share paid by a fairly large minority of co-operatives was partly above and partly below socially necessary wages.

However, the share per work unit only indicates earnings per one work unit but does not express the participation of the members and family members all the year round. In this respect additional information is needed indicating the time spent working or the number of work units performed by individual members. In view of this, the annual share per member and/or the average earnings per annum became, later, the main index. In this way the personal income deriving from co-operative farming can be expressed in a more realistic way and this index also shows more clearly the high degree of differentiation.

The view is now coming to be accepted that three indexes: earnings per annum, the number of work days during the year, and earnings per one work day express together and truly the personal income derived from co-operative farming of members. This is the proper way to express the extremely significant differentiation between incomes of workers in agricultural co-operatives as they appear in the following table:

AVERAGE EARNINGS AND WORKING TIME OF PERSONS EMPLOYED
IN CO-OPERATIVE FARMS IN 1966

	Earnings (forint)	Working days	Earnings (ft) per one working day
	per head and per annum		
<i>Total number of working members</i>			
below retirement age:			
men	16,465	224	73
women	7,898	113	70
above retirement age:			
men	6,889	126	55
women	3,585	56	63
<i>Total number of working family members</i>			
below retirement age:			
men	5,369	83	65
women	2,976	41	72
above retirement age:			
men	3,079	48	65
women	1,843	25	73
<i>Total number of members and family members taken together</i>	9,336	133	70
<i>Permanently engaged members</i>	21,047	288	73
Of these:			
below retirement age:			
men	22,065	290	76
women	18,744	270	69
Family members	17,172	264	65
Members and family members taken together	20,918	287	73
<i>Temporarily employed members</i>	6,869	104	66
Of these:			
below retirement age:			
men	9,534	143	67
women	6,604	95	70
Family members	2,817	40	71
Members and family members taken together	5,363	80	67

Source: Central Statistical Office: "Mechanization, Employment and Personal Incomes in Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives," Budapest, March 1969, p. 41.

From the figures it appears that the annual earnings of some of the workers in co-operative farms were seven times—eight times higher than those of others (2,817–22,065 forints), on the other hand, the level of earnings per working day is remarkably equal (63–76 forints). The table reflects the situation in 1966 but while differentiation still prevails, the wage level has risen since then. It should also be added that the higher wage level accompanied greater work intensity and efficiency, and that the increase of both gross and net production surpassed the increase of the wage level during the same period.

When all is said and done it appears that the main point and most interesting feature at the present stage of Hungarian agricultural co-operatives is that most became consolidated in particular conditions governing the organization of work, employment and earnings which considerably deviate from the starting model and which, in addition, considerably differ from each other. Progress will consist of the establishment of greater uniformity largely by agricultural co-operatives adopting working conditions and methods of calculating payments that prevail in other enterprises. This process has already started.

FROM OUR NEXT NUMBERS

EUROPEAN PEACE AND SECURITY

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CHILDREN FROM THE TANYA*

Some time ago I travelled around the Great Hungarian Plain.

It was a cold March morning, our car had to stop at a level-crossing. I got out of the car, stamped my feet and looked around. The main roads usually attract all kinds of vehicles like a vacuum but this one was empty. We had left one village behind us a long time ago and there was no visible sign of the next one yet. Bare trees stood in the open country like pillars indicating the paths through the fields. Alongside them there were houses on their own or huddled together in clusters.

Children dribbled from the houses and met near us, where the track ended at the highway. They swung satchels or haversacks, some squeezed schoolbooks under their arms. Despite the cold they wore only jackets, worn-out gym-shoes or sandals without socks. They were munching bread, smoking, and sniffing. Their faces were flushed when they reached me. A small boy flung his arms about.

"Mister, take me for a ride."

"Where to?"

His arm waved uncertainly towards the emptiness.

"I'll take you to school. Where is it?"

A smudged-faced boy sidled up to me.

"You can't drive to the school: there's only a footpath across the wood and the meadow."

An express train rattled past, with cur-

tains drawn over the sleeping-car windows. The children gaped at it and then the little troop turned off the highway.

I made up my mind to call on them some time to see them. If not them, then others. Children at a *tanya* school.

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The jeep left the highway, we were on a dirt track. It had been made by jolting horse-carts; only a cart-wheel would tumble so unevenly and uncertainly. Tractors and lorries could not even wipe out the ancient track.

The country is flat, the roaring wind carries sand. On the edge of the roads and farther in the country sand-hills rise from the plain, one side of the hill is gentle, the other, showing the direction of the wind, slopes steeply. The eternal wind had been carrying sand there for centuries, it had carried the wheat and rye sown in autumn together with their soil to the neighbour's land where it sprouted, grew and ripened—but there had never been much more corn than double the seed. These hills are cruel and the seemingly gentle country does not favour man.

This is also the Great Hungarian Plain, its extreme north. Only those who walked through it know that the country, a uniform patch on the map, is more divided and

* See also Ferenc Erdei: "The Tanya, the Hungarian Homestead" in No. 8. A footnote on p. 3 of this issue explains the term.

varied than any mountain region. Sodic soil, barren lands, brown soil producing red wheat, savannahs, meadows, pastures, the blessed region of rivers and brooks, the steppe of the Hortobágy and here, in the County of Szabolcs-Szatmár, a sandy desert.

Acacias are ranged along the roads like sentinels. For the past few dozen years these trees have guarded the seeds sown: acacias, shrubs, bushes, small woods have stopped and bound the sand to stop it flying away from under the sprouting tobacco, under the wheat and the maize.

We left the last village an hour before—we travelled ten or twelve kilometres. The car bumped about, and sunk into the mud up to its axle and got stuck. The driver cursed. There is a *tanya* nearby with the buildings of an agricultural research station. We did not wait for the car to be pulled out but continued on our way on foot.

The first houses could be seen among the sand-hills after two kilometres. Thirty or forty houses with tile, thatched and reed roofs. This is called a *tanya* cluster.

There were estates there since the middle of the last century like elsewhere in the country. Big landowners and also farmers with less land, about 60 to 120 acres. The villages were a long way from each other and the better type of country—black or clay soil replacing the sand—was mostly a long way from any settlement. To produce something they had to work from dawn to dusk. To begin work at dawn you had to start from home at night or in the evening and even then you were not sure that you would arrive in time on the bad, muddy roads. And if he were to plough, sow and harvest until dusk, when and how would he get home? Besides most of the year the cart-roads were unfit for traffic.

So the farmers and their servants, all those who had some land or who lived on that of others, moved out to the fields. Families built themselves summer quarters, huts grouped together. Those who were better off had their house in the village too,

and moved there in winter taking their animals. The poorer families stayed out on the *tanya* the whole year round and later their whole lives.

The agrarian reform in 1945 put an end to big estates. At first the land became private property, now it is being cultivated by agricultural co-operatives and state farms. The structure of farming has changed but the way of life which was established centuries ago has remained almost unchanged.

The names of the *tanya* give themselves away. Vagrant *tanya*, American *tanya*, Rye-meadow, Salt-well *tanya*, Long-way *tanya*, Small-nail *tanya*, Kossuth colony, St. Michael's-*tanya*, Marx parcel.

We arrived at a place called Parlagpuszta (Wasteland). Ducks on the road, dogs, the two crooked streets grew in a disordered fashion, the houses are unplastered, the fences broken or missing altogether—those who live here have nothing to guard. My guide, the headmaster of a village school, walked round the puddles and said:

"I used to be a teacher in a *tanya* school. I had 140 pupils in one class-room. They used to sit on benches, behind trestle-tables. My only teaching aid was a blackboard with lines on one side and squares on the other.

The *tanya* schools consist of one, at most two rooms. New schools have been built only where the adobe walls have decayed and collapsed. The school is in the biggest room of the old servants' quarters, or the barn or the shed, which were altered and whitewashed for this purpose.

The Parlagpuszta school is surrounded by a fence. It has a big courtyard with pigsties, a haystack and a clamp; there is a hovel with gardening tools, and a plough. Beehives, hens, pigs, ducks. The farmyard is neat but the house is decaying, the door-handle comes off. The dog is barking: a middle-age peasant comes to meet us. The headmaster.

The teacher of the *tanya* school lives with the others like members of the same family

—they live with each other and are at the mercy of each other. For many years the way of life and customs of the people on the *tanya* have exerted their influence on the teacher, and not the other way round. He is respected by them because he lives like them, he is not an eccentric. The *tanya* farmer produced rye, maize, potatoes and tobacco on his small piece of land or on the estate of the landowner, now he does the same in the co-operative and on his own plot. The teacher cultivates the plot which is part of his perks. The others on the *tanya* help him to cultivate his land, in exchange for their work he educates their children—as well as he can.

He is very busy. He is the headmaster and the teaching staff. He is the warden and the janitor. He is a farmer and a jack-of-all-trades. He is like a G.P. But the doctor can transfer a serious case to a hospital, or a clinic. He can call an ambulance which takes away the patient. A teacher is alone.

In the narrow room eleven small boys and girls struggle to their feet. They stare, after the greeting two or three remain there with their mouths open. These are the seven to eleven-year-old of Parlagpuszta, the pupils from the first to the fourth form. All in one room, together. (Hungarian children have to attend school between the ages of six and sixteen.)

During the arithmetic lesson of the first form the three other forms study in silence. When the second form practices writing, the three others study in silence. While the third form reads, the others study in silence. While the fourth form is finding out about the environment, the other three study in silence, or listen, if they are interested, to what the teacher says.

The first form has a reading lesson: two boys and one girl. They follow the lines with their fingers. They look at the letters, form words, get stuck: bad—bad, much—much, deep—deep.

There is a television set in the corner of

the classroom, electricity was connected a few years ago. The high-standard morning lessons of the "School TV" must surely raise the standard of the *tanya* schools—I say to myself, and I immediately withdraw this statement. It probably creates more confusion than good if the lessons intended for the fourth form are watched by all four.

If a school has more pupils and two classrooms the conditions are somewhat better. Then only two forms work together: the first with the third, the second with the fourth. The difference between two forms is substantial. The smaller ones do not understand the lesson at all, they do not listen to it, and the bigger children are not interested in what they learnt two years ago.

The upper four forms are in a worse position. Four study groups—with pupils from the fifth to the eighth form—are in the same room at a time. The situation is better if only the fifth and seventh, and the sixth and eighth forms are together. Mathematics and literature, chemistry and a foreign language, biology and physics are taught mostly by a teacher with only general training. P.T., singing and drawing are in the curriculum with half an hour a week—22.5 minutes—taught of course by the same teacher. The visual aids are very primitive or much too complex, and they cannot use them. There is no electricity, or they don't know how to handle them. And there is no coaching and there are no study circles which of course require subject teachers. The school-teacher does not help after the lessons. As he has to teach in the morning and in the afternoon, he has no time to do so.

On the *tanya* schoolwork has no future, the children, the parents and the teacher are not stimulated by anything; the children, when grown up, will do the same as their fathers: thin out the carrots, cut the shoots of the tobacco, or perhaps they will be unskilled workers in a factory. Therefore work is more important than school even now. Before and after lessons boys and girls work

around the house, they care for the animals. In spring and autumn, when there is much to do in the fields, they don't go to school at all. If the teacher had any ambition and organized excursions, trips, summer holidays for them, it would be of no use since in the summer everybody has to work. Therefore the children who never get away from the *tanya* have no real experience of what they have learned. For these children the Himalayas are a sand-hill, and the Amazon and the Mississippi are the open ditch filled with rainwater along the road, and Bombay and New York are the market-towns where they had been twice with their mother on market-days.

In the Parlappusztá school there are only small children.

"Where is the fifth to the eighth form?" I asked.

"They were discontinued here, as on most of the *tanya*. They are in the village schools," said the other man with me, the district inspector who had been a teacher in a *tanya* school himself.

The *tanya* is not an oasis in the sand desert. It has almost no drinking water, they have to dig 10-15 metres deep in the courtyard, and drink the water gathered at the bottom of the well. And if the soul is thirsty, the thirst dies away sooner or later due to lack of nourishment.

So they have created conditions in which the few who deserve a better fate can satisfy their thirst for knowledge and the majority's interests in culture can be aroused. The educational reform introduced in the early sixties is being pursued with this in mind.

The reform started from the fact that the way of life on the *tanya* did not progress. This type of settlement is still needed but the agricultural co-operatives get stronger—their productive methods develop, they introduce machines, they build roads leading to the fields, the state farms are up-to-date and they can cultivate the land without the farmers living there. So the *tanya* are not

really needed and finally, they will disappear. This process has already started. The organization of education is intended to speed up this process. Instead of improving the conditions of *tanya* schools they transfer the children to village schools where good conditions already exist.

Wherever it was possible—where the village could accept the children from the *tanya*—the upper forms of the *tanya* schools were discontinued—that is the fifth to eighth forms. And where the forms one to four had fewer than ten pupils, these schools were also discontinued. The children are now in the village schools. If the *tanya* are near the village—three-four kilometres away—they travel every day on bicycles, horse-carts, tractor-drawn carts or on foot: if the *tanya* are far off—ten to fifteen kilometres—the children move in to the village, and live in hostels attached to the school.

This new type of school has now spread everywhere where *tanya* exist. There are ninety such *tanya* boarding schools in the country with over 6,000 10-14-year-old boys and girls, educated together.

In this world of sand seven boarding schools are functioning with 1,100 children. Every year more boarding schools are built with more places but not enough yet, only one-third of the pupils of the upper four forms could be accommodated in boarding schools in the County of Szabolcs-Szatmár.

"What do these children know when they get to a boarding school in the fifth form?"

"Nothing," said a teacher of the Új-fehértó boarding school. "They do not know how to express a six-figure number, some of them don't know the units of measurement, others are struggling during a whole afternoon with one page to read. And they get here with good marks. The *tanya* school teachers are not exacting, they are not severe, and they very rarely fail a child. . .

In the village school there is only one study group in a class at the same time. The children from the *tanya* are mostly

grouped together. Their comprehension is slower, the teachers have to start with them all over again, the explanations must be repeated several times. And where there are only a few, the village children often ridicule them because of their "slow-wittedness." In the village schools 70-80 per cent of the teachers are trained in special subjects. They have maps, a globe, compasses, rulers, a well-equipped laboratory. They have slides, film-projectors, a television set, and the transmissions of the School TV are an integral part of the lessons. After lessons a special teacher coaches the poorer pupils in the boarding school. In some places they also deal with the good ones who wish to continue their studies in secondary school. In the study room the pupils prepare their lessons alone but the teacher exerts some control over the group and sees to it that everybody prepares his lessons. There are study circles in every village school. The circles for handicrafts, sewing and for breeding small animals provide practical knowledge; the mathematics and literary circles and the circles teaching the children to know their country encourage deeper knowledge than that given by the school. The members of these circles participate in competitions and give programmes. If there is no library, they borrow books from the school or from the village library: they read tales, travel books and juvenile literature.

With these methods they are able to attain the level of the village children by the time they get to the eighth form, sometimes they even surpass them. In the Kállósemjén boarding school the average marks obtained are somewhat higher than those of village children in the same school.

Boarding schools are housed in buildings formerly occupied by the landowners and their families, including the chateaux of Miklós Kállay, a former Prime Minister, and of Count Nánásy. If no such buildings existed, engine-sheds and farm buildings were used for this purpose. They were converted into boarding schools since the

state had and has not much money to spend on the reform, and the general schools belong mostly to the boroughs. The founders of the boarding schools, the teachers, who fought for money, had also to make sure that they were established. Teachers knew that something had to be done for these children from the *tanya*.

"When they arrived here in the first autumn, they didn't know how to use the lavatory, they slept in their ordinary shirts and in their black gym-shorts, they walked barefoot and stuffed themselves with bread," the man in charge of the boarding school said.

These children used to life on the steppe can notice their surroundings, accept its influence and absorb knowledge only if they can be liberated from their rigid habits and inhibitions. But the soul is sunk into the earth, it does not awaken easily.

There is steam in the washroom: the boys are taking their shower. A skinny lad, with all his ribs sticking out, is pottering about the wash-basin. His back is bent, like that of an old man.

"What's your favourite sport?"

"I haven't one."

"Don't you like exercise of any kind?"

"I walk."

He sprinkles the water on the tip of his finger and washes himself carefully.

"Why don't you take a shower?"

"If the heat hits me, I'll get sick."

"It's hard to get them used to the water," the attendant said. "But when you get one to stand under the shower, you can't pull him away. This little lad is new here. There are seven children in the family, the father is dead, the mother is 63 and sick. We have had children who weighed 30 kgs when they came and in ten months they put on 15 kgs."

The dining-halls of the boarding schools are small. The children eat in two or three sittings, and there are boarding schools where the meals are served in the study room. Two boys and two girls run to the dining-hall after school. They put on white

aprons, the girls tie a kerchief around their hair and they lay the table and serve. Ten minutes later, the pupils sit at the table covered with a white table-cloth and they eat with a knife and fork.

Pork and sausages was on at Nyírszöllős when we arrived.

"We killed a pig yesterday," the cook said when we went in, "we fatten thirty pigs every year to improve the diet."

There are four meals a day everywhere. Breakfast, lunch, dinner and elevenses or afternoon tea.

"What's the menu for this week?"

"Starting tomorrow: goulash soup and doughnuts; meat and vegetable soup and cabbage *pasta*; potato soup and baked egg and potato; beef-tea, boiled meat with apple sauce and potatoes; vegetable soup, braised pork and noodles."

"Too much fatty food and too much pastry."

"We must cook things they are used to. Anything else leaves them hungry. Then they complain that we don't feed them enough and if one single parent came to take his child back, the others would follow."

They won't touch milk or cocoa. Many families have cows but they sell the milk. They don't eat any vegetables, their mother never cooks them because they are not filling.

Here at least they jump about enough to work off this heavy food. After lunch until two or three and from seven to nine is free and games. In fine weather they can play basket-ball, football and table tennis in the yard. In winter they skate and go sledging. And despite the lack of space, there is a club-room.

There are dominoes, building bricks, chess-boards and a toy railway in the club-room. The children are busy.

"What do you like to play with?"

"Badminton."

"Where did you get to know it?"

"At Lake Balaton, in Szigliget."

"How did you get there?"

"Our headmaster took us there for two weeks, to a pioneer camp."

"Tell me, what did you do there?"

"I was taught to swim. I sat in a restaurant. We went on a boat cruise. We were taken to a museum. We tied up the grapes in the co-operative."

"As a game?"

The boy winces, he does not answer.

"His daddy did not give him any money," a little girl near him said. "What's this good for, he said. The headmaster went out to see him and told Jóska's father to let him go, it wouldn't cost anything. Those who did not get any money from home spent mornings in the vineyards."

"Did you work too?"

"I had saved some money and my parents didn't take it from me."

"What did you like at the Balaton?"

"Playing badminton."

Badminton rackets are expensive. 230 boys and girls live in the boarding school. Twelve rackets were bought for them in the autumn; they play in turns in the courtyard as long as the fine weather lasts.

In winter there is no place to play badminton. Those in charge wish to bring in as many children as possible from the *tanya*, even at the expense of space. The wardrobes are in the corridor, there is no place for them anywhere else. Two children share each wardrobe.

"Isn't this too little? Especially for the girls?"

The wardrobes are opened, one after the another. A cardigan, a petticoat, a towel; in the boys' wardrobes a shirt, maybe a pullover, a tracksuit, a winter overcoat.

"Everything else they own is on them. They go home on Saturdays, their mothers launder their things and Monday they come back in clean clothes."

In one boarding school, in Vaja, I saw shelves full of everything. But this is where the Jonathan apples grow and they sell well.

They are not allowed to stay in the boarding school without pyjamas and slip-

pers. They have multi-tiered bunk beds. Everything is neat and clean, a tile stove heats the room. A 12-year-old boy is in the bed next to the stove, under a quilt right up the ears.

"Aren't you hot?"

"It's good this way."

"Do you sleep next to the stove at home too?"

"At home we have a cooking stove but it has a hole in it, it doesn't heat, it only smokes."

The teacher on night duty looks whether the taken-off clothes are arranged neatly. He stops in front of one bed, and has a long look at the shock-headed occupant. I don't know what can be wrong with the kid. He is nicely tucked up in bed, his pyjamas are clean and well-ironed.

"Down with them," the teacher commands.

The boy pulls down his pyjama-trousers: underneath them he is wearing his beloved old gym-shorts.

In the next boys dormitory the lights are out, the children are asleep. One of the beds is empty.

"Where is he?" I ask in a low voice.

The teacher indicates the opposite corner. Two kids sleep in one bed, lying in opposite directions.

"They are brothers. At home they slept three to one bed and they cannot get used to sleeping on their own. We put them in separate dormitories but they escaped to sleep together. Next year the problem will be solved, the older one is in the eighth form."

"I would like to see their parents," I told the headmaster.

A troop of fat crows flutters lazily above the road, they still have something to eat. Fresh ploughland, the autumn wheat is green. Pheasant cocks strut along the sandhills, nobody is fowling here. The mud is frozen, our Skoda runs on its surface.

Hundred, two hundred, three hundred people are living in one house group. Elec-

tricity has been introduced in many places so that the weak light of kerosene lamps does not blind them any more, and their stench at least does not fill the stuffy night air of the tiny dirt-floored rooms. But there are houses also at the periphery of the group, at a distance of 500 or 1,000 metres, and more. They have no electricity: the state does not install it for one bulb of 10 or 25 watts—this is what poor and thrifty people would use.

Cattle-house *tanya*. The inhabitants were ashamed of its name and now it is officially called New village-meadow. But they still have cattle and pigs, and also poultry: many turkeys, geese and ducks.

We are going to the Pál family. We enter a low-built house and grope to find our way in the dark, dirt-floored room. They have no electricity here, and no lamp is burning either, the kerosene is exhausted. The fire of the cooking-stove gives some light, its door is open and smoke comes out together with the light. Three tiny children are sitting on the edge of the bed, tucked in clothes up to the ears, with a cap on their heads, they are sniffing. Their mother walks up and down in the room with a baby on her arm. Steam is coming out of a big casserole standing on the stove, and there is a funny smell in the room.

"What are you cooking?"

"Soup, using a packet, and I shall knead some *pasta* to put in it."

The bed is covered with a horse-rug, there is a table and this is all the furniture in the room. This is the place from where two girls—one in the fifth, the other in the seventh form—start for boarding school every Monday.

"Where do the girls sleep on Saturdays and Sundays?"

"There is room enough for five in this bed. But nowadays they have grown fussy, they don't like the food I cook, they already go back on Sunday afternoon. They say it's because of the rain and that they have much work at school... But I know that they

don't like to be at home. Even though their father has not given them a hiding for a month."

"Where is their father now?"

"He is working in town, on a building site. He comes home on Saturday, mostly drunk. He gets good wages, but he drinks up everything."

We leave and go to the Dersi family. The thatch is falling from the roof. The lock of the kitchen door is bad, the wind blows in and it is dark. An old woman curses aloud.

"We're out of kerosene and so is the shop. I sent Juli to see if they have brought any."

In our honour she pours together some kerosene from the bottom of two lamps, the light blinks sootily. Two or three rickety chairs, a table in the corner, a washbowl on the ground. There is a cabbage-pickling keg in the room, and small children sitting on the couch and sniffing.

The two schoolboys are standing, their hands in their pockets. One is in the sixth, the other in the eighth form. Two weeks ago they moved home from the boarding school.

"When did you get up today?" I asked the younger one.

"At five."

"What did you do then?"

"I dressed, I drew water from the well, I washed my face. I chopped wood and fed the animals. Then together with my brother, I started for school."

The school is eight kilometres away. One hour's walk on the dirt road—the *tanya* children walk quickly. There was sleet this morning.

"What did you have for breakfast?"

"I never eat breakfast. A piece of bread, if there is any."

"When did you get home from school?"

"Not long ago, perhaps around three."

His drenched clothes are steaming.

"What did you eat for dinner?"

"We cook in the evening."

"When do you do your homework?"

"After dinner. If Juli brings some kerosene."

The shop of the *tanya* has everything necessary to keep up life: flour, salt, bread, sugar, lard, stove-pipes, boot-laces. But sometimes they run out of kerosene.

The Dersi boys used to live in the boarding school.

"They didn't like it," their mother said.

"And it's too expensive. We cannot pay as much. If they would at least give us some allowance."

Boarding costs the parents 100 forints per month. This is the equivalent of a day's wage of a well-paid unskilled worker in the building industry, one-two day's wages of a farm-worker, the price of five to six litres of poor wine, or two and a half kilos of pork. For this 100 forints the children get board worth 800–1,000 forints per month and they are taught a way of life.

The wind carries sand, snow and thatch. The sand comes from under the wheat, the thatch from the roofs. The houses crouch like ostriches, they close their eyes to avert the attention of the storm. The headlights of the Skoda look for the way, we hear the last dog barking, in another ten or fifteen minutes we are on a smooth concrete road. Lights appear in the distance, we are driving now under mercury vapour lamps; cottages, well-kept family houses, neon lights, a bar, people walking in winter overcoats. The village.

Nobody wanted the boarding schools except a few obsessed headmasters and the ministry itself. Getting the building, its equipment, maintenance, the establishment of a structure of life and education, the control, everything brings nothing but worries to the educational and financial bodies, to the borough and to the county.

The schoolteachers of the *tanya* were against the change because if the fifth to eighth form—or, in case of few children, the whole school—was discontinued, they lost their farming, their relatively good in-

come and their independence. In the village they may be one among twenty or thirty others. Some of the village teachers were also against the change, they'd get more and more difficult pupils, this would mean much work, the use of new methods, and even so they would get poorer results.

The strongest opponents were the parents themselves. "Never mind how we live if the family is together." "The child will lose his eyesight from too much reading." "He will lose weight from the food there." "He will get sick from the water." "We must buy slippers, pyjamas and a toothbrush, our children will be turned into little lords." But their strongest argument was that they needed help, they needed an extra hand in the tobacco-drying shed, in the potato patch, in the stables, on the pastures, and that somebody had to look after the baby. Petitions, requests, and later delegations started from the *tanya* to borough and county, to M.P.s, to the party, to the government. And they got the same answer orally and in writing: the change was in the interest of all, the parents, the children, the future generations.

It took long years for them to accept it. But, once the child is there: "Please be strict with him." "We shall do everything to stop him growing up into a peasant." "He must not dig the earth like his father." "He ought to be an educated man."

Until 1960-62 many children from the *tanya* never finished the eighth form, and when they passed the age of compulsory education, 14 then (16 now), they could not be compelled to go to school any more. Higher studies were impossible. These children got no training, no help, no material support.

46 boys and girls from the *tanya* at the boarding school of Nyírszöllős finished general school in 1969. Six wanted to go to secondary school, twenty-one to vocational school, two to agricultural technical schools, thirteen to commercial schools, and four

went back to the *tanya*. Thirty-two children finished at Kállósemlén, nine wanted to go to secondary school, sixteen to vocational school, seven went back to the *tanya*. At Vaja, seventeen finished, seven wanted to go to a vocational school, one to a secondary professional school, nine went back to the *tanya*.

Not all of those who wished to continue their studies were admitted, and some will drop out. They have to work, to earn money, they have no patience or cannot bear the tempo of their new studies. But even if they go back to the *tanya*, they will not go back empty-handed. During the four years spent in boarding school they learned to want many things: they will plaster the house, build a lavatory, plant flowers and cook food like they had in boarding school; or they will feel the wish to go away from the steppe and when grown up, they will try to change their way of life, they will look for a building site in the village.

The houses are in the world of sand, their doors open, their windows broken, the walls on the verge of collapse, the roof has a hole, vagrant dogs are living in the house and troops of crows flutter about in the yard: the owner has moved away, he has left the hut made of mud and reed, and he does not regret it, he does not shed one tear. If only one house collapses on the *tanya*, this is the death knell of the place. Nobody builds there any more, no shops are opened, no electricity installed, no roads paved.

Some other *tanya* grow and develop, new houses and public buildings are erected and the settlement rises to the rank of villages. But the rhythm of this development is slow, like a cart drawn by buffaloes pulling it from the bottomless mud, sand and clay, heavy with the burden of centuries. The people of the *tanya* are full of inhibitions and are attached to their past life. The boarding school boys and girls are the fiery foals pulling and urging the cart.

RESTRATIFICATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

by

ISTVÁN KEMÉNY

In Hungary, the first factory workers came from two places: abroad and the villages. Skilled workers came from abroad (primarily from Bohemia and Austria), and peasants became the unskilled labourers in the newly established factories. The workers were the non-bourgeois opposition within the capitalist economic system, but in society the feudal structure continued to exist side by side with the capitalist system. The industrialization of Hungary's economy proceeded fast in the second half of the nineteenth century, but progress in the democratization of the social system and in the urbanization of the way of life was slow and difficult. As far as the economy was concerned, workers lived in a capitalist system, but sociologically they did not live in a corresponding society; they formed an economically exploited and sociologically excluded class.

When Hungarian capitalism, and with it Hungarian workers, entered on the stage of history, Hungary did not have a unified social structure. Two societies lived facing each other, or to be more exact, gentry and aristocratic society imposed itself on peasant society in such a way that it completely closed off the latter, which could only be left rarely and by detours.

As the Hungarian bourgeoisie established itself, it did not endeavour to open up these closed worlds, but placed itself between the two as a third closed world. It became part of the Hungarian social order, but did not transform it. Its relationship to the workers was on the one hand that of the exploiter to the exploited, and on the other, that of a privileged stratum of the feudal society to an underprivileged one. Just as the gentry lived at an enormous distance above the peasantry as far as customs, culture and way of thinking were concerned, so the Hungarian bourgeoisie lived at an enormous distance above Hungarian workers. Hungarian workers, just as Hungarian peasants, had to develop for themselves, under pressure, a separate world to live in.

Factory workers lived in a system of strict subordination, as did Hungarian society as a whole.

At the start, the closed world of workers was itself divided into smaller closed worlds. Those who had come from abroad and those who had come from the country, the foremen, the skilled workers and the unskilled hands all formed separate groups which were sharply divided by income, education, prestige, culture and privileges. There was a workshop-system centred on the foreman, who had personal contact with apprentices and journeymen. A skilled worker learned his trade in the way craftsmen did, and he in fact knew it as well as any independent tradesman. He needed this skill, because the technology of the time demanded that he use it in coping with his work.

The first changes

The closed nature of this world was first broken by the organized workers' movement. Organized workers were more urbanized than their unorganized companions. They claimed all the achievements of the bourgeois way of life—while at the same time rejecting and even wanting to destroy capitalist society. The organized worker's scale of values had principles which agreed with the bourgeois scale of values and principles which were diametrically opposed to it. It agreed with the bourgeois scale of values in his respect for culture, in the high evaluation of achievement, and in the demand for increased production. It was opposed to the bourgeois scale of values in rejecting a social order based on inequality, in being based on faith in the possibility and necessity of the abolition of the system, the construction of a socialist one, and in the mission of the labour movement. The higher culture of the militant worker was inseparable from his being in political opposition. The ideology of the class struggle is rational and its acceptance requires a full understanding of the rational foundations of culture. A lack of culture, on the other hand, helps political adaptation; the worker living in a closed world sees the "sky" above him as something irrational, he is more prone to acquiesce, and to rebellions interrupting long periods of acquiescence.

Organized workers got farthest in the urbanization of their way of life, but there were other ways that led to urbanization. Some of the skilled factory workers became foremen or independent tradesmen. A tradesman's workshop on occasion grew and became a capitalist enterprise—although most tradesmen did not live any better than skilled factory workers—and the second or third generation sometimes already belonged to the bourgeoisie.

Other tradesmen sent their children to school, and with great difficulty and by hiding their origin, the latter sometimes wormed their way into the middle class, which led a petty-bourgeois life but had gentry pretensions. This road to urbanization meant leaving the working class, and also adaptation to a non-bourgeois social ambience, to the illusions and ideals which were then dominant.

In the 1920s the exclusion of the working class became even more pronounced. After the failure of the communist Council Republic, gentry society declared organized workers to be unpatriotic. This was only a sharper and more ideological wording of what was its more or less concealed conviction anyway. Gentry society identified itself with the nation, and excluded all other classes. This became an expressed view even when faith in it was profoundly shaken in those who apparently believed it.

In the thirties and forties the working class already presented an entirely different picture. A new technology had appeared, the autonomy of workers lost importance, semi-skilled workers became more important. The composition of the working class according to origin also changed. Those who had come from abroad, had become assimilated long ago, but the old skilled workers no longer formed any more than a nucleus. The numbers were provided by the masses that had come from the villages, who were less well trained, less versed in politics, and in culture, but who harboured very radical sentiments. The situation of the workers also changed within the social system of the factory. Industrial feudalism became tainted with rightist radicalism and social demagoguery.

This rightist radicalism and social demagoguery wanted to give a lot to the worker, or at least it promised to. The planning or development of the regulation of wages, labour safety, insurance, education, training in trades went hand in hand with emphasizing that workers should remain workers, obedient, ready to carry out orders. Industrial feudalism remained feudalistic, but became more paternal, more anti-intellectual, and more military.

The condition of dependence, of being shut out of political and public life, resulted in everything that happened in the superior world taking on a legendary, a mythical hue. People can only judge realistically what they participate in, what they know from their own experience. Correspondingly, the members of the "upper" classes also had a legendary, mythical idea of the world of workers and peasants.

During the Second World War industrialization received a new impetus. Production increased fast—by almost 40 per cent in the war years; new factories applying a new, modern technology were established and the technology of the old factories was also modernized. Quantity and quality

of production achieved approximately the same level as in the second year of the post-liberation first five-year plan. This industrialization increased the number and weight of the workers—and of the bourgeoisie; it raised the standard of living. Industrialization offered an opportunity for the urbanization of the material framework of the way of life. But industrialization is in itself insufficient for the regeneration of the structure of social life. This requires the active co-operation of the forces that come from below, first of all of the workers. Without democratization there can be no regeneration. Industrialization without democratization only increased existing contradictions. Beside feudal elements, which were kept alive though obsolete and spurious, it created a fascist political superstructure, and it increased the forces that would have been interested in democratization, but prevented these forces from asserting themselves. By the end of the Second World War these forces were nevertheless in a position to create an up-to-date, democratic society.

Peasants turned workers

Today the closed culture of the working class is on the way to dissolution. Today's Hungarian workers are not a closed section of society with fixed customs, and an unequivocal system of interdependence, but much rather a huge camp of people on the way. One half of the working class were recently peasants, these lead a transitional way of life between village and town, between a peasant and a worker way of life. But those who were born workers are also on the way from being workers in the old sense to becoming a new type of worker. Some of them become foremen, technicians and engineers, others work in laboratories or a tertiary industry, others again seek supplementary work and live the more important part of their life outside the factory. In one way or another, the majority become divorced from their traditional way of life.

The transformation of the peasantry and of the working class are part of one and the same process, of the dissolution of the closed feudal culture and the urbanization of Hungarian society. This urbanization takes place step by step, in stages.

The *first* step is the turning of peasants into urban workers. In the preceding generation one half of Hungary's population were peasants, today one quarter are. This means every second son or daughter of a peasant has become an urban worker.

This is a process that is taking place almost everywhere in the world.

But in Hungary, in the past twenty years—especially in the fifties—this process was accelerated. This was made possible by the existence of a rural population surplus, larger in Hungary than in any other country of Europe. The exaggerated rate of industrialization at the beginning of the fifties provided jobs which drained off this surplus and—following the collectivization of agriculture—others who had not originally intended to do so, went to work in the towns. For the better-off peasants this change meant a lowering in rank, in prestige, in income, that is a downward mobility, but at the same time this also was part of the process of urbanization.

To become an urban worker when you were born a peasant is not a simple thing. It involves a change of culture. The first step is always unskilled or semi-skilled work, or the learning of certain trades that are particularly accessible to peasants, mostly those involving heavy physical work requiring great strength and stamina in bad conditions (great cold, great heat), or trades that are found and can be practised in villages. The sons of urban workers readily surrender those trades to the sons of peasants.

Two-thirds of Hungarian semi-skilled and unskilled workers are of

Trades	Percentage of those of		
	Peasant	Worker	Skilled worker
	origin		
1. Toolmaker	10.6	71.3	49.2
2. Turner	18.3	67.8	36.8
3. Fitter	19.1	65.8	38.1
4. Electrician	21.6	60.1	43.2
5. Welder	29.6	59.8	31.5
6. Adjuster	30.0	57.8	30.0
7. Grinder	32.2	50.4	25.0
8. Foundryman	33.6	46.2	28.6
9. Miller	35.2	53.9	37.4
10. Metal polisher	36.7	49.9	13.3
11. Furnaceman	40.0	49.4	18.7
12. Rollerman	40.2	52.2	18.4
13. Crane driver	42.6	50.6	14.9
14. Machine-moulder	42.9	46.5	17.9
15. Smelter	43.7	43.6	22.5
16. Joiner	44.4	44.4	33.3
17. First smelter	53.8	46.2	7.7
18. Solderer	55.0	35.0	12.5
19. Smith	62.2	35.5	20.0

peasant stock. The proportion of those of peasant origin is particularly high in mining, in metallurgy (foundrymen, smiths, rollermen, furnacemen, solderers), in the building and wood-working industries (bricklayers, carpenters, joiners), that is, in the "ancient" trades as well.

Thus, a survey of the 23,000 workers of the Csepel Iron and Metal Works gave the following picture of the breakdown according to origin of workers in 19 trades (see Table on p. 30).

In the same trades, the percentages of those who have come from a village are:

Toolmaker	28.6	Semi-skilled worker	50.4
Turner	29.4	Smelter	50.7
Electrician	24.7	Solderer	50.0
Fitter	37.0	Rollerman	51.7
Miller	39.5	Crane driver	49.1
Adjuster	38.3	Furnaceman	63.5
Joiner	42.3	Metal polisher	60.7
Welder	42.2	Machine-moulder	60.0
Grinder	40.2	Smith	72.3
Unskilled worker	47.8	First smelter	61.7
Foundryman	50.4		

Linking factory work and village life

A great part of workers who have come from the peasantry have taken only one step towards urbanization, they have gone to work in the manufacturing or building industries, but have not taken the second step, they have not moved to town. They commute from their villages by train or by bus. A great part of those who live in town try to get hold of some kind of small holding. Their majority has not even finished the eighth class of primary school. A large number went to work in a factory in the fifties, at the time of the first wave of agricultural collectivization, therefore many of them are men of forty to fifty who left their villages at the age of twenty to thirty.

This section of the workers as a rule can imagine their life only in a way that links factory work with agricultural work; they fatten pigs, breed chickens, produce vegetables and fruit. The bridge over the gap between a peasant life and that of the working class is that hard work remains the fundamental law of life. Rest almost counts as something immoral, reading as a superfluous luxury; permitted entertainments are drinking, the pictures, and lately television. Such a worker brings up his children in a patriarchal spirit, and this of course causes clashes between the generations. The children

no longer accept this patriarchal treatment, but rebel against it. In their eating and clothing habits such workers maintain the thriftiness and simplicity of peasants. They are almost as distant from the world of bureaucracy as their parents were, or their predecessors, the traditional Hungarian working class was. They therefore find it difficult to protect their interests, either orally or in writing. They become entangled in a complicated description of superfluous details when presenting their case, and do not find the proper arguments. Abstractions are far from their way of thinking, the scientific, that is abstract, explanation of some fact or event is unacceptable to them. They have great difficulty in finding their way in public life, as a rule they do not know the organizational structure of the enterprise in which they work, and they do not clearly understand the rules that decisively influence their income.

This transitional condition is even more pronounced with those who stay in their village. Here commuting is added to factory work and agricultural work at home. Many of them build themselves a home with all city comforts, working from daybreak to late into the night, with boundless energy, and then they more often than not end up using the bathroom as a tool-shed, and they live in only one room of a house which they are not always able to fill with furniture, let alone with an urban kind of life.

There are others who cannot solve the problems of transition. The community of the factory does not accept them, because they are considered clumsy and slow-witted. But they do not wish and cannot be peasants any longer—so they are caught half-way.

There are others again who have not shown themselves able to stand up to the burden of transition weighing down on the soul, and have finally become incapable of leading an ordered life. These no longer commute between the factory and the village, but between the factory and some place where drinks are sold.

It is mostly the children of the latter—of those who have got stuck this way and whose life is unsettled—who stop on the level of their parents. They are a large proportion of the primary school drop-outs. Some pass all their annual exams but only through the benevolence of their teachers.

Acquiring skills

The majority of the sons of the others, of those who have taken the first step, do not carry on the occupation of their fathers. They learn another, more modern trade, where it is not physical strength but mental concentra-

tion and skill that count. This is the *second* step, if moving to town is not counted as a separate one. Two-thirds of Hungarian toolmakers, fitters, turners, millers, drillers, lathe-operators, grinders, metal polishers, precision engineers, electricians, printers are children of parents who themselves had taken the first step. The majority are young, they have almost all finished primary school, many of them have completed a technical secondary school or high-school course. To tell the truth, these trades are modern only in relation to the earlier mentioned ones, considering world-wide progress, they are also traditional trades. People operate machines as old as they are, and they are aware of this. They have ideas concerning modern technology which they think ought to be introduced. They clearly sense the transitional condition of their situation. The younger they are, the greater the distance between the way their family lives and the peasant world and the higher their schooling, not to mention that they are less satisfied with the work they are doing. They want to escape it through study or in some other way. Their clothing hardly differs from that of the young professional people and executives. If they save, it is no longer for a family cottage, but for a flat and a car.

The older generation of the section of the first step are skilled workers of the old type, with their roots in a period when the machine-operators were not yet the dominating figures in industry, and the skilled worker was really a "skilled" worker in the "craft" sense of the word. These live the old worker way of life, and do not wish to escape it. Hard work is the law of life for them also, they too have patriarchal ideas concerning family life, but even the thought of agricultural work is a long way from them. They grew up in a world where it was shameful for a skilled worker if his wife or daughter went to work in a factory, and where a man went and had a drink after work. They are perhaps the only ones who keep up the working-class culture discussed at the beginning of this article.

Moving further up the ladder

Half of their children are able to take the *third* step. This step leads away from being a worker in the old sense of the word. It can be taken in two ways. One is mobility within the career, rising to be foremen, technicians, engineers, or party functionaries. Most of the workers' sons proceed along this alternative. One-third, at the most, of skilled-worker parents send their children to secondary school, the others have them trained for a trade. (A larger proportion of girls attend secondary school. The ex-

planation of this is that in the traditional female trades wages are lower. Therefore skilled-worker parents prefer to send their daughter to secondary school and let her obtain a leaving certificate, so that she may then become an office-worker or nurse, and marry.) If they encourage their children to go on studying, they start them off on a path which is expensive and risky and the results of which are doubtful. For nine years they do not earn anything and have to be kept. It is not at all certain that they will be able to finish secondary school, but if they succeed in this, the probability is still low that they can get a place in a university or college. Why should they learn a trade with a secondary leaving certificate, if they can do this with a primary school certificate? And finally, if they have succeeded in graduating from a university or college, they earn much less at the age of 23 or 24 than an 18-year-old skilled worker. If, on the other hand, they learn a trade, this is a sure livelihood, without being a dead end, the final stage of a career.

It is for these reasons that children of the section of society of the second step choose mobility within a career. They have a further reason—the difficulty they have at school in competing with children of white-collar workers and professional people.

Two surveys—one in the Csepel Iron and Metal Works, and one among workers in Pest County—have shown that every fifth skilled worker becomes a foreman or technician.

The role of environmental factors

Studying is an indispensable element in promotion; and with technical progress it is becoming more and more so. An important difference in the way of thinking of a physical worker and of professional people is the first's lack of an abstract rationality. The mode of thinking of which a mathematical formula is the extreme example is an accustomed and self-evident process for every intellectual. For a physical worker every relationship is a connection between real, concrete elements. The fundamental change occurs with the trained technicians and foremen. It is on this level that systematic thinking and definitions, conclusions following certain rules, verification, the use of laboratory methods and of experiments become common. The effect of this important change plays a major role in the decision whether or not children go on studying. Ten per cent of the sons of skilled workers, and already 25 per cent of the sons of foremen and technicians study at the day courses of universities and colleges. The explanation of this discrepancy

is largely that the children of the latter are better able to compete. They are better able to compete because the change in the manner of thinking has already taken place with their parents.

At school, in competition among children, progress in culture as such is measured. In giving marks for individual subjects, not only knowledge of the prescribed curriculum is taken into consideration, but also the capacity to think systematically, discipline in learning, and general knowledge. The school teaches only one part of general knowledge, as much as is contained in textbooks; the other part, which cannot be found in the textbooks, is left to the family. The part of knowledge and culture which is left to the family includes the ability to think rationally and the application of a conceptual language, which in the families of professional people—but also in the families of foremen and technicians—are passed on to the children almost automatically.

A knowledge of mathematical formulae, definitions, logical verification, experimental processes and the ability to apply them do not yet add up to knowledge and culture. Culture of the kind not available at school has yet another, more concealed part, which is even less accessible to those who come from a worker family, which cannot be included in the curriculum, culture in the old humanistic sense of the term. The acquisition of this is perhaps the *fourth* step.

This can perhaps be expressed by saying that a man who grew up in a technical culture gets accustomed to the application of formulae, but is not on friendly terms with words, though this is an oversimplification. The meaning of words includes all the cultural content that can be associated with them. In their practical application they denote an object or an interconnection, but they are at the same time also symbols that may invoke an entire culture; they are elements of a secret language which is intelligible only to those who are in the know, and which excludes the uninitiated. Every communication refers to some interconnection. But beyond the first, most obvious interconnection it refers to a system of interconnections, to an entire culture. For elementary understanding communication on one elementary level, the straightforward interconnection has to be known to which it primarily refers, but the more remote interconnections someone is aware the more profoundly he grasps the communication. This is one of the reasons why the children of working men who have become professional people, so often remain—after having graduated from a university—at the level of white-collar workers doing routine work. Without the acquisition of culture in full sense there cannot be complete mobility.

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Half the peasants are turning into unskilled and semi-skilled workers, half of the latter become skilled workers, half of the skilled workers technicians, engineers or others in professional employment. Every level is largely made up of those who come from below. Hungarian society as a whole is on the move and closed group-cultures are everywhere in a process of dissolution. An emphasis on the flowing and increasing process of mobility oversimplifies reality. Not everyone keeps to the rungs of the ladder, there are quite a few who progress by leaps. Others get stuck where they stand, and do not advance a single step. Others again, leave the path and find themselves outside society. Those who not only make no progress, but are also unable to maintain their large families, do not fit into this picture.

It would be a misunderstanding to believe that the continuous movement means social advancement for everyone and for every group. Becoming an urban worker meant going up in the world for agrarian proletarians and semi-proletarians, but not for well-to-do peasants. A semi-skilled or unskilled worker went up in the world when he turned into a skilled tradesman, but the owner of a small shop or workshop did not. Semi-skilled and unskilled workers went up even if they remained in their places, skilled tradesmen, clerks and professional people no longer did. The older generation of professional people and skilled tradesmen find that their income position has deteriorated. The consciousness of this is increased by the fact that their advantages over other sections have lessened—in some cases they have disappeared altogether. In the Csepel Iron and Metal Works, for instance, the income ratio between different sections was the following:

	Unskilled workers	Semi-skilled workers	Skilled workers	Foremen
In the thirties	100	125	150	190
The present position	100	110	128	160

The past as a basis for comparison is relevant mainly for those over fifty. For younger people the basis for comparison is either the neighbouring group, or the professional classes and skilled tradesmen of the more developed countries. They all consider that the difference between them and those immediately below them is not large enough, but that it is too large between them and their fellows in the West. Those who rose from below

share this opinion. Their thoughts are not on the distance they have covered but on how far they wish to go.

The same paradox may be observed in the appreciation of the degree of mobility. Ten per cent of the sons of urban workers get to attend the day course of a college or university. (The figures are much lower for the children of the semi-skilled and unskilled.) This ratio is doubled if those who study at night are included. Seen from below, this does not appear too high a figure. Some of those who come from professional families, on the other hand, find that too many of their colleagues have risen from below.

The road upwards is a tiring one and it is full of trials and tribulations. Getting stuck on the way is even more painful. Exchanging cultures is often associated with a feeling of suffocation. One leaves the world into which one was born, loses one's inherited human contacts, and one is no longer understood by those from whom one descends. But it is equally difficult to find human contacts in the world into which one has arrived, to achieve mutual understanding with those who grew up in a different culture. Rising socially is often accompanied by loneliness, by a feeling of inferiority, by mistaken compensation, a flight into sickness and into an asocial attitude.

It should be pointed out once again that the process of dissolution of group-cultures is far from complete. The urban middle class, the gentlemanly, the peasant, and the working-class ways of life still differ today, and the ways of life of their heirs also differ noticeably in the upper and middle layers. The value judgements they form of each—which are not always favourable—also differ and there are also differences in their image of the nature of society as well as in the ideal society which is postulated.

Some are saddened by the fact that the two-fisted working man, the man using his hammer, is gradually being replaced by a new type of worker in whose activities intellectual effort predominates, and who in his appearance and in his way of life differs hardly, or not at all, from clerks or professional people. But this process cannot be stopped, and delaying it would cause distortions in the economy, in society, and in the human soul. Sadness is out of place. Genuine democracy is unimaginable without the reception of the whole of culture, without the development of a common culture. Technological changes and the restructuring of the working class are creating the opportunities which will allow this to happen.

THE TIMELINESS OF LENIN

by

FERENC TÓKEI

The timeliness of Lenin's ideas is a vast subject. An up-to-the-minute formulation would be: what is to be understood under the principle of the two-front fight, how did Lenin wage his ideological and political struggle at the same time against rightist and "leftist" revisionism? It is most important to put this theoretical question. In our current way of thinking we often tend to simplify, and hence, to falsely interpret the problem, that is by using stereotypes such as the phrase that rightist revisionism is composed of bourgeois and social-democratic opportunism, or that "leftism" is identical with communist dogmatism. We assume that these identifications never change; many people content themselves with plain formulas which advise the application of equal standards to rightist and "leftist" tendencies. Platitudes will get us nowhere. As against such a mixing up and levelling of concepts it must be pointed out in the first place that rightist and "leftist" opportunism, and revisionism and deviation are all principally political concepts.

Moreover, these concepts, each being a member of a dialectic pair, belong to each other, and can be explained by each other. At the same time—though rightism and "leftism" may breed each other—in this case we do not face some kind of pseudo-dialectic parallelism but two things very distinct from each other, between which Leninist policy fighting on two fronts cannot try to find a "middle course"; since in that case an accusation of following an opportunist middle-course policy would be justified. Struggle on two fronts can be waged only from a third standpoint, from the wholly independent standpoint of Marxism-Leninism which is not at the centre between these two deviations but above or far from both so as to ensure an attitude allowing an understanding of both in their concrete objectiveness.

Marx, Engels and Lenin waged an equally unrelenting theoretical and political struggle against rightism and "leftism" but they never applied

equal standards to them, they treated each according to its own. The common saying which calls rightism a "deadly sin" and "leftism" only a "venial sin," seriously or ironically, touches upon a serious question of principle. What is the essence of the matter? Rightist opportunism is treachery, it is going over to the bourgeois position; "leftism", on the contrary, is the "infantile disorder" of leftism without quotation marks which can turn into treachery and right-wing policy if the patient does not outgrow it but which in itself does not mean a going over to the enemy. (It is to be noted that this article is dealing with ideologies and tendencies and not with persons and the often differing roads they take.) "Leftism" can get rid of its quotation marks, and even if it does not get rid of them or it does not get rid of them in everything it is still not identical with rightism, though, of course, it can become very dangerous.

Lenin's greatest work, Bolshevism, will bear witness to this. From the historical point of view the above-mentioned principle is proved by the origins of Bolshevism and by the entire history of its growth and renewal, and from a structural point of view it can be proved by the triangular relationship between Plekhanov, Lenin and Lunacharsky which is especially enlightening about 1908, in the era of reaction, when the strengthening of the political independence of Bolshevism was a particularly important task.

This is not the place for a historical analysis; I shall have to content myself with reminding the reader that Bolshevism, as an independent trend, broke away from social-democracy which became increasingly rightist, and that Bolshevism, as a revolutionary trend, stood up against compromise and class treason, and since it was able to criticize the various versions of populism and anarchism, it was also able to inherit all truly revolutionary energies of petty bourgeois and semi-proletarian "leftism"—it was able to draw them under its hegemony and even to absorb them in the Bolshevik Party itself.

Lenin's great work was the creation of a widely based leftist workers' movement which could become the movement of the "majority" just because it did not tolerate sectarian isolation or doctrinaire attitudes. Bolshevism saw its main enemy right from the start in rightist Menshevism.

This commonplace has to be stated since there are people who, under the influence of certain one-sided views, usually philosophical ones, tend to forget the essential character of the Plekhanov-Lenin-Lunacharsky triangular relationship. It was Plekhanov who was the real political adversary of Lenin while Lunacharsky, despite his idealistic philosophy, was always a firm fighter for the Revolution. Reading Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* it is easy to entertain the illusion that Lenin, at the time, regarded the Machist Bolsheviks as his chief adversaries; Lenin himself declared

later that he had formed a bloc with the Mensheviks. But this was true only as regards opposing the Otzovists, the liquidator-group. Bogdanov had to be expelled from the party to prevent the dangers of sectarianism. But let us look at Lenin's own explanation of the situation in a letter written to Gorky on February 7, 1908, "Can and must philosophy be linked up with the party line? with Bolshevism? I do not think that can be done even now. Let the philosophers of our party do a little bit more work on the theory, let them argue and—let them tell everything. I am for the time being of the opinion that *such* philosophic discussions like that between the materialists and the empiricists should be separated out from party work as a whole."

A few weeks later, on February 25, Lenin wrote: "In the summer and autumn of 1904 we reached final agreement with Bogdanov as Bolsheviks and produced that implicit block which implicitly excluded philosophy as neutral territory, which was in force throughout the entire duration of the revolution and which made it possible for us to employ the tactics of revolutionary social-democracy (Bolshevism) in the revolution, which according to my deepest convictions are the only right tactics."

Lenin did not share the 2nd International's notion of "philosophical neutrality" later either, on the contrary, in 1908 he thought that a philosophical conflict was unavoidable. But in the same letter he wrote: "In my opinion it would be an inexcusable stupidity to trouble the realisation of the tactics of revolutionary social-democracy in the interest of discussions such as materialism or Machism. We must fight over philosophy in such a way that it should not touch the "Proletary" and the Bolsheviks, as one of the *factions* of the party. And this is possible to the fullest extent." But how? With some kind of social-democrat "neutrality" after all? "No—said Lenin—neutrality is not possible, and there *will be none* in questions such as this. If one can possibly speak of neutrality, then at the most in a conditional sense; this quarrel as a whole must be *separated* from the faction."

Mihail Lifshitz, in his brilliant study of Lunacharsky, showed with what exquisite dialectics Lenin accomplished this separation and how he created the position of "conditional neutrality." This was the same Lenin whose epoch-making achievement in the history of Marxist philosophy was just that he had definitely put an end to the philosophical pseudo-neutrality of the 2nd International. Lenin spoke with passionate anger of Machism but said that Plekhanov's tactics were "insipid," even "vile." Against whom did he write his *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*? Philosophically he wrote it against the Machists but politically he wrote it against Plekhanov who, before the appearance of Lenin's book, found himself in the comfortable

position of having a justification from the formal point of view, of being able to mock Bolshevik idealist philosophers.

Gorky feared that the Mensheviks would benefit from the philosophical discussion. "You are mistaken, very much mistaken, A. M."—answered Lenin, on March 24, 1909. "They will get the better of it if the Bolshevik faction does not draw the line between itself and its three Bolshevik philosophers. *In that case* they will definitely win. But if the philosophic wrangle takes place outside the faction, then the Mensheviks will finally have to show their true colours in politics, and that would be the end of them there."

This is exactly what happened. It is paradoxical but true: after Lenin's book was published Plekhanov had no excuses left and the objective question could be raised: what was lacking from the Marxism of Plekhanov and his followers, why was it just lifeless dogmatism despite all its formal truth? Lenin as is well known showed up the methodological secret of the right wing, according to him they surreptitiously excluded revolutionary dialectics.

Lenin always thought of right-wing revisionism as hostile and he always tried to free "leftism" from its quotation marks. He did not, of course, always manage to do this but in the main he was successful: some "leftist" movements and trends remained "leftist," but others recovered from the infantile disorder of communism. Even when he criticized "leftist communism," the growth of which he considered a mortal danger to the movement, the following sentence was characteristic of his tone: "...God himself ordains that young persons should talk such nonsense for a certain period."

At the 3rd Congress of the Communist International, when he fought also against "leftism," he said: "The mistake of the left is simply a mistake, it is not a great mistake and it can be rectified easily. But if the mistake touches the resolution to act, than this is in no way a small mistake but treason. Such mistakes cannot be compared."

Yes—some people might say—these may be historical truths but what is their topicality? Do the basic problems of our times resemble those of the beginning of the century? Are old reformism and anarchism alive again, and do they complement each other in a distorted way? We know that there is a standpoint according to which the communist movement has declined into reformism, hence its right-wing opportunist crimes merit to be punished by a revived anarchism, and the only way out, so it is argued, is a new "left-wing" communism. Our times, doubtless, have some features that recall those of the beginning of the century: one of them is the pressure

exerted by the manipulated plenty of consumption goods of the alleged "consumer society" on the mentality of the exploited masses (which, from a certain distance, is something like the idyll of those "golden pre-war days"); another similar feature is that the communist movement then and now lacks a centre of the nature of the 1st or 3rd International. Nevertheless the present radically differs from the turn of the century.

At that time no socialist state existed while today socialist states cover one-third of the globe. Lenin's predictions have come true, reformism and anarchism could never be revived in their old form, the First World War had already put an end to them. Today's reformism is of an openly bourgeois nature, and today's anarchism is nothing but an episode, it has to make up its mind quickly whether it wishes to be pro or anti-communist. If we take Lenin's heritage seriously we must know how to help and encourage the "leftist" petty bourgeoisie to make the right choice.

Lenin's topicality is striking as regards the concept of "leftist communism." Today's "new" communist "leftism" applies Lenin's statements to our times in a doctrinaire manner, neglecting the enormous changes that have taken place, transforming Lenins' theses into dogmas and, in sharp opposition to Lenin's dialectics, it contents itself with the most primitive analogies.

What is commonly called communist "leftism" today is by far not the same as the phenomenon criticized by Lenin in his "Leftism". This also most odd "leftism" has been given a new and better name since the 20th Congress: it is called *conservative dogmatism*. This also is pseudo- or semi-leftism: the behaviour of dogmatism is in itself right-wing behaviour, adherence to the old.

Lenin described social-democrat rightism with unparalleled methodological clarity as conservative dogmatism, demonstrating this with the example of the very best, "orthodox" Marxists. To quote "The experience of leaders of the Second International, highly erudite Marxists who were devoted to Socialism, such as Kautsky, Otto Bauer and others could (and should) serve as a useful lesson. They fully appreciated the need for flexible tactics; they learned and taught Marxian dialectics (and much of what they have done in this respect will forever remain a valuable contribution to socialist literature); but in the application of these dialectics they committed such a mistake, or, rather, proved in practice to be so undialectical, so incapable of taking into account the rapid change of forms and the rapid filling of old forms with new content, that their fate is not much more enviable than that of Hyndman, Guesde and Plekhanov. The main reason for their bankruptcy was that they 'concentrated their gaze' on one definite form of growth of the working class movement and of Socialism,

they forgot all about the one-sidedness of this form, they were afraid of seeing the sharp break which, by virtue of objective conditions, became inevitable, and continued to repeat the simple, routine, and at first glance, incontestable truths, such as 'three is more than two.' But politics is more like algebra than arithmetic; it is more like higher than lower mathematics. In reality, all the old forms of the Socialist movement have been filled with a new content, and, consequently, a new sign, the 'minus' sign, appeared in front of all figures; but our wiseacres stubbornly continued (and continue) to persuade themselves and others that 'minus three' is more than 'minus two'!"

These words characterize many "conservative" "leftists" of today. But as I argued, our epoch is fundamentally different. And it is quite another thing to defend socialism in a conservative way than—irrespective of intention—to defend capitalism at the beginning of the century. But as to the method, the analogy holds beyond any doubt. Luckily that communist "leftism" against which Lenin had warned the movement never developed. Lenin's fundamental achievements remained and developed despite the circumstance that under Stalin Leninist norms of party life were valid only in principle.

Today some devoted Communists who had been true leftists are in a tragic position. They are not able to apply dialectically the dialectics they had once learned, and they only repeat simple, studied truths: "leftist" rebels describe them simply as rightists (with not unexpected one-sided injustice), but even a party line which follows in Lenin's footsteps carrying on the two-front struggle accuses them of conservative dogmatism, and this means at least that their leftism is being questioned.

"Leftist" rebellion today, as in the old days, takes up explicitly rightist positions on several questions, mainly philosophical but also political ones. This serves as an "excuse" for today's conservative dogmatism. But it is impossible today to confound Leninism with various subjectivist, activist, etc. ideologies. Marxist-Leninist methods and theory prove that they are revolutionary, fertilizing and timely in many fields (true, mostly not in our text-books). The communist movement is vigorous and basically healthy. Lenin's method will help it to overcome its interior conflicts. The overlapping damaging extremes of "leftist" rebellion and conservative dogmatism are both doomed to failure. Progressive forces cannot help choose Lenin's ideas that are still topical today.

FINANCIAL COOPERATION WITHIN CMEA

by

PÉTER VÁLYI

The 23rd Session of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (CMEA) in 1969 decided on a number of important points regarding closer integration among member countries. Since then extensive work has been done to elaborate a detailed programme of integration. At the same time an international comparison of plans worked out in different countries has started.

The ideas that follow reflect notions formulated in Hungary.

To throw light on the financial conditions of economic co-operation among socialist countries, it might be necessary to start a little further back than one might wish. In socialist countries a certain doubt is felt regarding the importance of foreign exchange, credits, and other trade preconditions. Should one not look to the direct regulation of production for the salient point in this qualitatively new stage of co-operation? And in the West, the reality of the up-to-date model of socialist integration is often doubted in present conditions. My aim is to contribute to the dispelling of these doubts; I should like to show on the one hand that essential and inseparable links bind the productive, commercial and financial activities of the CMEA countries, and on the other, to demonstrate that the chances of further development of socialist integration are real and that the outlines of this integration are beginning to take shape.

The rapid spread of the international division of labour is typical of our times. Modern technology has diminished the importance of geographic distances. In spite of this, certain focal points of the international division of labour are developing in certain geographic-political regions. The gathering of the CMEA countries into a regional economic bloc is also obvious, since economic relations among them are not guided by geographic proximity and vicinity only, but also by the identity of economic and political objectives.

The principal content of and reasons for a more thorough-going division of labour are:

- the acceleration of technological-scientific progress by international collaboration,
- the realization of an optimum and continuously increasing scale of production—also in countries of small and medium size—thanks to co-operation and specialization in production,
- the creation of large markets, where ideas and commodities can move unhindered and to the advantage of all participants.

However, this is insufficient to prove that the modernization of financial arrangements within the CMEA is particularly timely and that in formulating a programme of integration one has to set out from the monetary system.

A practical example might best make the point.

Any product of the engineering industry, motor-cycles for instance is today produced in relatively small series by each CMEA country. The advantage of this situation could be that a large selection of motor-cycles is available in CMEA countries and that a certain competition may exist which improves quality. (This advantage would, of course, only be real if the products of all countries were sold in each country, if no limiting or prohibitive import or export restrictions were applied for the protection of domestic production.) Today this advantage is not sufficiently in evidence. Trade practices and the character of the existing agreements are still strongly protectionist, they do not make it possible to retail a wide selection, nor do they allow a mutual throwing open of markets even in the case of products where supply undoubtedly exceeds demand.

The disadvantage of this situation is that production costs remain higher than possible and desirable in each country. Simple logic would dictate as one solution that enterprises of different countries divide up their work in such a way that the most important components or construction units are produced by different enterprises. Choice can be increased by producing different combinations of components. In this way, the series may be increased in each country, production technology can be modernized, and costs can be reduced.

What are the factors hindering such co-operation? I shall try to enumerate a few without claiming that my list is complete.

The stable prices determined by the authorities, which are applied in trade between the CMEA countries, make it difficult from the outset to agree on a price which would share the advantages of reduced cost between buyers and sellers. Therefore, any co-operating factory is justified in asking

itself what advantage an importing enterprise derives from such an agreement.

In the trade practices of the CMEA countries—in spite of all endeavours to the contrary—the principle of bilateral balancing dominates. This confronts participants with the difficult question of how to balance deliveries bilaterally in each particular case.

What can a producing enterprise do in a case when it is told by the state organs that the absence of a balance causes problems in the balancing of bilateral trade on national accounts. Another disturbing factor is that the connection between foreign trade prices and domestic prices is different in each country. The seller cannot be sure that the price of motor-cycles will be reduced in the importing country if he reduces his prices, and therefore he does not find it worthwhile to make efforts in this direction.

This situation is aggravated by the existence of a scale of commodity values which was also produced by bilaterality between the CMEA countries. There are "hard" commodities, those which are easy to sell elsewhere (which are convertible between countries), and "soft" commodities, the saleability of which is very limited. Therefore, in balancing accounts, this type of commodity value is also a subject of discussion. This is how a situation has arisen where some consider "realistic" and "fair" trade to consist of an exchange of raw materials for raw materials, machinery for machinery, consumer goods for consumer goods. There is no need to explain that such notions which are not far from today's practice either, put a powerful brake on the development of the division of labour, and do not allow comparative advantages to assert themselves.

Another objection could be that the division of labour in the common interest often requires investments, and so far a common mechanism has been lacking by which investments which are in the interest of several parties can be supplied with credit.

But the few examples given above suffice to explain why production co-operation does not progress at the desired rate.

The problem then is that, on the one hand, there is not enough competition in our present system, and it is also for this reason that economically unjustified parallel production continues, and on the other, that consumers in the various countries are not in most cases offered a wide enough choice of goods—this applies also to the motor-cycles mentioned—because the import and export mechanism of the different countries impedes an easier flow of goods.

A future system must permit co-operation that allows the manufacture of large series justified by technological and economic reasons.

And, of course, a much larger choice of goods, with appropriate price differentiation is needed in the markets of the socialist countries.

The objective is to give the green light in every country to those goods which it can produce in the most up-to-date economical way.

I have no doubt that the reason for the lag in production co-operation is not to be sought in the managers' lack of economic knowledge, nor in the rejection of the principle of international co-operation, nor—as some people assert—in the absence of sufficiently detailed specifications and prescriptions for co-operation in foreign trade plans and agreements, but it is mainly due to those economic, financial and commercial conditions within the framework of which the division of labour is taking place. Motor-cycles are one example.

It is also possible to trace effect to cause as to why progress is so slow in the establishment of common institutions and enterprises between CMEA countries, and the result would be very similar.

The monetary system

If the objections and obstacles are scrutinized more closely, we find that what is at the back of things are shortcomings in the functioning of money used in trade among CMEA countries. Rigid prices, which have become divorced from costs and supply and demand, and are independent of the world market, hinder the functioning of money as the measure of value; bilateralism restricts the means of payment function, the distorted qualification of commodities according to "the degree of hardness" almost indicates barter; the need of an annual balance, the lack of a common fund of accumulation indicates the underdevelopment of the amassing function.

However, one must not draw the inference from all this that the monetary system of the CMEA *alone* is the key to future progress. There are key questions elsewhere too, especially in the reconciliation of plans and economic policies and in the merging of scientific and technological efforts. Nevertheless, the bulk of the most pressing problems will be found in the spheres of exchange and money.

Let us examine what the requirements are that have to be met when the future of the monetary system of the CMEA countries is to be planned within the framework of a closer economic integration.

The most important aspect that has to be considered here is the more efficient and faster economic development of the CMEA countries. Setting out from this, four requirements can be formulated:

The monetary system should

- serve production and trade within the CMEA, and the better satisfaction of the needs of the member countries, it should stimulate technological development, the mutual exchange of modern machinery and components, and improvements in quality, it should increase the interestedness of the member countries in the export of sought-after commodities of a high technical standard,
- support—especially by creating means to finance investments of common interest—the rapid development of the structure-transforming branches of production,
- bring about favourable conditions for the specialization of production and production co-operation, and later make possible the establishment of common projects, institutions and enterprises, and common interest in their operation.
- strengthen the economic and financial standing of the CMEA countries in the world economy, help create a common trade policy towards outsiders, and in the long run permit a certain participation in and co-operation with the CMEA by non-members.

These appear to be maximum requirements, and it is possible that they are, if we look only one or two years ahead. But the integration of the CMEA countries, as an evolutionary process, should be planned for a longer period. I am convinced that the conditions for the starting of integration can be created in 1971–1972. By 1975 the monetary system should be established. Further progress will be the task of the period after 1975. However long and gradual the development in question is, it is also clear that it cannot all be achieved by a single measure, but only by a wide range of measures, in several rounds. The member countries of the CMEA face in the years ahead the putting into practice of well-considered and inter-related measures in the domains of finance, planning, trade, and the formation of prices.

Multilateralism and transferability

The principal step in the fulfilment of the above-mentioned requirements is the gradual transition from bilateralism to multilateralism in trade and payments between the CMEA countries.

The advantages of multilateralism are obvious. It is capable of producing new reserves for the increase of trade. Its benefits are also seen in the satisfaction of the above-mentioned requirements. Multilateralism stimulates exports, since the increase of exports is not slowed down by the obligation

of balancing accounts bilaterally; it encourages the improvement of quality and technological development, because—at least as far as part of the commodities are concerned—enterprises of several countries appear as competing sellers in any one country. The introduction of multilateral settlement makes the path to co-operation in production and specialization easier, since if multilateral settlement exists, the question of bilateral balancing within transactions or between two countries does not even arise.

This among others is the reason why we believe that the modernization of the financial, trade and price systems of the integration can be achieved on the basis of multilateralism and of the convertibility of the currencies of member states (free convertibility within the CMEA countries of accounts receivable and accounts payable which arose out of bilateral trade). It is a peculiarity of the present situation that the principle of multilaterality within the CMEA was proclaimed several years ago, and that the present common currency of the CMEA countries is called the convertible rouble. So far it has not been possible to bring about the minimum conditions which are indispensable for multilateralism and convertibility to operate. The process which leads to them is not started by a declaration but only by the introduction of interrelated measures in accordance with a pre-set programme. Today the usability of credits and debits that have arisen on multilateral accounts kept with the CMEA Bank, is not guaranteed even within CMEA countries. In contradiction with the fundamental principles of the Bank, all monetary exchange is reduced to bilateral accounts. The bilateral balances that so arise are not mobile, since price relations are rigid and differ from country to country, and since the other economic institutions necessary for convertibility are lacking.

If one wishes to define the minimum conditions for multilateralism within the CMEA and for the convertibility of currencies of member states in trade between member states one arrives at the following four basic tenets:

- (a) Trade quotas and the system of trade agreements have to be made more elastic.
- (b) The system of export and import prices has to be developed in such a way that prices should be elastic and express values of the organized (planned) market of the socialist countries.
- (c) The system of credits between CMEA countries must be made effective, primarily by discontinuing the present automatic extension of credits, and by introducing an incentive system of interest payments.
- (d) Partial convertibility to gold and to free currencies must be introduced.

The bilateral long-term and annual trade agreements made between CMEA countries and the compulsory delivery quotas set in them fulfil an extraordinarily important role in assuring stability and that co-operation goes according to plan. They will have to fulfil this task in the future also. But the bilateral character of the agreements and quotas, and their specification in depth and detail do not permit progress towards multilateralism in the exchange of goods. The reason is that almost all the goods which may be exported or imported are allocated in trade agreements, and there is no area or opportunity left for the balancing in multilateral trade of credit or debit balances that have arisen bilaterally. There is therefore no other way out than to balance trade with every country, or if this does not succeed for some reason, to extend credit automatically.

The maintenance of stability and of trading according to plan, and even the strengthening of these is possible also side by side with the creation of elbow-room necessary for multilaterally settled trade. What is needed is that long-term agreements should regulate only that part of trade which has a fundamental influence on the economic policy of the countries in question. These deliveries have to be determined compulsorily for several years ahead, where the demand and the delivery possibilities can safely be decided beforehand, and where this safety is absolutely necessary for the planned development of economic relations. Outside this sphere—the extent of which depends also on the economic situation of each individual country—it is important to create the possibility for a part of the commodities to flow freely in accordance with changing demand, and this part must fulfil the function of creating a multilateral balance.

In accordance with what has been said above the trade agreements to be concluded would be built on the following quota forms:

- compulsory commodity quotas set in quantities, the delivery and acceptance of which is underwritten by the state; agreements to be valid for several years and to include price and other conditions;
- quotas determined by value; these quotas to be much less detailed and specified than the quantity quotas; the obligation to deliver and to accept applies only in general, the obligation becomes operative only as a result of contracts made by the respective exporting and importing enterprises;
- all those goods to be in the sphere of quotaless (free) trade for which importing and exporting countries undertake only the obligation not to apply export or import restrictions.

It should be noted that elements of this more elastic agreement and quota system are already present to a certain extent in today's practice.

One quarter of all commodities are already exchanged outside the strictly obligatory sphere. In the future the sphere of value quotas and free lists will be consciously extended and this sphere will be used for a more variable shaping of trade and for the strengthening of multilateralism.

It is another condition of the gradual introduction of multilateralism and convertibility that the terms of trade applying in trade between socialist countries should be more realistic, and the methods of price formation more elastic. We can speak of a realistic formation of prices if this is influenced by price relations in the world market and by lasting changes in the latter. (This influence can make itself felt through realistic and stable exchange rates.)

Supply and demand in socialist trade have to play their role; today these assert themselves spontaneously in the "degree of hardness" of the commodities and phenomena connected with barter, which often occur in the trade of the socialist countries. It happens more than once in the present system of price formation that goods that are demanded and in short supply are valued relatively lower, and goods which are abundant relatively higher than in the world market. Realistic export and import prices must also reflect an internationally acceptable cost structure of the individual countries, as a result of exchange rates being effective in trade. In this way it is possible to develop gradually a system of export and import prices which expresses the value judgements of CMEA countries and which does in fact stimulate co-operation.

It is at the same time correct to link price agreements organically with trade agreements. This means that those commodities should have internationally fixed prices, for which compulsory quantitative quotas are determined. In this case the period for which prices are valid should coincide with the period for which the obligation to deliver is valid. It is advisable to revise and modify even such price agreements from time to time in the case of lasting changes in world market prices.

In the area of value quotas and of free lists, prices should be agreed upon by the exporting and importing enterprises. This ensures elasticity of price formation. It follows from this that the fulfilment of the value-measuring function of the common currency, the reality of its exchange rate and its practicability demand that special attention be paid to the further development of export and import prices.

In the conditions of accomplished integration, the common currency will differ from that of today inasmuch as it will gradually come to fulfil all functions of an international currency, principally the functions of measuring value and of serving as a means of payment.

Modification of the credit mechanism

It would also be appropriate to carry out some changes in the credit system of the CMEA community. We have a credit mechanism in mind which is an effective instrument in assuring multilateral equilibrium, and at the same time sets in motion a process which makes member countries economically interested in the accumulation of credit balances, and in placing them with the joint bank or with other member countries for longer periods. For this the present mechanical practice of establishing credits, the automatic giving of credits by the Bank of International Economic Co-operation, has to cease. Instead, the bank will have to grant credits on the basis of requests by individual countries, at predetermined conditions, to the limit of the means which are at its disposal. (For the carrying out of normal trade, an automatic technical overdraft, depending on the volume of trade, will of course be necessary in the future also.)

The discontinuation of credit-automatism will mean in practice that it will be possible to import only if the common means of payment is available. The price of credit, i.e. the interest rate will—outside the sphere of automatic technical overdrafts—be the subject of agreement between the bank and the country requesting the credit, and between the depositor and the bank. This interest rate will obviously be higher than at present, and will approach world-level. In this way the interest member countries have in the granting of credits can be increased, and this will contribute to the creation of multilateral equilibrium and to its dynamic maintenance.

Convertibility

The partial convertibility of the common currency and the gradual increase of the extent of convertibility are an organic part of the programme described so far. Partial convertibility means that part of the prolonged credit balance expressed in the common currency (e.g. 10 per cent every six months) should be at the creditor's disposal in gold or in free currency, or that the debtor should carry out part of his obligations to the bank in gold.

Such a mechanism would have several kinds of beneficial effects on co-operation. It would increase the interestedness of member countries in the accumulation of credits, it would stimulate them to increase their exports, a certain competition would develop, and it would become more attractive to sell commodities in the socialist market that used to be in short supply

or were sold only to capitalist countries. The possibility of conversion would forge a closer link between world market prices and the prices applied in CMEA countries. As a consequence, the range of deficient products in the socialist market may be considerably reduced. Goods for which there is no demand, will become depreciated, their exporting will become uneconomical and they will be gradually replaced in the market by sought-after, up-to-date goods. The transformation of the export structure of the member countries will be given emphasis, and in connection with this, also the making of investments.

Partial convertibility may also open up more intensive contacts between the monetary system of CMEA countries and other parts of the world, and may create better opportunities for the developing countries to trade more flexibly in the markets of the socialist countries, thus mutually increasing trade.

Investment Bank

An Investment Bank will have to be established. This bank will serve the purpose of supplying large investment projects of common interest with the necessary finance. This creates an effective new instrument in the planified development of economic co-operation among CMEA countries, under the guidance of the economic community of CMEA countries.

The Bank will undertake the financing of really efficient projects in the economic interest of all member countries, and thereby further the acceleration of the technological development of CMEA countries and the effective satisfaction of the needs arising in the course of this.

In this way too, a more efficient international monetary mechanism will promote closer economic ties among CMEA countries, the elimination of the spontaneous elements and the better execution of plans.

It would be possible to extend investigations further. One could discuss the way in which such a monetary, price and trading system among CMEA countries will influence the economies of individual member countries.

One could discuss the role of national currencies in the integration of CMEA countries. One could mention how CMEA countries will harmonize their trade policies towards other countries, what protectionist measures it would be useful to develop within a few years to make it more advantageous for every CMEA member country to develop economic co-operation and forge economic links within the community than with the outside world. The creation and declaration of a custom-free zone of CMEA countries also arises.

The exploration, discussion, and elaboration of these topics are tasks which are ahead of us.

What I wanted to explain was that the development of monetary relations occupies an outstanding place in our ideas. We also have to pay attention to the development of economic planning from this aspect. At present the growth of monetary relations is still an underestimated and neglected question within the CMEA. This has to be changed. We have to plan the shaping of monetary relations for a long time ahead, and have to progress consistently, from step to step, towards a monetary system which functions better. This is a plan of no lesser importance than production and trade plans.

Viewing our affairs from the practical side, we believe that such a concrete and realistic action programme may be formulated within a relatively short time. To achieve this we still have to press for the solution of a number of practical economic questions, and we have to reach agreement on concrete measures in international bodies.

We are confident that conditions for closer economic integration among CMEA member countries will be created fast in the monetary domain also, and that this will further strengthen the CMEA as an economic integration, and increase its ability to fit into the flow of world trade, and into an even wider international division of labour.

FROM OUR NEXT NUMBERS

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INTERVIEWS WITH MAGDA RADNÓT AND PÉTER VERES

THE THOUSANDTH ANNIVERSARY OF ST. STEPHEN'S BIRTH

by

GYÖRGY GYÖRFFY

A historic change occurred a thousand years ago in the life of the "new-barbarian" peoples, Danes, various Slavs and Hungarians living on the borders of the Holy Roman Empire. The northward and eastward expansion of the German empire of the Ottos threatened the very existence of the pagan peoples living there. The German expansion—following the example of Charlemagne—professed the Christian ideology, but its political consequence was conquest, the liquidation of the autonomous life of the conquered. Under such conditions, the peoples settled around the Empire could find only one way to defend themselves: they too took up Christianity and endeavoured to establish an organized state similar to the one which had developed in the Frankish empire and in its successor states.

This particular historical situation resulted in the Danish, Polish, Czech and Hungarian states being established at about the same time, but the new system was introduced, through the Normans, also in territories not exposed directly to Germanic pressure: in Norway, Sweden and Russia. The history of three neighbouring peoples show marked similarities: the Czechs, Poles and Hungarians established their state and organized their church structure not only at the same time, but also in a very similar way: in Bohemia, the dynasty of the Přemyslids, in Poland the Piasts, and in Hungary the Árpáds suppressed revolts by tribal chieftains and those clans which were opposed to centralization, confiscated their castles and used these to construct coherent lines of fortifications.

The princes also built an organization of agricultural and industrial servants around their scattered courts and mansions. Rome encouraged the missionary bishops, and rulers obtained their own, more or less autonomous, church organizations.

In Hungary, as in Bohemia and Poland, the new order was not established by any single person. In Hungary, raids to the West stopped with the battle lost in 955, and peaceful agrarian production began to be appreciated above plundering raids. It seems that the new prince, Taksony, propagated this change: he developed commercial relations with Byzantium and with the neighbouring Slav centres. His son, Géza, went a step further: in 973 he sent his delegates to Emperor Otto I in Quedlinburg, and to consolidate his power inside his country, he made peace with his neighbours, the Bulgarian, Bavarian, Venetian and Polish princes. According to the custom of the times, he confirmed peace treaties with marriage: his children married those of neighbouring princes. No chronicles survived from his reign except one remark stating that his hands were stained with blood. It was probably the blood of those chiefs of tribes and clans who revolted against his autocratic reign. Géza's attempts at centralization were the groundwork for the accomplishments of St. Stephen: the creation of a state. Géza had been his son's forerunner just like Pippin the Short, the founder of Carolingian rule, had been a forerunner of Charlemagne. He was also a forerunner in the sense that he opened the way for the Christian missionaries in Hungary. He permitted Western Christian missionaries to work near his settlements in spite of the fact that he himself believed in several gods.

CENTRALIZATION

Such was the basis on which St. Stephen, with his persistent work spanning forty years, built the Hungarian state and church.

When he succeeded his father in 997, he had to begin with ensuring his sole rule and he was forced to continue the tough struggles of his father for centralization. Koppány, his pagan uncle, claimed the throne in accordance with the right of succession based on seniority, and according to the usage of the levirate, demanded to marry Stephen's mother, and attacked her castle in Veszprém. The young prince defeated Koppány with the help of some German knights and his Hungarian army. The dead body of the rebel killed in the fight was quartered and put up on the gates of four castles. The punishment of Koppány accorded with the lawful customs of the Hungarians on the crossroad of paganism and Christianity. The Bible considered the levirate to be incestuous (Leviticus, 20, 21) and according to the usage of the Bulgarians of the Volga region, a people related to the Hungarians, in the tenth century fornication was punishable by quartering and exposing the quartered parts of the sinner.

St. Stephen, when he received a crown from the Pope in Rome in the year 1000, and thus bound himself to establish the Latin church structure, had to face two opponents, two heads of Hungarian tribes, who had joined the Greek Church of Byzantium. First, he sent an army against his uncle Gyula in Transylvania, defeated and afterwards pardoned him. Next, he turned against the other chief, Ajtony, who lived in the region of the Lower Danube. The king's captains put the "black Hungarians" of Ajtony to flight, the chief himself died while trying to escape. (It was probably he who had hidden the unrivalled gold treasure with the runic script, found 200 years ago by a peasant in Nagyszentmiklós, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.)

These battles were the prerequisite for establishing a unified state and church system.

For a long time it was believed that the state was organized afresh without any antecedents: it was thought to be based on Frankish models. But the Slav words borrowed by the Hungarian language referring to state life and the Slav toponyms in Hungary have led to the belief that the Hungarian state can be traced to Slav antecedents. It has long been evident that Hungarian-Slav relations had exerted a fruitful influence on both cultures in the course of the centuries but a Slav origin of the organization of Hungarian state was not probable because the area of the Carpathian basin was shared by three adjacent countries before the arrival of the Hungarians (895-900): to the west of the Danube the Slovenian vassals of the West-Frankish Empire, in the north-west the Moravians, and on the Plain and in Transylvania the Bulgarians were established. The Slav borrowings came to the Hungarian language from different Slav dialects and in different eras. Another thing which must be borne in mind is that an equestrian people who can cover great distances in a short time—just like the Normans navigating the sea and the rivers in their ships—were always in a better position to create a unified structure to rule the tribes than the Slavs who were divided into clans, and who cultivated the land and bred small animals. As regards the similarity of Czech, Polish and Hungarian institutions, they developed in the second half of the tenth century in parallel, each furthering the other.

TRADITIONS AND INNOVATION

From research on the universal examples of the development of society, we have come to the conclusion that the immediate preliminaries of the Hungarian state structure were contained in Hungarian society itself and

that an inner development created the groundwork for organizing a state. The essential task for St. Stephen was in reorganizing the clan structure as territorial structures, and in transforming the domains ruled by the heads of the clans into counties. Historic sources prove that St. Stephen put his first *comes* into the castles confiscated from the heads of clans and the castles and counties mostly bear their names, such as Hont, Csanád, Szolnok. About two-thirds of the territory of each clan was seized by the king: one-third was under the rule of his *comes*, where the king ordered the building of villages for soldiers guarding the castle; another third was for servants who had to serve in the king's mansions, and only one-third could remain private property.

St. Stephen's achievement was to raise the level of the semi-barbarian domestic organization begun by his predecessors, and in unifying its structure to extend to the whole country.

He also developed the church, the ideological basis of the state. After he had received a crown from Pope Sylvester II with the help of Emperor Otto III, and was crowned king on 1 January 1001, he established an archbishopric at his residence in Esztergom, and began to organize ten episcopates. The seat of each episcopate was a place where a member of the royal family lived and where his army could guarantee the safety of the bishop as well. Missionary activity and the building of churches was begun under the protection of the castle's *comes*: the king ordered that every ten villages should build one church.

The pagan Hungarians were disinclined to accept a new religion which claimed as much as a tenth of their products. St. Stephen encouraged the people to go to church by establishing Sundays as the market-days, and that the markets should be held in the square outside the church. (The Hungarian word for Sunday, "vasárnap," means "market-day.") When the bells rang out, the people were driven from the square into the church, to listen to the Word of God. The regular markets on Sundays also made it easy to collect the market-duties which enriched the king's treasury. A new silver currency, the denarius, was also introduced in the markets. St. Stephen ordered the coining of this money following the practice of Regensburg.

Two sets of legal codes established the new order. These laws decreed the functioning of the church; they ensured the defence of the king's property and of private property, in the first place the defence of the real estate, on which feudalism was based, and the defence of the property of those living on each estate. The codes also prescribed penalties for the most frequent crimes and offences such as shedding blood, various types of house-breaking, for conspiring, and false accusation; the codes also dealt

with acts affecting the legal status of women: kidnapping girls, the abandoning of wives, and in two instances they also dealt with the circumstances of widows and orphans.

In comparing St. Stephen's two codes with Western European laws of the same period, it appears that the Hungarian legislator had kept in mind Western laws and the resolutions of the Church Councils, sometimes taking them over verbatim, but in all cases, he applied them to conditions prevailing in Hungary. For example, when they began to coin money in Hungary, there was as yet no regular exchange of money. In the semi-nomadic Hungarian society there were two standards of monetary value: the Byzantine gold coins, and oxen. In conformity with this, the codes stipulated that the offenders should pay penalties in oxen, instead of money, determining the number of oxen to be paid by the social status of the offender; the penalty for wife-murder was divided in three categories: counts were to pay 50 oxen, the soldiers 10, and the ordinary people 5 steers. (I. 15 §).

St. Stephen's laws were strict, inasmuch as they reflected the severity of his time. Hungarian usage was reflected in the principle of "an eye for an eye"—any offender who mutilated another man was punished with the mutilation of the same part of the body (II. 13 §), while in Frankish legislation, mutilation could be bought off. Apart from this, King Stephen's laws were more humane than those current in Europe at the time. According to Burgundian law a slave who stole was sentenced to death; according to Stephen's laws this applied only to a thief who stole for a third time (II. 6 §). It is even more characteristic that Stephen's code sentenced those who did not keep the days of fasting to one week's imprisonment and fasting (I. 10-11 §), while his contemporary, Boleslaw Chrobry, prince of Poland, ordered that those who broke the fast should have their teeth broken.

A MULTILINGUAL COUNTRY

King Stephen's legislation being more humane than that of neighbouring countries, and the king's power being able to ensure respect for his strict but just laws all over the country had far-reaching consequences. In economic and cultural development, Hungary could not compete with European countries with an ancient past, but the legal system of the country was the best in medieval Europe. As a result, people from all parts of Europe immigrated and it became a place where people of different nationalities, religions and professions could live and prosper.

The Hungarian chronicle and legends about St. Stephen both stress that a steady procession of aliens came to Hungary at the time (*hospes*—guest). St. Stephen's exhortations addressed to his son, Prince Imre, collected by a cleric living in his court, expressed this very clearly.

The sixth chapter of his exhortations dealt with the keeping and care of the *hospites*, the guests, and contained the following famous, and much-quoted sentence: "as the *hospites* come from different regions and countries, they bring different languages and habits, different skills and weapons; all of which enrich the country, raise the standards of the Court and deter foreigners from behaving insolently. A country with only one language and one set of morals is sickly and weak."

This paragraph was often interpreted as the first manifestation of a wise policy regarding national minorities. But in the Middle Ages there was not yet any problem of national minorities, and so the words of St. Stephen could not refer to minorities.

It seems rather that he was referring to the advantages of the international character of medieval capitals. The prestige of the king's court was enhanced by the presence of a queen from abroad, with her following and her guards; the ecclesiastic centres were proud of the presence of erudite prelates from Italy, France, England or Germany, or a group of monks from abroad. Economic life was boosted by foreign tradesmen and artisans, and agriculture developed when new settlers came introducing their own agrarian techniques.

In Hungary immigration was made easier because of the king's family relationships with neighbouring countries. German knights, priests, and craftsmen came with St. Stephen's wife, Princess Gisela, from Bavaria. Stephen's brother-in-law, Otto Orseolo, was Doge of Venice. His son, Pietro, came from there, and with him, Italian soldiers and priests, among whom St. Gellért was the most famous. He died a martyr's death. Stephen's son, St. Imre, married a Byzantine princess who, with her ladies-of-waiting, later founded a Greek nunnery in Hungary, and this attracted Greek masons and carvers who built a church.

Archaeological findings indicating Hungary's relations with the North have a special explanation. The silver denarii of King Stephen were known in the region of the Northern and Eastern Sea from the Faroe Islands to Lake Ladoga and richly ornamented Viking arms were found in the Danube. All these indicate more immediate connections than the usual commercial relations. In fact, Stephen's guardsmen consisted of Norman-Varengian and Russ mercenaries, just like the guards of Byzantium and Kiev.

RELATIONS WITH ANGLO-SAXONS, BYZANTIUM AND SLAVS

Through Scandinavia and Kiev, two descendants of English kings arrived in Hungary: Eadmund and Edward, the sons of Eadmund Ironside. Eadmund died in Hungary, and it was here that Edward married Agatha and his children were born here: one of them was St. Mary of Scotland. With his family he returned to England in 1057, after an exile of forty years. Their stay in Hungary has left a special mark: the Hungarian kings were henceforth crowned according to English customs.

Stephen aimed at good relations with neighbouring Slav countries too, and if he did not always succeed in this, he was not at fault. One of his sisters married Boleslaw Chrobry, a Polish prince, who rejected his Hungarian wife with her child, to marry someone else. It was natural that the princess came back home with her child. It was in consequence of Stephen's Christian system that St. Adalbert's disciples from Bohemia and Poland settled in Hungary, and were followed by further immigrants.

Stephen's other sister was cast off by the Bulgarian crown prince who wanted to live with a Greek slave woman. This sister also fled to Hungary with her son. The deterioration of Hungarian-Bulgarian relations proved to be fatal for Bulgaria, for this happened just when Basil II, Byzantine emperor, called by his contemporaries "the Bulgarslayer," opened his attack on Bulgaria. The war lasted twenty years and put an end to Bulgaria's independence; and St. Stephen supported the emperor.

This alliance had serious consequences for the whole of Europe. In 1018, when the borders of Byzantium and Hungary followed the Lower Danube and the Sava river, King Stephen opened a continental route through Hungary for pilgrims going to Jerusalem. This ancient road had functioned under the Romans, but it was discontinued during the migration period of the nomads and was now reopened centuries later. This meant that the pilgrims were not exposed to the greed of seamen and to the danger of pirates, they could continue their way on continental roads guarded by royal castles, and they were supplied by the markets established at the foot of such castles. St. Stephen also founded four hostels outside Hungary: in Jerusalem, in Constantinople, Ravenna and Rome, with the intention of helping pilgrims in foreign lands.

The gratitude of his contemporaries was reflected in the thanks of all cultured Europe. Odilo, Abbot of Cluny, wrote to King Stephen:

"Almost the whole world proclaims your love for the respect of our divine religion, chiefly those who have come back from the grave of our Lord gave ample evidence of this."

Berno, Abbot of Reichenau, confidant of the German emperor, wrote a letter to Stephen thanking him for the help given to two monks on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem and he promised in return to place the name of Stephen and his wife, Gisela, into "The Book of Life."

Opening the road to pilgrims was not only an act of faith, it was also a wise economic measure. The road was the main continental artery of East-West trade. The long-distance traders had to pay taxes when crossing Hungary, thus enriching the king's treasury.

Stephen adjusted his administration to the new road. As the road followed the shortest route through Hungary and did not touch Esztergom, he established a new secular residence in Székesfehérvár and built there a cathedral which he intended to be the king's own chapel and burial place.

BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

In addition to Esztergom and Székesfehérvár, the bishoprics and abbeys spread Western culture: among the monasteries Pannonhalma furthered the Benedictine culture of the Monte Cassino foundation. It must be noted that even before they became Christianized, Hungarians possessed a characteristic Eastern culture of their own. While they were still within the sphere of the Turk-Khazar empire which covered the Caucasus, Hungarian leaders had learned the Turk runic script. This script is on the gold finds of Nagyszentmiklós and this script was used by the Székely Hungarians in Transylvania, until the seventeenth century. But this script roused the hatred of Christian priests, as did the sorcery of the pagan priests or the heroic poems of the bards. The king did not take violent measures against these bards who sang of the origins, struggles and pagan chieftains of the Hungarians, but he placed them under state control. In each county they were settled together in one village under the control of the castle's *comes*. The result of this was that only one or two fragments of the Hungarian heroic poems were taken up in the *gestas* written at the end of the eleventh century, the ones which were not opposed to the interests of the dynasty. The bards in domestic opposition to the Árpád dynasty were silenced, and from the songs glorifying the battles during Hungarian plundering raids only those survived which had a political use in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that is, those which encouraged the soldiers to fight against the German or the Greek emperors.

King Stephen tried to maintain peaceful relations with his neighbours but in spite of this, he was forced into several wars.

After his relations with Bulgaria worsened, his relations with his Polish brother-in-law became hostile too; but the statement of an obscure thirteenth-century chronicle that Boleslaw Chrobry had occupied large Hungarian territories, was unfounded. After the death of Henry II, his German brother-in-law, Conrad I, the new German emperor and his vassal, the Czech prince Boleslaw, attacked Hungary. Finally, in Transylvania, Stephen had to fight bitter battles against the attacks of the Pechenegs. Stephen, though mainly a legislator and church-builder, proved successful in the battlefield too: he was victorious in all his expeditions.

It is worth examining the image of this great king in the minds of succeeding generations.

In Hungary, chronicles and legends have been always subordinated to dynastic and church interests; and so the image of St. Stephen began to be distorted very shortly after his death.

ST. STEPHEN IN THE EYES OF POSTERITY

King Stephen's only son and the successor to his throne, the saintly Imre, died in 1031. As Stephen was anxious for the survival of his newly organized Christian State, he ignored his nephew, Vazul, and designed for his successor his sister's son, Pietro Orseolo, the Venetian. Vazul plotted a conspiracy, but he was found out and blinded by Stephen's emissaries. After the death of St. Stephen (1038) as Pietro came to power, chaos broke out all over the country followed by a pagan rising. The sons of Vazul who had fled the country were now called back and his descendants wore the "sacred crown" for 250 years.

For the sons of Vazul Stephen was an object of hatred yet at the same time they considered themselves heirs to his crown. For this reason when the first Hungarian history, the history of the Vazul dynasty, was written, Stephen's reign was hardly mentioned, he was presented as a figure in whom holiness and cruelty were mixed. The St. Stephen legend, written before 1083, intended for religious reading, emphasized his virtues, but could not discolour the figure of the state-founder.

In the legends composed after his canonization in 1083, the authors distanced themselves from realities and made a catalogue of virtues his life. But the chronicles which were copied from one another preserved a few tougher features.

From this broad range of characterizations, posterity always chose the most useful for the moment. Anybody could find anything: bigotry and

activity, Hungarian nationalism and anti-Hungarian attitudes drew inspiration from these chronicles. Those who tried to get an objective image always pointed out an insoluble contradiction in the character of St. Stephen: it is not possible to be religious and cruel at the same time, and if the image of holiness has been maintained in religious texts, this could be only the result of religious or nationalist propaganda.

This contradiction cannot be generalized of course; any man who fights for a holy cause will necessarily come into conflict with other men—the question is purely theoretical and it could be debated for ever.

If we wish to approach the image of the state organizer, we can accept only the statements of his contemporaries.

The letters of Odilo and Berno already quoted may be significant, but they could be mere tokens of the appreciation for Stephen's co-operation. From the letter of Odilo, however, we learn that Stephen asked him for holy relics. This agrees with the story by Bishop Leodvin of Lotharingia, who, shortly after the king's death, wrote about his Bulgarian expedition: "When the people of Constantinople sacked the town, the truly religious Stephen withdrew from the looting. Entering the Church of St. George, he took the relics found there and kept them all his life." This proves beyond doubt that St. Stephen was a sincerely and deeply religious ruler. This was not rare in his age, but he was an ideal figure of medieval rulers. Emperor Otto III, who went on a pilgrimage to the graves of saints, was similar: travelling in Italy, he had the relics of saints set up in his tent all the time. Contemporaries said that Sancho, the Spanish king, was the third of such rulers, who sought the friendship of holy men.

Stephen's religion was not mere bigotry. The German Thietmar, who disliked Hungarians, pointed out that Stephen was very generous, which is proved by his dealings with his uncle, Gyula, whom he had defeated, and who escaped and went into the service of the Polish prince. Gyula, "when he could not redeem his wife from captivity, received her as a present from his nephew, his enemy. I never heard of anybody who had been so kind to the man he defeated."

One should add that scribes of the German emperor who came to Hungary from the German chancery and who composed Stephen's state papers, in the formula of naming Stephen replaced the epithets "most glorious" and "invincible" used for the German king by "pious" and "godly." There can be no doubt that Stephen was considered by his contemporaries as a "holy man." In the eleventh century this epithet was given not only to those who were canonized, but also to priests and kings active in the cause of Christianity during their lifetime.

BÁLINT BALASSI

YOU,
THE HEAVEN'S DOMED HEIGHT

Translated by
W. D. Snodgrass

You, the heaven's domed height, blue and bright, streaming light,
Palace where night's stars abide;
You, the fragrant, fair land, flower-decked, broad outspanned,
Blazoned in green, far and wide;
You that clasp earth with awe, whose great fleets know your law,
Ocean's all-compassing tide;

Little joy you bring me, lost in love's misery,
Stumbling by hillside or dell,
Over mountains' blind snow, wandering wastelands I go,
No panther ranging more fell;
Torn by thorns, torn by briars, till this brief life expires,
Ever in ruins to dwell.

Any land I roam through, any deed I may do,
My mind must bear evermore
Julia's tender features, wonder-soft words of hers;
Julia alone I adore.
Should I glance left or right, radiant still on my sight,
She moves before me once more.

(1588)

Bálint Balassi (1554—1594) was, unlike the 15th-century poet Janus Pannonius who wrote in Latin, the first truly great Hungarian poet to write verse in Hungarian. A sanguine Renaissance character, adventurer, poet and playwright, he was deeply involved in intricate love affairs as well as in the sombre political scene in a divided Hungary that was partly occupied by the Turks, partly under Hapsburg rule. Only a third, Transylvania, had

remained an independent Hungarian principality—under the Sultan's protection. Balassi's fruitless efforts to regain his family fortunes made him travel a great deal both in Hungary and in Poland, and take up arms under many warlords. His lyrical poetry is of an unusually personal nature, based on experience, observation and genuine feeling. His soldier's songs have a freshness and originality not common in the poetry of the age; he observes nature and military life with a closeness and affection characteristic of the Renaissance soldier, relentlessly fighting for the liberation of his country. His love poems have depth of mood and feeling and great variety of expression. In his religious poems he reveals a very personal and controversial relationship with his God. He composed his poems to Hungarian, Slav, Turkish and other tunes, none of which have survived. Most of his poems were written in the 9-line stanza form which has been named after him. He died at 40 at the siege of Esztergom castle—at about the same time when Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador to the Court of Hapsburg, Sir Philip Sidney, came to visit the troops fighting for Esztergom. This translation is the first part of a longer poem. (The Editor.)

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József Czímer

FERENC JUHÁSZ

CROWN OF HATRED AND LOVE

(A poem, translated by Kenneth McRobbie and Ilona Duczyńska)

I

Oh how I hated that village, crown of thorns around my timid child's heart, at whose whimpering response to some pulsation, some birdcall from the constellations, it would bite with round tangled mouth, cruel teeth-circle, so that my larva-soft flesh bled from within towards the surface, towards the stars, and on my starwards-yearning flesh the skin flowered with freckles, like the blue graveyard dotted with All Souls' Eve candles, so that I felt my heart pouring through my limbs, bleeding like Pál Gulyás's massive-headed, mosquito-larva's translucent Christ-like staggering body, about whom once I wanted to write perhaps one of my epics' most important lines.

Oh how I hated that village, closing around me like a spined mollusc, each thorn's tip a tenacious leech's mouth, a belly beneath the hard grey shield around its malevolent hideousness like a war-horse's iron head-armour, from whose embossed orifice only the hairy muzzle's flower-whorl protrudes with whetted teeth behind spongy fur-skinned mouth's petals to sink into me, chew up my warm entrails, sip them, suck them in: this wreath of thorn-mouths woven of a thousand visored horses' heads! This living star-crown seeking refuge in stone cisterns, only its outer casing deflects the teeth, while beneath all is crumbling decay, wasting savage hungers!

Oh how I hated that village, black blinkers for my longing, absurd, clever, shinning colt's wide eyes. They fastened them round my forehead to keep me from seeing as far as Sirius, that my wondering eyes should not—beyond the drifting iceflow of light-years—find answering radiance in the spring-scented fields of light from other worlds!

Oh how I hated those black blinkers, my vision's stables, set deep in my frontal bones and which I could rub aside from my eyes

only by butting at the far-off star-cliffs screaming out at the terrifying kisses of ores!

Oh how I hated that village, those merciless scissors screeching open rusty hands to clip sprouting wing-feathers—slimy-sticky still like a shell-hatched chick's, clammy like the yellow wolf's-milk that covers in weeds the hillside graveyard. I hated that stony egg, straining to crack its obstinate shield, beneath which Darkness and Light were living together as in the universe; and I kept turning and turning about in the glistening embryo-fluids, with clinging pond-weedy eyelashes, nostrils stopped with viscid blood, with tongue driven back down my throat, with lungs sagging in the starved air like cellophane-straining wrapped rosebushes, so dilated by now as to fill the entire egg, faltering in its choking grip like a failing heart, for I had swollen into the pitted shell's texture, my body shrivelling, my being driven within itself by solitude's slippery concavity.

O my Village, you swamp-toad, holding fast upon the Titan-skulls of putrescent ancestors in the universe's translucent deeps, glass throat of silence, gently rhythmical cell-basket, ravenous cobweb funnel, wide-mouthed sack of pulsing fibre-animals, you submarine white spectral belly, monster mildness in the marbling bell-strokes of the moon, who subdues in its passage through you the onrushing universe, its terrific flames, feathery-crested prodigious life-mass, shy crab-droplet tears, crystalline animal-blood.

O my Village, you flower-fragrant calf's moist cherry-muzzle thirsting for the udders of world-mists netted with rubies, why do I not hate you? My morning's gold-fenced flower garden, why did I dread you? Why did I not weep for you, my childhood?

2

Frost covers the rose-trees; a few scraggy geese stand
with lead-laced wings trailing forlornly on the ground.
Octopus arms of plants wetly catch at bullfrogs.
Like dried-up jellyfish a few torn snowy rags;
long potato-stalks straggle out, limp and brown
like chicken's entrails that dried where they were thrown;
parsley alone stands out green, that frost stiffens
in porcelain feathers of colour and silence.

The brown towers of burrs from hawthorn and thistle
 are like tatters of mourning in a burned-out chapel,
 their flower-insect eyes and cell-built cupola
 like an empty wasps' nest's smoked-out architecture.
 Thistles and saplings jut out from the plastered wall,
 and propped there, stick-limbs knotted, helm of mossy metal,
 skeleton-membrane shirted, a locust's empty shell,
 image of knight's armour in dusty mother-of-pearl.

One tree still stands leaning, lightning-stallion torn,
 dreaming on, while a crow caws from its glass crown.
 Down from the picket-fence some rusted wreath-wires hang,
 and a broken bucket lies musing on a plank.
 The lilacs are creatures guided by other stars.
 Hollow-toothed white hen-coops stagger with doors ajar,
 just one hen left scratching about in blue manure,
 picking at the bones of the cock who had her.

Proud I was, too stupid to be good, a thickhead,
 not once did I listen to what my father said,
 I left this house behind, with no goodbyes from me.
 Slowly, humility put out leaves within me!
 My heart, with birds' whirrings once inoculated,
 yearned to fly away, into infinity melted,
 spending itself in shame, and untrue to its nest.
 Now I can only weep, here in my grief wordless.

Where is he who stayed here, and would not renounce me?
 In his hot coffin he's fermenting, mould-furry!
 He who poured out new wine lazily, who suffered
 on his pearl-crustad face my prickly bobbing head,
 scolding me so I'd weep, gazing at the smoke-palms,
 to whom I would recite 'The Death of György Dózsa'?
 The carrion-larvaed star has drunk him up, while I
 was lulled in the god's lap who always was to lie.

Where's my father now? Where? Where's my pride of those days?
 I became a rainbow, and he maggoty clay.

(1965)

DELHI — TEHERAN — BUDAPEST*

by

MÁTYÁS TÍMÁR

India has put into effect three five-year plans since independence in the course of which, between 1948 and 1967, national income has grown almost threefold. India has maintained an agrarian character despite the fact that in the past ten years the number of industrial workers has grown by 150 per cent and has now reached 15 million. New industries have come into being, some have reached international standards, such as the production of nuclear energy and aircraft.

A Significant Growth in the Indian Economy

Agriculture has made considerable progress lately. We visited an up-to-date agricultural research institute and a state farm. We were given some idea of what is being done to provide the population of this huge country with home-grown food. Agricultural production is growing at a faster rate than the population.

India, after independence, proclaimed a policy of non-alignment. This—as Mrs. Indira Gandhi said—did not imply passivity. India has a voice not only in matters concerning Asia but also in all important international problems. This has brought considerable prestige to the Republic of India, and this prestige has increased due to the good relations of the country with the socialist states.

Hungary's relations with India are equally good in the political, economic and cultural field. These relations have been deepened by personal contact, and by an exchange of visits by the leaders of the two countries, including

* Concluding article of a series published in *Népszabadság* (the daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) in which Mátyás Timár, a Deputy Prime-Minister, described his visit to India and Iran as a member of a delegation led by Pál Losonczi, Chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

this visit by Pál Losonczi, Chairman of the Presidential Council of Hungary. When the visit was arranged it was, of course, not known that it would coincide with important home events in India. After the nationalization of the fourteen major banks the struggle between the supporters of socialist progress in the Congress Party and their opponents grew more intense. It is well-known that Mrs. Indira Gandhi enjoys the support of her party and of the majority in Parliament. She is also supported by the masses who desire socialist progress. The determination and purposefulness of India's Prime Minister in those days of stress was most impressive.

New Foreign Trade Needs

Economic questions played a considerable role in talks on international problems and bilateral relations.

Trade between the two countries has been growing steadily since the beginning of the sixties. This growth has been encouraged by the new trade and payments agreement. In addition to the trade office in Delhi, others were established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Bombay, the "gate of India," is also the capital of Maharashtra State, with a population of 50 million, in itself important economically. Trade between India and Hungary has grown over ten times between 1958 and 1968, and amounts at present to nearly 500 million forints. India has become Hungary's foremost trade partner among developing countries.

For years about half of Hungarian exports consisted of engineering products. Hungary has delivered a series of new plants and installations to India. Imports consisted mainly of agricultural products, raw material and textiles. The industrialization of India has raised new questions concerning foreign trade. In the course of recent years India lessened and sometimes stopped the importing of goods which were produced in the country itself in sufficient quantity. As a result certain products of the engineering industry, certain tools and consumer goods were put on the list of not-importable products. At the same time India strongly urged the export of industrial products. These new foreign trade notions show themselves also in Indian endeavours advocating a new international division of labour. India, within the framework of UNCTAD, is also trying to secure competitive conditions for the finished and semi-finished products of developing countries on the markets of the advanced countries.

Co-operation and the Exchange of Goods

India gladly co-operates with countries abroad. Such co-operation covers the transmission of designs, documentations, technologies, and the training of engineers, technicians and skilled workers leading to speeded up development of production processes at home. Hungary has assumed responsibility for about ten such ventures. Further projects are being considered in a number of industries.

In addition, the exchange of goods is continued. One of its most promising forms could be a growth in the importation of textiles from India and in the export of Hungarian engineering products.

Hungary's purchases have grown lately and India has promised to examine the possibility of increasing purchases. A trade delegation from India will arrive in Hungary in the near future. We have also agreed to have regular trade discussions at a ministerial level. We shall study the possibilities for co-operation implied in the five-year plans of both countries. These projects will prove fruitful if Hungarian and Indian enterprises will pursue a more active business policy. This activity, of course, will have to reckon on international competition. The advanced capitalist countries, especially the German Federal Republic, have shown an increased interest in the Indian market.

Iran's Treasure: Crude Oil

The Chairman of the Presidential Council of Hungary went to Iran to return the Shah's 1966 Budapest visit. Relations between the two countries are developing in the spirit of peaceful co-existence.

Talks in Teheran were pursued in a favourable climate. Discussions on the international situation proved to be most useful and interesting. Many similarities but also some differences of attitude became apparent but these differences never prevented an open and frank exchange of views.

Trade questions played a major part in these talks. In recent years the annual growth of total national production has been considerable in Iran. The oil resources of the country account for a major part in this development. Their economic relations with socialist countries have grown too despite the fact that only 7-8 per cent of imports in Iran come from European socialist countries. The turnover of Hungary with Iran attains about 160-170 million forints per year. Iran is thus the third most important trade partner among developing countries.

The economy of the two countries offers possibilities for trade in several fields. Iran's development programme contains many objectives in which Hungarian industry can participate (improvements in telecommunications networks, harbour facilities, agriculture, abattoirs, energy networks, school equipment). At the same time Hungary's growing needs suggest the purchase of many goods made in Iran (textiles, carpets, cotton yarn, cotton in the seed, petrochemical products, copper, oil, etc.).

The determining factor in Iran's economy is crude oil. Iran's share in the oil produced by the international consortium has increased, and the country has an abundant supply of crude oil of its own. As a result, growing marketing difficulties have to be faced. Supplying the socialist countries would be one solution. But the great distance, and the resulting costs of transport, present a problem (tankers have to travel around Africa). A suggested solution might be the building of a pipeline to the Adriatic by a number of socialist countries. Negotiations are going on. But even until then, oil could be purchased through a middle-man. This was the subject of the talks with the Shah, with Premier Hoveida and with the responsible ministers.

New Kinds of International Co-operation

In the Iranian-Hungarian relations co-operative ventures are bound to play an increasing role. They are still in their initial stage. I hope that our talks encouraged activities in this direction. We agreed on the establishment of a mixed commission headed by ministers ensuring the co-ordination of joint work. We also decided to conclude an agreement on scientific-technical co-operation.

Iran attentively follows possibilities for obtaining supplies from Hungary, chiefly with regard to investment goods and machines. Hungary will continue to study the possibilities of buying crude oil and petrochemical products from Iran. These two factors will essentially determine the further development of trade relations. The exchange of other goods will, of course, also have an increasing role.

We feel strongly that Hungarian foreign trade enterprises and private firms in Iran should develop closer relations. The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce could do much by taking the initiative in developing contacts with competent authorities and through them with Persian business men.

It would be difficult to compare these two visits since the countries differ, both as regards their culture and their social systems. The Chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic and his entourage were well received in both countries, that much is certain. In both countries we had the opportunity to pursue direct and useful talks. The basis of this is our desire to increase international co-operation and to support peace and security also with the instruments of economics and diplomacy.

FROM OUR NEXT NUMBERS

EDUCATION AND SOCIALISM—THE HUNGARIAN EXPERIENCE

*István Gábor, Zoltán Halász, Júlia Juhász,
Rezső Kunfalvi, Ferenc Pataki, Pál Sántha, Balázs Vargha*

COMENIUS AND SÁROSPATAK

Sándor Maller

ERASMUS STUDIES IN TOURS

Tibor Kardos

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF FINNO-UGRIAN COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS

Gábor Zaicz

WHAT SHALL WE DO?

István Eörsi

A MARXIST VIEW ON CHARTISM

Neville Masterman

AMERICAN VARIATIONS

Halsey Stevens

AN EXCURSION TO LENINGRAD AND ITS BACKGROUND

by
LAJOS JÁNOSSY

I

Some time ago I received a letter from the Technical School in Leningrad with about the following contents: "Knowing your progressive views, we would like to invite you to give a series of lectures on your subject." The lectures were to be held before an audience of the members of "Science," that is a society which is engaged in popularizing science. I was pleased but somewhat surprised about the invitation which came absolutely unexpectedly. One of the troubles was that my Russian is rather indifferent. I had already—when needed—given lectures before small groups of scientists in Russian. There is always a possibility in such groups of mixing Russian with English, German or whatever comes to one's head. This kind of speech is rather common in international meetings of scientists where common ideas help understanding even if the common knowledge of languages is imperfect. However, to give lectures in Russian before the general public seemed to be a rather different matter!

The second part of the surprise (and the difficulties) was of a completely different nature. The subject upon which I was expected to talk was the theory of relativity. It needs explaining how one can possibly give popular lectures to a wide audience on the subject of relativity and—above all—in a progressive manner.

II

I have been working on an analysis of the theory of relativity for more than fifteen years now. In fact my interest in this subject started already at a time when I still went to school. At that time I found Einstein's very famous booklet popularizing the theory of relativity by chance. I read this book as a teenager—I was filled with awe. Since this time my ambition has been to formulate the contents of the theory in a way that everybody could really understand it.

My efforts were restricted at first to attempts to explain the theory in conversation to anybody who was prepared to listen to me. Later, when I was giving a course of lectures on theoretical physics at the University of Manchester, my courses included also the theory of relativity and I tried to make my students *really* understand everything. Perhaps as the result of these lectures I became convinced that there is something wrong. I still think that there is something wrong—but not with the mathematical formulae of the theory. The mathematical formulae are certainly adequate and they describe many physical phenomena with great precision. What is wrong in my opinion is the interpretation of the formulae and in particular some of the philosophical concepts which are said to follow from the mathematical formulae.

III

I have formulated my views on the subject in a number of articles in scientific journals. These articles were written while my ideas developed, the first of them appeared in 1952—and I am now not too proud of the way this first attempt was formulated. Later I succeeded in clarifying my ideas to a great extent and recently I finished the manuscript of a scientific monograph (in English) on the subject which will probably appear in the not too distant future.

While I developed my views on the theory of relativity I had very many discussions with physicists but as soon as I felt reasonably sure about my views I also started to give popular lectures and also wrote a popular book on the subject. The book is just appearing in its third edition in Hungarian, it will also appear in German translation (in Vienna) and possibly in other languages. I also ventured to give a series of lectures in a television programme on the subject.

IV

It is not accidental that my concepts proved to be a suitable subject for popular lectures and popular writing. This can be understood from the following remarks.

Einstein's concept of the theory of relativity starts from quite general philosophical considerations about the concepts of space and time and others and he tries to determine from general considerations what the particular laws of nature must be like. It appears in this presentation more or less of secondary importance to investigate whether the laws thus formulated can be checked by experiment.

I remember when the late Freundlich, the astronomer, spoke with some

amusement about his experience when he and others observed the deviation of light near the Sun in Potsdam on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The deviation of light was predicted by Einstein and it is one of the important results of the general theory of relativity. That such a deviation exists indeed was confirmed by the observation in Potsdam (and later by many other observations), however the measure of the deflection seemed not to agree with the value predicted by Einstein (a discrepancy by a factor two appeared).

Freundlich said that he and his colleagues were at first afraid to communicate the quantitative result of this observation to Einstein. However, to their surprise, when they eventually communicated the results to Einstein he was not in the least worried about the results obtained; he seemed rather to be pleased with the pretty photographs showing the solar eclipse and the surrounding stars. The idea that the results could endanger his theory did not occur to him or at least did not seem to worry him. So far the personal recollections I heard.

V

In my opinion Einstein possessed an ingenious intuition with the help of which he could see the essential features of complex phenomena even if very few facts were known. His intuition proved its worth not only in connection with the theory of relativity but also e.g. in connection with the photoelectric effect when he found correct laws from very scanty information.

However, Einstein's method which together with his ingenuity helped him to see fundamental laws, is a very poor method, if scientists of smaller calibre try to employ it. It is a very bad thing that many physicists all over the world try to copy Einstein.

We discover the laws of nature as a result of very extensive and very hard work. And if Einstein appeared to have "guessed" fundamental laws without effort, then the appearance does not reflect the facts. Einstein in his own way worked very hard before he formulated his results—and after all he based his conclusions on the detailed results obtained by very many hard-working physicists. This is what the "little Einsteins" do not seem to realize.

VI

A theory has to be built up on very many facts and observations. There are opinions that a theory is simply the result of putting the obtained observations "in order," i.e. building up a theory one tries merely to express

the results of measurements with the help of formulae "as simple as possible."

The latter view is strongly one-sided; in fact the building up of a theory is a complex process. In any case one has to start from results of observations but it is always important to generalize the results of particular observations and a certain amount of intuition is always necessary.

Whatever the road along which the formulation of a particular theory was obtained it is in any case necessary, once the theory was formulated, to analyse how this theory is connected with experimental facts, what hypothesis it contains and what are the consequences of the theory. Once such an analysis has been performed the contents and concepts of a theory may appear much more clearly than they appeared when it was formulated to begin with.

This kind of analysis I have attempted to carry out with the theory of relativity. I feel that my analysis was not unsuccessful and one of the results of this analysis is that in the way I reformulate the old theory its content can be made clear to specialists and laymen alike and thus my formulation is particularly suitable for popularization. The analysis tries to find out what are the real physical phenomena which the mathematical formulae of the theory describe so successfully. So as to express this endeavour I have given the title "Theory of Relativity and Physical Reality" to my popular book.

VII

A discussion about the philosophical questions of the theory of relativity started in the Soviet Union sometime before 1950. This discussion took an unfortunate turn. Supposedly Marxist philosophers who did not really understand Marxism, nor the physical contents of the theory of relativity (and also of some other parts of modern physics), criticized the theory building their criticism on pronouncements of various physicists which pronouncements were indeed objectionable from a philosophical point of view. However, these critics did not understand the essential contents of the theories they criticized and thus from criticizing certain formulations they came to conclude that the whole of the theory was wrong. In the period of the personality cult these criticisms had very unfortunate consequences. In a dogmatic manner the theory of relativity (and other parts of physics) were condemned as "idealistic theories" which have to be rejected.

These dogmatic views had an unfortunate effect on the development of physics. However, a reaction set in and a period started which had the advantage that pseudo-philosophers stopped interfering with physics, but

the latter period was nevertheless unfortunate from the point of view of real philosophy. Indeed, the philosophical theses which formerly were declared to be idealistic, were accepted without criticism in the new period and declared to be in accord with dialectic materialism. This sudden switch of course proved nothing else but the incompetence of some of the philosophers occupying leading positions.

Einstein and also Niels Bohr were declared to be dialectic materialists. This new line was at least as primitive as the former which held opposite views. In my own view the latter philosophical position is simply a glorification of positivism.

The situation shows similarities with that at the beginning of the century, when some of the Russian Marxists discovered positivism and came to think that positivism was a new form of Marxism. In this period Lenin wrote *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, in which he criticized in detail the views of some contemporary Marxists. The present situation seems to have similar features and it is very necessary to provide a fundamental analysis of modern physics based on dialectical materialism. I am sure that such an analysis would greatly help the further development of physics and would help to solve the problems which are now and then called the crisis in modern physics.

VIII

The need of a fundamental analysis of the philosophical problems of modern physics is realized by many Soviet physicists but also by many physicists of other countries. This need is emphasized in some publications and is pointed out in many private discussions. There is a distinct dissatisfaction felt by the younger generation of philosophers in many countries and also in the Soviet Union with the methods of some of the leading philosophers. I was invited about three years ago to take part in a congress on philosophical problems of science in Moscow. I could feel this tension very clearly then.

There is a feeling among some of the Soviet physicists that it is necessary to re-evaluate modern physics from the point of view of dialectical materialism. My invitation to Leningrad came from such a group and they welcomed with great interest my lectures delivered partly before a large audience and also before smaller groups of specialists.

After my first lecture I received fifty questions (in writing) and after I had worked through these questions I had to be "rescued" from the crowd by my hosts because there were so many problems left. The interest in this type of questions is very great not only in Leningrad; my lectures were also

attended by guests who came from faraway places to take part in the discussions.

In delivering the lectures I had a difficult task. I was expected to provide strong criticisms of dogmatic methods used in physics and in philosophy. As I am against such dogmas—this in itself would not have been a very difficult task. However, a good many of the audience had views to the effect that the whole of modern physics or at least the theory of relativity is at fault.

I had to explain very patiently that although some statements of modern physics are presented in positivistic or idealistic formulations, nevertheless *the results of modern physics are correct*. We have thus to distinguish between misleading formulations and their contents.

IX

So as to emphasize this point of view I choose “‘Paradoxes’ of the Theory of Relativity” as the title of the course of lectures. The inverted commas were to signify that no real paradoxes exist—what appear as paradoxes are merely misunderstood interpretations of simple phenomena.

I cannot go into details regarding the contents of the lectures here, but I want to mention that some of my articles connected with this questions appeared also in the columns of this journal.

Just to mention one proposition, I am of the opinion that one should not talk about the “slowing down of time” * as is done in almost all works on relativity. What we really find when analysing real processes is, that under certain circumstances the *rhythm* of one process may slow down (or quicken up) relative to the rhythm of another process. Time as such has no measurable rhythm—all we can say about time is a qualitative statement, i.e. that time flows continuously in one direction. As the result of the public discussions and many private conversations and discussions I hope I had made some impression on the too enthusiastic opponents of the theory and I hope I have given some encouragement to those who, like myself, think that an up-to-date scientific analysis from the Marxist’s point of view is a necessity.

I have come back from my sojourn with good hopes—and above all with plans for continuing my efforts.

* See Lajos Jánosy: “The Rhythm of Time,” The N.H.Q., No. 35.

GÁBOR DEVECSERI

ODYSSEUS IN PHAEACIA

Translated by Robert Graves

Whom might this shipwrecked man most wish to meet
As here he crawls ashore in full undress,
And whose kind patronage would most assist him? —
Say, for example, that of a Princess?

And should he trouble much about her lineage —
So long, that is, as she will not withhold
Garments and food; shows magnanimity
And dutiful concern; and is not bold,

Nor curious? Let the princess point the way
To her home town (if not too hard to reach),
Meanwhile letting him gently lie and rest
Under the olive shade beyond this beach,

This hospitable beach of kindly pebbles;
And since his life has once again been saved,
Why not begin afresh? What a fine notion!
Though at the spring he dutifully laved

His hair crusted with brine, matted with weed,
His face, his shoulders, yet 'Escape from Death'
Rings in his proud heart unrestrainedly —
A godlike vaunt while still he can draw breath

And still repeat his story: "Here stand I
 Who plunge undaunted into every sea
 Where Death's own creatures vainly lay their ambush
 For this immortal and infinite me."

("Princess, I thank you for your splendid kindness
 But I am indestructible — look here!
 Once more I go where the loud mocking seas
 Multiply dangers that I scorn to fear.")

FROM OUR NEXT NUMBERS

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT—A NEW OPERA

Előd Juhász

NEW RECORDS

András Pernye

YOUNG PIANISTS

Mária Feuer

WORLD CORPORATIONS

György Ádám

BANKING IN EAST-WEST TRADE

Tamás Bácskai

TRAPPED

Tamás Pintér

ARTIST SPEAKING

LAJOS SZALAY

by

BERTHA GASTER

How, casually speaking, do you divide artists? Into classical and romantic? Detached and involved? Rationalists and mystics? Or, perhaps, all in all, Greek and Hebrew? It is all nonsense, of course. Formal design in physical material is the corporeal envelope for every manifestation of the spirit in art. And each of these categories and definitions has been mulled over, argued, denied by art critics for centuries. But still, standing before a painting, looking at drawings, how often does that crude sense of the old children's game arise. Stand and deliver. Under which flag, Bezonian? Poussin or Rembrandt?

"Rembrandt" thought I, looking over a volume of most remarkable illustrations to *Genesis* by Lajos Szalay,* Hungarian artist whom Picasso once described as a draughtsman only second to himself, and who has been living in South and North America for the last twenty years. "Rembrandt," said Szalay, when I talked to him at a friend's house in Budapest recently, on his first visit to his home country since 1946. "Like Rembrandt, I feel the need for profundity."

He sat loosely to the armchair. A tall man in his early sixties, with a striking square-shaped face dominated by a mane of iron grey hair and a huge dome of a forehead. His thin, curly mouth twisted expressively as he spoke, the fine, sensitive fingers trembled as they moved. His conversation was full of illuminations and evasions. Retreating into himself, refusing to elucidate when pressed, he emerged to recount, describe, expound, retiring again into elliptical, oracular speech, veiled in apocalyptic metaphors, with a half-sly, half-oblique glance, and a secret compression of the lips.

* *Genesis*. A graphic interpretation by Lajos Szalay. Madison Avenue Church Press, New York, 1966, 144 pp. The illustrations to this article are reproduced from this book by courtesy of Madison Avenue Church Press, New York.

In the beginning he was reluctant to be interviewed. "Every artist is a transmitter," he said. "Giotto and Cimabue, were like the finest West German transmitters. For me there is a very strict contact between speaking and drawing, and I am very particular about the Hungarian I use," immediately going off into a long argument in Hungarian with a literary colleague over the ruin and destruction of the language through the use of slang. "Don't forget your beautiful Hungarian tongue," his peasant mother had said to him when he left. He quoted another saying of hers: "They have the spurs, but they cannot make them jingle." To use slang when one could use poetic metaphor was to him a crime. "And Hungarian etymology gives me a peculiar authorization," a word which reappeared frequently in his conversation, "a peculiar authorization in this matter, because the earliest Hungarian expression for a painter was 'képíró'—'the writer of pictures'. But by chance I have some creative power over speech—and some capacity to use the grammatical forms of conjugation over the geometry of the drawing," for he considers his graphic work the "art of the conjugated line" the Hungarian language expressing in the conjugation and agglutination of a single verb a multitude of relationships.

It wasn't—at least consciously—this close affinity between language and line—it was something in the controlled precision of the pen containing and expressing the passionate intensity of the content, that brought that other graphic artist, Ben Shahn, to mind.

"Ben Shahn?" said Szalay, with pleased interest, and settled down to talk. He talked with great hesitation in English, searching almost pedantically for the exact shade of meaning, with long pauses, and little questioning sounds—"you follow me?"—at the end of each sentence. At intervals he went into Hungarian, watching jealously to check on the translation, interrupting to clarify a word or phrase.

Lajos Szalay was born in Órmező, Northern Hungary, on February 26, 1909. He came of peasant stock, and his parents were farmers. What emerged very clearly from his account of his childhood was the almost puritanical restraint, the denial of emotional expression in his upbringing, which appears to have influenced his whole attitude to life in later years.

"I had a strict upbringing. No kisses. My mother never kissed me in her life. Nor I her. No kisses, no expression of love, no crying. In my family there is an almost sexual prudery in the expression of joy. Nor have I ever kissed my daughter. Would I have liked to? Oh, yes, often, very much."

He sat up proudly. "But there was the security of family love around one. And I tell you there has been no impotence, no perversion in my family.

None of them die before eighty. That is why I, who have made many sensual drawings, never made a perverted one. I did not need to. Nor did I need to draw cartoons or caricatures, though in fact I can. It is unjust to ridicule. Or judge. Depict, yes, but do not judge. So I never did."

Someone in the circle asked him when he started to draw. "I am ashamed to say so," Szalay replied, "but my mother says I drew before I talked. She adds jestingly, but there is a substratum of genuine disapproval in it — 'that's the time he should have been strangled'. I well remember my first urgency. I loved horses. I thought they were the most beautiful things in the world, and told my mother so. She simply couldn't understand. So I drew it for her to make her understand. I always wanted to explain to others in drawings what I saw and they didn't. And I still do. It was a sad experience for me when she couldn't see it. No, she never saw it. My parents simply cannot understand what I mean by beautiful. They lead a good life, but one that excludes aesthetics. They cannot really forgive me to this day. Only yesterday my father, aged eighty-three, said, 'Now you're at it again. Go to hell with this rubbish!'"

Szalay was somewhat delicate as a child, too weak, he said, for a tough life on the land, and as he was a good student, his parents allowed him to continue his education, going to secondary school in the industrial town of Miskolc.

Due to the fascination the Hungarian language exercised over him, he hesitated for a long time between a literary and an artistic career. In 1919 a whole room in a war-time children's art exhibition was devoted to his drawings, and he eventually decided to be an artist. "I could not cheat my parents; I did everything I could to persuade them that I had to. But the whole family showed a disdain for art as a career. They looked upon it as a form of exhibitionism. It was my mother who finally recognized it as my vocation, and told my father. 'There must be people who draw the ugly,' she said."

Lajos Szalay went on to the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest, where he graduated in 1935. He spent a year in Paris in great misery, selling sweets, homeless for much of the time, unable to make contact with the French artistic world. Years of privation in Hungary followed, until he was discovered by the great painter István Farkas* in 1941, the owner of one of the greatest Hungarian publishing houses of the time, who was killed by the Nazis in 1944. His support enabled Szalay to work in comparative security, and it was around this time that his first volume of drawings was published, with a foreword by one of the leading Hungarian avant-garde

* See No. 36

artists of the time, Lajos Kassák. After the war the Hungarian Government sent him as a graphic artist to Paris, where he remained on a state scholarship. He began a life of exile in 1948, first as a professor of graphic art in Tucumán and later in Buenos Aires, before settling in New York in 1961.

Why did he only work in black and white? Why didn't he use colour? His glance slipped sideways, and he said wryly, "Isn't it enough that I have the graphic artists against me, must I have the painters as well? But the truth is," he continued, "I am not a good colourist." Rembrandt, he said, was a good painter, but not a good colourist. Titian was a good colourist, but not a good painter. El Greco, Giotto, Picasso were both. Leonardo—"ah, he was the Einstein of art; continuity as opposed to the quantum theory in physics—you follow me?" He elaborated a little more. "Of course I do not mean that Rembrandt could not use colour. Only that it was not his pre-eminence. He used colour to make the light in his paintings vibrate, to amplify the variations, the vibrations. That is his pictorial greatness. In the real colourist the colour is autonomous, making the great discovery of a new value without any vibration. A great colourist can make the picture vibrate without any danger to the colour values."

"And then," he added, "the authentic colourist has some relation with a musical capacity, and I have no musical capacity. For the same reason I cannot be abstract. I have a forced knowledge of music, colour and mathematics, but must translate for myself what I get from them."

"And above all", he said with a flourish, "only drawing suits the aesthetic ascetism I demand of myself." "Like the rejection of certain colours, black, for instance, by the Impressionists?" interjected someone. He answered imposingly. "I bought a violin with four strings, but I only play on one."

The role of the artist and writer in Hungary as the leader and spokesman of the nation has all the authority of a long historical tradition behind it. For Szalay, intensely Hungarian—"behind all the internationalism of my drawing is something especially Hungarian"—it is transmuted into the role of doomed and rejected prophet and seer. He was asked whether this instinct towards austerity and abstinence sprang from his early upbringing. He denied it with a wave of the hand. "I wished it so. Striking at one point is more precise than dispersing. I am the nerve of my people. I do not want to give joy and narcotism. I want to awaken them." "Awaken them to what?"

"Awaken them to the pain from which I cannot save them. I cannot avoid the destruction of Jerusalem. I can only prophesy. I am the decaying dung for the seed of the future—but I myself will not be in the Easter bread. Let the dung make faces of its own, and smell."

But his sense of himself as a voice crying in the wilderness goes further. He firmly believes that he is persecuted everywhere on account of his active Catholic faith, and that this is what is primarily responsible for his lack of worldly success. "We live in a post-Christian epoch," he said scornfully. "Christian feeling, Christian manifestations are an untactful attack against gentlemanlike behaviour. Opposed to the 6,000-year-old Old Testament, the 2,000-year-old Christianity is an outdated tactlessness."

"But what do you mean by Christian? Christian dogma, like a belief in the Resurrection, for instance, or what are called Christian values?"

He answered with what can only be described as the pride of simulated humility. He only had the authorization to consider himself a dogmatic Christian. He was the proud prisoner of dogma, just as he was the proud prisoner of minute to minute breathing. Indeed he envied Ben Shahn and Chagall, he declared, who found it possible to be Jews and Communists at the same time—or so he claimed. He himself, he said modestly, was only a Catholic. Had he been a Jew, he could have been a Catholic as well. Chagall had the authorization to paint Christ. He had not. Yes, indeed, he believed that his lack of recognition was due to his Catholicism. Since it was his vocation to make things visual, he made his Catholicism felt. No, not in the choice of subject. He didn't draw cholera, he made it felt. That had been why he had been forced to leave Argentina. "But that's a Catholic country," someone expostulated. "Ah, yes, all but the little élite," he answered meaningly.

Lack of recognition, lack of the other partner in the dialogue, is hard on the artist. It twists, it corrodes. Asked what he thought of painting in America, he could only reply that he shared the opinion of Lazarus before the rich man's house. He never had a proper exhibition in America. Because—another significant glance, and a defiant lift of the chin—oh, well, call it his grey hair, call it anything you choose. He knew the reason perfectly well, but he wasn't saying. He cannot make a living. He is his wife's gigolo. So what can he do? He cannot commit suicide, his religion will not allow it. He cannot go crazy. He can only go on, swimming against the current. "It is like having an abortion; only fertile women have abortions."

And what, he was asked, was he doing now? He was working on his autobiography. How? He was putting into visual form a succession of his experiences between 1909 and the present day. Experiences? He retreated. "No, no, you cannot possibly understand." He was pressed for an example. "Well, an instance. When I was young I frequented a small church which was fuller of God than could be seen. So full it covered the priest from

sight. And of course when I draw it I will not draw a church. Some are already done. Here is another. I was a so-called war correspondent on the Russian front. I want to draw the death I didn't see, but felt, of millions. It wasn't blood I smelt, but death."

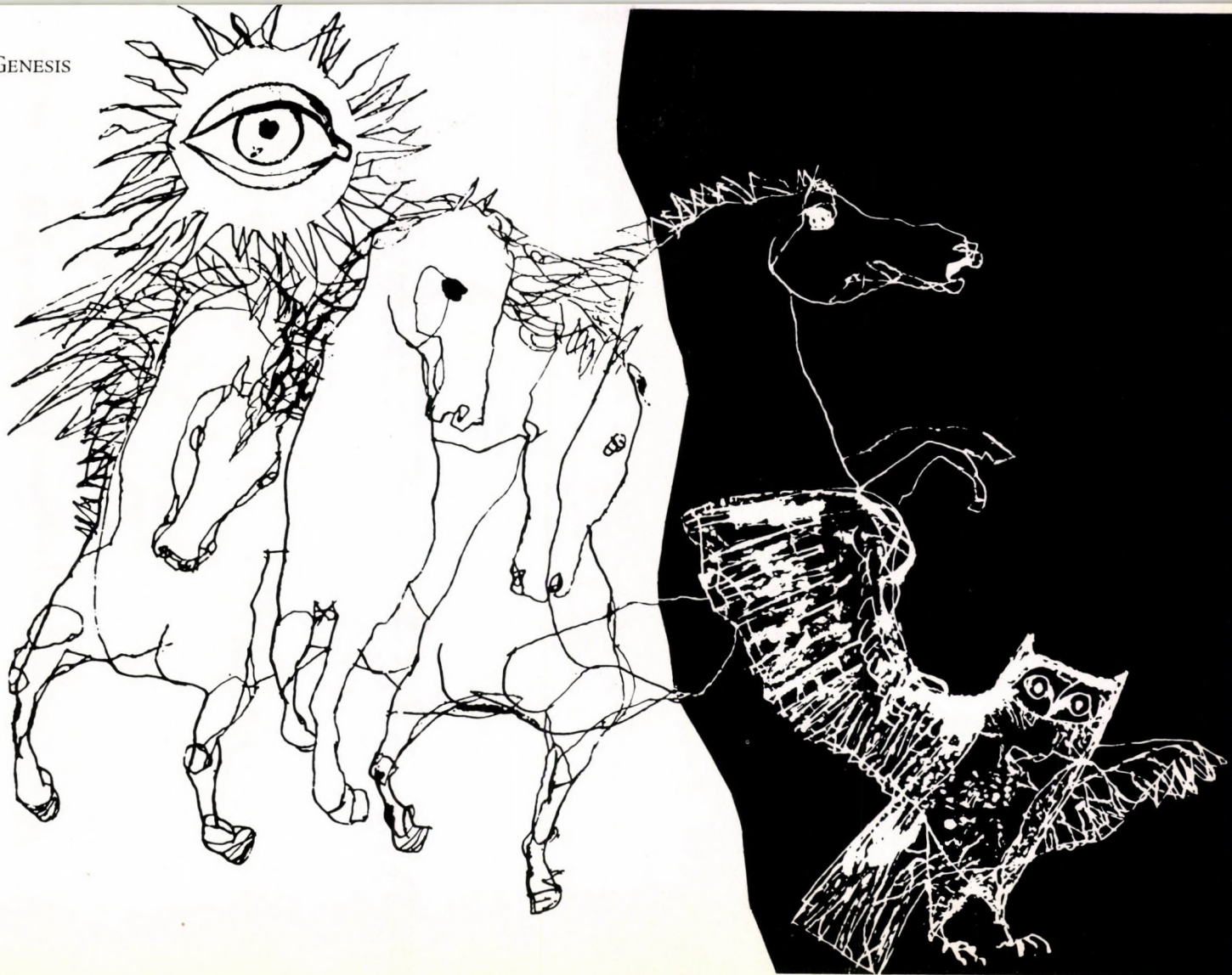
This recalled what he had said a little earlier in the conversation, that he never remembered in colour or form, but as an experience. He used to say to his students that he drew in the daytime what he fingered in the night. "For I do not represent, I express."

And who had influenced him most? His eyes lighted up. Rembrandt, of course. And Picasso. "Hungarians are naturally anti-classical, and this was a challenge for me. I have a childish pride in proving that even a Hungarian artist can make a classical line, because to be classical is not an end but a beginning. Picasso belongs to the world blessed with grace and sits on the right hand of God; but the Hungarian artist sits on the left. We are the anti-Mozarts."

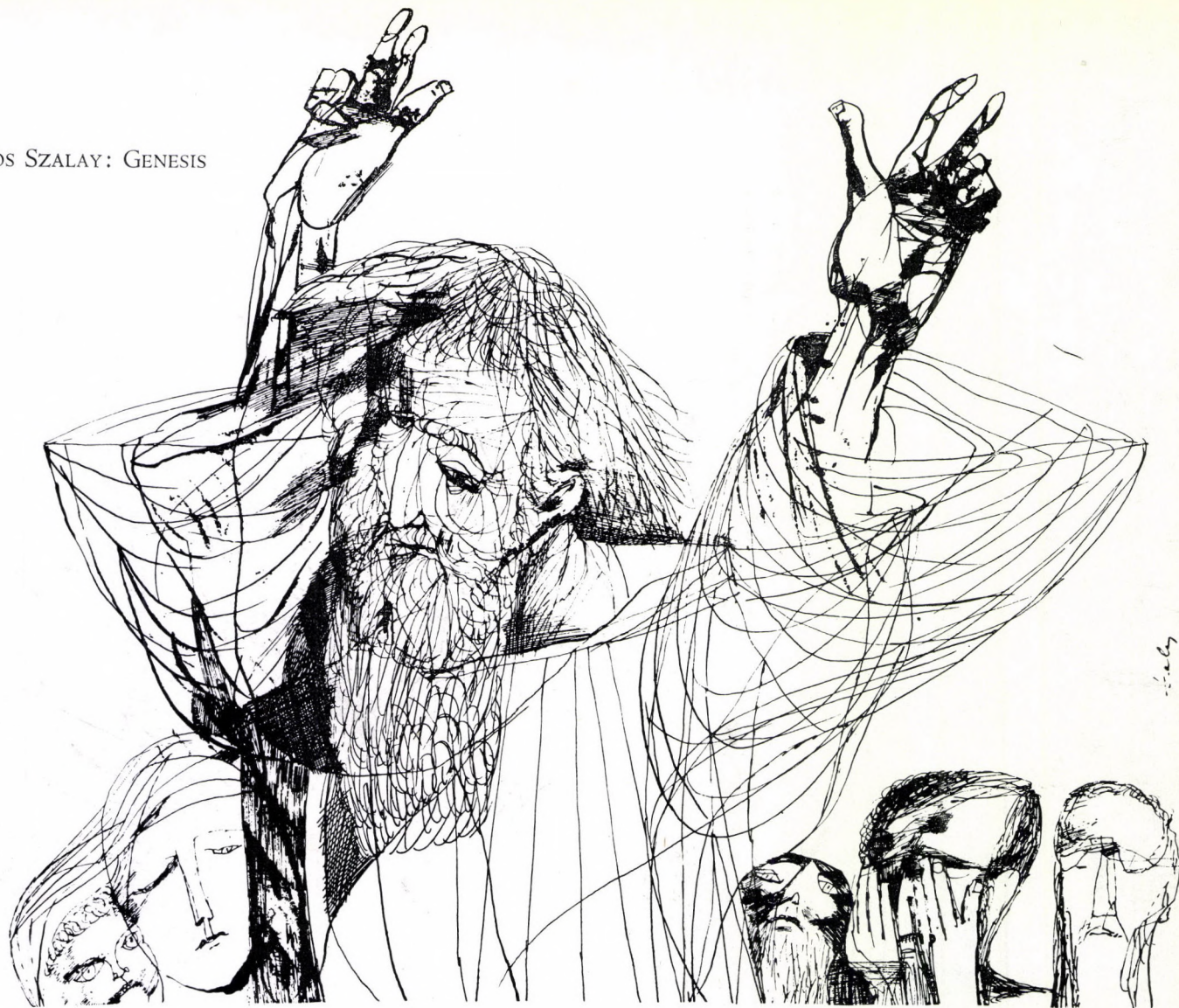
My eyes dropped to the drawings once again, the black strength of the crying prophet, the delicate web of lines of the hieratic angel, the explosion of light spraying over the page of the First Day of the World. Illumination and confusion and hard painter's sense. None the less, none the less. . . Out of the tangle in the brain, the magic in the fingers.

LAJOS SZALAY: GENESIS

*Illustrations
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Church Press,
New York*



LAJOS SZALAY: GENESIS



Lajos Szalay: GENESIS



Lajos Szalay: GENESIS



ISTVÁN VAS

PEST ELEGY

Translated by Edwin Morgan

Ah what a town! Mud spurts up bursting with dirt.
February is busy laying slush on purple crape of the dead.
Soot sifts down ceaselessly thickened by sleet.

The compost-heaps of snow grow dark with grime.
The racked, hacked body of the town shudders in its mire.
Even deep in mud that body is one with mine.

Fog like poor wartime cottonwool hides the wounds of the Boulevard.
No more smoke from the Royal, the Emke, black and charred.
The New York's brand-new neons quiver by bombed-out shards.

This town has challenged the town-murdering fever,
its tortured gaieties are rekindled, it struggles to its feet,
declines again to drown in running mud, mortar, and fear.

Ten o'clock. The neons of life are quivering yet—just.
Despair, a helpless drunk, vomits in the mud.
Night cringes on Pest; sporadic car-revs thrust.

But oh what voices rose over the streets of the town!
Impossible hope with its fresh whistling sound,
utmost purity showering bright arguments around.

We flash eyes at each other and still remember its lights—
and it's everything we remember, my poor friends, am I right?
The dicky brickheart town beats to our own time.

The dicky brickheart misses beats but never stops,
and if fate should someday strip the town of stones,
it would rise again in time by the right it stores.

Its stones and beams and walls are not what make it,
a hundred demolitions could not break it:
its eternity is redeemed when death would take it.

The town has redeemed itself and it has redeemed me:
There my sins go swimming, in filth of February.
It was the time of the great Shrivings, now and here.

And hell slips from my heart, repentance marked by solitude:
The town has redeemed itself, redeemed me for its good.
A strange forgiveness glimmers at me from its wounds.

Now every light is out; faith dawns through misty air.
I know this will be put on record, somehow, somewhere:
I lived here and never wished to live any place but here.

(1957)

IT DOESN'T COUNT

Translated by Edwin Morgan

The two are left alone
now the others have gone.
Every connection is snapped
with every settlement.

The setting doesn't count.
In a moment the hill-top
is again unbuilt-on.
Connection has stopped.

The small stone house
stands alone, defenceless.
Replenishing their stocks
two distant strangers
reach the village from the hills.

The setting doesn't count.
 The houses on the Danube
 are suddenly a strange town.
 They're here, throwing windows open.
 What a fabulous flat! But
 what is the error they now
 milk for their gain?

Quick, cross the bridge, go down
 to the strange town, examine it,
 remember we can only expect
 to stay only a few days:

the error will slip out,
 and an amateur pair of chancers
 will vanish and leave no trace.

Time itself doesn't count.
 Autumn, always autumn where they are.
 Trees fading into red.
 Their agitated crowns
 mix and stream in the wind.
 An autumn wind keeps blowing
 wild, through a wild autumn garden.
 Turn up your collar on the hill-top.
 A fire blazes in the house.

No, time doesn't count.
 Fog hugs the Danube.
 As if in a lighthouse
 they sit in the big room,
 stand at the window
 nosing the window-pane.
 In front of them, gulls
 hover and jab,
 white gulls bob
 on a grey sea. The flat
 overhangs the water.

For time doesn't count.
 Ten, twenty years back? No matter.
 Even old age doesn't count.
 Some old sin, some
 undeclared sin
 trails its wild cloak
 fluttering behind them.

The setting doesn't count,
 since time doesn't count.
 Steep hill-top; castle;
 two lonely torches flap.
 In the yard two saddled horses wait.
 Paper and seal don't count.
 On uncharted seas
 a wanted man, an old ship
 adventure in full rig,
 and that island of the setting sun.

The two are left alone
 now the others are gone.
 Connection has stopped.
 Connection is discovered.
 A sky half clouds.
 A sky half stars.
 Moonlight through clouds.

They keep watch on the hill-top
 for humming leaf-messages.
 They look embarrassed
 they are old, after all.
 They try out a smile.
 'What romance, what freedom'
 they say, so civilized
 veneering the knowledge
 that this is meaningless.

Veranda, light-switch: useless.
 The others are already gone,
 the two are now alone.

The connection that had stopped.
 The connection that was discovered.
 The moon at last rises,
 wind whips up strong,
 castle crumbles, house empties,
 island and galleon founder,
 something draws near in the garden,
 every window is shattered,
 they sit, they don't even blink,
 as they smile at each other.

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PUBLIC EDUCATION IN HUNGARY IN THE PAST 25 YEARS

by

JÓZSEF FEKETE

A good many slogans have been aired during the twenty-five years since the liberation of Hungary. Most of them are part of the country's history whereas the formulation of others, it seems, was not worth the candle. One slogan, however, appeared early and still hasn't lost its significance: "We are a nation which studies." Historians in later ages will certainly find controversial questions and phases in the history of twentieth-century Hungary. No one will doubt, however, that an unheard-of cultural transformation and a revolutionary development in public education took place in 1945 and the years that followed.

What I aim to do is to give a summary of the great change we like to call revolution in Hungary's public education and to envisage the problems the future will bring. The subject is a many-faceted one and, in addition, emotions are involved, the writer of these lines having experienced the transformation as a result of which Hungary in public education also became one of Europe's developed countries.

After the liberation of Hungary, the new educational system had to be developed with a disorganized, undeveloped school system in the background. The three basic objectives of that time also determine today's tendencies in the development of the educational question. The three objectives are: establishing a democratic educational system; transformation and dynamic development of the contents of teaching; education in accordance with the requirements of science and socialist education; and, last but not least, producing the preconditions for these requirements.

Democracy in Education

One of the most important requirements is that each schoolboy and schoolgirl should complete the eight-year general school which provides him and her with fundamental culture; further, that all young people truly

qualified should attend secondary school and university or a college. This objective was attained by the present Hungarian educational system. There's no point in enumerating an infinity of facts; some figures, however, should be given. In the 1968-69 school-year 81 per cent of the then fourteen years olds completed the 8th form of the general school and another 10 per cent finished the 8th form by the age of sixteen. In 1969, 220,000 pupils attended secondary day-schools whereas only 52,000 pupils attended grammar school thirty years ago. This goes to show that four times as many students are attending grammar school in our times than in 1939. Now, if the number of those attending continuation schools is added it becomes clear that 33 in every thousand are attending secondary schools in Hungary today. 81,000 pupils of secondary day-schools plus secondary continuation schools—only 11,000 in 1938—sat for the matriculation examination. Between 1948 and 1968 600,000 finished secondary school plus 200,000 continuation schools, that is, all in all 800,000 completed secondary education.

These facts had to be mentioned since they indicate the many problems and the educational work done as well as the sacrifices made by the Hungarian people. It should be mentioned that the birth rate grew by one-third between 1951 and 1955 due to ill-considered orders by the then government which imposed Draconian punishments for every kind of artificial termination of pregnancy even when indicated from a health or social point of view, and forbade the manufacture of contraceptives. Since 1956, the birth rate is again back to normal. Usually, about 145,000 children are born every year. In the years 1951-55, however, the birth rate rose to 210,000. All these children had to be sent to school and something had to be done about the many newly-constructed school buildings after the demographic wave had ebbed. This worry is only theoretical since we simply cannot build sufficient schools and class-rooms. First the general schools and later the secondary schools became unbearably overcrowded.

The efforts of a teacher who wants to use modern audio-visual methods and change over to up-to-date oral techniques in language teaching in an overcrowded class-room are doomed to failure (born teachers always expected) for some of the teachers and the majority of the parents and pupils will find the use of audio-visual means senseless. Both parents and pupils find it natural that—in accordance with traditional Hungarian teaching practice—the teacher questions the pupils part of the time and then explains the subject-matter of instruction. However, tuition cannot be carried on by such obsolete means half way through the twentieth century, for communication equipment imparts information *en masse*, and teachers and pupils as well are surrounded in life by up-to-date devices.

Another requirement of a deepening of democracy is that there shouldn't be educational dead-ends in the school system, i.e. that students should be able to change from one type of school to another and that the terms of the change-over—supplementary and classifying examinations—should be determined in such a way that not only the best pupils but average ones as well should be able to get through them. This problem was primarily solved by the fact that the general school of eight forms, the basis of any kind of further education, makes for compulsory uniform education. Another regulator is the fact that all kinds of secondary school leaving certificates and not only the ones obtained in grammar school, qualify a student to take a matriculation examination at any university or college.* In the Hungarian view pupils grow mature enough to continue their studies at universities and colleges in the various secondary schools in accordance with their personality. Hungarian policy does not agree that secondary schools should determine the nature of further education. Naturally—as is shown by the law of averages—those who have taken their final exam in a specialized technical school do not enroll at the Faculty of Arts. But should a young man or girl want to matriculate at the Faculty of Arts after having been trained in a vocational school, they certainly will have prepared themselves well for the entrance examination. It could rightly be considered a restriction of a candidate's personal rights if he were not to be admitted to the Faculty of Arts because he took the final exam at a technical secondary school.

It took a long time till a solution could be found that allowed the vocational training school for workmen to be included in the educational system. At last, in the autumn of 1969 a law was enacted settling the place of vocational training schools for workmen in respect to continued education in secondary schools. Earlier, manual activity, the theory of the dexterous skilled labourer, prevailed in the vocational training of workmen and the curriculum designed to provide a general education was of a low standard; therefore, young skilled workmen who completed a vocational training school could only enroll in the first form of secondary schools. This practice deterred many a young workman from embarking on secondary school studies since he would have been obliged to start secondary school after the age of 17. For the same reason writers of text-books, framers of curricula and teachers at vocational training schools were not stimulated either to raise the general cultural level. According to a decree issued in 1969, students of reformed vocational training schools can continue to study in

* The final examination taken after the completion of the four secondary classes is a sort of general survey. Pupils are asked to show knowledge of most important subjects of the syllabus of the type of secondary school they attended.

the second and third form of grammar schools; as a result, after having completed general school (at the age of 14) followed by three years at a vocational training school, diligent young men and girls can take their final examination at the age of 19. (It should be added that the final examination always had a great deal of prestige in Hungary. Earlier, it was the dividing line, without it nobody was considered a gentleman and only with it could one be promoted to the reserve of officers.)

It is an important criterion of democracy and a measure of a state's democratic policy that those who could not adequately develop their faculties in the general school—because of their material and social circumstances and the lower cultural level of their family—should nevertheless have the opportunity of continuing to study at a secondary school and at the university. The solution consists of combined—often expensive—measures. Free tuition in general and secondary schools, low tuition fees at universities and colleges, as well as many scholarships plus free board help to solve the difficulties of students living in socially disadvantageous conditions. It is far more difficult to eliminate the consequences of the cultural backwardness of families of manual workers. Some families of manual workers can give their children less help, nor do they rouse in their children the desire for knowledge and further learning. The lack of stimulation from the environment causes the slow development of their abilities. Relying on social means and various educational activities the Hungarian educational administration aims at establishing conditions under which children of manual workers can learn in almost the same circumstances as the children of intellectuals. These problems could not be solved altogether. It should be noted that, at present, 50 per cent of secondary school pupils and 42–44 per cent of university and college students come from families of manual workers.

Formerly the continuation of the education of children of working class and peasant origin had to be encouraged by administrative means. This method, however, was dropped for it was to some extent unnecessary, moreover it appeared that, in the case of certain young people, this kind of help produces mental laziness.

The concern with the children of manual workers was due to political, economic and humanitarian reasons. The nation needs the brains of every gifted young man and woman. This concern influences at the same time the educational methods employed.

In the socialist countries, and in the developed capitalist states as well, equal rights for women are taken for granted. In the 25 years since the liberation of the country, equal rights for women have become a fact in

the field of public education. At the same time, however, other problems cropped up; for instance, a sound proportion between boys and girls develops only slowly and, at present, 67 per cent of the grammar school pupils are girls. On the other hand, fewer girls than boys attend specialized technical secondary schools. Co-education had only been introduced at the beginning of the sixties since some of the parents were opposed to it probably because of older moral views.

More than 70 per cent of the teaching staff of general schools (for children from 6 to 14) are women, at the same time the majority of headmasters and school inspectors are men. The fact that women outnumber men in education is a world wide symptom causing problems the English or American readers of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* are certainly aware of.

Content, Modernity and Scientific Quality

The pattern of the Hungarian school system is: $8 + 4 + 5$, i.e. there is a general (elementary) school of eight forms, a secondary school (grammar school or specialized technical school) of four forms and university or college studies that generally take five years. Diverse answers could be given why just this pattern has developed, I cannot give any other except that things turned out this way.

Books on comparative education establish a precise hierarchy including the school system and the most important factors determining its content: the social system, level of the economy, ideological and educational principles, characteristics of the students' age group, international effects, traditions and so forth.

Time and again these well systematized factors bring about a disequilibrium demanding a new school system, new curricula and methods. The question is, when are these requirements genuine and when are they artificial? In this context it might be useful to survey the development of the Hungarian syllabuses and text-books.

Between 1945 and 1949 the Hungarian social system underwent an immense change. Three requirements had to be satisfied by curricula and text-books: fascist ideology had to be extirpated, new subjects—disregarded or only poorly dealt with previously—had to be introduced, that is, the curriculum and the text-books had to be rewritten according to modern scientific notions. (In this phase singing and music, modern biology and a scientific study of society were included in the syllabus.) And the curriculum had to be liberated from the influence of religious doctrines.

Between 1949 and 1956 public education made great headway. "Knowledge is power" was the main slogan of the educational policy and the "fortress" of knowledge had to be stormed by working class and peasant children also. Curricula and text-books published in the fifties are characterized by their unequivocally clear Marxist-Leninist standpoint, abundance of knowledge and struggle against unscientific theses and views. There was a general desire for knowledge, the number of students suddenly increased and the belief in the scientific cognition of our world opened wide vistas for the preparation of modern scientific curricula and school-books. At the same time, the students were overburdened. In the years of the personality cult psychology became what one could call a *disciplina non grata* and those who framed the curricula and wrote the text-books disregarded the nature of young people. The development of the faculties of the pupils became unimportant and they were forced to amass encyclopaedic knowledge.

Although the basic principles of the ideological (Marxist-Leninist ideological, political and moral) education were correctly determined, there were distortions in educational practice and in school-books. Platitudes and quotations became dominant. Everybody recognized the importance of an education in natural science and yet those subjects which truly or allegedly played a greater role in the direct political education (history, literature, Russian language) had priority.

In the years of consolidation following the 1956 events, ideas in respect to general education were clarified. It became a generally accepted view that a developed capacity for thinking is a precondition of a thorough knowledge of facts. School learning and education cannot rest content with merely teaching ideology and the appropriate propositions. It has to shape the world view of the pupils. The latter, however, needs free discussion. The pupils must have the right to doubt as well as the right to have the truth of the propositions proved and explained to them.

In the curriculum of general schools issued in 1956 and 1958, natural sciences were given a wider scope and importance. In this phase of Hungarian public education polytechnical training was adopted in principle and discussions on whether technical knowledge and skill were to be considered an integral part of general culture were initiated.

In Hungary the school reform started in 1959. The social reason was consolidation after the counter-revolution, whereas the economic motives were the transformation of agriculture into large-scale farming, increased demand for skilled workers and the increase in Hungarian industrial productivity (production of quality goods). The political aims clearly expressed national unity based on Marxist ideology and the increase of the general

and occupational education of the people. In every type of school, the educational plans focussed on the development of faculties and of higher general culture, the strengthening of relations between school and life taking into account international educational aims. Psychology was rehabilitated.

These were the underlying motives in the new determination of the concept of general education, in the introduction of manual work-practice in general schools and grammar schools, in the increase of the number of secondary school pupils, in the requirements of a spirited ideological education relying on conviction, in putting an end to the overburdening of pupils while priority was given to the development of faculties and the modernization of the methodology of teaching and education—or at least to efforts striving after these aims.

The scope of general culture as determined by education includes a knowledge of social sciences, natural history, mathematics, basic aesthetics and the fundamental elements of technical knowledge. However, the development of physical abilities and skill in the performance of physical work is also considered a requirement of general culture. A concept of culture derived from the idea of the versatility of the personality and emphasizing elements connected with manual skills, has so far been accepted by the authorities and by educationists.

As one might expect it was easier to define general culture as an educational-political notion than to work out a curriculum on this basis. It cannot therefore be considered mere chance that just at the time the curriculum was drafted and the text-books were written a discussion on the two cultures, similar to the one C. P. Snow provoked, started in Hungary, about the efforts aiming at the realization of the professed unification of culture in the curriculum of grammar schools. A uniform curriculum was introduced in the latter and the earlier humanistic and/or natural science sections were discontinued. There was agreement hoping that practice would accord with the views of each. Agreement or at least a truce came into being for equality in rank was established in the curriculum of grammar schools between linguistic, literary and historical studies on the one hand, and natural science on the other. The humanists declared that the development of mathematical culture was an essential requirement of our times and the mathematical way of thinking shows a high standard in the development of mankind, and the mathematicians reciprocated. Both declarations could be made in good faith, for general culture in accordance with the new notions was not intended for those taking part in the discussion but for secondary school pupils. The necessity to teach artistic subjects (such as

singing and music, drawing, analysis of works of art and film aesthetics) was beyond dispute.

It seemed that owing to grammar schools based on a uniform plan of tuition, general culture would on principle become amalgamated into a unity in the minds and personalities of pupils. This, however, did not completely materialize. According to experience maximalist tendencies manifest themselves mainly in the grammar school syllabus of mathematics, and to a slighter extent, in physics and in Hungarian language and literature. These tendencies are even enhanced by the practice of teachers. The efficiency of other subjects deteriorates as a result of the maximalism of the above-mentioned subjects.

The question arises whether general culture is an unattainable ideal, a lighthouse or a guiding principle the deficiencies of which are easily demonstrable, its components qualitatively revealable, though not applicable for "educational purposes," since they cannot be "standardized" quantitatively. Are upper limits inevitably to be determined by governmental decisions? Naturally, general culture does not only mean being in command of knowledge but a dynamically interpreted state, a power of thinking and independent, self-induced perfectibility of the individual, the personality. It is very difficult to establish the standard of the latter and for the same reason it is difficult, one might even say impossible, to give an answer to the above questions. Possibly other questions must be raised in respect to general culture from the aspect of the secondary school curriculum than from that of cultural philosophy. It is, however, certain that selecting the scope of knowledge—as pertaining to general culture in the view of public opinion—does not provide an answer to our questions. Otherwise a computer could "acquire" general culture.

General culture is also interpreted in such a way that secondary schools with uniform curricula make uniform educational demands on the students. Individual interests can be satisfied and individual faculties institutionally developed by the school through means such as special circles or classes (e.g. for foreign languages, maths, physics, drawing) providing extra-curricular knowledge and skills in one or another subject or in elective subjects. The compulsory prescribed plan of tuition is uniform.

In the view of many educational psychologists and experts in education, overburdening is not due to the quantity of the material included in the curriculum but to obsolete educational methods and to the fact that teachers weary pupils with explanations but do not teach them to acquire knowledge on their own. This is due to the old lecturing method of teaching prevailing and pupils sticking to the text-book.

In the view of scientists the capacity of the human brain—which is not utilized adequately—could be considerably increased if pupils would take an active part in acquiring knowledge. The faculties of students increase the more they are activated. If pupils were capable of acquiring knowledge by themselves, the pace of learning could be accelerated. Some try to amalgamate the theory of conditioned learning with learning theories based on problem-solving techniques. Therefore, Hungarian society is particularly interested in education based on programming as well as in experiments and research concerning teaching methods by audio-visual means.

There is a small but growing camp of cybernetic teaching. Overburdening, they say, cannot be eliminated until the regulating system inherent in the nature of the pedagogical process does not manifest itself in the work of teachers. In their view it is not the function of teachers to explain, to question the pupils and award marks from lesson to lesson but to organize the learning of the children.

Since 1968, accelerating time and the explosion of sciences presses on educationists and politicians concerned with public education. The scientific-technical revolution is a standing item of television and radio broadcasts. Being to a certain extent familiar with Hungary's economic development I do not think it probable that the scientific-technical revolution will prevail in the major part of the economy in the seventies. I even doubt the doubling of the fundamentals of science every 8–10 years. It is another question whether the expansion of the application of scientific achievements will, in fact, take place as an explosion. This, however, affects public education far less than if the fundamentals of science were to change in the course of 8–10 years. If this proposition is correct, the decisive element in general culture, namely, disciplined thinking—relying, of course, on facts—and the various scientific methods will obtain an even greater significance.

Conclusions can be drawn about the increasing requirements in respect to general culture and the development of faculties from the forecast according to which the number of those employed in primary production will decrease in 15–20 years due to automation, while chemistry in agriculture, cybernetics and the modern organization of economy and the number of specialized (skilled) workers will increase. There will be a demand for few but extremely well trained skilled maintenance men with practically the same knowledge as an engineer. The number of those employed in agriculture will decrease considerably while the number of scientists and research workers will multiply. More leisure time will be available, but provision has to be made already now for people to have the opportunity of continu-

ing their education at universities, colleges and at professional, popular and artistic courses, independent of their "official" activity. This will be the more necessary since it can easily occur that in the scientific-technical revolution people will have to change their occupation more than once because of "explosions" in production, and there is an increased danger of alienation in a mechanized world. It is probable that increased demands will be made on public education bringing about radical changes in the school system. Preparations have to be made now.

According to scientists, educationists and journalists it is possible that Hungary deviated to a certain extent from the international trend of development since 1961, during the years the school reform enacted in 1961 has been consistently applied. In the Soviet Union, the GDR and Rumania there are general schools of ten forms and in Czechoslovakia such of nine forms. The Soviet schools consisting of ten classes are at the same time secondary schools as well. In the GDR a secondary school of two forms was organically added to the ten elementary classes. (On the other hand, in Poland and Yugoslavia the pattern of the school system is $8 + 4$.) In several states of the USA compulsory school attendance lasts to the 18th year. In Japan 62-65 per cent attend secondary schools.

At the Educationists' Congress of Public Education in Hungary between 1968 and 1970, that is right now, the idea cropped up that the school system ought to be transformed into a $10 + 2$ or $9 + 3$ one. The ten-form school is to be a general school providing polytechnical education. In fact, this would be a considerable step in increasing the level of general culture, apart from the fact that young people could choose a career more easily at the age of sixteen. According to the recommendations submitted, in the differentiated branches of the secondary school of two forms the pupils are to obtain appropriate grounding for further studies at universities and colleges, and clerks with technical qualification and the best skilled workers are also to be educated in the new-type secondary schools.

As against the plans of "futurolgists," others maintain that pupils of the present eight-form general schools could learn far more if better methods were applied. Therefore, not the school system, but the efficiency of teaching must be improved. Without a regeneration of the methods, a school of ten forms would only mean a quantitative increase and its introduction depends on the "intentions" of the Minister of Finance. In their view, by the introduction of elective subjects at an early stage, opportunity ought to be given to schoolboys and schoolgirls to develop their individual interests starting from the 6th form of the general school.

Everyone agrees that the lower-grade schools should be transformed into

all-day schools, provided the necessary funds can be raised. They also agree that educational activity should be increased. It is one of the functions of the school to promote and influence the organization of the students' leisure time, culture and sports. Schools have to co-ordinate—even more in the future—the educational factors (parents, television, radio, youth movements) interested in the education of young people.

The requirement that public education should be useful to life, serve society and, thus, should not become detached from it, is fully justified. At the same time it should not be forgotten that public education cannot react at once to all oscillations of society and the economy. To submit public education to changes every year would be intolerable.

Such years happened before. The reform of public education introduced at the beginning of the sixties is also important because of the fact, to mention no other, that it established stability.

Stability is considered a halt by those urging further reforms. In their eagerness for progress they leave the country's capacity out of consideration and are not sufficiently aware of the chief material and personal conditions of public education.

School Buildings, Teachers

In some respects a favourable account can be given of the results achieved. It might be said that in Hungary the rate of growth of the material means assigned to public education was higher than the rate of increase of the national income.

But it should be added that in Hungary—as in other developed European countries—the supply of well-trained teachers, modern schools and equipment is a standing problem.

In the past, public education was backward in Hungary and the small denominational village schools could only temporarily accommodate the general schools. In addition, 40 per cent of the school buildings were damaged during the Second World War. After the war, the elementary school consisting up to then of six classes was transformed into a general school of eight forms, the two higher forms of which providing specialized teaching, required in themselves 10,000 classrooms. Even today there are schools the adobe walls of which were made fifty years ago and teaching is carried on in hundred-year-old buildings. It's all very well to preserve traditions, but the repair and maintenance of the old buildings amounts to more than the building of new schools would cost. It is of no consequence whether

the costs are met by the local authorities on one occasion or in the course of ten years. Of course, the same problems can be found in other countries too.

As a result of urbanization, the schools in towns and large villages are overcrowded whereas village schools and schools for children living on detached farms are in a peculiar situation. The number of the latter type of schools decreased by 400 during the last six years owing to the quick development of large-scale farming which transformed the pattern of settlement in Hungary. Improved, urbanized settlements with public utilities came into being in the centre of large collective farms, and people wandering round the country can often see former peasant houses unoccupied and farmsteads uninhabited. These buildings are now used by agricultural co-operatives as granaries or temporary workers' homes. Since the parents have migrated to town, the Councils sell 80-100 schools every year. Of course, the rising generation has not disappeared and new classrooms and schools have to be built for them in new and old large villages and provincial towns where the parents have moved after having left the farmsteads for good.

Two or three hundred years ago people swarmed from villages and towns into the "puszta" (the Hungarian plain) to cultivate the land. Now, mechanized agriculture makes people move back again into towns and villages where life is more cultured and circumstances easier. The explosion-like development of agriculture cannot, and moreover, should not be held up. The Hungarian peasant is now, deservedly, the owner of the land and not its slave, and to live in modern villages is his right. Public education is for the people, and therefore we build schools, often twice during a lifetime, by the sweat of our brow.

Another of our worries is to provide a sufficient numbers of teachers. At present there are 100,000 teachers—about three and a half times as many as before the war—teaching in general and secondary schools, students' hostels and children's welfare homes. One might say we are in a continuous race against needs since 1946 to our days. At first a great many teachers had to be retrained for general schools. By 1955 the most urgent needs had been met. However, there is still a lack of teachers specializing in the teach of mathematics, physics and foreign languages, and every year there is a shortage of teachers in small villages where young teachers, who have taken their degree recently, do not apply for an appointment. Problems are increased by ourselves, by our good-will.

The number of a teachers' weekly hours is to be reduced from the compulsory average of 22 to 20 by 1971. This will be very useful from the

point of view of teaching, but will require at the same time the training of an increased number of teachers.

Equipment is also a headache. Some schools have modern linguistic laboratories whereas in others even the most important experimental requisites are lacking. The Ministry of Education and TV started a public campaign to equip every school, even the smallest ones, with a television set. The school television transmissions are well-organized, however, the methodology of teaching by television is unsatisfactory.

There is an uneven development in the equipment of different schools and in addition in that of different counties. In the view of some, development ought to be uniform, that is, all schools should be on the same level as regards educational facilities while others emphasize that the leading schools must be better equipped. There is a measure of justice in both views though neither of them can be considered a generally recognized fact.

*

The above study is a fragmentary survey of Hungarian public education. Viewed from within the development consists of growth and change, although it is not lacking in problems that have to be solved and in new ones in the making.

JÓZSEF TORNAI

IF GOD LOVES ME

If God loves me he will take me back
into trees germs seeds

I never tortured birds
I never picked out eggs from a bun of poplar
I kept my tread off puny shrubs
I admired the flowers
I put back together
the earthenware jug that smashed on the ground

I loved the earth ploughed red
the water from the hill's sand-mouth
the rivers gliding down from the sky

nor did I shoot in the house's
side with a tank

in my dreams I walked naked along the street

may you take me back
my rock needle clod pollen God

*Translated by
Frederic Will*

TIMELESS TIME

The memory of the sun
the memory of flaming rock, iron, water,
time rooted
in my skin, my fat, my arteries,
time-marrow, time-flesh,
breathing time:
time fighting
with my lung-wings
in the basket of my chest
in darkness, in the crest of light,

evil-soul time,
clock-headed time,
railway-station headed,
seashore sand-dune headed
time copulating with silence
at night, at noon, in Venezuela,
in Assurbanipal's time,

erecting and out-gaping time:
time which bleeds love,
that wheels like a fish in a trap-net,
that's cut like a mare;
time that is wearing me down
from the apple of my eye
to my loin, time,

kick, rattle the dented vessel:
my aluminium forehead.

*Translated by
Frederic Will*

THE VISITOR

(Two chapters from a novel)

by

GYÖRGY KONRÁD

THE STORY *

There is no doctor without patients, no judge without an accused, no priest without the faithful. Around each profession which deals with people, a set of a partnerships evolve, even though one partner remains the same person for years on end, while the other partner keeps changing. My novel is the story of such a dialogue; its permanent member is the narrator, a social worker employed by a welfare authority, who has to face, as his material, primarily such failures, such behaviour which departs from the accepted norm, such short-circuits of the social organism as affect children. His cases—the shorter or longer wreckage of human destiny or relationships—keep recurring with considerable fecundity and statistical regularity. So his partner wears an ever-new face, which is painfully familiar all the same.

The narrator passes through his usual working day, and sets down, moment by moment, whatever he happens to be doing, its inner and external reasons, and his reactions to his surroundings. He tries to clarify at least in part the insoluble conflict of his situation: the clashes between personal and impersonal loyalties, between moral theory and actual practice; and finally, some—to him—important factors in the relationship of the "I" to others. Faces and objects, memories and possibilities keep crossing his mind, and he does not resist the temptation of paying as much attention as possible to these.

The two extracts printed below are the ninth and the eleventh—the last—chapters of the novel, which was published in 1969. To help the reader to understand, I feel I must outline some of the preceding action.

It is the story of a day when the narrator's habitual routine is interrupted by an emotional short-circuit. A hapless couple has joined the growing number of suicides among his cases: the husband was a failed lawyer, a clowning philosophical beggar, writing occasional poems and hawking them around in bars; the wife, a not-viable member of some meditative religious sect. In their messy and filthy flat, their only noteworthy bequest is their idiot son, whom they had kept locked up, naked in summer and winter in the name of a peculiar naturist cult, feeding him on raw meat and vegetables.

The social worker fails to place the child in any institution: they are all either overcrowded, or closed on account of some minor epidemic—all the organizations whose task it would be to store the unfit, suddenly break down. The elderly neighbours refuse to take on the child even for the time being, and while the case worker sits helplessly by the boy,

* Summarized by the author to accompany the chapters printed below, which are at the end of the novel. *The Visitor* (*A látogató*), published by Magvető in 1969, was reviewed by Imre Szász in No. 36, pp. 153–154.

in the darkening room, listening to his senseless whining and mumbling, he imagines what it would be like if he came to live in this room, leaving his own family, if he spent not just half an hour, but months or years on one of his many cases, perhaps this, the most hopeless one, whose frightened and greedy bestiality suggests the merely impersonal, one could say ontological, reality of another being.

The imaginary experiment ends sadly: the two of them seem to unite in isolated unconsciousness, in a vegetative but mutually hostile loneliness. The potential of official help may be limited, but so are the chances of individual sacrifice. Locked up in one other being, withdrawn from his integral role, the caseworker could only become a tormented and tormenting prison-warden for the child, continuing the dead father's role. The alienation from laws and regulations does not necessarily make a selfsacrificing love more strategically effective. There is only one way left to fulfil human solidarity: arranging occasional and dialectic compromises between the two abstract extremes, accepting the responsibility for ourselves, for schizoid actions which sometimes contravene our intentions, with a determination to communicate. The bureaucrat-hero of my novel returns without illusions, but with relentless resolution, from his imaginary hermit-like nakedness into his bureaucratic, incognito shell. He makes temporary arrangements for the child and weighted by his solitary psychodrama, continues where he left off: he waits for his next case in his office.

IT'S ALL SO SIMPLE

I

It was a long day, with a temptation. Perhaps it would have been better to explore my opportunities all the way. As I wandered among the widely branching and misleading arrows which pointed out the road system of a conditional future in my derangement, I could not happen upon any other solution except two totally unoriginal ones—speeding up death, and shutting out consciousness. All I could meet was what I am now: an overworked public servant, with an average salary, not yet old but no longer young, placed somewhere in the middle of the establishment's order of power and influence, a respectable family man with his fantasies; a public servant whose job is to trouble himself with people and therefore to balance standards against reality, law against society, demand against human limitations; a public servant eager to forget both those he inspects and those who inspect him, full of half-tried, untidily displayed and over-catalogued abilities.

I can see my limitations a shade more clearly now, cleansed by the caustic strength of a limited foresight, a personal forecast and a completely unlikely adventure. I watched over the sleep of a weak-minded child from the hardly cooled, moist bed of his parents, who were only now shoved back into the earth, free of charge.

I must stay still in the role wrought from fear and a little power, to sign the attendance book a few minutes before the bell rings in the morning, to cope within the statutory time-limit with the files pouring onto my desk and without going against any current law or regulation. I must go on, dragging struggling escaping boys back to the official car; fishing out the tousled mothers who watch in the doors of bars for likely customers; yell at wolfish hooligans who tear open the shirt on their chest as they bare their gapped teeth at the others waiting outside my office and curtaining its glass opening with their curious staring faces; I must send my files round ridiculous official byways just to lessen the mass of overdue in-trays; I must go on refusing with roundabout excuses valid but impractical requests, sending away the helpless old people whose requests fall outside my scope, passing my notes and instructions along their strictly official channels, excluding all my private affairs from my voluntarily lengthened working time, controlling my variable personal reactions to various cases. Freshly shaved each morning, congratulating my colleagues on their birthdays, deliberately mixing the presentation and the concealment of facts in my reports to my superiors, allowing their reasoning to wash through my mind with occasional murmurs of assent, sleeping at board meetings only if I find a place in the corner, but with my eyes carefully shielded, and clapping my hands when the others do, when the speaker, perspiring, sits down again; then stepping smiling to the stage in order to receive the handshake of praise with the gilded document and the monetary reward which will finally buy a winter coat for my elder boy. In the course of phone calls, I must remember to think that the blind old man in the exchange should switch on the tape-recorder; and to notice whose salary has been raised, or whose greeting is ignored by my superiors, who volunteered for the Home Guard or for Civil Defence, who minds the office on national holidays, who is included in the president's shooting parties, and whom he entrusts with the secret files. Attending, moreover, to the usual minor items of office jealousies and quarrels, secrets and sneaks, alliances and betrayals, seductions and desertions, while digging myself in deeper behind my desk.

I watch this respectable civil servant as he tries to get somewhere. Somehow I should persuade him to leave well alone; he will never be a saint, nor a decent clown; he can nestle into a hollow somewhere until they reach out to get him. If he's all that restless, he could speak up for his cases: in the large rooms where so many people are bored at one and the same time, he too could occupy the attention of the audience for some ten or fifteen minutes. But it would be in better taste if he didn't do this either. I should explain to him that after ten years, it would be best for him to go through

his accustomed actions quietly, wearing his cosy, worn-out embarrassments, making his pleasant or unpleasant decisions. If he will hesitate just the proper degree before sacrificing one of two conflicting interests, if he will only cause a few small traffic-jams in the smooth flow of false excuses, and if thus, in suspicious readiness, he will only attempt to tame in himself his sense of power, he can go on doing it until his age and decrepitude will prompt his superiors to remove his power from him (moderating his sense of loss with a modest pension).

2

With a paying-guest at her side, the tenant of the third room, Anna F., the waitress, crosses the square. She will take on the child for six weeks. She is walking this way without suspicion; she doesn't know yet that I will change her life, because I cannot change my own. She has been one of my cases for ten years; perhaps I've given her a month of my life, and now she will give it back. She would never look after the child for six weeks just out of gratitude, even if I repaid her loss of earnings from our public funds. But she might do it out of self-interest. We'll make a deal: in exchange, I'll get her the room that the Bandula family vacated. But in order that they should let her have it, I will have to get back her child, which I would do with pleasure; it is cheaper if she looks after it than the state. But with a child, one generally needs a father; and as soon as she has the flat, I will marry her off to some decent widower. A married woman with a child must, on the other hand, stop her secret whoring. Anna F. will thus become an admirable housewife—though I am sure that at the moment, she has little inclination for this. And if self-interest should fail, fear will succeed. Anna F. owes a large sum to the state for the keep of her child; I could stop it out of her wages and I could bring up the matter of her morals. My favourable and proper suggestion will, I'm sure, be accepted by her. She is still carefree, giggling with her paying-guest under the doorway. I am half-sorry that she will have to give up this role in which she stood her ground so well. After all, it's all so simple.

I think of Anna often enough: she was one of my earliest cases. We have been annoying each other for some ten years now, and by now we are not unlike. We have both passed through so many strange lives, you and I; you perhaps more leniently than would be necessary, I perhaps more strictly. Sitting opposite my desk, you drew slow figures-of-eight round your childish breasts while your aunt told the tale of your parent's demise.

When she reached the point where she told how your father beat your mother to death with a fence-paling in his jealousy, you remarked quietly: "Mother was very pretty. She was glad that the teacher liked her. But my father, you know, was a difficult man; and he drank a lot, like other miners. He took it into his head that mother no longer cared for him, with his fingernails all black with coal dust and his eyes yellow with it too." That's when I first looked at your slanting eyes and kidney-shaped mouth. Though I allowed your aunt to adopt you, I had a feeling that I wasn't done with you yet.

You were sitting opposite me again two years later, examining your insteps, while your aunt was reciting the catalogue of your crimes: you wandered off in the evenings, you laughed at strange men in the street, you wiggled your behind, and you got a bracelet from a stranger. "My sister's blood, her unfortunate blood," she summed up at the end. You've always been odd, gritting your teeth and screaming in your sleep, and once in a sudden rage you struck your uncle's forehead with your ruler.

Next day, I took you to a psychiatrist; I followed a scent like a police dog, and drugged by *Evipan*, you exposed your uncle: he called you his "wild little one" when you were alone. He made you sit on his knee, pushing his hand between your legs, he stroked you with his fingertips until you had goosepimples and promised to take you to the amusement park "and you can sit on the big dipper all the afternoon, if you let me bite your behind. . . ." Stretched out flat on your stomach, you watched in the mirror how his nose flattened and his teeth bared: and you realized you were past the big dipper. "Give me fifty, and you can bite me anywhere. If you don't, I'll tell mother," you said. Your uncle paid up, bit you all over, and you bought a string of glass beads. "She's a lovely bit," said the old psychiatrist before you woke, "a nice little piece, she's worth more than fifty. She'll be a first-class whore; well protected." Are you sure? I asked. "If she doesn't lose her looks. Then she'll only be second or third-class, and they'll pick her up, if she doesn't watch out."

I hoped he'd be proved wrong, but he wasn't, although you did lose some of your good looks. . . . The death of her parents, I said in mitigation, must have affected her very much. Then the old man made you tell the story of your father's death.

You told the story calmly, with details, as if you were talking of an uncle. After he had killed your mother and the racket had brought you round from the garden, and you saw your mother on the ground, two narrow trickles of blood on her smashed forehead, you followed your father. You sensed that you could no longer do anything about anything. He was

hurrying along the empty main road, and he tried to chase you away when he caught sight of you, but you walked on behind him. He went off the road, chucking clods of earth at you, and made his way towards the fish-pond. He didn't stop at the shore but walked straight into the middle. It had been a dry summer, the water had ebbed, it barely reached to your father's armpits. He stood there in the slowly settling rings of the pond, his head stuck out, turning this way and that. Then he noticed you and started out of the pond again. He came out, spiked with weeds, and the mud clogged his feet. On the shore, he threw a wad of paper at you: wet banknotes. You picked them up and ran after him, for he started to run, too, dripping, across the pasture, towards the railway bank, towards an approaching goods train. He managed to beat the engine to it by a few steps. He threw his head in among the wheels with a jump, as if he were trying to turn a somersault. He slipped down the bank again, without his head. You touched him but quickly let go as he kicked out once more. "Everything was all right until then, and then suddenly, one afternoon, this sort of thing. Isn't it crazy? My husband will kill me, too; men will always go for me."

Your uncle was arrested, and you were taken to a temporary remand-home, then, because you wetted your bed at times, to the school for handicapped children. One morning I visited you in the school, which had been converted from an ancient poorhouse. You sat opposite me in a navy-blue overall, buttoned to the throat. You kept saying in the supervisor's presence that they looked after you all right. When I took you out to a cake shop, you told me that in the badly heated, stone-floored dormitory they rang the bell twice a night and you stumbled over the buckets in the middle of the room with the twenty-eight others in the dormitory, but you still woke on a wet mattress every morning. The little ones liked you, you were teaching them to write and they kept kissing your hands and arms, but one of them pushed her nib into your behind. It left a mark, you said. "I've had enough of this bed-wetting and slaps and of the boys who keep forcing me into the loft so I have to fight my way out. And I hate dumb-clucks. Two girls ran away the other day, over the roof, stark naked, wrapping themselves in blankets. They brought them back the same night. If I went off, they wouldn't catch me." You asked me whether I was married, for you'd have liked to move in with me and you wouldn't wet the bed. My son was born about that time. It's a pity that you're married, you said, and asked to see a picture of my wife. You looked at it with approval and gave it back without a word. "Now run after me," you said, and started to hare down a side-street. I waited for you to come back, but you ran on

evenly. I don't know which of us was more worn out when I finally caught up with you. An old woman encouraged me to box your ears, a child shouldn't make fun of her father. "It's me who is having his child," you retorted, and offered your arm. On the way back, you asked: "If I ran away, would you find me again?" "I would, or someone else would," I said.

You were fifteen when I had to go to fetch you from a gipsy encampment a fairly long way away. My husband, you said of a young kid. He asked how come I wasn't afraid that he'd poke out my eyes. But at the door, he started to cry and begged me not to take you away. I noticed, without surprise, that you didn't even say good-bye to him. Then another institution, theft; remand homes again. Then a ship's officer with whom you slept through a winter. When I visited you at his place, you were drowsy from doing nothing, drinking whisky, and perhaps from the sailor's southern tales. I let you alone, as I couldn't think of a better solution. Then April came, and the shipping season, and before he went back on the water the ship's officer kicked you out regretfully, so that he could lock up his flat crowded with bazaar-rubbish.

You repeated his stories in a letter to me, with little drawings; after the sailor who had sailed away you drew me the elderly magician with his bow-tie whose companion you'd become, and the half-ton lorry, thrown out by the carting company, in which you travelled round the country together. In the margin, you drew your props: the fringed top-hat, the blown egg, the rabbit, the pack of cards, the three bone balls and the magician's wand which you put into the rheumatic old hands of your master on the cultural-institute stages in small villages. If his tricks proved unsuccessful, you stood on your head, or threw somersaults showing your thighs or you sang about an old brothel to amuse the sparse but demanding audience. You slept together on the damp peasant beds, but sometimes you got back later, when the village elders invited you to supper without him in the hunter's lodge usually built as an annexe to the village inn, and which only they used, for their banquets. "When I get home, the old man cries, with his head under the pillow. But he always scrounges the money off me, to pay for petrol and to hire the next hall." As autumn drew on, the audience disapproved of your turning somersaults when you were so obviously pregnant, and you wrote and told me that you didn't know who the father was. The question became unimportant from the child's point of view anyway when one night the magician, exhausted by love, dropped his head on one side and with his tongue rolling from his mouth started to gasp for air. You delivered the old man to the country hospital on the coughing old truck, and as you didn't feel like waiting to see whether he'd

recover or stay paralysed, you left the car, the top-hat, the rabbit and the whole caboodle at the hospital gates, took a train and turned up in my office, to see what I could do now. By now you were of age, and I would have sent you away if your convex stomach had not turned into a case once again. That was when I found this room for you. When you gave birth to your son, I took him into state care, and for the putative father's profession, I wrote, at your request: university professor.

This is the fifth restaurant where I recommended you. I knew that the chairs which are imitation wine-tubs, the bearded candles in the hollows, the slowly cooking slices of steak and the imitation oak-beams would captivate and hold you, and I also knew that after closing time, fuddled by muscatel, you will stop at the corner whenever a customer waits for you, and you will take his arm.

I was merely trying to find somewhere for you to stay: it was by pure chance that this was where I managed it. It was odd to think of you under the same roof as Bandula. The freedom there in his eye, which they've spat at so much, together with his scarred sense of justice; and your two large breasts crushed by two fists. And you, who would rather kick him away, perhaps because of his idiot child, perhaps because of the wife's presence which sifted through the dark hall, but perhaps mainly because of his biting servility, than tell him to go to the baths and then you'd let him in. Once he told me that he used to watch through the keyhole when you made love. You told me, too, without anger, that you could always hear him panting outside. You could have let him in, even if only once. The suicide may be caught in his fall even by a twig.

3

I welcomed Anna in the open door, in bright lamplight. A large-eared, bald visitor giggled behind her. He was carrying two long-necked bottles under his arm, and he pointed one of them at me, saying: "Bang! If you pay up, you can come too, half and half, like pals." Anna said nothing, nor did I: he explained how we could start off, how we could share; we're all human. He pushed his way in, and putting his hand on the child's head he related how he once took two girls out to the park in the winter, one of them so as to have her lie underneath them in the snow. He patted the bottle with his palm and shot out the cork. Anna sent him away. He didn't want to go, but he was given the address of her friend, with a few lines of recommendation. Yes, she has red hair, a big behind and a narrow waist.

She doesn't charge much, she's in the next street; she'd do it in a threesome. The wine? I paid him for the opened bottle. He gave me a visiting card: inviting me to go to an afternoon dance with him, one can pick up good birds there. Everyone likes him, he's such a good sport. He pointed the remaining bottle at me: Bang! and pushing his black-ribbed straw hat over his ear, he giggled and disappeared down the corridor.

I told Anna what I wanted of her. She had had a drink, and didn't answer, except to say that I should stay for supper. She straightened the child's bed, and covered him. "I had almost thought that I would have to leave my job, and move in with the child here to look after him, and then I thought of this solution," I said. She looked pleased, but she couldn't understand why I should want to leave my job? I should go on working; she'll look after the child, and bring her own home, too—we could live together, the four of us. "Well, you see," I said, "I've been stupid. I over-complicated the whole thing." And what about my family? Do I want to leave my family? "No, I wouldn't leave them of my own accord." Well then, don't leave them. Just stay the night; afterwards, she'll look after the child until there is a place for him at the institute. They're expecting me at home, I said, I ought to go home. "I would have taken him home with me tonight, for the one night, but if it can be managed, I'll leave him here." As you think best, she replied, but we could still finish the wine in her room. There is a bearskin on her bed, she made me sit on that, and filling up a thin long-stemmed glass, she says: we'd both earned it, we should sleep together. "We've earned it, yes," I agreed, but if we hadn't got around to it before, let's not do it now: it's a pity to mix things. She unbuttons her dress, pressing herself against me. I would have liked to bite her—but I didn't, it would only be from habit. Her fingers closed on my hair, pulling: I opened my eyes, she buttoned her dress again. "Could you make love to me?" I nodded. "But you don't want to?" I shook my head. "Next time," she agreed, and I stroked her arm. "But the child," I said, "please take him on even without this, just for a few weeks." "I told you I would; you don't have to pay me." She said she had cried for Bandula. She'd got a picture of him, she'll put it up on the wall; he was a good man. I got up from the bearskin. "You are good, too," I said. "I'm a whore." "That's got nothing to do with it. Others are, too." I wouldn't have minded some more wine, but I took my briefcase and opened the door. The child is asleep in there. There's someone to look after him.

INVITATION

I

So tomorrow, and for another twenty years, just like the last ten, I shall go in through the iron gates at half past eight in the morning, pass between the spying doorman and the memorial wall whose dead, too, only cause problems. I shall be carried to the fourth floor in the rising cubicle which is warmed by an infra-red radiation of love from my colleagues, I shall press down the handle (on the door distinguished by my name-plate) which is sticky from far too many fists. The passing years analyse away the office equipment which was so carefully listed in the inventory, together with all the other things which the inventory does not note: those increasingly suspect epistemological connections between the filing cabinet and fates stiffened into files, the unbreakable Remington and the gradually loosening matrix of my face, the leather sofa which is the only surviving and well-sprung excuse for the monarchy, with the associations I have let loose into its depths.

I question, explain, prove, contradict, threaten, permit, refuse, oblige, agree, legalize, release. In the name of legal principles and regulations I protect law and order, for the lack of anything better. The order which I protect is coarse and yet fragile, uncomfortable and inclement: it ought to contain some better ideas, couched in a somewhat better style; I can't pretend to like it. Yet I serve it: it is tidy, it works, it is not unlike myself, it's a tool; its very structure is familiar by now. I can simplify or complicate it, I can loosen and quicken it, I adapt myself to it and adapt it to myself: but I can't take on more than such slow manoeuvring. I must cast out the hero who starts afresh with his superior propositions and sentimental visions, his patents for a perpetual mobile which has to be wound up by its handle just a little, not for long, under strict checks. I must cast out the institutionalized saints of my private salvation, the guardians of disinterested morality, who replace a partial and ordinary sense of responsibility with stylish enthusiasm for historic guilt, or even for the good works of universal love. I must rid myself of the monkeys and schlemihls of these Sunday roles, and instead, I must tolerate—there is no room for more—the agnostic bureaucrat. I should be pleased if this medium-grade, insignificant civil servant could go on living with his eyes open—as far as he can.

Meanwhile my stomach will get bloated, my legs grow thin, my mouth will fill with silver, the hairs on the back of my hands will grow white, and the permanence of human bankruptcy will wear out and harden me.

I shall shuffle back and forth between the tottering mounds of paper moving from drawer to drawer, shelf to shelf, these insoluble files, I shall grow into a dusty, pottering old official, who locks up the rubber stamps while he goes to the lavatory; I shall refuse to lend my statute-book to anyone, I shall write with ever smaller handwriting on bits of paper I sliced with my pocket-knife, I shall cite my age and experience, repeat my stories and my good advice, I shall mix up my cases and fall asleep while I listen to them, I shall growl at the talkative and grow angry if anyone interrupts me; I shall shoo away complaints and draw angrily at my cheap, smelly cigar if anyone starts to cry.

2

In the meanwhile, I await my cases.

Let our judges come, the children, with their warm hands and scented round heads, their lace-up shoe a pendulum in perpetual motion, and the reward of their slowly emergent smile; their atavistic fears and frightening docility, their wilful obsessions and kittenish flattery, their relentless selfishness and the temptation of their weakness, the wounds of their adaptability and their reflection of our own worthlessness. Let the little children come, bring me all those left behind in hospitals, nurseries, surgeries, on alien doorsteps, on park benches, in dustbins; the exposed, neglected, half-drowned, those left gasping under pillows, rescued from gas-filled rooms, pressed against the wall, dropped to the ground, carefully curled up between the broken glass and the potato-peelings, bring me these uninvited and avenging enemies, let them come with their numbered underwear and their distracted eyes from the institutions; all those who wait in vain behind the bars for no one comes to visit them, whose tearful begging letters never receive a reply, who have to be introduced to a mother fresh from gaol; who kick about with burning bits of paper between their toes and hide their ink-covered genitals, those who are adopted so that they should look after the dog during the day and fetch the milk, who are happy if an old half-witted crone waits for them at Christmas with slices of bacon in her little room, between the piles of coal and rubbish. Let the recaptured vagrants come, found after nights spent in piles of dead leaves, in the confessional, in trailers or sand-boxes, or an empty pigsty: the boy who is implacable since his mother moved him to the floor to make room for her new lover in the bed; the girl who nearly burnt out her half-sister's eyes with a hot poker but dropped it in the last minute; the teenage boy whose father chased him round the courtyard with a knife and nearly caught him

when the bible-mongering widow brought him down with a broomstick and dragged the boy inside and kissed him between tears and laughter while he ate and fell asleep; and the other, who searches crazily for an old couple, roaming the streets in the wake of irrational intimations; and all the others, who cannot be kept at home even with barley-sugar, tears or fire-engines, for they climb out of windows and throw their school bags down a cellar door and hide the stolen money in their shoes and equip themselves with a compass, the kitchen knife, a torch and paper masks and set out for the frontiers, towards corrective beatings, to go overseas and to other planets, until they are taken to a solitary cell where they are fed only on alternate days, where they kick sneaks in the face; until they visit their mothers and knock them down for the key to the strongbox, they jump the train even when they're handcuffed, and outside the law courts they break through the cordon of gaping groups of pensioners, and with the screws panting on their heels, jump a lorry; they crawl through the maizefields of the prison farms, swopping their prison clothes in the first ditch, and they break through the wall of their cells with a pick and jump over any wall; but they always turn up, found shivering in the bull-rushes or breaking into weekend cottages, or on the piles of beet in the goods trains, or in the rented beds of lovers who sidle to the police station in the morning, until they are finally enrolled among the big-timers and they sit in solitary state, grey or bald, on the tractors in the prison yard; they talk little, and when they are searched, there's nothing to take from them, and they burst into tears when the prison warden shakes hands and wishes them well the day they get out;

let them all come, with their patents and threatening poems of revenge, with their collages assembled from fashion magazines and porno pictures, with their short-wave sets hidden in boxes of shoe-polish, their electrical masturbation gadgets, their jars of poisoned apricot jam, the cakes filled with pins, nails and fishbones, with gold chains hidden in their vulva; and with all the other little signs of their cunning crimes; let them come, with rolling eyes, chattering blackened teeth, sucking their fingers, or scratching the palms, those who faint off the chair, those with their skulls tattooed, these who blow soap-bubbles and those who smear paint over their windows to shut out their neighbours' eyes; those who put buckets of water behind their doors against the caretaker, those who sew up their pockets with needle and thread every evening against their wives' fingers; those who introduce themselves under a succession of false names to escape recognition; those who write anonymous letters to inform against themselves to distract the attention of the authorities; those who tie their children to

the kitchen table, and boil water and sharpen the bread knife to rid her of the child of the red-headed Jewish rag-and-bone man; those who will learn to fold coloured papers, who will be allowed to see a puppet show once a month, who can wait a long time behind one-way opening white doors; those who wait, between therapeutic potted plants and embroidered tablecloths in their striped nightshirts, following their desert-like perambulations, always stepping on the same floorboards until in the end their relatives, notified on the yellowing paper, will call for them or for their old cardigan and wedding ring;

and let them come, the tyrants of selfishness, in the parrot-cages of their obsessions, with their cancerous, pointless and unnamed injuries, telephoning in fury, as they never get a line, those drunk on excuses, the secret coroners who can never acquit themselves; these high-handed martyrs who finally die of a comic misunderstanding; the leeches and badgers of love, the outcasts who feel the cold so badly, the lepers whose birthday no one ever remembers, all those who, when they are embraced in front, are already lonely at the back; whose bright new penny is always pinched by a jay in the end;

and let them come, the eternal underdogs, whose ribs are pressed by the same steel spring for years on end, who have always been prevented by marital love from stretching out to their heart's content, who never had as much living space as the inmates of a humane prison system, who even in the privy copulate in breathless quiet, who only see the shoes of their fellow creatures through the windows of their lower-ground floors or cellars, who are never alone until they reach a fourth-grade coffin, around whom all the railings are rusty, the plaster crumbles, the beams have woodworm, the cloth is worn shiny but the window is dull and cracked, every object rickety, old and falling to pieces, from whose homes an immoderate sentimental procession sometimes sets out (the Sunday best marches out, the bedcovers and pillow-cases; in the winter, the summer clothes, in the summer, the overcoats; the pictures of the Virgin come off the walls, the china dogs run away, the radio backs out through the door, followed by the tablecloth, the shelves lighten, the mattresses are undressed, the wires run out of electricity and then the furniture starts to move out with slow bumps).

Let them come, the unviable, the ham-fisted mechanics of their own fate, who cannot put themselves together from the bits and pieces of their own parts, who need only a shirt button, a tram ticket or an aspirin to become real; all those who are passed by, who never had anything for free, those crowd-particles who never, even in their dreams, seem to get further than

the last place in any row; those in search of any corner, any shelter, who raise their hands to protect their faces even before anything is said; who can never be sure that their own mothers will know them by the next day; the loiterers shuffling from one foot to the other, who finally decide not to ring the bell, those with trembling lips who are never let into the secret by the others, who can never get around to writing that letter, for they can never decide how to address the recipient; those who were never chosen for the team by either captain in the school playground, whose hats are always squashed when someone sits down, whose collar gets garlic on it, who always take their slices of cake or their wives from the leftovers, who always walk beneath any flying spittle, burning cigarette butt or apple core, who manage to get their baths, their shoe-cleaning and their copulation done once a week, who are always asked how they're keeping by people who are already walking away, who often cry into their mirror, who see the silver angels of the cathedrals on crumbling walls, all those who can, somewhere between nauseous disgust and unfeeling familiarity, light the mescaline-filled Christmas cracker of recognition in a heightened, tender moment, and who can set up the law of an irretrievable freedom over and above the experience of their own nothingness;

let them all come, whoever wants to come, one of us talks and the other listens; but at least we are together.

*Translated by
Mari Kuttna*

DOCUMENTS

L'UNITÀ INTERVIEWS JÁNOS KÁDÁR

János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, received Mr. Giuseppe Boffa, special correspondent of L'Unità, the central organ of the Italian Communist Party. This is the full text of the interview which was published in the December 1st, 1969 number of L'Unità and also in Népszabadság.

Historic experiences

QUESTION: In view of the 50th anniversary of the Council Republic, you drew up in Hungary a balance-sheet of the long road covered by the Hungarian Communist Party from the period of Béla Kun to that of Rákosi and on to the present. In the light of this half-century, what do you consider the most important experiences in the history of your party, and which are the negative moments which you criticize bearing in mind their lessons for the future?

ANSWER: As far as the first question is concerned, on the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the 1919 Council Republic which was commemorated recently, we indeed surveyed the road which we have covered and took stock of the experiences which we gathered. I'd like to note that we name the various periods in the fight carried on by the party in a manner which expresses their social essence, and do not consider them "periods" belonging to one or the other leader. The road covered has been arduous, the fifty years have been eventful, often stormy. In consequence, our party has collected many kinds, and important experiences, and it is making use of these today in a wide range of its activities. Therefore, the policy as a whole of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party provides the full answer to your question.

I would nevertheless emphasize, as especially important experiences in the fight carried on by the party, a policy guided by principles, the unity of the

party, oneness with the masses, and internationalism. It may be stated that the party was successful when it maintained the principles of Marxism-Leninism in their purity, and applied them in a constructive way, and was condemned to failure when it yielded to revisionism or dogmatism in ideology, to rightist opportunism or "leftist" sectarianism in politics. The strength of the party was redoubled when it was united ideologically, politically and organizationally, but it became powerless when it was split by factions and groups. It was able to fight and to work successfully when it enjoyed the full and active support of the toiling masses; it became isolated and unable to fulfill its mission when it became separated from the masses. The strength of the party was multiplied when it maintained clearly the idea of proletarian internationalism, when it correctly reconciled the national and international interests of the revolutionary struggle; it was weakened when it violated the principles of internationalism, or when its ties with the forces of socialism, with the international labour movement were weakened for any reason.

Our Italian friends know very well that Hungarian Communists fought through hard battles in the recent past. They know that at the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties the dogmatism and sectarian policies of the Rákosi-leadership, the revisionism and class-treason of the Imre Nagy group, the struggle between these two cliques on the one hand, the machinations and open attacks of the class enemy, of the imperialists, on the other, led to a long crisis in the party and in our society. All this led up to the 1956 counterrevolutionary uprising in Hungary.

Fighting on two fronts

The progress achieved since then proves that our party has taken historic experiences seriously. One of the principal lessons of those critical times has been that we always have to face reality and not what we would like to see; that we have to get rid of every sort of subjectivism and have to follow a realist policy.

Realism, the facing of reality, the realization of the difficulties and their earnest consideration are a command, a necessity, for the Communist Party, and for Communists in general. Of this, Gramsci wrote so expressively: "It is characteristic of the weak that they become lost in the plays of the imagination, that they dream with open eyes that their desires have the power of reality and that everything happens in accordance with their wishes. . . In reality then, wherever such people get to work, they will find

that the difficulties are extremely grave, because they have never thought of them concretely."

I have spoken of difficult struggles, of crises successfully overcome by principled policies. We are, nevertheless, of the opinion that we have to continue to work unabated, day after day, for the purity of our guiding principles, for the agreement and support of the masses, for the unity of the party, for the socialist unity of our society. These tasks can never be considered solved "once and for all." Domestic and international developments continuously raise new questions which have to be answered by the party in due course. Consequently, Marxism-Leninism has to be defended against distortions, but also against becoming rigid. We fight against the revisionist views appearing again and again in new questions raised by new situations, just as we do against a dogmatic treatment of questions. This is what we call the "two front" struggle. We are convinced that it is needed if our party is to apply Marxism-Leninism in a really constructive way.

National and international interests

In touching on the experiences of history, we have to emphasize that in the course of a fight that has now gone on for fifty years it has always been a powerful source of strength for us that our party has fought and laboured during the whole time of its existence as a militant part of the international Communist movement. The historic experience of our party is evidence of the invincible and irreplaceable power and validity of proletarian internationalism. In our ideological and practical work we endeavour to make use of the experiences of all fraternal parties in addition to our own. Among the fraternal parties, we value especially highly, and hold indispensable, the experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was this party that carried to victory the first socialist revolution in the world, and the Soviet Union has always been the main support of the struggle fought for progress on a world-wide scale.

In the international Communist movement in general, and especially in the countries of the socialist world system, the correct reconciliation of national and international interests is an important task of the Communist and Workers' Parties. In our experience, the disregarding of national characteristics, particularities and interests is harmful, and at the same time, no assumed or real separate national interests can be asserted at the expense of the international interests of progress and socialism. If we violate the interests of the international Communist movement of the community of

socialist countries this will, in the last resort, damage also the national interest.

I am able to say that one of the important factors of the strength of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is that it was able to be national and international at the same time throughout its entire existence. This prevailed in the day to day work of the party, including the most critical periods at the time of the first and of the second world war, most recently in the calamitous days of the 1956 counter-revolution, and always when the reconciliation of national and international interests had an especially great importance. This has made of the party of the Hungarian Communists, in the course of its history, one of the firmest internationalist sections of the international Communist movement, and at the same time, the leading party of the nation.

"Who is not against us, is with us"

Q.: After the 1956 crisis you sought as wide as possible support in the country for the policies of the party and for socialist construction on the basis of the slogan "who is not against us, is with us." Do you consider the balance of this effort positive, and to what extent do you hold this slogan to be still valid?

A.: I have already said that the Hungarian party considers it particularly important that the broad masses understand and support the policies of the party, that it should lead the masses—not by commands but by convincing them—and that the party should fight and work united with them in mutual trust. The winning of the support of the masses has demanded a radical break with all erroneous conceptions and prejudices and a return to the correct Leninist style of work.

The struggle for winning the support of the masses had to be begun at the end of 1956 after grave mistakes and a heavy defeat, in the midst of stirred-up nationalism, anarchy, and ideological confusion. In addition to all this, an attempt was made to whip up ignoble passions and to use psychological and moral terror to turn the people against us Communists, as Comrade Togliatti showed so well at the time in his article written on the *Irodalmi Újság* ("Literary Gazette"). Even in that difficult situation, when first dogmatism and then revisionist treason had destroyed the party's ties with the masses and created immeasurable ideological confusion, the principal strength of us Communists was the purity and power of our Marxist-Leninist ideas, and our unshaken confidence in the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals. Our aim was first of all the restoration and

strengthening of trust in the Party, loyalty to our regime, belief in socialism, in internationalism, and in fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In such a situation the first task was of course to put the Communists, and all those who believed in socialism, back on their feet and to unite them. But we laid no less stress on separating from the real enemies of socialism and leading back to the right path, those who had been misled, whose number was not small. This policy rested on Marxist-Leninist principles, was sincere, communist, and hence humanist. We publicized our policies without pause and worked to win over the masses, but never made any concessions to anti-socialist views, to nationalism, or to anti-Sovietism. We laboured for the unity of our working class, for the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance, for a broad national rallying of forces—but strove to achieve all this while openly declaring our objectives, and on the foundation of socialist principles.

The statement quoted in your question, which has in a certain sense become a slogan, "who is not against us, is with us," is an expression of this policy. It was not by chance that this slogan was coined at a free exchange of views between Communists and non-party people, at a meeting of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front.

Socialism is the cause of the entire people

We still consider this slogan adequate and valid today. We emphasize and try to assert in the proper way the leading role of our party in the life and activities of society. We also emphasize at the same time that the socialist society is not only being built for the Communists, but for all working men and women, for the people. It is obvious that Communists cannot construct socialism on their own, this can only be achieved as the common work of the whole people. For this very reason, we consistently endeavour in the Hungarian People's Republic to draw every honest man, all creative forces of the people, of the nation, into the construction of a socialist society, and thus turn the construction of a socialist society into a national cause. We try to get the Communists respected and followed by non-party people because of the work done by them for society. We declare at the same time that the same rights and esteem are due to everybody who participates in the work of socialist construction and does a proper job, irrespective of party membership, ideology, origin or occupation.

These ideas determine our relationship not only to the masses of workers

and peasants, but also to the creative intellectuals. Our scientists and artists, whether they are or are not members of the party, are not simply "given tasks", but participate actively in the development of the arts and sciences and in the elaboration of solutions for the problems of our society. The country provides all possible requisites for the creative work of Hungarian scientists and artists. This is in keeping with their sense of vocation and with the responsibility which they feel to the people. The result has been lively and rich intellectual activity, and harmonious cooperation between the party and the intellectuals. We strive for a relationship in which the intellectuals share with the party and the state the responsibility for the present and the future of the country. Many things are needed for the formation of this sense of responsibility, including sincere trust as well as the thorough discussion of divergent views. But we are convinced that if we are able to achieve this—and we are succeeding to an increasing extent—, this is a much more efficient safeguard of the interests of our people in the construction of socialism, than any petty guardianship or officiousness. The struggle, the work to achieve this cooperation has not been easy, it did not occur from one day to the next, and it is not yet completed. But its fruits are already here, and we are convinced that this apparently longer road is in fact the shorter and more effective one.

As far as the slogan "who is not against us, is with us" is concerned in practice it has to be said openly that its aim has been to induce those honest citizens whose ideology is not identical with ours or who are perhaps quite removed from us Communists to take part with even greater devotion in the work of socialist construction. This is not some sort of compromise or unprincipled "enticement". It is of course not indifferent to us to what extent the socialist consciousness of Hungarian citizens, their identification with socialism, grows. It is clear to us that the spreading and strengthening of socialist ideas in both the masses and in individuals is a process which interacts with the material construction of a socialist society and with the daily work done by individual men and women.

It is the duty of our party, of the Communists, to do everything to further the material construction of a socialist society as well as to spread and to deepen socialist thought and to draw individual men and women into both. In answer to your question I am pleased to repeat what was said a good number of years ago: in our socialist conditions, those who are not engaged in a plot against the regime, in destructive activity, but do socially useful work in any domain, participate in the work of socialist construction. In other words: who is not against us, is with us!

The Hungarian economic reform

Q.: Two years ago a reform was introduced in Hungary which affected all aspects of the economy and of planning. Are you satisfied with the results, and do you consider that further steps will be necessary in the same direction?

A.: So much information, explanation and even misinterpretation circulates abroad about the Hungarian economic reform introduced on 1st January 1968, that saying a few words about its essence is unavoidable.

I must first of all stress that this was not a general reform, but a reform of the mechanism of economic management, the further development of the system of the guidance of the socialist economy. The principal characteristic of our economy continues to be that it is a socialist planned economy.

It is an essential element of the reform that it wishes to ensure the realization of the national economic plans not through concrete plan directives sent to plants, but through economic levers resting on the laws of commodity-, money-, market- and value relations which are valid also in a socialist economy. The managers of plants were given considerable independence and, with the guiding figures of the national plans in view, and aware of economic levers, they make their own plans in accordance with the interest of the plant in more efficient and more profitable production.

The conclusions that may be drawn from the first two years of the reform are satisfactory. In spite of essential changes in the method of central management, there has been no hitch in production and in consumption which in itself should be considered a success in such a vast reorganization. It has of course not been possible to achieve the fundamental objectives of the reform within such a short time, but experiences so far are encouraging. The faithfulness to plan of production has not diminished, but has even somewhat improved. The ratio of sales to production has improved, imports and exports have increased—the latter to a greater extent—, hence, the balance of payments has improved. The fundamental objective of the reform is the increase of the economic efficiency of labour. Although this has not yet occurred in all areas, and we can only speak of initial results, the importance of these is very great. These, in short, are the conclusions that may thus far be drawn from the reform.

The process of observing and analysing the result continues and the various economic levers are continuously being adjusted. The better and more efficient effectiveness of the principles of the reform, and through this the adequate development of the fundamental factors of the economy, of productivity and of the growth of production remain a permanent task.

Experience shows that there is no need to modify the fundamental principles of our system of management. It is obvious that such a vast measure which affects all areas of the economy may only be carried out gradually and that its introduction is no free of problems. Consequently further measures will follow those which have already been taken. But these will not affect the essential traits of the system which has been introduced but will serve their more efficient realization. I am certain that the full development of the reform of economic management will be in the service of a vigorous continuation of the work of construction and the great goal of the building of a socialist society.

The development of socialist democracy

Q.: Do you think that reforms introduced in economic activity—an important aspect of life in the country—must be followed by reforms in other domains, especially in the sphere of political activity?

A.: We are aware that there is a lot of guessing concerning this question, and certain imperialist circles and "theoreticians" even hope and predict that as a result of the economic reform our society will be "loosened up" somehow. These are vain hopes. On the contrary, we are sure that as a result of the increasing efficiency in the economy, our state, our regime and the power of the working class will be strengthened further and confirmed.

There are no plans for and there will not be any change in our political structure, in the structure of the party, in the practice of the principle of democratic centralism, or in the basic institutions, in the essential characteristics of our social system as an effect of the introduction of the economic reform.

The elaboration and introduction of the reform were never, for us, simply an economic question. We have always seen clearly that this is a complex sociopolitical question. It has always been clear to us that there is a close connection between the political life and the economy, that these two important sectors of social life are in constant interaction. In accordance with our ideas there will be and there has already begun a certain change in political activity in our country in concrete connection with the economic reform. What are these changes? The party and the government strive continuously to further develop socialist democracy within our regime. These ideas played a role also in the elaboration of the economic reform.

These are the concrete changes in policy and economic policy: 1. In

proportion with the increased independence of the managers of plants, the role and weight of party branches, trade unions and other social associations within plants are enhanced. 2. The direct interestedness of the collectives of industrial plants and agricultural producers' cooperatives and other independent economic units increases the interest and active participation of working people in public affairs. 3. The sphere of activity, independence and responsibility of the basic institutions of our state, the local councils, also increases and this will cause an increase in the interest taken by the population and in their activity within local government. Similarly in the factories the questions of production and other questions affecting the entire collective are not decided behind closed doors either, but with the wide participation of working men and women and with due regard for their views.

It is obvious that as a result of all this social activity and socialist thinking by working people, by the broad masses of the population, will grow further, socialist democracy will increase and the political strength of the party, and our regime will grow with it.

Q.: To what extent do you consider socialist the society that has been built in Hungary in the last twenty years? In your view, what is necessary for it to be completely socialist?

A.: The social process which began in Hungary following liberation was transformed into a socialist revolution from 1948 on, when the working class conquered political power. The 8th Party Congress held at the end of 1962 was justified in stating that with the socialist reorganization of agriculture the laying of the foundations of a socialist society was completed in our country.

I consider that our society is fundamentally socialist in character. Power is in the hands of the working class, of the working people. The means of production are—with few exceptions—in socialist common ownership; there is no exploiting class in our country. The exploitation of man by man has ceased in the Hungarian People's Republic.

The limits of an interview do not allow me to explain in detail and to define scientifically what is still needed for us to be able to declare in our country: the building of a socialist society has been completed. But I am well aware that in Hungary our people has in 25 years overcome the backwardness of centuries. In the place of an agrarian country burdened with the survivals of feudalism, a fundamentally socialist, advanced industrial-agrarian country was born. The economic level of the country has risen fast, starvation and privation have ceased, compared to the past the standard of

living of working men and women has become high and secure. Great revolutionary changes have occurred in the domain of education and culture.

At the same time I know that there are still sections that are in a difficult situation, who do not earn enough and are not adequately provided for; that the housing problem is not yet satisfactorily solved; that some of the young have to solve difficult questions at the beginning of their lives on their own. I believe that for the completion of the building of socialism substantially more advanced means of production and a higher level of scientific work, of public education and culture are needed as well as the achievement of a higher standard of living.

We also know full well that socialism does not mean only a larger loaf of bread, better housing, a refrigerator and maybe a car, but primarily new social relationships and new human ties. The building of socialism is not only an economic task but has to ensure the development of a full human life, in the true sense of the word, the harmonious relationship and evolution of the individual and of society. We have achievements to our credit in this domain also. Beyond the internationally acknowledged achievements of the revolution in culture I am thinking here for instance of the consciousness-forming social activity by the socialist brigade movement, which developed spontaneously in plants and was initiated by the masses, or of cooperative democracy in the villages. The socialist brigade movement, which embraces large masses, with its slogan "to live, study and work in a socialist way" and internal democracy in the agricultural producers' cooperatives, and other new, young but important achievements of our public life, serve not only production but culture as well, and implied in the latter the socialist way of life, the shaping of men by the community.

Although we still face many tasks, we are on the road towards the realization in our society of Lenin's great dream, turning the thousands of years old culture of mankind into the common treasure of the masses. In addition we endeavour not only to maintain this heritage but to continue and to renew it, to develop a socialist culture and arts. Socialism has not made life gray; like so many other hostile prophecies, this one has not come true either, on the contrary, it is well-known that the atmosphere prevalent in the advanced capitalist countries "alienates" the individual and the masses and standardizes them. The alternative offered by socialism is not simply more human, but is the sole possible prospect for mankind.

We are not able to tell today when the building of socialism will be completed and communism will be created. Our task is not to foretell and to promise, but to work and to fight. Our party does not lose sight of historic objectives. We are certain that the party of the Hungarian Com-

munists, the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian people will not stop half-way. They advance, and every step brings them nearer to the great goal, the creation of a socialist Hungary, and they are going to reach this goal.

The strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement

Q.: Do you consider progress in the unity of the international communist movement possible after the Moscow Conference, in view of the differences of opinion which were manifest both among those present and as regards the parties that were absent?

A.: I am fully confident that we are in the midst of the process of the strengthening of the international Communist movement, and within this of the unity and cooperation of the socialist countries.

My confidence rests—among other things—on the extremely important and successful Moscow Conference. True, there were differences of opinion among the parties present and such differences were also manifest in relation to the parties which were absent. However, there were not only differences of opinion in Moscow, but what is much more important, a unity and a striving for unity, which were much stronger than the differences of opinion, were also shown. It is sufficient to point out that the more than seventy parties present were unanimous in their appraisal of the international situation, and of the most important questions of the struggle against imperialism. The Conference was unanimous in showing proletarian internationalist solidarity with the struggle of the people of Vietnam. Unity was similarly expressed in solidarity with the Arab peoples and in numerous other, unanimously adopted, solidarity declarations.

I'd also like to refer to the differences of opinion as regards the principal document, between the great majority of the parties on the one hand and a few fraternal parties on the other. It is well known that at the 1960 Moscow Conference a resolution was unanimously adopted and published. It is also well known that in 1961, only a few months after the conclusion of the Conference—unfortunately—grave signs of the dissolution of unity appeared in the international Communist and labour movement. There were some who disregarded the common resolution adopted and signed by them, and set out on a road of dissent. Now the resolution was not entirely unanimous, we are nevertheless justified in stating that the Conference indeed strengthened unity and the striving for unity, and since the conference heartening facts connected with efforts corresponding to the spirit of the agreements have been evident. These included the successful World Con-

gress of Trade Unions, which was held in Budapest recently, and the common efforts made by the European socialist countries in the interest of the peace and security of the Continent, which have had an increasing echo especially since the Prague declaration.

The representatives of not a single Communist and workers' party could have left the 1969 Moscow Conference with the feeling that anybody wanted to restrict them in the free explanation of the views of their party or wanted to put moral pressure on them to sign anything that did not agree with their convictions. The openness, democratic preparation and conduct of the Conference as a whole gave me the impression that it was a genuinely free and comradely exchange of views which strengthened our unity. The comradely atmosphere, democratic method and internationalist spirit of the whole Conference enabled and prompted those fraternal parties which dissented at the Conference to compare and consider their views now after the Conference with those represented by the others, and to bring their own standpoint closer to the latter. The decision of the Conference to send its resolutions to those parties which were not present at the Conference and to call on them to join in the common struggle against imperialism, was also truly internationalist.

I repeat, I am optimistic, the unity of the international Communist movement will become stronger, the more so, as the differences of opinion are transient, while the interests of the international working class, of the peoples represented by our parties are not transient and are common, such as the fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism, as well as socialism and of peace. International imperialism is our common enemy, and against it we can fight more effectively only if we strengthen our unity.

The Budapest Appeal

Q.: The well-known Call of the Warsaw Pact countries concerning the European collective security system was issued in Budapest. In your view, what are the prospects today of this initiative, especially in the light of the outcome of the elections held in the German Federal Republic on the 28th September and the formation of the Brandt government?

A.: The Budapest Call of the Warsaw Pact countries, which proposes a meeting of the representatives of the European states, and the negotiation of a collective security system is very important and its prospects are promising. I am basing this opinion on many things.

In the stage of evolution that can be foreseen today, European peoples living in countries with different social orders—unless they wish to become

annihilated in a destructive war—have no other alternative for a more peaceful period than the creation of a collective security system on the continent. A readiness for this exists in the Soviet Union and in the European socialist countries, as evidenced by the Budapest Call and by the declaration issued by the conference of foreign ministers held in Prague.

The countries of Europe have not forgotten the horrors of the Second World War, and they are well aware that the most powerful military forces that exist in the world today are here, on our continent, at an arm's length from each other. If we do not somehow arrange elementary security questions, this can lead to nothing good. The echo of the Appeal, the fact that more than two thirds of the countries of Europe have reacted positively, is also encouraging. The memorandum of the Finnish Government and the personal efforts of President Kekkonen deserve special mention, as these are a great contribution to the successful preparation of the conference. It would favourably influence the common cause of the peoples of Europe if every government of the continent—including the Italian Government—were to give a positive answer to the Budapest Appeal and to the declaration issued by the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries.

We believe that the conditions for the convocation of a European security conference are ripening, and it would be heartening if a decisive step were taken in 1970.

There are forces acting as a brake which do not dare to obstruct the initiative in the open, but are very busy behind the scenes. As is known, in the declaration issued by the Prague conference of foreign ministers, the Warsaw Pact countries proposed a date and two items for the agenda. They also declared that they were ready to examine any other proposal as well. The opponents of the conference now say that the date is too early, and that we have not proposed any "genuine" questions, etc. And those who are inclined to pessimism believe them. We are convinced that we, the Warsaw Pact countries, have made propositions which can be accepted by anybody. We proposed a free exchange of views, a conference, and a solution. If any government has something better to offer, we look forward to its proposals, and our governments are ready to examine them.

As far as the elections held in the German Federal Republic and what is called the *Kleine Koalition* government led by Chancellor Brandt are concerned, I consider this, from the aspect of the prospects of European security something that may turn out to be a positive factor. The positive feature of this change is primarily that the CDU-CSU Christian Democratic party alliance, which has dominated the German Federal Republic since its foundation, the policies of which had led to a growth in strength of

revanchist, military forces, which did not recognize the European frontiers brought about by the Second World War, which unlawfully claimed sole representation and opposed the German Democratic Republic, was defeated.

In the appraisal of the new West German Government, its actions will of course be decisive. One thing is certain: we shall not reject any initiative that will be progressive and will genuinely serve European peace and security.

This was what I could answer to your questions. In conclusion, I take this opportunity of sending through *L'Unità* my cordial greetings and best wishes to our Italian comrades and friends, and to the working people of Italy. I wish them lots of success in their endeavours and efforts for their own future and for friendship and understanding between nations.

SURVEYS

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

THE ROLE OF ECONOMISTS IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The Anglo-Hungarian Economic Colloquium

International scientific relations developing on a bilateral or a multilateral basis are playing an ever greater role in world events and in those affecting individual countries. The effect of these relations goes far beyond the sphere of research in the narrow sense of the word, and of the specific problems arising in the branches of science concerned. Its intensity is further increased by the fact that modern science is also suitable for working out complex action-programmes. Thus, the international activity of branches of science which are related to social action not only spurs and enriches research work, but social practice and international political and economic cooperation as well. It is well known that in the field of the technical sciences, international relations can be established and developed more smoothly and with less tension. The effective application of natural laws to the processes of production, and the whole system of information, and objective laws embracing the means and processes of production are universal, and a sphere hardly touched by ideologies. In the case of economics, however, it is obvious that fundamental economic laws, basic principles and aims depend on the social system and its established institutions. Economic activity, that is, does not embrace the whole of a society, but only a part of it. Existing social and political relations, inherited systems of civilization (here I am thinking first of all of the developing countries), the interests of

the various social classes and groups, the degree of culture and prevailing public opinion (systems of values), all have a strong influence on aims, potential means, and their distribution in economic growth. Naturally, this is not a question of a one-sided effect, but of interdependence. The economy with its own circulation is one of the factors in the existing social and political balance which reacts on the other factors. In this respect the economy—as far as the principles of rational thinking are accepted—is the most mobile and the one element most susceptible to new impulses in the development of society.

Economic and non-economic factors must be coordinated in the course of action. If we neglect non-economic factors when making concrete economic decisions, then we threaten the social and political balance, whose insecurity or dissolution makes economic development more difficult, or even impossible. If, however, we neglect economic postulates, then a feeble economy cannot meet the needs of society, and results in political tension and economic backwardness as compared with other countries. On the other hand, in countries with a weak economy, inherited systems of civilisation and established social and political relations often hamper the creation of the conditions for rapid economic growth.

Thus in our age economies develop within extremely varied social and political relations,

demonstrating unparalleled differences in levels and influenced by radically different cultural heritages (systems of values and norms). Economies which are influenced by basically different factors and showing increasing differences in the level of development none the less exist and function at the same time, and in the same world, therefore with mutual influence on each other's development, goals and endeavours. That is why world economic conditions must not only be evaluated in terms of the rational activity (optimalist efforts) of national economies, but also directly. In our times, as a result of the new demands raised by the international division of labour on the one hand, and the increasing differences in economic growth on the other, rational action from the point of view of a national economy can lead to grave irrationalities in the world economy. That is why we have to place rational economic activity in the context of the world economy. Where, when and in what terms should we look for the relation between national economic activity and the world economy—this is the question that the science of economics must answer. Essential changes are needed in economic thinking and its basis, as far as the world economy (international economic relations) is concerned. It follows from this that we must become increasingly familiar with the conditions, mainsprings of action and the potential, the motivation of decisions and economic methods of other countries. In our hypersensitive and dangerous world it is imperative, but also insufficient, "merely" to become familiar with the operative mechanism of the economies of different social systems or of radically different civilizations, because we must also take into account the effect of our own economic decisions on other economies. We pursue our own national economic interests, taking into account needs springing from integration, but we cannot act as if other economies and integrations did not exist.

In the present world situation, international economy and our branch of science, there

is a burning need for international cooperation, for an analytical comparison of the functioning of different economic systems and the exchange of views and information in the sphere of economics. There is a need to create the conditions for cooperation on the basis of organised coexistence and common interests, first within integrations, secondly between the integrations and among continents in a world extraordinarily sensitive to conflict. We must at the same time consider what are called East-West problems related to the simultaneous existence of differing social and economic systems, as well as the questions arising from extremely varied levels of economic development on the one hand, and radically different systems of civilization (the so-called North-South problem) on the other. In this situation we are not, and will not be able to act always in the same way, but we must be clear about the possible effects of our activities on others. Economics stand very close to the essence of a social and political system, covering an extremely sensitive area from the point of view of ideology. If, however, we are able to achieve cooperation precisely within this sensitive area, then we not only aid the elimination of prejudices formed during the cold war period and in establishing better cooperation, but also the creation of the economic and scientific conditions necessary for European security. This recognition has prompted us in the past and prompts us now in organizing bilateral economic conferences.

Pre-conditions for productive economic conferences

There are some pre-conditions for organizing productive bilateral economic conferences between countries of different social systems. These pre-conditions partly depend on the character and volume of the general relations between the two countries concerned, and partly on scientific and technical problems.

Among the general pre-conditions (that is, those outside economics) two in particular must be stressed:

1. The economic, technical and scientific relations between the countries in question must have reached a relatively high level. Otherwise, with only a few interests in common, the receptivity on either side may fail to reach an adequate level during the conference, and after the conference is over, the jointly discovered connections and possibilities may not be guided into bilateral channels. Under such circumstances the economic and business world as well as public opinion (the press and other means of communication) would not show enough interest in the conference.

2. From a political point of view, the governments of the countries must hold to the principle of peaceful coexistence and competition between countries with differing social systems. Otherwise, if they start with mutual political suspicion, they will not be able to understand each other, that is, they will be unable to differentiate between activities which arise from the mechanism of a given economic system or its exigencies, and those aimed deliberately against them (their economic goals). For example, customs duties in import policies can be expressly directed against the goods of a country or a group of countries, but can also stem from the need to ensure the balance of payments. In the first case it is a question of discrimination, but in the second, it is a matter of an economic policy which was chosen in order to avoid the greater evil (the lack of balance) in favour of the "lesser evil" with all the risks involved. The latter can also be disadvantageous and should be fought perhaps by using more effective commercial policies, but the intentions of the other party were not deliberately harmful and thus the action (the decision) cannot be called discrimination.

On the basis of the development and experience of the past few years we can establish that Hungarian-English relations meet these pre-conditions.

From a scientific point of view, the standard of maturity of these bilateral economic conferences can vary widely. We can imagine, and in practice can organize, bilateral conferences which primarily serve to provide both sides with information. For example, each delegation can report on the problems of its own particular domestic economy, questions of growth and development and the results achieved within a given time, giving the other party the opportunity for questions. This type of conference is particularly significant at the initiation of scientific and economic relations, if we start from the premise (and that is where we must start) that the economists, economic experts and the general public of the other country are not sufficiently familiar with our economic life and our economic research.

This type of conference for exchanging information can be important if in either country there was a significant change in economic policy, management or organization (for example, the introduction of the new system of economic management in Hungary), and the government considers it imperative that its economic partners should understand fully these changes.

We can speak of a more mature type of conference, that is, one reflecting a higher level of cooperation if the parties set up, as the central focus of the scientific conference, a multifarious discussion of a single area of problems. In this case the economists of the two countries can prepare their lectures on the basis of agreed themes. These lectures, on the basis of "internal division of labour", present various approaches to, and aspects of the problems concerned. Such lectures are not delivered at the conference. There may be short oral supplements, or questions to be answered. After this, a discussion can be held on the questions broached in the papers, taking the agenda of the conference into consideration.

Experience has proved this type of conference fruitful, since

- a) it starts a dialogue, that is, a debate,

and does not turn the meeting into a series of monologues,

b) it saves time, because it provides an opportunity to study the papers beforehand.

c) they discuss the same questions from different aspects, supplementing each other (for example from the point of view of economic policy, trade policy, monetary, national, economic integration, world economy, etc.) and thus provide the information for those in economic management to determine alternatives of rational action.

The most "mature" type of conference deals with common research projects. Two research institutions may agree that for the sake of becoming more familiar with problems of mutual interest and working out various possible alternatives in solving them, they will coordinate their forces, or part of the forces at their disposal. These combined forces can work separately, on commonly agreed upon hypotheses (naturally, in this case close contact is also necessary), or in joint work-groups, but in any case, the final results of their research are delivered jointly at the conference.

The English-Hungarian economic colloquium was not preceded by predetermined common research. However, it was agreed beforehand that the conference should deal with one single complex of problems from many angles. Therefore, in content and quality this was to be more than a mere exchange of information about research and about economic problems.

The complex subject of the discussion

"Problems of economic development in economies sensitive to foreign trade"—was the theme that served as the focus of discussion at the conference. We started from there being a similarity between the English and Hungarian economies as far as sensitivity to foreign trade is concerned. An economy is sensitive to foreign trade when the rate of growth of the import-export relationship is

considerably faster than that of national income. In such cases the rate of economic growth, the composition of this increase and the structure of investments are decisively influenced by foreign trade. After the Second World War, Great Britain's economic growth slowed down because exports did not rise in accordance with imports and the demands of the domestic economy. Britain had to limit imports on several occasions (since the pound is also a key international currency), and this led to a forcible retardation of production. In economics, cause is most often also the effect, and thus the slow increase of exports became bound up with the slower development of technology, the conservatism of those in charge of economic matters, and various trade problems. This led to the devaluation of the pound in two instances.

In the Hungarian economy, especially before the introduction of the new system of economic management, the problem was also that a faster growth rate resulted in a considerable increase in imports. (For a long time one unit of growth in national income was always coupled with two units of import growth.) If exports did not increase accordingly—as it most often happened—imports had to be decreased, which in turn led to a decrease in rate of production and growth of investments. In time this situation led to limiting the possibilities of increasing the rate of economic growth mainly to expectations, as far to imports and exports are concerned.

Naturally, sensitivity to foreign trade is not exclusively a problem of foreign trade itself, but also a question of the healthy development of the domestic economy and of overcoming stopgaps. It is obvious that in the interest of increasing the dynamism of exports, results have to be obtained in at least three related groups of problems:

1. An economic policy has to be worked out which stimulates economic growth suitably, maintains the dynamic balance, accelerates technical development and furthers the increase of productivity.

2. Enterprises producing and marketing for export must possess suitable economic strength (power), flexibility, a knowledge of foreign markets, adequate counselling, and an ability to cooperate in various phases of activity before and after marketing. Otherwise the ability to sell on foreign markets will lag behind competitors; that is, exports cannot be increased to the necessary and desired extent.

3. Such markets must be selected whose purchasing power grows regularly. Otherwise the possibilities of selling in foreign markets falls behind the capacity of expansion of domestic production. It must be taken into account that the economic growth of our partners may slow down (that is, purchasing power may not increase to the desired extent), and thus reserve markets have to be established whenever possible.

True export dynamics can only be achieved if all three groups of questions are taken into consideration. On the one hand, export dynamics and on the other, results, are indispensable factors of rapid, healthy economic growth.

The discussion

The discussion centred on four groups of questions:

1. Basic questions of economic growth in both countries.
2. National priorities and international economic relations.
3. Integration and bilateral relations.
4. The role of international institutions in the development of world economy and trade.

These questions were not stressed equally during the discussion, and mutual questions and answers concentrated primarily on the basic questions of economic growth in the two countries, and the improvement of bilateral relations.

This is fully understandable in the case of a bilateral conference, as those present are primarily interested in the problems of eco-

nomic development in their own countries. During the course of discussing basic domestic economic questions, most of the questions naturally fell within the theme of our new system of economic management.

Hungarian speakers referred to the fact that in the period of transition we achieved our rate of growth (about 5 to 6 percent annually) under considerably more balanced conditions. Formerly a similar rate of growth was coupled with a deficit in the balance of payment and insufficient supply in the domestic market. At present however, we have an active balance of payment not only in total value, but also in foreign trade conducted with non-socialist countries. In addition, we can observe many encouraging trends in the mobility of economic activity as well as in the attitude and initiative of economic managers. In the papers delivered by the Hungarian participants, the successful preservation of the balance between social and political forces was pointed out as a great achievement, as from the point of view of economic reform, the upsetting of their dynamic balance can be fatal. The answers to the questions asked from us were generally received favourably. In my opinion, this was due mainly to the fact that these answers, in accordance with the methods of Hungarian economic management, expressed calm and well-differentiated judgements. We did not praise the economic reform, but gave a detailed analysis of its internal problems, together with its positive effects and negative tendencies and uncertainties, throwing light on those situations we are trying to improve, introducing possible alternative courses of action, as well as limiting factors which may favour one course of action or another. We did not merely reveal economic problems in the narrow sense of the words, but also questions related to the social and political environment of the economic reform, which includes public opinion. For instance, from the non-economic point of view, Iván Boldizsár delivered an address on the changes that the policies inherent in the new system of

economic management brought to Hungarian cultural life. His address convincingly illustrated the fact that our reform was not only a reform of management but also meant the birth of a mode of thinking which touches and influences every phase of our social, political and cultural life.

The Hungarian economists were interested first of all in the effect of a "political alternate economy" (two-party political mechanism) on the growth of the economy. It is well known that the time-lapse of the so-called economic cycles have become much shorter over the past few decades, which is connected not only with the acceleration of economic processes but also with the political mechanism. The political mechanism is characterised by the fact that in a two-party system in which power is finely balanced, the outcome of the elections is decided by sections with the least strong political convictions, that is, those who cast their votes on an impulse. Thus, the cycles take on an individual character, with new ideas cropping up in the first year after the election, less popular measures being taken during the second and third years (for example, those resulting in a lowering of the standard of living, reduction of the budget, rise in unemployment, etc.), while during the fourth year, if the ruling party wishes to stay in office, more popular measures are introduced (lower interest rates, increasing investments, rise in employment, etc.) From the point of view of foreign trade this means that the rate of increase in imports is greater during the first and fourth years, and lower in the second and third. The political parties influence economic policies primarily through their members in the government, and who, as our English colleagues pointed out, very quickly break away from the party apparatus.

We asked many questions about how English economists judge the future possibilities of their country's foreign trade. These questions and the answers given to them lead us into the sphere of bilateral economic relations and international trade.

Bilateral relations and international trade

During the exchange of information we took into consideration that we are discussing not only Hungarian-English questions but, directly and indirectly, East-West economic relations, too. Western Europe (including the Common Market and EFTA) is still the greatest importer and exporter in the world. Western Europe accounts for some 44 per cent of world imports and exports, in contrast with the 14-15 per cent of the United States. (This is understandable, since the United States is a country less sensitive to foreign trade.) The socialist countries, however, only share 4.5 per cent of trade with Western Europe. The share of the developing countries is around 16-18 per cent. In the case of Great Britain this proportion is even higher (25-27 per cent.)

Lessons to be drawn from the discussion

1. It is in the interest of Great Britain to develop her trade with the European socialist countries from a marginal (3-4 per cent) to a more significant factor. It is obvious that Britain cannot increase her trade with the developing countries (primarily in the sterling belt) in the most actively traded commodities at the rate demanded by domestic expansion possibilities and needs.

2. It is very much in the interest of the Hungarian economy, which has stepped over from an extensive type of expansion to an intensive one, thus necessitating the speeding-up of technical progress, that the import of high-grade technical equipment should take place. The alteration of the import structure for this purpose brings with it a number of problems in finance, trade balance, organization and methods. In today's world such problems can no longer be solved unilaterally, that is, merely by the efforts of the Hungarian economy, they presuppose the cooperation of putative partners. It follows from this that the improvement of

economic and financial relations demands cooperation based on mutual and agreed interests. Such cooperation is now needed in English-Hungarian relations.

3. Most of the British participants accepted the criticism that so far they have been more conservative and less flexible in many trade matters than Japan, the German Federal Republic or Italy. They supplemented this statement, however, by saying that today it is impossible to obtain new techniques in the most modern commodities, either in the form of goods or patents. Thus they believed that when handing over new techniques in the most modern, most expensive skills demanding the highest number of qualified workers, they had the right to ask for a share. This share naturally could be restricted in time and modest in value, but without it business, for them at least, was not worth while.

4. They considered the selling methods of Hungarian foreign trade rather out of date, and they judged our advertising extremely poor. They would welcome Hungarian food shops in London and other cities (for the purpose of introducing Hungarian foods.) They would also like to see, and in fact would even finance the establishment of an official Hungarian restaurant.

5. They expect a slight reduction of the boom in world trade (for example, 8 to 9 per cent instead of the present annual growth of 11 per cent), and are especially anxious that the United States might introduce regulations to limit imports.

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In evaluating the Hungarian-English economic colloquium, I should like to stress that this type of economic conference has proved highly successful and involved a wide circle of experts, politicians, journalists and so on. The discussion during the colloquium and its closing session in London (with 130 participants) was extremely frank, sincere and at times heated without the danger of

belittling the other party during the expression or defense of individual points of view. The aim was to acquire a better understanding of each other and of the radically different social background and mechanism which guides both economies, and with this understanding, to try to find the focal points of possible cooperation. There is no other way of cooperating economically in a world where opposed social and political systems, basically different civilizations and extreme variations in economic levels exist side by side.

During the colloquium we made the acquaintance of a great many outstanding economists (both theoreticians and economic counsellors), businessmen and public figures. We also had the opportunity to become better acquainted with their way of thinking, responses and methods. This is particularly important as every kind of economic relation, and especially that of cooperation, demands an ability to forecast the attitudes of the partner concerned. From this it follows that whatever these men do or fail to do, has some kind of reaction on the selling or purchasing powers of their country. If we do not know their ways of thinking and doing, then perhaps we prepare ourselves for other situations than the ones which actually arise.

During the colloquium, we successfully demonstrated the high level of domestic economic research and the economic practice which was closely linked with it. There is great need for this, and will be in the future, because a significant portion of Western countries still think of the socialist countries in terms formed during the Cold War period. The rigid continuation of this attitude is the result not only of anti-Communist propaganda, but also of a lack of information. From this it follows that we must do a great deal (and this also holds for the other socialist countries) to present a realistic picture of ourselves.

A realistic way of thinking, particularly in this extremely dangerous and interdependent world of ours, means that we must understand and make understood the internal

logic and mechanism of social and economic systems which would otherwise be rejected or which we would reject.

An economic concept of European security

Economic conferences between countries with differing social systems assume an ever greater significance in our times when history has raised the question of a system of European security.

Naturally, a security system is primarily a political question, thus presuming first of all a clarification of political problems and demanding the work and efforts of political bodies. It is clear, however, that no kind of security system can do without an economic concept. This is especially true of countries with differing social systems. The endeavour to avoid war and settle international issues through negotiation must be coupled with those concrete interests which lie in international cooperation. And the majority of these concrete interests are economic. That is why there cannot be firm political security without economic prosperity and cooperation based on common interests. Consequently, a system of European security also presupposes a programme of economic cooperation which takes into consideration the needs of all

countries concerned. Working out a programme of economic cooperation involves the need for bi- and multilateral conferences directed at clarifying similar and diverse interests and at finding ways of cooperation.

The English-Hungarian economic colloquium brought results in this respect too, although we did not discuss these questions directly. The results prove that it is worth while and useful to continue on this road, while making the corrections suggested by experience. That is why we decided to hold another conference in 1970 in Hungary.

The work of the colloquium—the addresses and discussions concentrating on various groups of questions—will be made public for the benefit of economists all over the world, in a joint publication.

Members of the public interested in economics are continually informed about the progress of the conferences, our deductions and the jointly drawn final evaluations. The weekly economic journal, *Figyelő*, interviewed the Hungarian delegates; this account was also published in *Gazdaság*, and the *Közgazdasági Szemle* published some of the contributions prepared by Hungarian delegates. A report is also to be given to the international section of the Hungarian Society of Economics.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW BUDAPEST UNDERGROUND

The Underground line, opened in 1896 and still in operation was the first of its kind on the Continent. This not quite three kilometres long line, which added to the highlights of the Exhibition arranged to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of

turn of the century paid more attention to railway stations and connections with the great railway networks than to this line. Railway stations (terminals) undoubtedly occupy an interesting place in the life of big cities. Various railway companies founded

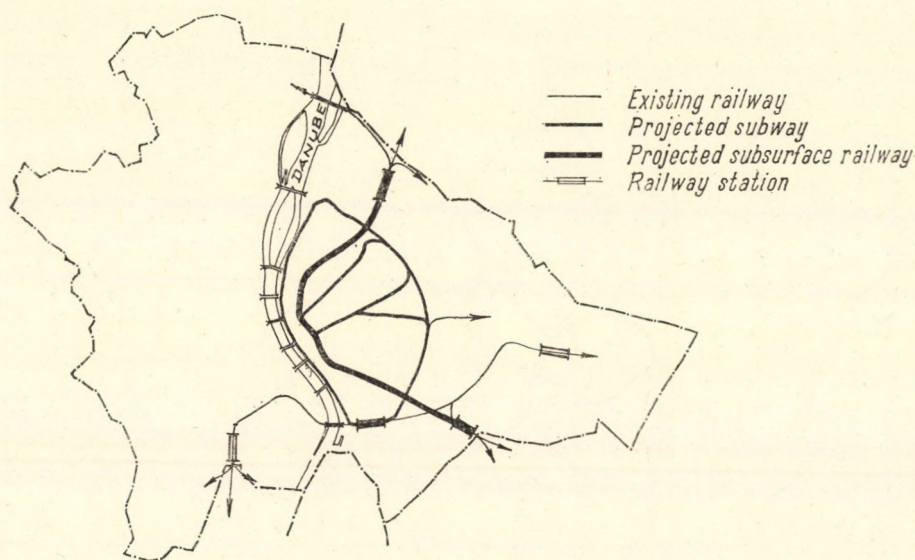


Fig. 1. Prof. Zielinszky's express network

the Hungarian conquest was even in its own time a curiosity rather than a means of transport. It was almost totally independent of the city's traffic structure and transport requirements, and was mainly a contribution to the Exhibition in the Budapest Városliget.

This is best proved by the fact that none of the various plans worked out shortly after the opening of the Millenary Underground line, which tried to solve transport problems, included this line as an important element. These express-line projects of the

one after the other around the middle of the last century brought in their lines at various points to the outskirts of the town and subsequently constructed their terminals there. Due to sweeping urban growth, however, these terminals were soon encircled and absorbed by new residential areas. They could be approached usually only through the old, most densely populated centres of the cities. As a consequence of the unification of the railway networks the problem of transporting passengers directly and establish-

ing direct contact between the various railway lines came up as an immediate must—and since this was only possible at this time below ground level—the first express lines came into existence in many places as underground links between passenger terminals.

Main Principles of Planning

It was on the basis of such an approach that the first express network project (Fig. 1)

the project now under construction. (Marx Square—Nagyvárad Square—Embankment line, Fig. 2.)

When the Underground was once more put on the agenda in 1948, a trunk-line network had to be decided on first, before anything else, which—when constructed—would cover the capital's expected future development. In order to meet requirements not only present residential and transport conditions had to be taken into consideration but also schemes for future development.

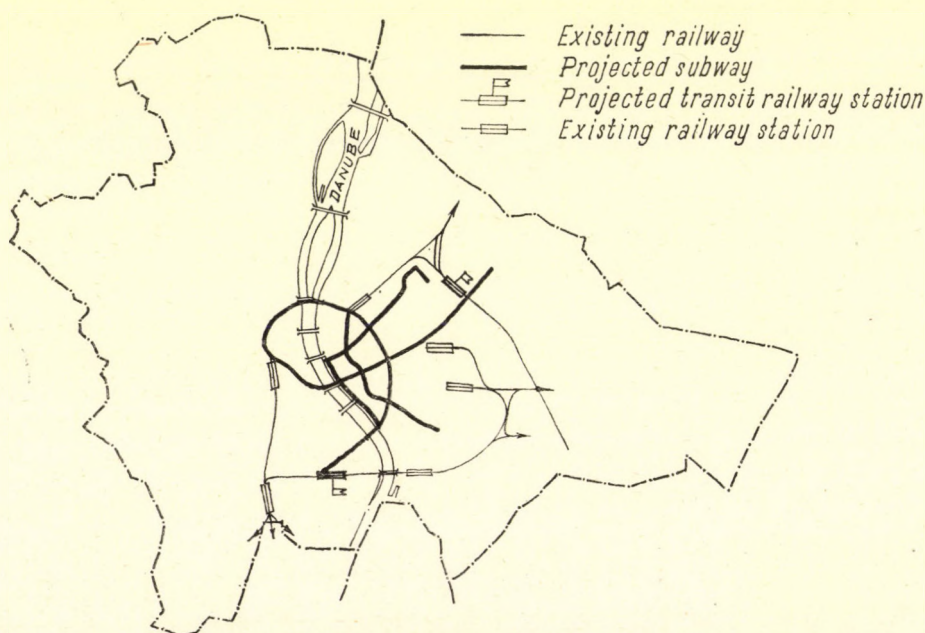


Fig. 2. The network project of the Municipality

was drafted by Szilárd Zielinszky, Professor of the Technical University of Budapest, who was the first to use reinforced concrete structures in Hungary.

Neglecting a number of intermediate proposals, I shall only mention the network project presented by the Lord Mayor of Budapest in 1942, as one which already incorporated some important elements of

It helped considerably that a Budapest town planning programme was available by then.

Structural and traffic conditions of existing residential areas were established by detailed traffic census and future requirements were estimated on the basis of the town planning programmes. It was also important to establish the location and direction of commuter traffic, as this also

affected the location of future junctions. The traffic census carried out before the new network of lines was finally decided on showed the main points of traffic interchange where traffic from the outer suburbs accumulated and dispersed.

Final alignment for trunk-lines running

finally decided by case studies showing how much time could be saved by passengers travelling the East-West, or the North-South lines respectively, to reach their destinations as indicated by the traffic census. Since the comparison showed that more time saving was likely on the East-West

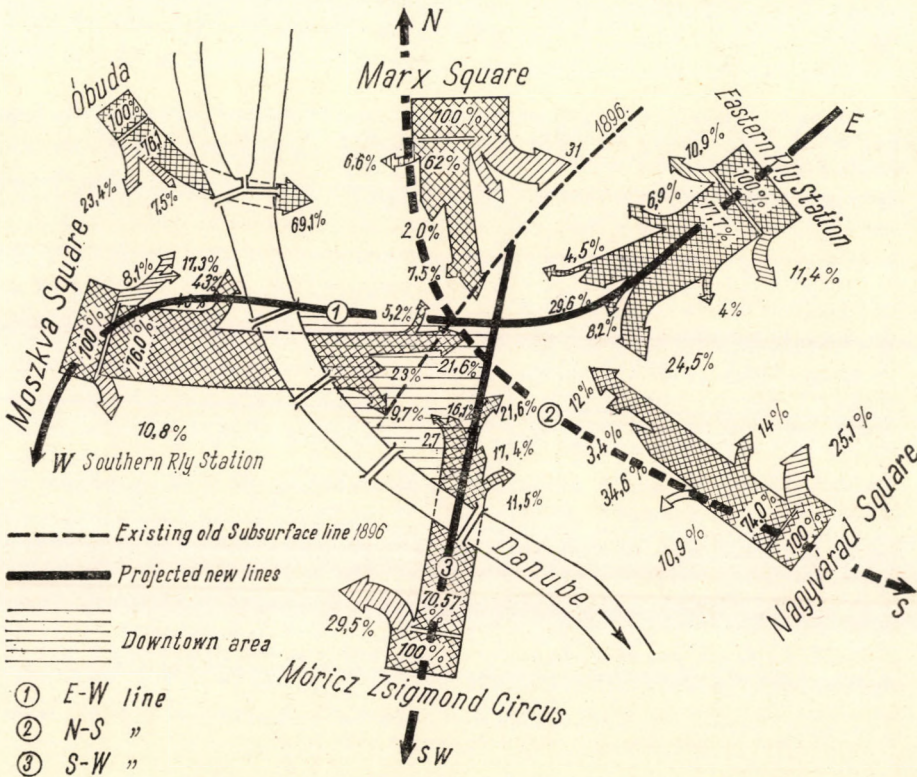


Fig. 3. Passenger destination census at the points of interchange, and basic network

beyond junctions was set forth on the basis of traffic counts carried out at the junctions, the result of which is shown in Fig. 3. where the approved basic network is indicated. It is to be noted that the backbone of the basic network comprises a cross-axis, composed by the East-West and North-South lines. The sequence in which the lines were to be constructed subsequently was

line, the Council of Ministers' decree, adopted on September 17, 1950—which decided on the establishment of a new Underground line—gave preference to the construction of the East-West line.

The decision by the Council of Ministers determined the principal dimensions and technical determinants of the first Underground line. The diameter of the tunnels was

to be 5 metres, the stations were to be 120 metres long, the travelling speed of trains was to be 36 kms/hour (in other words three times that of surface trams), the trains were to consist of six carriages with a total capacity of 240 passengers, they were to circulate every two minutes, in other words would be able to carry 43,200 passengers an hour in each direction.

First Phase of the Work: 1949-1959

Data of the future Underground network were fixed as a result of the preliminary technical survey started in 1949. This precisely determined first of all what had to be done. The total costs were then fixed at 2,000 million forints, to be used during six years. Of these 1,550 million forints were allocated for the construction of tunnels, stations and other structures, 450 million for mechanical equipment (rolling stock, permanent way, escalators, electric power supply, etc.) Nothing is more indicative as to the size of the task than the fact that if the intended 1,550 million forints were evenly distributed over a six year period, 260 million would be spent per year, which would have meant at least 400 million forints in the peak years. A comparative figure might be that spent on the restoration of bridges, blown up and destroyed during the war, whose reconstruction was technologically a similar task. The total sum throughout the whole country in 1949, the peak period, came to 150 million forints altogether.

One must bear in mind that special equipment was necessary for the construction of the underground tunnels. Most of these, particularly the boring-shields, had to be obtained abroad, which also took some time. Staff with the appropriate experience was also scarce.

Work therefore had to be started with the acquisition of basic equipment and the training of experts. It helped a great deal that a number of those who were to occupy responsible positions either in the design

office or on the construction site could be sent to the Moscow Metro constructions for several months' training, and, that we could obtain—luckily in a fairly short time—the first cast-iron segments to serve as tunnel lining from the Soviet Union and the first shields from West Germany, thus allowing Hungarian industry time to get adjusted to their manufacture.

Due to the extremely tight time schedules, work had to be started immediately in 1950 so that the sinking of the first vertical shafts was carried out before the precise location of the future lines was fixed. At first, planning could not be given the sort of time-start which is really essential to thorough preparation. By continually strengthening the drawing office, which gradually acquired a certain routine, this disadvantage disappeared for all practical purposes after about eighteen months. It was pretty hard keeping up even with the design work. For two years 6,000 men worked on sites underground, at 14 simultaneous sites, not to mention the various kinds of factories and works which manufactured special transport and elevator equipment and building materials. In 1952 construction progressed at such high speed and the manufacture and delivery of engineering equipment was so efficiently dealt with, that there was reasonable hope that the project would be completed by the end of 1956, and produce a considerable improvement in public transport in Budapest.

It soon became evident that the Underground project would overburden the economy during the First Five Year Plan, and so the government in 1953 first decided to slow down construction, then finally postponed it until the economic situation would permit its continuation. Work was abandoned precisely at the stage when all the early technical and staff difficulties were overcome and the designing and construction apparatus was at last in full operation. Up to then only maintenance of already erected installations was to be carried out.

This ruling actually meant that the bodies, set up under such difficulties and with such effort, were reduced by reorganization to a negligible size and disbanded. Specialists and skilled workers left and took up jobs elsewhere, and the special equipment and surface structures were allotted to other organs of the Ministry of Transport and that of Heavy Industries.

1959: Work Begins Afresh

A skeleton staff continued with maintenance work. The situation changed when in 1959 authority over the Underground programme was transferred from the Ministry of Transport to the Municipal Council of Budapest. Municipal organs started right

away to draft a comprehensive transport development plan embracing all surface public transport and fitted the intended Metro network into this. In this scheme attention was paid to long-term housing and town planning policy. This affected only the circle-line which was intended to be constructed as the last phase of the previously conceived skeleton network, instead, the South Buda line indicated in Fig. 3 running from South-West to North-East was incorporated. This scheme led to the extension of both the East-West and North-South lines. The East-West line was extended from a length of 8 km, to 10.2 km, and the North-East line to 15.6 km. The skeleton network including the SW and NE lines will altogether extend to 35 km. Sub-urban train (HÉV) termini will be moved

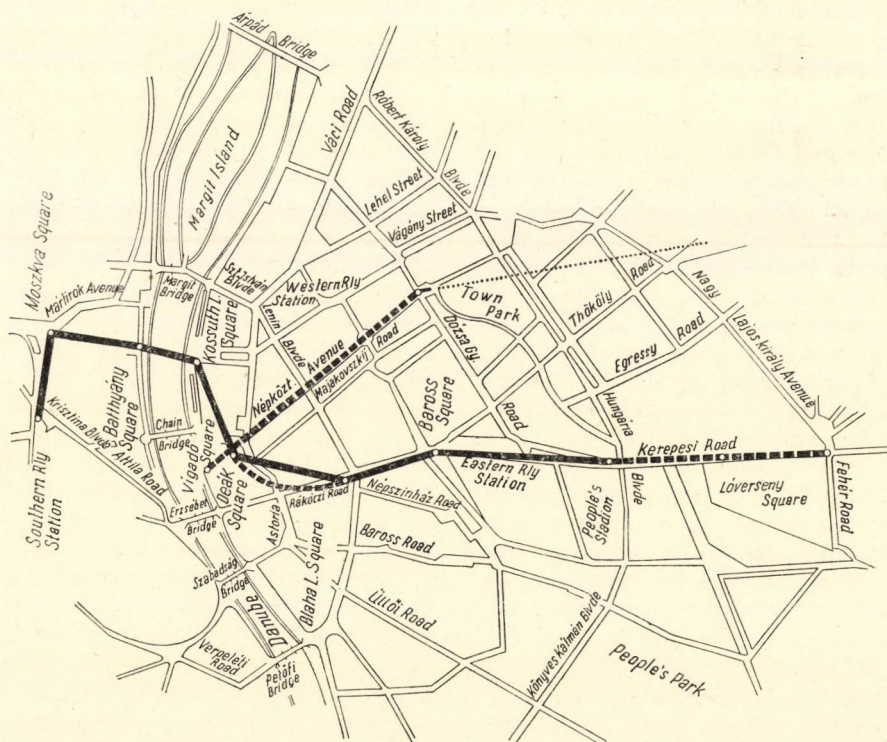


Fig. 4. Topographical sketch of the E-W line

out everywhere to places where they will be directly connected with Underground stations. The link-up of the HÉV and the new Underground systems will mean a considerable speeding up of travel from the outer suburbs.

East-West Mainline

Parallel with the thorough preparation and co-ordination of blueprints, maintenance work on the previously abandoned sites gradually turned into new construction work once again. Some of the experienced engineers, draughtsmen, foremen and skilled tradesmen gradually returned. In 1963 the new plan-directive for the East-West line was finalized. This scheduled the opening of the first phase, the app. 5.7 km long section between Fehér Road and Deák Square of the East-West line for 1970, and that of whole East-West line right up to the Budapest South Railway Station for 1973.

The building of tunnels between Deák Square and Fehér Road, which was half finished when work was temporarily suspended in 1954, was totally completed in 1964. The most difficult task of this phase was the construction of the Underground station at Blaha Lujza Square. Due to unfavourable ground conditions the original location of this station had to be altered. The water-logged deposits of a former branch of the Danube made underground building extremely difficult there.

The construction of the Astoria Station at the junction of Rákóczi Road and the Inner Circle Boulevard which was an afterthought, was no less tricky. Here the running tunnels were completed already in 1954—and had to be transformed into station tunnels.

A turn-out track was provided at the exit of the Deák Square station which allows trains to be turned around so that more could run in rush hours in the more highly frequented section. Thanks to this, the Deák

Square—Fehér Road section can be opened to traffic before the whole line goes into operation.

Most tunnels and platforms of the first phase were built by what is called the shield-method. The essence of this is that a steel casing, the same diameter as the tunnel, is driven horizontally into the ground. Excavation takes place on the front of the shield, while in the rear—inside the cylinder-casing—lining segment rings to compose walls are erected. After closing each ring and completing the excavation of one ring width of soil at the front, the cylinder, i.e. the shield, is driven forward with the aid of hydraulic rams seated on the previously finished ring, while the rear of the shield-cylinder is—so to say—peeled off from the completed ring. Several hundred tons of pressure are needed for this advance. That is why high-strength materials are required for the casing. Cast iron was mostly used for this purpose, recently, however, the use of concrete was preferred.

This development was also reflected in the building of the East-West line. There too they changed over in the use of reinforced concrete elements in 1965. Not only carrying capacity mattered but also the watertightness of the ring since the Underground tunnels throughout their length lie below ground-water level and a 400 metres long section lies below the Danube bed.

The East-West line is a deep-lying line. Location was determined mainly by two factors. The first was that the line from Pest to Buda had to pass under the Danube river bed. This necessitated going to a depth below the water-course where covering layers would prevent any seepage of water. The second reason was that the geological structure of Budapest is such that from 10 to 12 metres below the surface, there is a thick, solid clay stratum, a comparatively watertight insulator. It was easier and safer to bore tunnels in this stratum. Deep location allowed the line to run quite independent of the street network, and running underneath houses caused no disturbance on

the surface. Thus the length of the line could be shortened. The stratum and the location of the line are indicated in a distorted vertical geological section in Fig. 5.

Special structures were used in building the stations. These also were mostly constructed by the shield-method. These stations are made up of three large parallel-running tubes, the diameter of which is 8.5

tapped and would run down into the "neck" of the stations constructed below in the fairly water-tight ones. We tried to build these intermediary parts by using different methods. First, an oblique insulating casing was built around the tunnel, produced by a ring of freezing wells arranged at 30 degrees around the inclined shaft; then the intermediary stretch between the surface and the

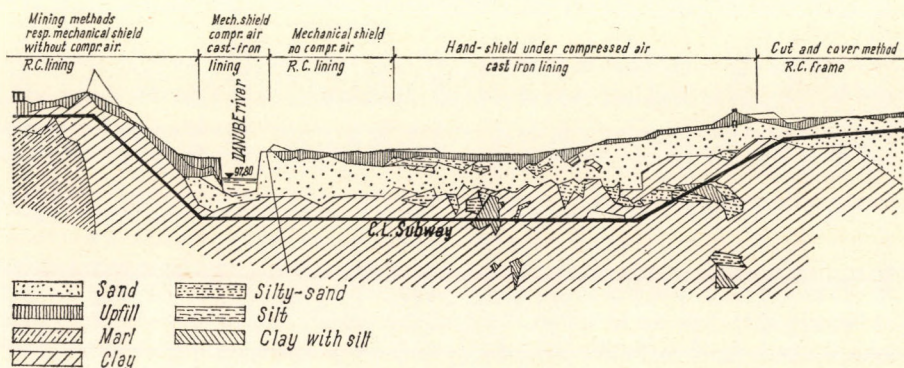


Fig. 5. Geological cross section

metres each. The two outer ones are 120 metres long and will house trains and platforms; the central one is 60 metres long and is designed for traffic exchange and for housing the escalators permitting passengers to move to and from the subsurface halls. Rooms for operating the electrical appliances are located in the extension of the centre tube, including all mechanical and electrical equipment serving the escalators. Installation of the three parallel large-dimensioned tubes needed extra caution and high precision work, since the centre tube loosened the external layers supporting the side tubes, therefore these had to be provided with additional temporary support.

Connecting the sub-surface ticket halls with the deep-lying platforms by an inclined escalator-housing-tunnel was also delicate task. It was feared that water from the water-logged higher strata would be easily

clay stratum was surrounded by sheet piling and drained by air pressure; finally it was decided that the most economic solution would be to unite the whole structure into one single huge concrete caisson and then to sink the entire piece from the surface to the required depth.

The approach to the deep-lying platforms is through sub-surface halls, which are located immediately below street level. Booking offices and ancillary units, such as cafés, tobacco and other shops, etc., are also located here. This is also where pedestrian subways collect, facilitating the approach to the stations and undisturbed crossing of busy traffic arteries. Eventually, the line, at its eastern end, comes up to the surface and runs on a separated side-track along Kerepesi Road. The last sub-surface station is the Stadium Station at the crossing of Hungaria Boulevard. Two surface stations fol-

low, at Pillangó Road and the terminus at Fehér Road. Total length of the line comes to 10.2 km, and the average distance between stations is one kilometre.

Trains—Escalators

Special engineering equipment was also required for the operation of the Underground. The acquisition of trains posed an extraordinary problem first of all because high travelling speed can only be attained between the fairly close stations if trains can accelerate rapidly after and slow down rapidly before stations. We attained this partly by starting slopes after the stations and braking ramps before them. The trains had to take heavy electric charges when starting, and had to be fitted with high capacity engine brakes. That is why each of the carriages of a train is a motor coach unit. The carriages were imported from the Soviet Union. Highest speed is 70 km per hour and the average travelling speed on the line is 36 km per hour.

The safety of trains travelling at high speed in the closed tracks required special signal and safety devices, which were made in Hungary, Swiss Integra licences being obtained. These permitted trains to be started every 100 seconds.

Finally, the ventilation of the whole line was a special problem. Passengers not only had to be supplied with fresh air, the great heat generated in the course of operation had to be absorbed. 167,000 cubic metres of fresh air per hour had to be sucked in and distributed. This is done by ventilation shafts fitted with ventilators at each station and half-way between stations.

The North—South Line

Unfortunately the East—West line will not be able to divert more than 10 to 12 per cent of surface public transport needs. Real alleviation of surface transport problems will come about when the North—South line is opened. A 20–25 per cent diversion of traffic can be expected as a result. The construction of this second Underground line will start after the East—West line is completed.

This is vital in view of the danger that increased motor traffic will clog the streets of Budapest by the end of the 1970s.

It is to be hoped that after the initial financial difficulties described above the construction of the network will proceed without any further interruption or hindrance at an appropriate rate.

LANGUAGE AND WRITING

We know ever since Bertrand Russell pointed it out that mathematics is actually a language. So is logic. Since then the significance of language has an ever increasing role in our way of thinking. By now we tend to speak of the "language of psychology" as well as of the "language of physics," which is generally considered the "language of science" as it aims to describe everything accurately. Also, the language we use in our everyday life is called "subject-language" by Carnap, who believes that this is also the basis for the language of science. The study of language is developing fast, as is the general theory of signs: semiotics and its three branches: (1) syntax, which investigates the formal relation between signs; (2) semantics, which studies the connection between the sign and its meaning, and finally (3) pragmatic systems, which describe the relation between the sign, its meaning and the person using it.

The achievements of mathematics (or symbolic logic) have raised the question of the relation between mathematics (symbolic logic), the manner of thinking expressed in everyday language, and reality itself. Some philosophers have become increasingly aware of the philosophical and sociological significance of language as far as it concerns human understanding and communication. Approaching the question needs a new method, which is the analysis of language. This branch of philosophy does not concern itself with stating various observations on life, but rather with the language which expresses every essential concept. Logical positivists consider the language of science to be a direct subject for analysis, whereas the analysts of logic concentrate more on the everyday language. The first group would like to establish the methodology of an encompassing theoretical science; the analysts, on the other hand, see the true aim

of philosophy in analysing and arguing questions from the point of view of the language and in eliminating incorrect philosophical and scientific concepts arising from misunderstanding the rules of everyday language. While the positivists strive to construct an artificial scientific language, the analytic philosophers deny the usefulness of such an attempt. "One of the most important characteristics of the language, from the point of philosophy, is the fact that it is not exact and that the common expressions of the everyday language have multiple meanings." (See Márkus-Tordai: "Trends in Contemporary Bourgeois Philosophy" 1964.)

This discovery can also be applied to religious language, and the naturalist, for this reason, is reluctant to accept its validity. That is precisely why mutual understanding between natural science and religion is still a problem. The view was held formerly that there are two clashing sets of differing, incongruous facts embodied in religion, and in natural sciences, yet today it becomes more and more obvious—through modern views of etymology and semiotics—that it is just the attitudes of the two which oppose each other.

In scientific reasoning, the possibility of pragmatic experience and the exactness of concepts play an important role, which are considered by some scientists as being of absolute value. Of course such evaluation must reject revelation and similar concepts. For some scientists, phrases referring to God have no "tangible," evident, or constructive meaning. A sentence like "God is the highest Being" says as little as if we would say: "X is actually chanelogic." In such a statement we make an obscure statement about something indefinite (x). Such a sentence only seems to be one; actually it is only an empty frame which is neither right nor wrong. According to this view, concepts

like "heaven" or "glorified body" are really void of meaning, "for whatever one can say about anything at all, one can do so clearly, while nothing should be said about what we cannot speak of"—as Ludwig Wittgenstein, the foremost figure of modern linguistic philosophy, had stated. He knew that, in a sense, language "disguises thought under its cloak" and he also knew that something inexpressible must exist. Yet this is what reveals itself; and this is what we call a secret. Karl Rahner describes this secret in the March 1968 issue of *Concilium* when he writes: "Where not only scientific and technical codes (chiffre) are involved, but also eternally present and scientifically not apprehensible human existence, there even the simplest and most modern words have their inner transcendental depth which refer to the secret we call God."

Rupert Ruhstaller, a Benedictine monk from Einsiedeln, dealt with such questions in a series of lectures to engineers and sociologists, when he expounded the method of mathematical investigation of everyday language. Wolf Rohner gave full account of it in *Orientierung* (1969). The fact that so many languages (scientific, religious, etc.) developed from various kinds of colloquialisms, each incomprehensible to the other, inspired the lecturer to work out a detailed theory of correct speech. His starting-point, too, was semiotics, the study of speech devoid of contradictions; the empirical as well as general characteristics of the function of signs.

This function of signs is on four levels serving as a basis for every language, divided into four "reasoning" parts: the sign, the signalled subject, the signaller and the receiver. Their relation is expressed by the following: the field of subject or semantic expansion (between the sign and the signalled subject), the field of relation or syntactic expansion (between signs of the same system) and the participative field or the pragmatic expansion (between the signs on the one hand and the speaker and listener on the other).

In mathematics, the field of the subject and the field of relation are so attuned that by observing the syntactic rules we can avoid material errors. This, however, does not hold for the everyday language; even the most scrupulous observance of all grammatical rules cannot avoid contradiction and nonsense. From this some philosophers were inclined to conclude that everyday language is not suited to science—of course, while being quite willing to express this opinion in the same rejected everyday language. The cause of tension can be found in the fact that everyday language, in contrast to artificial ones, can "strengthen" the declared truth without misunderstanding, and it lends itself particularly well to employing contradictions gracefully and intelligently. Thus it can express a definite purpose with any statement. This becomes clear when we differentiate between various linguistic degrees, as for instance the degrees of expressibility and independence.

Where reality itself is not the subject of language, a rise in degree takes place. According to Ruhstaller, unspecified reality is considered as being of zero degree, its linguistic representation of the second, and so on. Speech of such rising degrees is the common practice of everyday language; first of all in interrogative, optative and emotionally expressive (exclamatory) sentences, but also in stating the truth. Thus the objective question: "Where were you yesterday?" belongs to the third degree, for it would be like this, when analysed: "I declare I wish you to tell me where you were yesterday." Obviously, as a result of analysis, the interrogative sentence has been transformed into a statement. Indeed, all types of sentences can be traced to a statement, as is shown in each and every sentence. The statement: "true" (or "false") is always related to two neighbouring degrees. In this sense a statement is correct if the subject really agrees with it; a sentence expressing a wish is true if the speaker really has the wish expressed; a question is true if the speaker really wants

the information; an emotional statement is true if the emotion expressed is truly felt. In general, a statement of the "nth" degree is true if the presented objective content agrees with the (n-1)th degree. This proves that "true" is actually an analogous concept which changes in proportion to the subject.

The following well-known speculative experiment shows how important this limitation is to directly adjacent degrees. I come to a road junction and would like to know which road leads to Y. I can ask only two brothers for information. One always tells the truth, whereas the other is always lying. How shall I know which one of the brothers is facing me? I have to speak of speaking itself on a higher degree, so that the lies which are told on various degrees should not count in the more essential, lower subject-area. This is what I have to ask: "What would your brother say if I would ask him whether I should go to the right to reach Y?" If I meet the one who is always telling the truth, the false information does not affect me, that is, it is passed on correctly, so I have to do the opposite; if, on the other hand, I meet the one who is always lying, I receive the wrong information. So again I have to do just the opposite. In either case my action must be contrary to the given information in order to take the right direction.

Limiting the value of truth to two neighbouring degrees has the greatest significance in understanding the Scriptures and religious language in general. But first another aspect must be considered.

In the sentence: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth"—no statement is expressed positively. Signs to determine the assertive character of a sentence are not self-contained in everyday language, that is, the position and the accenting of words are not revealing in this respect. Signs of a given language can be differentiated according to the rules of self-containment and expression.

1. Signs indicating their meaning within their own limits, as for instance the noun: "bread." (Proper field.)

2. Signs referring to their actual correlations to signify what within a lingual system they can actually mean; in addition, correlation beyond the language may also affect their meaning. The statement: "Basel retour!" makes sense only outside Basle. (Centre field.)

3. Finally, we differentiate signs which can be understood only within the entire lingual system. In order to perceive the significance of the position or accent of a word, we have to know all the other words as well. (Counter field.)

Ruhstaller states that in the everyday language—regardless of composition—the subject is treated most extensively, the structure in a limited way and the intention in a concealed manner. This is also reflected in the fact that heavy dictionaries are filled with the field of subject, while only modest grammar-books deal with the field of relation; and the participative field, still less expressively than the grammatical division, is embodied in the form of affirmative, interrogative and optative sentences. The intention of the speaker is expressed in everyday language and, in particular, in religious language, through the most dependent and least expressive signs. This, of course, does not keep the intention from being as effective as possible. "The descriptive language generally does not say more than what it intends to say, but it induces the listener to deal with the subject imaginatively." Indeed, we can perceive easily any unexpressed intentions. If the professor asks the question: "What is this rule?"—the student will not give this answer: "Well, don't you know it yourself, professor?"—instead, he will understand the question as being on a higher degree: "Do you know what this rule is?" The seemingly objective statement: "Paul is also coming for a walk!" is immediately accepted at a higher degree, as an order.

Degrees are necessarily and subconsciously changed in a similar way by the thoughtful reader. For example, in "The song of praise

in the furnace" (Daniel 3, 51-90 in the Vulgate) nature is called on to praise God and it is reflections on nature which are intended to move the reader to praise the Creator. By observing such related, though inexpressible, ideas, one can see clearly how refined the everyday language is in treating contradictions so as to appear not merely rational, but also expressive of delicate nuances. This has great significance in religious language. Religious message may include profane matter proposed by the author to be true, even though in the light of subsequent research it proves to be of a comparative nature. Since, however, it is the author's intention to disclose such matter, or because it is regarded only as God's instrument for showing the way, it is the author's exclusive attention to truth concerning its religious aspect that matters.

A family tree in the Old Testament may not be considered to be correct for various reasons, yet "the author could have easily believed it to be correct." His design on the religious level was to show God's redeeming passion which attends man's fate. This he may do even with a merely contingent family tree. In Genesis, for example, the family trees of Cain and Set are essentially the same. The purpose of the statements, however, diverges completely. In religious language one must always differentiate between two components. One is profane, and subject to man's temporary comprehension. The other component, the religious one, must be content with the former, its measure of truth being indeed unimportant.

In case of religious statements we run into the following system of signs: the speaker (the author) applies a linguistic degree appropriate to some basic subject-field and which he holds to be known or true, or at least construable in order to bring forth another field of subject attempting to enter the Beyond, the transcendental.

The direction of its course is supposed to be the same as that of the basic subject-field.

"As long as the known component is clearly profane, nobody finds any particular difficulties. It may happen, however, that the speaker employs some obviously religious material as the basis of a statement, for instance, where Christ, using the Book of Jonah, makes statements about the Last Judgement and his own resurrection. It may also be the case in St. Paul, who interprets the death of Christ as expiation for the sins of man based on the story of the Fall in Genesis. So in every statement, the determining field of the religious subject is the one which is regarded by the author subjectively as being of a higher degree. This makes it possible to express a transcendental content at least by reference and, for that reason, very intensively, while from the viewpoint of the higher subject-field, the truth on which the statement is based is immaterial. With this concept of course we take a stand on the true development of revelation itself as well as on the progress of its understanding."

So in spite of various misconceptions, truth shows itself distinctly in different degrees and this is important from the speaker's viewpoint. This is made possible by true statements always being limited to two neighbouring lingual degrees, and because the speaker's relatively inexpressible intention leads him to play on them. "This is practised expertly by every standard language. Everyday languages are therefore sign systems interpreting every contradiction on the lower degree as rational signs on the level of the higher one."

Any understanding between religion and natural science depends on the recognition that it is the "inaccurate" everyday language with its analogous concepts, and, above all, the religious language, which is qualified to make sensible and significant statements.

FREEZING LIFE

Cryobiology, the Preserving of Life

Modern medical science today investigates numerous biological problems which only a few decades ago still belonged to the world of fantasy. The problem used not to be the preservation of life with the help of low temperatures but rather death by freezing, injuries caused by cold and freezing. And yet the idea of preserving the body, after death, for posterity, of protecting it from decay, has been part of ancient religious ideas. The preservation of foodstuffs by freezing is already thousands of years old but what actually happens in the cells during refrigeration has become the subject of research only in the past few years. The suspension of life for a certain period, then to be continued, undisturbed, is an extremely exciting idea which in our days has been given much more concrete form, just in connection with the fact that medical science is beginning to think of freezing as a therapy. Today hibernating, the cooling of the body is already an important medical operation, particularly in warding off stress during surgery.

In the seventeenth century Robert Boyle, in the eighteenth century John Hunter and Spallanzani turned their attention to the biological effect of cold, but only lately was a decisive step forward taken as a result of which cryobiology was born, the science which investigates the biological effect of low temperatures. The results of modern investigations in the field were first published in a concise form by Luyet and Geheinis ("Life and Death at Low Temperatures").

Adaptation of the Living Organism

Living organisms are capable of adjusting themselves, to a certain degree, to the cold. In the case of the various forms of life a few

degrees difference in body temperature separate life from death. In spite of this living organisms do well and are active over a wide range of temperatures. The Norwegian colonizers who settled on Greenland a thousand years ago found the Eskimos there. Moreover, Eskimos already lived in the arctic regions of North America 6,000 years ago. Objects found prove that they were engaged in hunting, i.e. *warm-blooded animals* also lived there and adjusted themselves well to the cold. If we take body temperature to be 38°C , then in the tropics if the external temperature is 30°C , it is 8°C lower than that of the organism while in the arctic regions, where it can be 50°C below zero, the difference of temperature between the environment and the organism is 88°C .

One group of animals, the homoiothermals, show a constant temperature which under normal circumstances is independent of the temperature of the surroundings. Another group of animals is that of the poikilothermals whose temperature changes according to that of their environment. However, among the homoiothermal animals we find some which, under unsatisfactory living conditions in winter, start to behave similarly to the poikilothermal ones as regards their temperature regulation, reducing their energy demand (marmots to one-thirtieth, dormice to one-hundredth) and becoming hypotheric, their energy consumption decreases and they feed on accumulated food reserves. The study of these animals sleeping their winter sleep, this natural hibernation, is of extraordinary importance to cryobiology.

Winter Sleep, Natural Hibernation

Winter sleep ensues due to three essential causes: (1) drop of temperature; (2) gradual running-out of food; (3) decrease of sunshine. Among these three important factors the

first triggers off winter sleep. At a temperature of 15 to 20 °C the gopher does not go to sleep but when a temperature of 5 to 7 °C sets in in October even ample food does not prevent its winter sleep. Animals in winter sleep, as a result of the effect of the cold, get into a state of suspended animation, their metabolism, respiration and heart activity slow down, all phenomena of life are reduced to such a minimum that life is just preserved. If the organism is exposed to the effect of the cold over a long time, or repeatedly, it starts to utilize its energies more economically. Thus it is able to protect itself more efficiently against cooling down while thoroughly increasing its oxygen consumption. This explains why man in spring scarcely feels the cold at a temperature at which he would shiver in autumn. Shiveriag tries to secure the maintenance of temperature, and if it fails to come about regulation will be insufficient. Animals which normally hibernate also guard themselves against the cold down to 10 °C above zero but at a temperature lower than that the protective mechanism ceases and hibernation ensues. In hibernation the nervous system functions at a lower level and most reflexes cease. Blood circulation adjusts itself. A large quantity of blood is left out of circulation and is stored in the enlarged spleen. The animal does not feed, it uses up its own cushion of fat for energy consumption. The slowing down of the life rhythm extends to every function of life, thus the hormonal glands also atrophy, insulin is the only hormone which stays at its normal level. In the peculiar state of hibernation bacterial infection does not happen, or in case of an intensive infection the disease takes a slow course. In such an animal tenatozoxine causes no spasm, moreover, shock cannot be produced in hibernating animals. They are resistant to drugs, even an otherwise toxic dose has no effect. Some hold the opinion that the immediate endogenous cause of hibernation consists in the shifting of the vegetative balance, in a parasympathetic

overpreponderance. Every organ is subject to a twofold innervation: one stimulating, the other impeding its activity, their joint effect produces the vegetative balance. The vegetative nervous system consists of the sympathetic and the parasympathetic nervous system. In case the sympathetic nervous fibres are cut through or otherwise destroyed hibernation in the animal ensues also at a higher temperature, the same is proved by treatment with drugs also. The cause is a central inhibition, thus winter sleep is not monofactoral. It is true that it is triggered off by the drop in temperature but it is maintained by the changes ensuing after that. A bilateral extirpation of the adrenal gland prevents winter sleep whereas desoxycorticosterone partly restores hibernation, the same happens upon implantation of minute parts of the cortex of the suprarenal gland. The nervous system of an animal in hibernation can be irritated despite the deep hypothermy. When examining the cells of an animal in winter sleep it ought to be taken into consideration that in every energetic process the adenosine triphosphate (ATP) contents of the cell play the main role. In such a case the isolated mitochondria of the brain cells (the minute respiratory organs of the cell) show a increased adenosine triphosphate synthesis. Biochemical investigations of animals in hibernation show a special adjustment of the enzyme system of the nervous system which is characteristic of hibernation. Animals in hibernation are unable to sleep for more than six months and still to wake up after that.

Artificial Hibernation

The results of ideas and investigations connected with hibernation have led to what is called the hibernating procedure when the organism prepared for surgery is rendered less demanding by cooling it, thus increasing tolerance. In that way the organism is better able to bear the stress of lengthy operations. Of course, this cooling down does not mean

that life is suspended, just as winter sleep does not mean this.

The first freezing apparatus was used by Jacob Perkins in 1834. Most of the experiments were interested in the preservation of food, especially that of meat and fish. Claude Bernard and Paul Bert were the first to be interested in the biological effect of artificial chilling. They only found out later that general cooling down enables the body to pull through a state of oxygen deficiency. Richardson chilled the affected parts of the body with the aid of ether and ethyl chloride, thus applying local anaesthetics which are used to this very day in surgical practice. It was Cannon who established the fact that cold decreases the danger of thrombosis but in the period between the two world wars it was also gradually established that chilling could be life-saving in the case of fractures of the limbs, in thrombo-embolic processes, and arteriosclerosis, since it provides time for well thought out action. It became known that by chilling the entire body it is possible to reduce or to halt circulation thus making the tissues of the body less demanding; this ensures favourable conditions for the operation and increases the tolerance of the cells.

Cooling down of the entire body was first practised by Leborit, in 1951. Bigelow succeeded in halting the heart activity of dogs in a hypothermic state for a period of 1 to 15 minutes, without damage. Hypothermy became common in operations to rectify valvular defects, in various conditions of oxygen deficiency, in the case of crises, shock and sepsis.

The aim of cryobiology is to develop a method with whose aid metabolism could not only be slowed down but stopped entirely, in such a way that the organism does not grow older, and that after a certain time it could be awakened anew.

Chilling (hypothermy) is initiated by reducing the activity of the vegetative nervous system, with drugs which eliminate shivering as a protective mechanism. Switch-

ing off shivering is necessary since during shivering muscle activity produces heat, and thus oxygen consumption increases. Thus, when temperature rises by 1 °C the metabolic rate is doubled. At a body temperature of 31 °C the lack of oxygen amounts to 75 per cent of the oxygen demand at 37 °C, at 25 °C it is 50 per cent, at 21 °C 26 per cent, and at 16 °C 12 per cent. In case of experimental chilling man maintains contact with his surroundings down to 34 °C but his speech is already disturbed, association is narrowed down; at 33 °C amnesia sets in. At 29 °C shivering ceases, at 26 °C the person does not even react to nausea, between 20 and 28 °C irregular heart activity is observed.

At normal body temperature (36.7 °C) the organism endures the state of clinical death, i.e. of the stopping of the heart, only for approximately 3 to 4 minutes. Recently it has become possible to produce deep hypothermy (12 to 14 °C) from which the body can be effectively reheated. During extracorporeal operations (performed with the aid of artificial circulation) the heart-and-lung motor enables the surgeon to ensure survival in case of total heart failure lasting more than one hour, but if this is combined with deep hypothermy and hyperbarbic oxygen therapy an even longer stopping of circulation becomes possible. Hypothermy, the ensuring of extracorporeal circulation, and hyperbarbic oxygen therapy have revolutionized several branches of surgery (cardiac surgery, transplantation of organs, preserving of organs, substituting of vessels, correcting vascular anomalies).

The problem whether or not the organism can be again awakened after all its life processes have ceased is identical with the question whether the process of life can be interrupted for a certain period. Scientists succeeded in chilling mice, rats, gophers and little monkeys to somewhat below freezing point, and then to bring them back to life by skilful warming up. Respiration ceases generally at 29 °C, at around 26 °C the

heart becomes paralysed, and cannot be started again after warming up. In the above-mentioned experiments when animals wake up again they had been chilled for only a very short time.

Difficulties in Freezing Living Organism

So as to successfully chill the organism to a point where life is reduced to a mere minimum, and where the growing-old of the organism and its tissues is slowed down, it is necessary to investigate the behaviour of the various organs, tissues and even of single cells. The organism is of an extremely heterogeneous composition, moreover, even the organs themselves are heterogeneous, and various kinds of tissues do not behave alike in the face of chilling. Consequently, cryobiology was forced to extend its investigations to the behaviour of living cytoplasm of the various tissues. Cytoplasm consists to 85 to 90 per cent water in which the different chemical substances are present in various states, to use a colloid-chemical expression, in a sol-gel state. If we freeze a protein gel (the cytoplasm) water is precipitated in the form of ice, and the anorganic and other substances are concentrated. Thus at freezing a drastic change sets in, partly due to the structure rupturing effect of the ice crystals formed when water freezes and partly due to the concentration of the other components of the cytoplasm. These two factors pose the greatest difficulties in biological freezing.

The water found in the cells of mammals does not change into ice at 0°C since what is involved is not pure water but a liquid which contains salts and organic substances, and these reduce the freezing point. The water in a frozen mouse is not ice, the mouse must be chilled to 10°C below zero before 80 per cent of the water contents of the tissues change into a solid state. The remaining 20 per cent are condensed, and this considerably damages the protein system of the cell membranes. An injury to the cell

membrane is of great significance in the life of the cell for its permeability is changed, and this has a decisive importance upon cellular metabolism. The injury to the cell membrane makes it impossible for it to be restored to its original condition, after thawing. Ice formation within the cell should be avoided. Thus it is necessary to apply quick freezing where no forming of crystals takes place. Another procedure still requiring further research is the use of frost-protecting substances in whose presence living tissue may be chilled to below 0°C without any danger of ice crystal being formed. Glycerine and dimethylsulfoxide are such substances. If we inject these into the tissues they enter the cells mixing with the water present there, and here they prevent the forming of crystals besides increasing the salt content of the water. Research into new frost protectives is carried on all the time. Dextrane has proved to be one of them. The connective-tissue cell of the human eye kept in a solution of 6 per cent glycerine, after being frozen to absolute zero (273°C below zero), upon being thawed is able to go on living in a tissue culture. The usability of the experimental solution was likewise tested with a connective-tissue culture, and also the effect of this solution on the motion of spermatozoa was investigated. 60 per cent of human spermatozoa retain their mobility after being frozen to 273°C below zero if the ratio of glycerine to semen is 1 to 9. The skin of rabbits and dogs behave similarly if they are replanted in the same place.

Ice Formation in Living Tissues

Thus it was necessary to study the laws of the freezing of liquids, in the first place that of water. The investigation on the freezing of water was carried out, 200 years ago, by Gabriel Fahrenheit who established the freezing point of water at 32°F but who also found that the temperature at which water freezes varies in different kinds of water. He discovered that as soon as the

actual freezing begins the temperature of the mixture of water and ice rises. He observed that freezing always starts at one or several crystallization centres, the process is called nucleation (i.e. formation of nucleus), and from there crystallization sets in. He saw that the spreading of the freezing of the water, after nucleation, takes place on the surface where ice and water meet, and that the rise in temperature takes place after nucleation as a crystallization heat. Fahrenheit established the balance temperature of crystallization which is the continuously reproducible temperature of the mixture of ice and water. If we chill a substance below the balance temperature we speak of it as being overchilled. Under certain circumstances very pure water may be chilled to 40°C below zero without ice crystal formation setting in, and there are liquids which can be overchilled to even lower temperatures than that. Unfortunately, there is still quite a lot we do not know about this process. A still liquid may stay for a long time in an overchilled condition. The freezing of such a solution may all of a sudden become complete within a few seconds once nucleation has started. The setting in of crystallization depends in all certainty on the supporting wall (the cell membrane) and the polluting particles present in the liquid. In every liquid minute grains are suspended which start crystallization, and the variation is due to differences in the polluting grains. The influence of the polluting grains on the crystals when the temperature of the liquid begins to rise asserts itself immediately.

Thermodynamic considerations render it probable that a tetrahedrally shaped net is formed of the straight lines of the hydrogen bonds of the water (tetrahedron: pyramid consisting of four triangular planes). As the water cools the number of hydrogen bonds increases and when freezing sets in, a bonded, rigid net is produced. Crystallization starts by way of the aggregation of the molecules in the nucleation centre. If aggregation is produced by the motion of the water mole-

cules a homogeneous nucleation sets in, if it is caused by an imbedded alien body then nucleation will be heterogeneous. The possibility of homogeneous nucleation increases together with the drop in temperature. In actual practice it is impossible to overchill water to below 39°C below zero since at a temperature lower than that heterogeneous nucleation takes place. Biological solutions are never homogeneous, and their spontaneous freezing point is below 3 to 5°C below zero. Within the cell, in the cytoplasm, overchilling stops quite soon. At the onset of crystallization the growing of the crystal depends on the temperature.

Crystal formation at freezing damages the structure and upon being thawed the damaged structure is not capable of functioning any more. Thus crystallization must be avoided if possible. This was tried when, in the investigation of tissues, the freezing-drying method was introduced with the purpose of preserving the living structure; here the water departs and cavities remain in place of the ice crystals. Crystallization would be avoided if freezing could be effectuated as quickly as possible. Renter found in 1916 that if a piece of tissue is dunked into liquid carbon dioxide this minute piece freezes so quickly that despite all appearance no ice crystals are formed. He drew the conclusion that in this case water is retained in an invisible molecular state, i. e. each molecule takes the same position it had held before freezing. This would therefore be the state that best preserves the original structure. However, investigations by electron microscope proved that the non-occurring of crystallization was illusory. If chilling to below 130°C below zero is done quickly enough crystallization fails to set in and what is called vitrification ensues. This is not a special physical state but only a diminishing of the dimensions of the particles. At quick-freezing the dimension of the ice particles depends on the time during which the water molecules aggregate themselves, and vitrify. In such a

case extremely minute crystals are formed. Thus the expression vitrification should be used cautiously since even here it concerns a certain crystalline condition. Pure water is vitrified at 130°C below zero but in the presence of dissolved substances this point is higher. Thus if freezing to below 130°C below zero takes place quickly enough crystallization fails to come about and vitrification ensues. Extremely quick freezing (100°C per minute) stops the growth of the crystal and enables the forming of numerous nucleation centres; consequently rather numerous minute crystals develop. The larger the substance the more uneven will be the freezing, and with the increase in speed of freezing it will be even more uneven, and the less will it be possible to avoid the forming of crystals in the interior of the substance. If we chill a solution to its freezing point then, as has been mentioned, pure ice is precipitated and the remaining solution will become ever more concentrated quite up to that temperature where solution and dissolving matter are crystallized into one (eutectic temperature). In case of NaCl solution, the most general solution where biological liquids are concerned, the eutectic temperature is 21.1°C below zero (this is that temperature below which the freezing point cannot be lessened) and the eutectic mixture (the mixture determining the eutectic temperature) contains 30 per cent NaCl. The liquid surrounding the cells possesses various eutectic points, according to the various dissolved substances present in it, thus if we chill it the precipitation of its components will vary and this essentially affects the relative concentration of the solution. This again considerably influences the ionic balance of the cells. It has been proved that in that case when the solution contains NaH_2PO_4 and Na_2HPO_4 , the buffer of most biological solutions, the pH rises at freezing if

$$\frac{\text{Na}_2\text{PO}_4}{\text{Na}_2\text{HPO}_4} > 57$$

and drops if the above quotient is less than 57.

The cause of freezing plays a great part in the size of the crystals but the degree of temperature also affects the localization of the crystal.

Thus freezing rises innumerable problems, even if we consider only the maintaining of the given structure. In this respect the first experiments were carried out at freezing meat. For instance, when freezing beef the crystals grow continuously. If the quick-frozen substance is stored at a higher temperature it gradually assumes the same structure as if it has been frozen more slowly. The crystals grow and damage the cell. The crystals present in the interior of the cells (observable only with the aid of an electron microscope) grow much more quickly than those larger crystals which can be seen through the light microscope.

In the tissues ice develops first extracellularly since freezing starts on the surface of the chilled object, and since overchilling asserts itself much more in the interior of the cell than in the liquid surrounding it. Consequently the liquid in the intercellular interstices gets concentrated and hypertonic, since water flows out of the cells. If chilling is sufficiently slow the flowing out of water from the cells will be as quick as the forming of ice, and thus every ice formation will take place extracellularly. Water surrounds the micromolecules in the cell as a hydration hull and, linked to them, it stays in the cell; it represents about 10 per cent of the water of the cell. If chilling happens quickly enough the water loss of the cell does not keep pace with the drop in temperature, due to overchilling within the cell an ice-forming nucleus appears and the interior of the cell is turned into ice. In the interest of cell survival this intracellular freezing must be avoided.

10°C below zero is that lowest temperature at which intracellular water may remain in an overchilled state, in the presence of extracellular ice. As has been mentioned already the distribution of ice crystals depends on how quickly freezing takes place.

If it happens extremely quickly, lengthy and acicular crystals develop in the cell placed parallel to the longitudinal axis of the cells. If it happens more slowly long, parallel ice columns develop in the cell, and if it is done still more slowly then the cellular wall bursts, and cooling gradually the ice grows extracellularly compressing the cells which are massed together. The cellular membrane stays intact if the water is able to diffuse outwards.

The pH (the symbol expressing the degree of alkalinity and acidity, respectively) and the relative concentration of the cell substances both affect conditions, biochemical reactions may change, e.g. certain reactions take place much more quickly at 10 °C below zero than at a normal temperature. If, in the case of an intact cell, chilling increases very slowly, by 0.1 °C per minute, the rate of survival grows up to that point where thermal shock or intracellular freezing ensues. The degree of freezing optimum varies over a very wide range if different cells are considered. Biochemical events definitely proved that the macromolecules, especially the lypoproteins, are sensitive to frost injuries. Since these form the outstanding components of the cell membrane it is not surprising that examination by electron microscope revealed serious damage in their case. The splitting of the cell nucleus, of the mitochondrial membrane (mitochondria: the cell's minute respiratory organs) was observed as well as a swelling of the mitochondrion, and a dilatation of the endoplasmatic reticulum.

Freezing of the Whole Organism

If we chill the whole animal down to freezing point and then try to revive it, it will stay alive only for a few hours, at best, since respiratory motion and the heart stop already at a comparatively high temperature, at 15 °C when anaerobic glycolysis (dissolving of glycogen in a milieu free of air) is continued in the muscle, and acidosis

ensues (the process of becoming acid). The acid-alkali balance is of deciding importance in the restoring of a normal situation after prolonged hypothermy. How long tissues will endure a hypothermic condition depends first of all on the specificity of the tissue and on the temperature, which of course determine the degree of functional restoration. Man, in case of surgery involving the opening of the heart, can stand 15 °C for one or two hours.

The freezing tests carried out with animals indicate the variegated behaviour of living organism and the biological problems science is faced with. Stanley et al. did tests on rats 12 to 15 hours before the experiment the animal received no food but as much water as it wanted. The rat was put into a glass container of 1,800 cubic centimetres, then this was placed into a cooler of 4 °C; during this period the animal was already in a stunned state. Then it was taken out of the glass container (the temperature of the rat was 20 to 22 °C), washed down with water at 1 °C with which the air was removed from its fur, then it was placed on a steel plate, and with the exception of its nose, it was covered with ice and ice-cold water was poured on it; consequently, the animal within a quarter of an hour cooled down to 5 to 6 °C. The cornea reflex disappeared already at 12 °C. At 8 to 9 °C respiration stopped, at 3 to 4 °C, the heart stopped. The animal stayed in a state of suspended life for 45 to 90 minutes but after 90 minutes it could not be revived any more. Upon reviving after a period of 75 to 90 minutes it came back to life but two hours later it died. Of course it is not irrelevant how revival is done. The method could be so improved that after 60 to 70 minutes 90 per cent of the animals might revive. When reviving an artificial respiration apparatus was applied for 20 to 24 minutes; within 30 minutes the animal started to breathe, then it was placed in an atmosphere of 30 °C for 2 hours, in one which contained 95 per cent O₂ and 5 per cent CO₂. The

rat is presumably less sensitive to atmospheric pressure when respiration and the heart stop. A rat, put under increased O_2 pressure, whose foot was connected to an electrocardiograph showed merely tachycardia when the pressure rose to 250 kilograms, at 700 kg death set in. Mice, rats, gophers, small monkeys could be chilled to somewhat below freezing point and, after competent warming-up, revived again. But these stayed alive only for a short time. By applying frost-protective agents rabbits and lemurs can be revived, though they stay alive merely for a few hours. A rabbit doused with ice water dies as a result of respiratory paralysis as soon as its body temperature drops to $18^\circ C$. An adult homoiothermal animal is only capable of standing deep freezing in case special precautions are taken. Edwards already reported, in 1824, that newborn kittens endure a lack of O_2 and chilling to a degree where a grown-up cat would have died already. When applying frost-protective agents gophers could be revived only if not more than 56 per cent of their tissue water had frozen.

Two methods are used to chill the organism: in case of the first the blood is chilled directly (e.g. during heart surgery) conveying it through a cooled pipe system, and maintaining circulation by a pump. The other method involves chilling the whole organism by dousing it with ice water. Of rats chilled to 0 to $2^\circ C$ below zero 80 to 100 per cent were revived again after respiration and heartbeat had stood still for 40 to 60 minutes. The behaviour of the rats thus revived did not change, their life duration was not shortened and exact physiological experiments likewise showed that no loss of memory was observed. Moreover, even repeated chilling had no damaging effect. Similar tests were carried out with dogs and also monkeys.

Their results may be valid also in case of man. The problem starts when we want to continue chilling below freezing point. When suspending life for a lengthier period it is necessary to halt the biochemical and biophysical change, it is sufficient to freeze to 0 to $20^\circ C$ below zero to halt biochemical change but to avoid biophysical changes one needs to go below $80^\circ C$ below zero. One must go down to a low temperature which can be achieved through solid carbonic acid ($79^\circ C$ below zero) and liquid air (190° below zero).

Many more problems will arise before a way will be found how, by treating the whole animal with glycerine or toher frost-protective agents, it can be brought to a state of suspended life. Regarding the heart results have been achieved already and this indicates that it is worth while to experiment not only with cells and pieces of tissue but also with whole organs. It is still a long way to the living organism as a whole with all its organs, varying in function and in need. The heart could be kept in highly concentrated glycerine and could be revived from a state of being chilled down to $20^\circ C$ below zero. Keeping it at $79^\circ C$ below zero electric current could be shunted off it after being warmed up. We are capable of storing blood, bones, eyes and vessels so that these stay at the disposal of the surgeon.

Fantastic possibilities open up if we envisage that by repeatedly interrupting the life of the individual it may be stretched at will. With a suspended life, waking up every hundred years, progress and development during long centuries may be measured by an eye-witness. This idea is fantastic and cannot even be thought through properly. But this is not the only thing which once seemed to be fantastic, and which nevertheless made a realistic possibility by science.

GEORGE E. LANG

THE AGE OF THE COFFEE-HOUSE

Although coffee-houses existed in most European cities from the eighteenth century on, the Hungarian coffee-houses were so unique that they deserve a special chapter.*

Nowhere did the insidiously free spirit of the coffee-houses have a more powerful effect than in Hungary. The growth of the coffee-house tradition, in fact, became closely intertwined with the cultural, political and literary life of the nation. Some of the best in literature, music and theater, along with gorgeously elaborate practical jokes and marvellous supper dishes were born within its four walls.

To "Homo Caffeticus"—that peculiarly Budapest specimen—the coffee-house was not merely his club but his home, his refuge and his castle; he virtually lived there. The coffee-house was the "guildhall of philosophers" and coffee itself the "drink of the creative intelligentsia."

But there were other heady potions brewed there besides coffee—such as a will to revolution. In 1848, from the Pilvax Coffee-house to the barricades was a short, straight road lined with poetry and burning nationalism. It was there at the Pilvax in the middle of the nineteenth century that Petöfi, then 25, perhaps the greatest poet Hungary ever produced, met with his friends, the leading writers of the day, and it was there he wrote the stirring national ballad which virtually started the 1848 Revolution.

The First Coffee-houses

Was it England? Vienna? Italy? There is hot dispute over this matter of who had the first coffee-house. Each claim has its adherents (scratch a historian and often a passionate chauvinist appears). The evidence tends to add to the general confusion.

For once, the Hungarians *don't* claim to have been first. Yet we do know that when Suleiman II took Buda in 1529 his soldiers brought coffee with them.

By 1541 there already were *Kahve Hanes* (coffee-houses) in several sections of Buda, Óbuda and Pest. (Since Mohammedans are forbidden to light fires on Friday, the *Kahvedsik*, or coffeemakers, were rarely Turks. They were usually Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Serbs or Jews.) On certain holidays, free coffee was distributed to everybody in the street.

But though these were probably the first coffee-houses in Europe, Hungarians do not boast of them. The shame of one hundred and fifty years of servitude to the hated Turks probably makes historians anxious to forget many things associated with the humiliating Turkish occupation.

The Hungarian story of their first coffee-house is also slightly apocryphal. Balázs, or Blasius, opened what was supposedly the first coffee-house in Buda, in 1714. For this, the Hungarian coffeehouse-owners' guild honours him as their quasi-patron saint.

It is true that 1714 appears on the first written land deed for a coffee-house. But what about the coffee-houses which opened (as we have seen) in Buda during the Turkish occupation? Apparently those unhappy years don't count.

The Italians insist the first coffee-house in Europe opened in Venice in 1645, but the evidence is inconclusive.

* This is a slightly abridged extract from the author's forthcoming "The Hungarian Cookbook", to be published by Athenaeum Publishers, New York. © George Lang.

It would probably startle Viennese, Italians and Hungarians to hear that the English believe *theirs* the first such establishment in Christendom!

A Greek named Pasqua Rosée opened the first coffee-house in London in 1652. But even before that—in 1650 (after Cromwell had allowed expelled Jewry to return to England) a man named Jacob opened a coffee-house in Oxford, at the "Angel in the Parish of St. Peter."

A certain redoubtable lady named Dorothy Jones opened one in Boston in 1670. This lady received permission to sell coffee and *cuchaletto* (the name of cocoa at that time).

By 1687 there were coffee-houses in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Marseilles, Hamburg, and throughout Europe. In spite of the lively opposition which coffee invariably aroused wherever it was introduced, within a short time hundreds, and even thousands, of coffee-houses sprang up and became part of public life.

Early Hungarian coffee-houses were much like the Turkish and did not become characteristically Hungarian for a long time. Noisy, full of thick smoke and bargaining merchants, they provided a meeting place for different nationalities and were really extensions of an Eastern market-place.

During the Turkish occupation, from around 1535, the new drink was brewed and sold at improvised stands by wandering vendors, shadow puppeteers, brandy distillers, itinerant dance masters, musicians, and travelling fireworks-makers. (Taverns, specializing in bad wine and worse women, also discovered serving coffee would swell their meager profits.)

Originally Arabs made coffee without sugar. Later the Turks, as we learn from Marsigli's account, added sugar during the boiling process, possibly as a concession to the European sweet tooth.

Both Arabs and Westerners served a glass of water with the coffee—always. But there customs diverged: the Arab or Turk always drank his water first, the European *after* his coffee.

Billiards, Banter and other Entertainment

In the Turkish villages the coffee vendor had traditionally been a sort of mobile community centre. He would choose a centrally located spot, string up rush matting from an old mulberry tree for a windbreaker, rub two stones together to make a fire, then brew his coffee.

Around him, the waiting customers sat in a semicircle, or on benches placed against the houses on either side of the street. Nearby a wandering barber squatted, ready to shave heads, Turkish fashion. The Medah Baba, or travelling storyteller and living-newspaper, brought vital news and gossip—an essential function in those days when few people could read. He also told stories, this Eastern troubadour, more or less on the order of the Arabian Nights. (Not suitable for mixed company, but there were no women there, anyway.) Some of these men were marvellously clever at character monologue or dialogue. At a crucial point in the story, they would refuse to continue until the audience paid up.

Certain features of these primitive forerunners survived coffee-house transplantation to Hungary. For instance, when coffee-houses became an established part of Budapest life the barber shop was always next door. In addition to the ever-ready supply of live tale-bearers, newspapers from all over the world hung on racks for customers to read at leisure. (A Budapest wit once described a regular customer as a "bookworm who eats himself daily through all domestic and foreign publications—from cover to cover.")

Games, as well as coffee, were imported from the Arab world. Blasius's early coffee-house offered, in addition to coffee and tobacco, a place to play chess, an early form of billiards

and various card games. Clay pipes, used with personal "reeds," were rented to the customers. Although gambling, card games and even bets for "anything over two shillings" were barred from early London coffee-houses as too apt to encourage "disputation and dissension," in Hungary (which was very much accustomed to disputation and dissension) they became as much a part of coffee-house life as the pungent brew itself.

The coffee-house never completely lost its Eastern flavour, but slowly developed a new pattern of leisure which began to take on a distinctively Hungarian character. A few parts Turkish market-place plus a few parts friendly (though passionate) gambling à la française, plus the Viennese "club" atmosphere, plus the special Hungarian talent for barbed wit, intricate practical jokes, wild schemes and visionary dreams, produced a place where "luft existence" and genuine greatness could flourish side by side.

In the succeeding two hundred years, if any Hungarian became either famous or infamous he was likely to be a habitué or a descendant of a habitué of Hungarian coffee-houses. Hero or heel of any headlined happening came from one of these close-knit coffee-house circles which, incredible though it may seem, encompassed everything important—whether in literature, art, music, science or politics—in Hungary.

At the very beginning, coffee-houses only served coffee and tobacco. Gradually, however, the bill of fare expanded to include hot chocolate, tea, sweet wafers and ice-creams.

In those early coffee-houses everybody sat together at long, wide tables. Few people realize that the origin of "table d'hôte" long ago was actually the host's or innkeeper's table. He sat at the head of the long common table, with the guests ranged along the two sides. Servants kept a small table, or gueridon (from French, *guérir*—to help) alongside the great table, to aid their service.

Some unknown genius, in the eighteenth century, suddenly realized the advantages of using "*la petite table*" or gueridon, and dispensing with the large tables altogether! More people could squeeze into the same space, guests could choose those they wished to sit with, and since practically no food was served then very little table space was necessary anyway. Thus was the little coffee-house table born.

Much later, the famous literary cafés had round marble tables with wrought-iron legs. (Naturally, circular tables were ideal for reading aloud new works to a circle of interested listeners.) Coffee-houses for ordinary mortals had square tables with solid mahogany legs.

There were more changes in store. Not only the bill of fare but the ambience began to expand. Someone thought how nice it would be to remove a wall in fine weather—and lo, the garden coffee-house became a reality. Then, with the addition of the ubiquitous gipsy musicians, music enlivened the scene. Coffee-houses became less family-oriented and more like nightclubs. Soon they decided to compete with restaurants. Much to the dismay of the restaurateurs' guild, in 1827 coffee-houses began to serve cold meats, sausages, cheese, patés, etc.

Next the coffeehouse-owners, inevitably, realized there was a growing demand for a late supper. After all, in other European countries a man finished work at six o'clock and then dined at home or at his club. But in Budapest with its lively night life he would merely have an "afternoon" snack at six o'clock then go off to a cabaret, theater or concert. By eleven he was really hungry and ready for a substantial dinner.

The coffee-houses saw their duty clear: anxious to compete with restaurants for supper business, they too added a hot kitchen.

During this era, the coffee-houses came full circle; the erstwhile gueridon, now covered with a tablecloth, at last became a dinner table!

From then on, with complete hot and cold menus, coffee-houses could satisfy every ap-

petite at almost any hour. Which was just as well—since some people never seemed to go home at all.

At the height of coffee-house culture in its great days, artists' cafés each contained a group of little kingdoms—each literary luminary held court at his own table. Somehow amidst the noise, thick smoke, chatter and distraction, magazines were edited and poems, stories, plays and novels were written. Against a running counterpoint of argument, incredibly elaborate word games and refined verbal warfare, journalists, poets and playwrights turned out an astonishing amount of lasting work. In the coffee-house salons composers like Lehár and Kálmán played their latest scores—melodies which would become internationally famous were heard there for the first time.

That benevolent dignitary, the headwaiter, presided over each establishment as father-confessor and unofficial banker, loaning an "ötös" (five-spot) to a hungry writer when necessary—meanwhile, of course, addressing him with undiminished respect. Writers knew they could count on the headwaiter's ready credit, as well as the reassuring aroma of fresh croissants and good coffee, and the stimulating acerbic banter of their confrères. (Karinthy, the great Hungarian humorist, once defined the coffee-house succinctly as a "place where writers go to drink coffee and eat each other.")

Members of other professions gathered at their own coffee-houses. At the Actors' Market (the Pannonia Kávéház) provincial and unemployed actors, primadonnas, soubrettes, character actors and dancing comics waited to see theater directors (many of whom had travelling troupes)—hoping for employment. In one corner, an actor declaimed the soliloquy from *Hamlet*, in another a soprano sang the Countess's entrance from a Lehár operetta. (The cautious director-producer usually made certain the prospective Hamlet's teeth, and the auditioning Countess's ankles were satisfactory before using the inkwell at the headwaiter's table to sign contracts.) At another table, an ancient primadonna would rent costumes to young newcomers, while Papa Weidinger, the most famous claque organizer, gave out free tickets with detailed instructions on just when and how to applaud.

At the Orczy Coffee-house, businessmen arranged every kind of commercial activity—from buying and selling tobacco, feathers (for comforters), or false witnesses, to top-level business deals. At King Mátyás's Coffee-house, the pig-dealers gathered, at the Miramare the auction hyenas, at another the butchers. Still others catered to folk musicians, horse trainers, circus artists or students. Indeed every strata of legitimate and illegitimate activity found a home in its own coffee-house.

The mere fact that some patrons never achieved solvency did not in the least impair their status. A man might be a genius without being able to make a living—that was generally acknowledged. Nowhere was a finer line drawn between respectable occupation and "luft existence"—in fact it was generally altogether imperceptible.

A highly characteristic story concerns a "törzsvendég" (habitué) whom the waiter greeted one day as he entered the coffee-house, with the usual deferential "I-am-your-humble-servant, Mr. Director: what will you have?" But this time the gentleman replied jauntily, "Black coffee and all the papers. Oh, by the way, Józsikám, you can stop calling me Mr. Director—I got a job today!"

*

In the nineteenth century the whispers of the Jacobins, singing of freedom revolutionaries, argument and literary gossip of the intellectuals, the schemes of Utopia-haunted dreamers, fortune-seekers and young idealists swirled about in the thick smoke, and drifted upward with the aroma of fresh-roasted coffee. Revolution was in the very air.

(Of course the dangers of the free coffee-house atmosphere were not confined to Budapest. The English called coffee-houses "seminaries of sedition." Michelet wrote that the Bastille was blown up not by gunpowder but by "coffee drunk in Parisian cafés." No doubt the good Michelet would have been surprised, all the same, to know that a Brazilian chemist named Baptista d'Andrade actually succeeded in distilling ten grams of an explosive—a variety of nitromannite—from a hundred liters of coffee berries!

... Even the New World was not exempt. Far away in New York the Merchants' Coffee-house opened in 1737. According to many authorities this coffee-house was the birthplace of the American Union.)

But, universally, in spite of political upheavals, life goes on. In the special world of the coffee-house people lived, loved, laughed and fought exactly as they always had.

For writers, the coffee-house was their *mise en scène*, as well as their home. Up until the Second World War they drew on the rich fund of lives and characters that moved through these intensely alive social centres: the old editor who buys a poem from the young genius to help him win a certain redhaired student-actress, the foppish, monocled Count, the old shylock with a heart of 8-carat gold, the voluptuous blonde cashier, the would-be poet who was heir to the fertilizer king, all the little sparrows of the city, the girl who rode horseback on a methusalem of champagne... these and dozens of others furnished countless plays and novels with leading men and women and supporting casts. These plays and novels have already outlasted the revolutions.

But in the new Hungary there is no place for this flawed, human, irrepressible society. The marble-topped tables, crystal chandeliers and great plate glass windows (an ideal aquarium for leisurely girl-watching) are still there. But the successive lives of this special world have all but vanished into nostalgic history.

For the most part, it has been replaced by a contemporary ersatz—the espresso bar. It is not the same. But there is coffee. And the pastry is as exquisite as ever.

Panem et Anecdota:

Tales from the New York Coffee-house

Probably the most celebrated coffee-house of all was the New York Kávéház. In Hungary, when a letter was addressed simply to "New York" it was usually delivered first to the New York Coffee-house, on the sound assumption that it was probably intended for someone there anyway.

Besides, who could be sure that other New York really existed? About the New York Kávéház there could be no doubt whatever—not only was it the most famous coffee-house of all, it was undoubtedly the Taj Mahal of the breed. All the most important and famous writers worked and spent their time there. (A recent commemorative volume about the seventy-five-year-old landmark includes a reproduction of guest autographs—every great figure of the day from Richard Strauss and Thomas Mann to the Prince of Wales, Caruso, Josephine Baker and King Victor Emmanuel.)

Oddly enough, this elaborate coffee-house was originally financed by an American insurance company. What a long way from the itinerant coffee vendors! As much money, care and talent went into its creation—with post-Baroque columns, neo-Classic frescoes and gilded ornaments—as an opera house. As unofficial "church" for arts, literature and influential patrons, its pre-eminence was unchallenged during the golden age of the coffee-house.

Frigyes Karinthy, the brilliant writer-humorist, was one of those who virtually lived at

the New York Coffee-house. One day he decided he was spending far too much money there. He would work at home. He went so far as to buy a desk, papers, pencils, inks, pens, etc. The children were forbidden to come in. He sat down at his desk, started smoking, and waited for an idea. Soon he found the dripping of the faucet was intolerable, the silence bothered him, the light annoyed his eyes—in short, it was impossible to work. He moved back to the New York Coffee-house, and for the rest of his life wrote there.

His view of the coffee-house was far from rosy. According to him, "El Asmodáj" (the devil of the coffee-house) takes young writers to the top of a high tower and lends them vision to see into their own and other people's souls. Then he takes them down into the hell of the coffee-house, and there inspires them to write. The writer dips his pen into his own brain inkwell, and drinks coffee mixed with tears. Then he sells himself and his pieces to other devils—called publisher, editor and public. During this process the devils put pennies into the writer's pocket, but when his brain ink has dried up the writer is thrown into hot water (i.e. the ocean of criticisms) like a silkworm. "Uncle Publisher," the old villain, becomes the landlord of the writer's brain and out of the silkworm makes silk dresses and stockings for his mistress. As for the writer, he hears people saying, "What's-his-name? Oh, poor fellow, he's written himself out!" And then the writerbug-collector assigns another fresh young writer to the round marble table at the coffee-house, and the whole cycle starts all over again.

...A larger body of legend has grown up about Molnár, another New York Coffee-house habitué, than almost any other single writer. A fan once pleaded with him to meet a dentist friend who had been Molnár's faithful admirer for years. "Tell him," Molnár snapped shortly, "my circle is complete. I'll let him know when somebody dies."

Feuds between writers were by no means uncommon. Molnár once stopped speaking to an old friend entirely, and for years afterward refused to greet him—all because he had had a dream in which the friend insulted him!

...and from other Budapest Coffee-houses

The Herein, a modest, respectable "spießburger" coffee-house, was well-known for two specialties—its excellent coffee cake and its painless bankruptcies. Both involved certain puzzling elements.

In the case of the coffee cake, all the "törzsvendég" (regulars or habitués) always insisted on being served the delectably crisp end piece, or "sercli." But how many ends can there be in a coffee cake? The truly Rosicrucian mystery was that there always seemed to be enough ends for everybody!

Now a businessman's routine included at least three visits to his coffee-house every day. (Naturally if he did a good deal of business there, his visits tended to overlap each other.) He would arrive first between eight and nine in the morning, to read all the papers over his morning coffee. Then in the afternoon he came for his "small black" around three. (At this point, shortly after lunch, retired patrons would nap peacefully in their chairs for a few hours.) In the evening at nine or ten he met his friends there and devoted himself to social life.

No one understood all this better than the proprietor. He was a man who saw his duty clearly—he must allow nothing to disturb his customers' pleasant routine. For a man ingenious enough to have solved the problem of the "sercli," bankruptcy was a minor matter. Each time he went bankrupt the owner simply made a "deal" with his creditors (as a result

of which he managed to salt away enough money over the years to build a three-storey apartment house).

It all worked out very well. His customers were happy; his creditors were happy, he was happy, and life at the coffee-house went on as usual.

*

During one of the periodic depressions that often swept Hungary one could buy whole streets in Budapest for practically nothing—if one could pay for the upkeep and interest. It was during one such depression that the whole enormous apartment house in which the Tüköry Coffee-house was located went bankrupt. The founders' heirs were not as good managers as their father had been. The eldest son, whose entire private fortune had been swallowed up by the mounting day to day interest, declared one day in desperation, "I would happily give this whole property to someone free—just to take it off my hands."

When a young man appeared at the coffee-house and announced he would accept the offer, the sons rushed him to a lawyer's office to draw up an agreement. The lawyer told them no contract could be binding unless at least a nominal sum of money changed hands. He suggested 100 forints. The buyer countered with an offer of 1 forint (which happened to be all the money he had), to which the others agreed as they were eager to complete the "deal."

Amid congratulations the new owner was introduced to the coffee-house patrons and the tenants of the apartment house. He immediately promised running water in every apartment (at that time there was only a common faucet in the corridor) and renovation of the whole house to restore its former elegance. In addition, he promised to reduce the rent. Naturally he was welcomed with open arms!

The next day he presented an outline of his plan, with the project budget—which was staggering. He asked the tenants to contribute only 10 per cent; he himself, he announced, would pay the other 90 per cent. This seemed remarkably generous, so everybody paid him, secretly laughing at the naiveté of the new landlord.

With part of this money, he ordered a roofing specialist to change the copper roof to a fashionable ceramic one. With this contract in hand, he sold the copper to a junk dealer, who paid him 17,000 forints. There was one thing more—he waited another week in order to collect the quarterly rent. Hours later, with all the money in his pocket, he boarded the Orient Express and disappeared into Vienna, never to be seen again (at least in Budapest).

The Milk Weddings

At the Mókus Coffee-house in ancient Buda (Óbuda—now the outskirts of town) there were three distinct kinds of patron. First there were the regular, then those who paid either on odd or even days only (though they were there regularly every day)—and the third category—those who didn't pay at all. This third group demanded even more attention and honour than anybody else, so no one might guess they were "papering the house." With their elegant manners and aristocratic monocles, they added "tone."

The coffee-house was in the banquet business too. Poor people who wanted to invite the whole neighbourhood to a wedding but couldn't afford even cold cuts, would serve coffee and Mákos Beigli for all, in one of the private rooms or in the coffee-house itself. Such an affair was called a "milk wedding."

As a highlight of the "milk wedding" a professional reader would read aloud to the assembled guests the list of wedding gifts. Judging by the list, one would have thought this was a royal wedding, such were the astounding riches, jewels, etc.

But what really happened was that for a modest extra fee the reader "embroidered" somewhat—and when it came to imagination, no expense was spared. Thus the present of a rolling pin was magically transformed into a signed Louis XIV light ebonywood masterpiece. The simplest object became an heirloom. Since everything sounded better graced with a French name, even the reader himself was called, elegantly "M. Chamaisse."

One of the freeloaders, who happened to wander in while a reading was in progress, was utterly disgusted by the pretensions of the wedding list. Adjusting his monocle disdainfully, he complained to the manager. "Really, if you insist on letting in such a low class of people, you're going to lose the better people like me. Do you realize I can trace my ancestry back to Árpád the Great?"

The manager smiled apologetically and murmured, "Well, my dear fellow, times are hard. I'd rather have a plain cow that gives milk than a pedigreed ass that doesn't."

Characters in Never Never Land

...The retired editor who, for twenty years, wrote long letters to Gustav Mahler full of advice on how Mahler ought to have conducted his latest concert, with notes on proper tempi, repertoire, etc. Unfortunately the correspondence, which ran into thousands of pages, was completely one-sided—Mahler never answered...

...Eötvös, the beloved lawyer and writer, whose calm absolutely nothing could ruffle. When a cable marked URGENT was brought to him at his coffee-house table, he simply put it into his vest pocket without reading it. One of his friend inquired, hesitantly, "But what if it is *really* something very urgent?"

Puffing gently on his pipe, Eötvös replied in measured tones, "For him, it may be urgent. But not for me."

...The famed composer-teacher, Leó Weiner, who played—and lost—a chess match every afternoon for thirty-six years with my former violin professor, Dezső Rados. Each time, after losing, he rose from the corner table at the Café Abbazia, and declared, "Next time, I'll show you."

...The coffee-house waiter, whose side job it was to trim off the edges of the playing cards when they got worn and greasy...

...The professional love-letter carriers...

...The old friend of my father's, who still continued to frequent his old coffee-house when his business was transferred to a different part of the city, even though it now meant a forty-five minute trip for him each way.

"How could I change coffee-house, and hurt the owner's feelings here after thirty-five years?"

...The two celebrities of Krauth Coffee-house:

First, Miklós, Champion Eater of the World. The question for Miklós was not how many portions he could eat, but how many were available. (He was the only man to have a double-size chair at the coffee-house, and special double sheets at the steambath next door.)

Miklós was always happy to defend his title against all competition. Once, on a bet, he ate forty feet of strudel (the width of the coffee-house).

Then there was Hazlinger, the lottery man. Hazlinger was such a virtuoso he would

practice a trick for months, with the single-minded dedication of a true artist. He could throw a cardboard lottery ticket with such accuracy that it would land on anybody he wanted. Invariably when the ticket landed right on him, the potential customer hastened to buy it—who would dare to refuse the hand of Fate when it actually singled him out? For so it seemed.

One of his later refinements was to sprinkle the tickets with cologne. The victim would *scent* the ticket as it flew towards him, even before catching sight of it! The inventiveness of Hazlinger and his colleagues was only exceeded by the gullibility of the habitual gamblers.

Occasionally, of course, somebody actually held a winning ticket. Then a great feast was held in celebration. (The winner, naturally, paid for it.) And what a dinner it was! The cooks bustled about, preparing the succulent dishes, and marvellous aromas filled the coffee-house.

First everybody was served:

Hal Becsindlt (Fish Fricassée)

then

Hegyaljai Borjúbordák (Veal Chops Vineyard Style)

and Young Lettuce

finishing with:

Congressman's Doughnut (*képviselőfánk*)

and Coffee.

Ah yes, the guests agreed, happily wiping their lips, such a dinner was well worth the gamble...

*

A wealthy banker, Simon Krausz, in the 'twenties, insisted on having the same waiter—a certain Laci—whenever he visited the New York Coffee-house. Since Krausz was in the habit of leaving kingly 100-pengő tips (the equivalent of a month's salary), Laci was envied by every waiter in Budapest.

One evening when the financial giant came in with his actress ladyfriend, he was shocked to find a strange waiter serving him his Háromszéki Káposzta Leves (a hearty cabbage soup, as in Háromszék). Outraged, Krausz demanded an explanation from the unhappy owner, but he was unable to account for Laci's disappearance.

Finally the waiter confessed: "I beg you, sir, don't be angry—it's only for one night. You see, yesterday after work I played cards with Laci, and somehow I had a lucky streak. First I won all Laci's money, then his gold cigarette case, and finally he got the crazy idea of putting *you* up as a stake. And so I won you, too!"

The actress broke in, laughing. "Young man, tonight I'll sit down to play cards with you—I bet you won't win President Krausz from me!"

The reckless Laci returned the next night, repentant. He never gambled away his luck again.

*

But even a world war was only a distant murmur beyond the walls of the coffee-house. Some faces disappeared for years, perhaps for ever, but coffee-house life went on exactly as it always had. If people came back, they were accepted matter-of-factly, as though they had never been away.

One such habitué, Jenő Kálmán, was a prisoner of war for years in a Russian prison camp.

When at last the long-awaited ship which was to bring the prisoners home arrived in Vladivostok, Jenő happened to be playing cards—worse, he was in the middle of a losing streak. He refused to quit a loser.

As a result, the ship left without him.

He didn't reach home till a whole year later. The first thing he did, naturally, was to visit the New York Coffee-house. When he walked in the headwaiter called out casually, "The usual coffee-in-a-cup for Mr. Kálmán..." (It was fashionable then to drink coffee in a glass but the waiter remembered that Mr. Kálmán preferred the old-fashioned cup.)

Nobody thought it necessary to mention that this was the first time in five years the headwaiter had laid eyes on him. The world outside might not have existed at all. The only true reality was the coffee-house itself.

*

What a curiously complete, self-contained little world it was! For its faithful habitués it was workshop, womb, refuge, court and battlefield. There the elders of the tribe thrashed out the problems of the world, undisturbed, and the youngers struggled for entry and jockeyed for status. Social magnet, intellectual playground, whetstone of wit, goad and comfort—it was full of kindness, laughter, cruelty, and the assorted consolations of work and love, pastry, coffee, literature and legend.

Of all this, only the literature, the legends, and the unsurpassed pastry and coffee have survived. But the golden, bitter-sweet world of the coffee-house society has vanished, for ever.

Ave—atque vale.

HUNGARY: 10,314,152 INHABITANTS

The 1970 census preliminary figures

A census was carried out in Hungary between January 1st and 14th 1970. The Central Statistical Office, basing itself on summaries prepared by local government councils, issued preliminary figures on February 7th. These may be revised following detailed checking and processing.

On January 1st Hungary had a population of 10,314,152, 353,108 (3.5 per cent) more than at the time of the last census on Jan. 1st 1960 and 15 per cent more than twenty-five years ago, at the time of the country's liberation. Population density (the area of Hungary is 93,030 sq.kms) was 111 per sq.kms, four more than ten years ago. A hundred years ago, on the 1st of January 1870, at the time of the first official

Hungarian census, 5 million people lived within the boundaries of present-day Hungary.

The average yearly rate of increase of the population in the sixties (0.35 per cent) was fairly low compared with the corresponding figures for other ten-year periods in the past century.

Hungary is 13th of 32 European countries as regards population. Those closest to Hungary are Holland (13 million), Belgium (9.7 million) and Portugal (9.6 million). Hungary's population at the beginning of 1970 was 1.6 per cent of the population of Europe.

On Jan. 1st 1970 there were 4,991,000 men and 5,323,000 women in Hungary. In

the past ten years the number of men went up by 187,000 (3.9 per cent) and that of women by 166,000 (3.2 per cent). At the moment there are 1067 women for every 1000 men, six fewer than ten years ago, but still more than at the time of any pre-World-War II census.

Increasing urbanisation

Urbanisation continued since the last census. On January 1st 1970, 19 per cent of the population lived in Budapest, 26 per cent in other towns and 55 per cent in rural communities. During the past hundred years the proportion of those living in rural communities went down by degrees. Bearing present administrative boundaries in mind the figure was 74 per cent in 1870, 62 per cent in 1949 and 59 per cent in 1960. The proportion of those living in Budapest increased considerably. It was 6 per cent a hundred years ago, 17 per cent in 1949 and 18 per cent in 1960. The share of other towns hardly grew until mid-century (20 per cent in 1870, 21 per cent in 1949), since then their rate of increase has speeded up (in 1960 already 23 per cent of the country's population lived in such towns, the present figure is 26 per cent.)

Since the last census (1960) the population of Budapest has gone up by 135,000 (7.5 per cent), and that of other towns by 16 per cent. The increase was considerably higher in county boroughs (21 per cent) than in small towns (14 per cent). Compared to the fifties the rate of population growth has gone down in all towns, particularly in Budapest and in small towns.

At the theoretical time of the census, Jan. 1st 1970, 1,939,522 people stayed in Budapest. The number of people registered as Budapest residents is higher than that. 1,882,000 are registered as permanent residents and 135,000 as temporary ones. Budapest's day-time population is higher still, a number commute to work or study.

Miskolc has the largest population of all

the county boroughs (173,000). The third most populous town is Debrecen (155,000), Pécs is the fourth. The population of Pécs, following a 27 per cent growth in ten years now approaches 146,000. Szeged also has a population of more than a hundred thousand. It is close to 119,000.

There are fourteen county boroughs in Hungary with a population of over 40,000. Győr is the most populous amongst them (87,000); more than 70,000 each live in Kecskemét, Székesfehérvár and Nyíregyháza. Dunaújváros has shown the fastest growth since 1960 (43 per cent), but Székesfehérvár, Szolnok and Tatabánya also showed considerable growth. The only largish town whose population decreased was Hódmezővásárhely (2 per cent). The population of Sopron and Békéscsaba went up by a mere 10 per cent. (See table on p. 176.)

The population of rural communities went down by 2.4 per cent in the past ten years. Between 1949 and 1960 their population still showed a rise of 2.5 per cent.

Not counting Budapest or the county boroughs, only nine of the nineteen counties showed an increase in their population. The population of ten counties went down.

Population growth

Population growth in three counties achieved significant proportions. In Komárom County the population increased by 12 per cent, in Pest County by 11 per cent and in Fejér County by 8 per cent in the course of ten years.

The rate of growth in these counties too was smaller than in the fifties. The rate of growth was higher than average (4 to 5 per cent) in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Veszprém and Győr-Sopron counties. The population decreased most significantly (3 to 4 per cent) in Békés, Hajdú-Bihar, Csongrád and Tolna counties. Owing to the migration of the labour force, the population also decreased in three of these counties; Hajdú-Bihar was

	Population (in thousands)				Increase or decrease (—) between 1960 and 1970	
	1870 I. 1.	1949 I. 1.	1960 I. 1.	1970 I. 1.	thousands	per cent
Budapest	302	1590	1805	1940	135	7.5
Miskolc	31	109	144	173	29	20.2
Debrecen	43	111	130	155	25	19.5
Pécs	29	88	115	146	31	26.6
Szeged	47	87	99	119	20	19.8
Győr	28	59	72	87	15	20.5
Kecskemét	31	57	66	77	11	16.7
Székesfehérvár	23	42	57	72	15	27.8
Nyíregyháza	19	48	57	71	14	24.3
Tatabánya	3	40	52	65	13	25.1
Szombathely	13	48	55	65	10	18.2
Szolnok	16	37	49	61	12	26.2
Békéscsaba	27	42	50	55	5	10.5
Kaposvár	7	34	43	54	11	24.4
Hódmezővásárhely	41	49	54	53	—1	—1.7
Sopron	22	36	41	45	4	9.3
Eger	21	32	39	45	6	17.1
Dunaújváros	4	4	31	44	13	42.7

the exception, between 1949 and 1960, but to a considerably smaller extent. (See table on p. 177.)

Number of dwellings

According to preliminary figures there are 3,157,000 dwellings in Hungary, an increase of 400,000 (15 per cent) in ten years. The rate of growth in the past ten years was the highest since 1930. As against a yearly average rate of growth of 1.5 per cent in the sixties, that between 1949 and 1960 was 1.2 per cent, and that of the thirties 1 per cent. Almost a third more dwellings are available now than were available before the Second World War, though the population has grown by a mere 11 per cent.

Since the rate of increase in the number of dwellings exceeded population growth,

this has meant a significant improvement in housing conditions. The number of people per hundred dwellings has gone down by about 10 per cent in the past ten years.

The number of dwellings has increased most significantly in provincial towns between 1960 and 1970 (by more than a quarter.) The increase was 18 per cent in Budapest and 8 per cent in rural communities.

The number of dwellings has increased most significantly in the counties of Komárom (23 per cent) Pest (23 per cent) and Veszprém (19 per cent). At the same time the number of dwellings hardly increased in Tolna (5 per cent), Hajdú-Bihar (6 per cent), Békés (6 per cent), and Baranya (7 per cent).

Of the dwellings built between Jan. 1st 1960 and Jan. 1st 1970 only 33 per cent were one-roomed, 61 per cent two-roomed and 6 per cent contained three or more rooms. In this period a large number of one-

	Population (in thousands)		Increase or decrease (—) between 1960 and 1970	
	1960 I. I.	1970 I. I.	in thousands	per cent
Budapest	1805	1940	135	7.5
County boroughs:				
Debrecen	130	155	25	19.5
Miskolc	144	173	29	20.2
Pécs	115	146	31	26.6
Szeged	99	119	20	19.8
Counties:				
Baranya	285	280	—5	—1.8
Bács-Kiskun	586	573	—13	—2.2
Békés	468	447	—21	—4.5
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	581	608	27	4.6
Csongrád	335	323	—12	—3.5
Fejér	359	389	30	8.4
Győr-Sopron	391	404	13	3.5
Hajdú-Bihar	393	375	—18	—4.5
Heves	348	348	0	0.2
Komárom	270	302	32	11.8
Nógrád	236	241	5	2.3
Pest	781	870	89	11.3
Somogy	371	363	—8	—2.0
Szabolcs-Szatmár	586	592	6	1.0
Szolnok	462	450	—12	—2.7
Tolna	267	259	—8	—3.0
Vas	283	281	—2	—0.7
Veszprém	392	409	17	4.2
Zala	274	267	—7	—2.5
Hungary (total)	9961	10 314	353	3.5

room dwellings were demolished, or additional rooms were built. As a result of this the number, of one-roomed dwellings went down 12 per cent in ten years and their proportion went down from 61 per cent to 47 per cent. At the same time the number of two-roomed dwellings went up by 55 per cent, and their proportion went up from 32 per cent ten years ago to a present 43 per cent. The number and proportion of dwell-

ings containing three or four rooms also went up.

The increase in the size of dwellings also contributed to an improvement in housing conditions. According to estimates the number of people per hundred rooms went down by 20 per cent. The number of rooms is at present in excess of 5,200,000 which is 1,150,000 (28 per cent) more than ten years ago.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

DEBIT AND DEBILITY

New Fiction

Recently two Hungarian novels were published which deal with slums and with physical and spiritual poverty. Both of them introduced new writers to the Hungarian reader, and both of them were gifted, notable contributions. One of them was György Konrád's "The Visitor" (*A látogató*)¹ and the other Anna Jókai's 4447.

As a matter of fact, two are not much, not even in the literature of a small nation like ours, but they do provide a basis for a passion for theorizing, a passion which thrives so well under our climate that sometimes it overcomes even a more practical minded critic, such as I like to think I am. I read the two books in close succession, followed by Anna Jókai's excellent volume of short stories,² which appeared soon after her novel; and I wondered in consternation whether Zola's spirit had come to haunt Hungarian literature? Or is this just a natural reaction? Not so long ago it was not considered proper (and certainly not advisable from the point of view of publication) to make even the vaguest reference to the existence of squalor in today's Hungary—our writers may be reacting to the much too rosy pictures of the recent past with this kind of counter-image. If this were the case, one could hardly be surprised; at most one could question the value of the reaction. As for the facts, it is undeniable that poverty still exists in Hungary, but, unlike before

the war, it is no longer a social problem, but a problem society tries to solve (not to speak of the fact that a smaller number of people is involved—but then, statistics cannot be relevant to literary values).

Anna Jókai's newest novel "Debit and Credit" (*Tartozik és követel*, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1970, 339 pp.) reduces the appetite for theorizing. The fact that the author quite unnecessarily drags in physical and spiritual squalor even in a novel of an entirely different setting indicates that her first novel was not an example of a new trend, but that it sprang from her own background experience. In her new novel this predilection appears as an obsession, a trick, a straining for theatricality. It is the story of the love, marriage and cooling-off of two contrasting personalities. Ildikó, the girl, is a music teacher: she is purposeful and resolute, a Spartan, hard on herself and others, she is obsessively saving money for something—in the novel it is a flat—she is unbending and without understanding. Her exalted determination makes her an almost clinical case. The man, Miklós, is lovable, easy-going, irresponsible, free with his money, generous and lazy. Each is a quint-

¹ Reviewed in *The N.H.Q.*, No. 36, p. 153-154. See also two chapters from the novel on pp. 109 of this issue.

² See Anna Jókai's short story "Hungarian Lesson" in *The N.H.Q.* No. 33, pp. 64-65.

essential example of his or her type—especially Ildikó. This completely corrodes the physical and intellectual love which existed between these two, it eats up their marriage in one year. The complete disintegration of their marriage is prevented only by the serious illness and approaching death of Miklós's wise, understanding, saintly foster-father.

I found the formula rather rigid, and this affects the novel in the last analysis. The wish to counterpoint prompts Miss Jókai to exaggerate—chiefly in her portrayal of Miklós's happy-go-lucky improvidence—in a manner that might do in a satire, but is entirely out of place in such a serious and even humourless novel. The same formula compels the author to make her two principal figures more and more provocatively obsessive, not to leave the process of disintegration to the inevitable clash between their sharply differing natures, but to portray them—especially the heroine—increasingly irrational. But the author does not stop even at this accelerated clinical process.

The formula demands more blood—or rather the morbid flesh of unnecessary figures and complications. Ildikó, the wife, is an illegitimate slum child who does not even know who her father was: not surprising as her mother has always been—and still is, at the time of the story—addicted to promiscuity. But there is more to come. From her various affairs and marriages the mother has acquired another child, the twelve-year-old Trudi, who is—why shouldn't she be?—feeble-minded and whom—quite incomprehensively—Ildikó is fostering in her single sublet room—instead of choosing the far more expedient (and cheaper!) solution of putting her into an institution for the handicapped. Only the author knows the function of such a squalid background, for she has failed to justify it in the novel's structure.

To be quite accurate, it does manage to answer the question to some extent. For what else could provide an adequate con-

trast to Miklós's background? He comes from an aristocratic family, to be sure (although his parents who died in the war must have belonged to the lesser and more recent aristocracy). His foster-father, a surveyor and friend of Miklós's late parents, also failed to cure him of his aristocratic prodigality. And, of course, blood will tell not only in aristocrats, but also in the lumpen-proletariat.

For me this real and exciting, one could say everyday marital conflict seemed incredible, an artificial make-believe, because of the above-mentioned exaggerations. It is chiefly due to Anna Jókai's female figures that I nevertheless read her novel with some admiration and with occasional enjoyment. Her previous novel (better than the present one) had already impressed me with an ability to create very forceful and very real female monsters. Everyday monsters, with everyday obsessions and everyday nastiness. Ildikó's figure is one of the best of its kind. She is an upright, hysterically determined and lethally foresighted, scheming tyrant who will unhesitatingly sacrifice anything and everything for her own empire—in this case a separate flat. And although less significant and more human, the other female figures in the novel are equally vivid.

On the other hand, men are depicted as weaklings who deserve to be pushed around, and whose only defence against their utter subordination is their unreliability. Except, of course, the one male figure who seems to be destined in both novels to represent the author's ideal. In each of the two books an old man is the positive hero, the understanding, the wise, with insight and forgiveness, who wants to help those whom he loves even with his death and illness. These attractive old people are like saints painted by Fra Angelico. But unfortunately they are equally unreal.

The relationship between literature and reality is not merely a fundamental point of all literary theories but it also stimulates the reader's thinking and enjoyment—and some-

times his curiosity. Now, I am not thinking of the more hidden, less direct and more contestable aspects of this relationship, but merely the classically simple recreation of reality. Still, there are instances when literary taste and ambition demand a yet more direct description: reportage. The significance and popularity of this direct portrayal of reality is obvious in cases where sharp social conflicts speak for themselves. This was the case with the early works of Upton Sinclair, and Jack London's *People of the Abyss*. This approach was also needed in the 1930s in Hungary when the misery of peasant life was not only discovered, but was in fact regarded by some as a challenge. It is less easy to explain the new vogue for the genre, be it *cinéma vérité* or Truman Capote's reportage. As a matter of fact, I dare not attempt an explanation, but I am very aware of its tension and restlessness.

Reportage on a literary plane has become fashionable in Hungary, too. Probably György Moldova is the most interesting writer in this genre, the same György Moldova whose novels were attacked sharply by a number of critics—myself included in *The New Hungarian Quarterly* (No. 36)—especially for a naive romanticism and an inadequate sense of realism.

"The Tattooed Cross (*Tetovált kereszt*, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1969, 237 pp.),³ the newest collection of Moldova's reports, actually satisfies not only the demand for reality but even our appetite for romanticism better than his novels. He chooses his topics in accordance with his own romantic inclinations. He writes about juvenile delinquents, about the pioneering and gold-digging atmosphere of the construction of a large new, industrial project, and the rise and fall of a gifted footballer. Such subjects are also present in his novels. But in his novels this real material is overcrowded, it is condensed into a romanticism with imaginative trimmings, and so loses its credibility.

³ The report from which the volume derives its title was published in *The N.H.Q.*, No. 33.

Truth, which is romantic enough in itself, by definition curbs and disciplines an undisciplined, unselective novelist who none the less knows how to write. And for Moldova, the genre has the added advantage that he does not need to create a puppet hero to represent his own ideal of the physically strong and stoical male. Here he himself can be the observer—and to some extent the stoical hero—and the multiple characters from real life partially and naturally make up for the absence of detailed portrayal in the mere glimpse he provides of himself (for instance, that he himself has certain skills in which the juvenile delinquents are less proficient). In this genre one need not tell as much about the world as in a novel: it is enough to relate perceptively whatever the author regards as important and interesting about his chosen subject. And this is something that Moldova does excellently. Every single report of his is full of sharp and authentic images. In a ten-line scene he can portray characteristically and suggestively even the most complex figure, and he sets this vivid and interesting material firmly and cleverly into the framework of essential information. The fiction-writer Moldova displays a split personality: he writes either humourlessly bleak, romantically dramatic stories, or brilliantly humorous absurd satire. On the other hand, his reportage shows no trace of this schizophrenia; in these, humour manages to co-exist with tragedy, drama with the absurd, and reality with the romantic. For anyone who wished to gain some insight into the hidden nooks and crannies of Hungarian life rather than just its day-to-day existence, I would warmly recommend György Moldova's reports.

Our young, or should I say, neophyte prose writers know how to write. They do not imitate anyone, but join either one of the two simple stylistic trends now dominant: they either build their short stories on behaviouristic scenes articulated with brief dialogue, or they choose an unimpass-

sioned and unbroken, monotone narrative style, describing little beyond the visible actions of the characters and leaving the rest to the reader's imagination. Their themes are naturally drawn from their own lives; never before have I read so many stories about children and students. Trying to be accurate and simple, they attempt to shape their experience into stories.

And yet all their appealing qualities are somehow unsatisfactory. Reading the works of these young people, sometimes I have the impression of listening to a chorus always singing in unison. There isn't a false note anywhere, but there are no solo parts. Each voice is like the others. No one should praise derivative writing, but I do think that for a young writer it may be useful to be caught up in the magic of the style of some brilliant predecessor, to get training in various forms and styles at the beginning of his literary career, until he finds his own individual voice. In the case of the young Hungarian writers of today I miss this searching interest in form and idiom. Since they have not completed any literary apprenticeship, their ability to write is impressive only at the first glance. A more careful examination reveals that although their talent and aptitude produces correct descriptions and dialogues, their lack of editing, their floundering balance of emphasis and inability to round the story into an integrated whole, and their frequent shattering of inner time and rhythm show insufficient attention to such aspects of the literary craft as can be learnt. Some of the short stories, where the structure is provided by a clipped-out scene itself, where there is no need to wrestle with the time cuts, are sometimes excellent. But their longer stories almost without exception fall apart at the seams, loose and unintegrated, barely held together by the personality of the main character, they have no other plot except the whimsical doings of the hero.

It was Péter Módos's first volume of short stories, "The Run" (*A futás*, Szép-

íródalmi Könyvkiadó, 1969, 297 pp.) which triggered off the above-listed misgivings. There are some fine shorter narrative pieces in the volume; I am thinking chiefly of the ones based on childhood experience. In these the situation itself is dramatic and poignant. After the war those of the German-speaking population of the Swabian villages of Hungary who, seeing Hitler's initial successes, had claimed German citizenship, were expelled from Hungary, and poor Hungarian peasants were settled into the deserted houses of these villages. The native Swabians received the newcomers with suspicion and hatred although most of them were much too intimidated to give vent to their feelings. The young child senses this restless atmosphere without understanding it. This situation is the source of the best of Módos's stories. Into brief, almost uneventful scenes he can compress not only childhood anxiety, but also the relative truths and half-truths of opposing parties, their anger and fears.

His experiences at university were, however, more complex, and they cannot be condensed into a single scene; the intellectual, emotional and physical restlessness of those years demands longer stories and wider detours. There is, for instance, the story which furnishes the title for the volume and describes the last days of university life followed by a rambling vacation tour of Poland. The figures are good, individual scenes are good, but the whole is unconnected, piecemeal, loquacious and amorphous.

Although there may be reasons for regret on seeing correct mediocrity instead of daring and extravagance, there is not much sense in the critic's vexation or in his patronizing anxiety. The fact is that the most gifted will sooner or later go through their own critical years of experimentation. Except, of course, that they will do it squandering more energy, losing more emotional heat and subject to greater risks.

Luckily these generalizations do not apply to all young Hungarian writers of fiction. They do not hold, for instance, for Péter

Nádas, well under thirty, who is just as pleasingly individual in his second volume of stories "Who Finds the Key?" (*Kulcskereső játék*, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1969, 265pp.) as he was in his first. In Hungary only few people write intellectual fiction, and for some time there was little appreciation of intellectual *belles-lettres*. People interested in literature seemed to be entranced by the spell of primitive force and primitive talent, and adopted the undeclared thesis that for a fiction-writer to be intelligent was not merely unnecessary but even slightly suspicious, giving an impression that the really intelligent novelist is not a master talent but only an erudite essayist who has learned the rules of the game.

Today, in the wake of such outstanding writers as Tibor Déry and István Örkény this suspicion has been dispelled. Nevertheless, there are still too few serious authors with an intellectual bent. This shortage in itself calls attention to Péter Nádas: and his writing is really remarkably good, ironic, playful and clever. He does not write about himself as do lyric poets and most young writers of fiction, but he observes, analyses and interprets, and thus he is more perceptive of the relative, shifting, changing and complex nature of human relations than his contemporaries.

"The Widow's House" (*Klára asszony háza*) is the most fascinating story in the volume. Klára, the elderly widow of a martyred revolutionary, is writing her memoirs. To have more time for this work, she employs a maid, Jucika. Jucika is a strange creature, above all she won't do as she is told, she is uninhibited, wayward, undisciplined and stupid, though time and

again she shows astonishing intelligence, sensitivity and subtlety. From the very first moment she annoys the widow who is angered by her stubborn stupidity and tactlessness and is unconsciously upset by her youth, especially as the teenage boy next door at once falls for all that female flesh that is Jucika. He hangs around the house and Jucika all the time—or rather a full day and night—and tells the most astounding lies to impress her. Life in the widow's house loses all semblance of order: no one can sleep, late at night Jucika and Klára are together vacuuming the house while the boy is prowling around outside, in the garden. Instead of writing her memoirs, Klára is ruminating over her memories as a woman. And when the boy impudently and determinedly climbs through the window and into bed, Jucika's bed, a peculiar change comes over the characters. Klára suddenly becomes sure that she needs the annoying and obtuse Jucika—vitality, the present, some kind of human relationship. Thick-skinned and insensitive, Jucika becomes sure that during the night she has committed an offence against her mistress which makes it impossible for her to stay. She leaves as Klára, much as she would like to keep her, is unable to urge her to stay.

This is the story I liked best in Nádas's new volume, but the other five are also excellent. Every one of them portrays the fluctuation, the transitional balance and loss of balance in emotions and human relationships with great subtlety and sensitivity, and with a surprisingly mature and unbiased insight—rare virtues which would be to the credit even of older and more experienced writers.

IMRE SZÁSZ

IGNOTUS

The Selected Writings of Ignotus; (*Ignotus válogatott írásai*) Budapest, Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1969, 725pp.

Ignotus (1869–1949) was one of the leading critics and journalists of the Hungarian literary revolution that took place at the beginning of the twentieth century. Now, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of Ignotus's death, a rich selection of his versatile and extensive work has been made by Aladár Komlós. With the publication of this excellently edited anthology, Hungarian publishing is paying off a long overdue debt. It is regrettable that for almost fifty years no independent Ignotus volume was published, and the idea of a collection of this kind does not seem to have occurred to anyone earlier. During the last twenty years not much serious attention was paid to a writer who stirred up many fertile storms in his own days as the founder and first editor of the most important journal in Hungarian literary history *Nyugat* (West); but just recently, apropos of this volume, *The Times Literary Supplement* paid him a detailed tribute (TLS 25. 9. 1969). The reason for this neglect may have been that the bulk of Ignotus's work appeared in the recent past, and as a rule every period is only interested in the really outstanding works produced by its immediate predecessors. Scholars once again show interest when the period concerned has become part of history. Professor Komlós, the editor of this volume and the author of the preface, places Ignotus correctly: "...his chief and genuine significance lies in the struggles he waged for a truer and freer literature, for the autonomy of literature, as against the intolerantly conservative literary policy which reigned supreme at the turn of the century."

He was one of the born greats of journalism. That this way of putting things expresses admiration, unfortunately needs to

be stressed—at least in Hungary. But during Ignotus's creative years the true journalist still ranked high in intellectual, economic and political life. At the turn of the century and during the first quarter of the present one, literature assumed again the importance of public affairs, becoming a forum for the discussion of major issues. The boundaries between the work of poet, writer of fiction, and publicist faded; the newspapers expressed and shaped public opinion.

The best traditions of journalism were a family heritage in the case of Ignotus, together with his knowledge of languages, his connections, and wide educational background. All these he supplemented with a passionate interest in public affairs, a swift and elastic intelligence, extensive travel, his audacity of expression, the keenness of his critical spirit, and above all his militantly liberal feelings and philosophy. He was committed to human rights, free enquiry and freedom of speech. In the Hungary of the turn of the century all these qualities inevitably placed him with the left. Public affairs dominated Hungarian writing of the time. But there was a field where this public-minded literature showed itself most at home. The essay dealing with public affairs was an amalgam of poetry and philosophy, the science of society and criticism, the stand one took and political tactics, an amalgam and also a struggle between these apparently opposed forces. This type of essay seemed to be custom-made for Ignotus's type of mind.

Early in his career, he published a study of Heine's work and he remained faithful to this long-suffering German poet and outstanding journalist all his life. With exceptional discernment he was quick to recognize the first signs of talent, and also of stupidity parading in the mask of respect. He was daring in the service of sound innovations and in the exposure of mere conventionalism, and

he was persistent, quick-witted and inventive in the characterization of each. He recognized not only the exceptional greatness and brilliance of Ady, he correctly judged every poet and personality of note among his contemporaries. Babits, Móricz, Kosztolányi and many other poets and writers, and of the members of the younger generation even Gyula Illyés and Attila József owe something to him—chiefly to his open-minded interest, clever criticism and militant support. He was exceedingly well-informed and up-to-date in the foreign literature of the times, and he used this information to very good avail in his work at home. It was not snobbery that prompted him to probe into related phenomena in world literature in order to cast a sharper light on certain hard-to-

understand symptoms and occurrences in Hungary, but the desire and need to put things into their proper place in the widest possible context.

Aladár Komlós's selection is a good guide to the world of Ignóty, presenting a few characteristic items from every area of his work. The volume is made up of the following sections: Ignóty on Himself, Poems, Translations of Poetry, Short Stories, Critical Essays, Portraits, Thoughts and Ideas, Literary Battles. The selection was made from works which are still interesting today, the choice shows a keen knowledge of intellectual life today. It is arranged in a manner that shows a clear, concise and comprehensible picture of the versatility of Ignóty's work.

DEZSŐ KERESZTURY

FOR YOUR BOOKSHELF

Works by Hungarian authors recently published in translation

- ADY, Endre: Poems (2nd edition in German), Corvina Press, Budapest
- BERKOVITS, Ilona: Illuminated Manuscripts in Hungary (ill.) Corvina Press Budapest
- BODROGLIGETI, András: A 14th Century Turkish Translation of Sadi's Gulistan, Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
- BOGNÁR, József: The New Economic Mechanism in Socialist Hungary (in French), Corvina Press, Budapest — Les Editions du Pavillon, Paris
- CSAPODI, Csaba-GÁRDONYI, Klára: Bibliotheca Corviniana (The Library of King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary) (In German) Corvina Press, Budapest — Herbig Verlag, München
- DÉRY, Tibor: Short stories (in French), Éditions du Seuil, Paris
- DÉRY, Tibor: The Excommunicator (in Swedish), Albert Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, (in Italian), Feltrinelli, Milano
- DERCSÉNYI, Dezső: The Preservation of Historical Monuments in Hungary (also in French), ill. Corvina Press, Budapest
- FÉL, Edit-HOFER, Tamás: Proper Peasants (Traditional Life in a Hungarian Village), Corvina Press, Budapest — Aldine Publishing House, Chicago
- FÉL, Edit-HOFER, Tamás-CSILLÉRY Klára: Hungarian Peasant Art (also in French and in German) ill., Corvina Press, Budapest

- GÁBRY, György: Old Musical Instruments (also in French), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest
- GÁRAS, Klára: Masterpieces from Budapest (also in French, German, Polish and Russian and Italian), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest
- GÁRDONYI, Géza: Slave of the Huns, Corvina Press, Budapest — Dent and Sons Ltd., London
- GÁRDONYI, Géza: Stars of Eger (in German), 5th edition, Corvina Press, Budapest
- GÁRDONYI, Géza: Deadly Half-Moon (in German), 3rd edition, with ill., Corvina Press, Budapest — Prisma Verlag, Leipzig
- GÁRDOS, Miklós (ed.): Hungary 69 (a political, cultural and general handbook, in English, published also in French, German, Spanish and Russian), Corvina Press, Budapest
- GELLÉRI, Andor, Endre: Short stories (in German) Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main
- GERŐ, László: Castles in Hungary (also in French), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest
- GODA, Gábor: The Lonely Journey (in Czech), Melantrich, Prague
- ILLYÉS, Gyula: People of the Pusztá — Lunch in the Castle (in French and German), Gallimard, Paris — Corvina Press, Budapest — Henry Goverts Verlag, Stuttgart
- ILLYÉS, Gyula: A Tribute to Gyula Illyés (also in French), 34 poems, Occidental Press, Washington, La Maison du Poete, Bruxelles
- HEGEDŰS, András (ed.): Sociological Essays (in French), Corvina Press, Budapest — Editions Anthropos, Paris
- JANIKOVSZKY, Éva: Even Granny Was Young Once (juvenile), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest — Tyndall Mitchell, London
- JANIKOVSZKY, Éva: Happiness! (juvenile), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest — Tyndall Mitchell, London
- JANIKOVSZKY, Éva: If I Were Grown Up... (juvenile), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest — Tyndall Mitchell, London
- JANIKOVSZKY, Éva: Balthasar and Barnabas (juvenile), (also in German, French, Serb-Croat and Slovene) Corvina Press, Budapest — Kinderbuchverlag, Berlin — Buchheim, Feldafing, ill.
- KALICZ, Nándor: Clay Gods (also in French, German, ill.) Corvina Press, Budapest
- LUKÁCS, György: History and Class Consciousness (in German), Luchterhand, Neuwied bei Köln
- MAJOR, Máté: Pier Luigi Nervi (in German), ill., Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest — Henschelverlag, Berlin
- MESTERHÁZI, Lajos (ed.): Budapest (a guide published also in Czech, French, German, Italian, Russian), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest
- MIKSZÁTH, Kálmán: A Strange Marriage (reprint), Corvina Press, Budapest
- MÓRA, Ferenc: The Magic Cloak (in German), Corvina Press, Budapest
- MÓRICZ, Zsigmond: Be Faithful Unto Death (also in French and in Czech), Corvina Press, Budapest; Prace, Prague
- NÉMETH, Lajos: Modern Art in Hungary (also in German), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest
- RÉNYI, Alfréd: Probability Theory, Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences — North-Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam
- SAJÓ, Géza-SOLTÉSZ, Zoltán (ed.): Catalogue of Incunabula Preserved in Hungarian Public Libraries I-II (in Latin, introductory study in English), ill., Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

- SÁNDOR, Frigyes: Musical Education in Hungary (2nd edition), Corvina Press, Budapest — Boosey and Hawkes, New York
- SÁNTA, Ferenc: Twenty Hours (in Italian), C. Longanesi, Milano
- SÁNTA, Ferenc: The Traitor (in Polish), P.I.W. Warsaw
- SOMFAI, László: Joseph Haydn. His Life in Contemporary Pictures, ill., Corvina Press, Budapest — Faber & Faber, London
- SZABÓ, Magda: Moses I. 22 (in Swedish), Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm
- SZABÓ, Magda: The Fawn (in Norwegian), H. Aschehoug Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo
- SZABOLCSI, Bence: The Development of Classical Music from Vivaldi to Mozart (in German), Corvina Press, Budapest — Breitkopf und Härtel, Wiesbaden
- SZÁNTÓ, György: The Stradivari (in German), Paul Neff Verlag, Wien-Berlin
- SZÁSZ, Imre: Cloud Header (in Finnish), Kirjayhtymä, Helsinki
- SZENTIVÁNYI, Jenő: The World of Oceans (in French), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest — La Farandole, Paris
- TRENCSENYI-WALDAPFEL, Imre: From Homer to Virgil. Personages and Thoughts of Antiquity (in German), Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest — Aufbau Verlag, Berlin
- VÍZVÁRY, Mariska: Treasure Trove of Hungarian Cookery, Corvina Press, Budapest
- WEÖRES, Sándor: Poems (in German), Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main
- ZÁDOR, Anna: The Cathedral of Esztergom (also in French, German), ill., Corvina Press, Budapest
- ZOLTAI, Dénes: Ethos and Affect. History of the Philosophical Aesthetics of Music from its Beginnings to Hegel. (In German), Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

ARTS

ENDRE BÁLINT

THE SZENTENDRE SCHOOL

Hungarian art is still unknown beyond the country frontiers. This has in no way been changed by what were called representative selections shown abroad from time to time. Works were chosen for such shows on the basis of officially established prestige and position, and there was no attempt to give a true survey. Important figures and schools were left out. In short, whereas the Hungarian public knows say French or Italian art including the most modern, art lovers abroad do not know Hungarian art. Hungarian artists, whose names are not unknown abroad, such as László Moholy-Nagy, Zoltán Kemény,* Vasarely,** Miklós Schöffer, György Kepes and István Hajdú have very likely achieved renown as a result of their living and working outside the country for many years, in some cases most of their lives. Lajos Kassák*** is possibly the only exception. He lived in Hungary most of his life. He became known all over Europe in early life thanks to both his art and the periodical he published, and the magic of his name lived on long after he ceased to work. The reason for this is self-evident. His painting was—so to speak—in tune with his time, he did not lag behind, he followed himself and not others or their schools.

It must not be forgotten that the continuity of Hungarian art was shaken by historic calamities such as the Mongol in-

vasion and the 150 years of the Turkish occupation, periods during which a large proportion of the country's art was destroyed. The absence of spiritual continuity can hardly be understood by peoples who can pride themselves on rich traditions. Hungarian art resumed its faltering steps in the early 19th century and this hesitation has continued to our times. It was not chance that Béla Bartók and Lajos Vajda**** in music and art respectively indicated that folk art was the only true source on which one could rely. This might lead to spiritual impoverishment but others, in for Hungarians this programmatic recognition by Bartók and Vajda meant cultural enrichment.

I do not want to discuss in detail those European movements that had swept Hungarian art along there would only be point in doing so if they had contributed to creating something specifically Hungarian, or if the Hungarians had been the initiators (such as Vasarely in the case of Op-Art).

It is strange that not a single Hungarian artist can be included except in a forced sort of way, in any particular movement. This

See

* No. 24, p. 180 of The N.H.Q.

** No. 25, p. 188 and No. 36, p. 77.

*** No. 28, p. 107

**** No. 16, p. 131 and No. 33, p. 191

paradoxically is the reason why western critics refuse to employ currently accepted standards just as they were not willing to judge Csontváry or Vajda by the same standards by which they judged artists living in Paris, sometimes rightly, sometimes overvaluing them. If Tivadar Csontváry* had been acknowledged soon after his death (in 1919) the art world may well have been astonished to find out that there lived in Eastern Europe a painter whose passion was equal to Van Gogh's, whose ecstasy was equal to El Greco's and whose integrity was equal to the Douanier Rousseau's. However, it was only in 1948, just about thirty years after he died that Csontváry's works were shown in Paris. And although the *Cabiers d'Arts* devoted an issue to his painting—practically nobody knows of him apart from a small group. Even those who do know him will misjudge him, for instance those writers—otherwise excellent ones—who force Csontváry—quite wrongly—into the category of “naïve artists”. There was a “genuine” Hungarian naïve artist, András Süli, who died not long ago. He was awarded a valuable second prize at the 1969 triennial of “Naïve Painters” at Bratislava. If we conjure up his pictures side by side with Csontváry's it becomes obvious that Csontváry was not a “naïve” painter; those are naïve who consider him such. I only mention all this because the appraisal of a small nation's art (if performed at all) is fraught with so many errors that it is almost we who have to feel ashamed because of these errors. In Vajda's case, too, there were a number of misunderstandings both at home and abroad. But, at the same time, there are also views, such as those expressed by Micheli, the Italian art-historian who, a good many years ago, when discussing things in Hungary with those “competent” to decide such matters, suggested that Vajda's pictures should be sent to the Venice Biennale. Another Italian, Fachetti, the owner of the Fachetti Gallery in Paris (who did so much for Zoltán Kemény) recognized Vajda's im-

portance and arranged an excellent exhibition from material in the West. It is with shame that I quote a young “modernist” Hungarian art-historian, who meant Vajda, the real founder of the Szentendre School, when writing: “For some artists French Surrealism came in handy, it allowed them to paint texts on the façades of peasant cottages”, etc. etc.

Lajos Vajda died in 1941 at the age of 33. He had lived at Szentendre.** Szentendre is a small town, 20 km from Budapest. Serbians used to live there and, indeed, some Serbian families live there even today, who have five of the seven baroque churches of the town to chose from to celebrate their Orthodox liturgies. There are iconostases and icons in these churches; ancient tombstones with worn Cyrillic characters on their worn surfaces overgrown with moss and lichen are in the churchyard. On the icons and iconostases, there are holy texts, although those seventeenth and eighteenth century iconographers did not know of twentieth century French Surrealism. Vajda knew not only the work of French Surrealist artists but of others as well. He stayed in Paris between 1930 and 1934 and went to see every important exhibition there and read all the important publications. He knew Chagall's paintings onto which the master painted Hebrew texts.

From 1934 to 1941 Vajda spent every summer working at Szentendre. He worked four to five months every year in this charming, peerless small town. He saw things, which a great many other artists working there scarcely perceived, not the landscape, the pictorial quality of the quaint, meandering streets but the visions he projected onto the things and a sequence of experiences ornamented by a garland of “knowledge”, of

See

* No. 7, p. 131, and No. 14, p. 86

** See also the article “Forty Years of Painting at Szentendre” by Lajos Németh in No. 33

remembrance, of the intellect and feelings. But who would have been interested at that time—except Bartók alone—in the spiritual prospect that revealed simultaneously the cultic idiom of so-called primitive peoples and the mirror of those mythical original sources in which a sensitive eye could already recognize the silhouette of today's forms; the possibilities of Brancusi's and Arp's, of Kandinsky's and Klee's art sources, in which this eye could discern Max Ernst's mythology and a childish purity, or, a peasant woman's full-blooded symbolism in the glazing of a plate or the embroidered border of a kerchief? At the time when the majority of artists strove to conjure up the mirage of Impressionism to go with their bread and dripping, there was one artist who neither wanted the one nor the other for his spiritual nutriment. What fate could an artist expect whose world was enriched by sacral emotions or fired by barbaric dramas with a wise sadness and the experiences of pagan rhythms alternating between these two poles? Our world has not been touched by the tempests that Chirico and Ernst had to face, we have not even been given dreams like Chagall's or, to go even further back, we could bear Cézanne's severity only with a padded spirit. Why should we be surprised that, facing the picture of a great visionary, a "connoisseur" says: "If this picture remains here I'll shoot it off". That is how this menace had become a virtually eternal symbol in Vajda's fate, both during his lifetime and after his untimely death.

Nor should the reader consider it due to chance that I began my notes on the Szentendre School with Vajda's name, whose initial is almost at the end of the alphabet, for this is not chance but necessity.

For many years artists have worked at Szentendre and the small town even has an artists' colony. The town on the Danube bank is built on hills; the houses and cottages nestle about and behind one another and the spires of its seven "peasant-Baroque"

churches rise to the skies like spears. The doors of the ancient wine-cellars are embellished with fine wrought iron ornaments and hidden in the depth of gardens are Greek crosses also of wrought iron to remind us of saints and holidays. Squat, heart-shaped tombstones adorned with skulls and crossed bones and with inscriptions today practically illegible point both to transience and eternity. Most of the houses used to be white, the colour of pigeons, and ochre; colours that imbibed the fiery sun during the day to make a sensitive eye burn at dusk. Long and low walls concealed from the uninitiated the "ancient" carts, and dung-heaps, tools and even clean washing, the odds and ends put into the lean-to, and threadbare lives. Even the windows giving on the streets suggested secrets and he who had any imagination could see behind their peculiar railings all that pointed beyond workaday life and its possibilities. Artists who kept on questioning picturesque Szentendre only reiterating like relentless inquisitors: "Tell the truth and nothing but the truth" were not told much by the *genius loci*. But those who mounted the structure of the town as well as their own belief and knowledge upon the sacral and mystical contents of the place were told a great deal, which was of service to Hungarian art.

Indeed, it was at Szentendre in the 'thirties and 'forties that the special kind of art called "Constructive Surrealism" by its creators, Lajos Vajda and Dezső Korniss came into being. As in every similar case it was preceded by a criticism of the false veneration of the present (the 1930s) and the immediate past as well as of the period of Post-Impressionism, which had lasted too long. Criticism and, at the same time a programme: to take genuine notice of Europe and to use the possibilities offered by folk art, moreover, to take into account the special geopolitical position of Hungary, and to make use of the intellectual effects supporting one another at the intersection of

east and west. That is to say, they accepted Bartók's programme. The special situation of a small people is worth bearing in mind. Composers and painters had to do what in other countries was the job of sociologists, of politicians and popular leaders. In the mid-1930s at Szentendre, a couple of painters formulated a definite artistic programme, but in spite of this definiteness their activity was followed by absolute ineffectiveness, by a lack of interest, nay, even by hostility.

Thirty-five years had to pass before this activity matured sufficiently to bring into being the "community" called the "Szentendre School". But the members of this "community" are not related to each other by their style or by any programme they formulated themselves. And yet, what are the features they have in common, the characteristics that mark them off from other artists who for one reason or another formed groups here and there? It is a willingness to exclude contents alien to painting and to admit movements that may sweep towards unknown and undiscovered worlds those who are ready to undertake the risks of such a venture. More palpably: it was Vajda's programme in which the acknowledgement of Europe and the using of the possibilities offered by folk art was proclaimed. Among living artists there are those who express themselves in the structural idiom, like the aged painter Jenő Barcsay,* who, as early as the 'thirties, explored the structure of the hills surrounding the town and who listened to the expressive and nervous throb of these hills later to discipline the town. He analyzed the rigid Byzantine saints in structural formulae and evoked them in his figures; saints that had been seen and noticed by Vajda before him. However, Barcsay could not be consoled by Vajda's faith, whose transcendent devotion was projected on these saints. The darkness of Barcsay's "icons" was condensed by some weird loneliness and fear until it

became impenetrable. And yet, Szentendre and its school could hardly be imagined without Barcsay, the only member of the conservative artists' colony who longed to get rid of the retrograde effect of his surroundings. And we, the young artists of bygone days, could not shake off the effect of his expressive painting. In these notes I have often mentioned Vajda. But there are other things to be said about him: characteristic facts about a revolutionary's life. In his lifetime he had two shows, both in his studio; the *métier* did not know him. There was an air raid in Budapest at the opening of his memorial exhibition in 1943. No notice was taken of his death as none was taken of his life—except by his few friends and followers. Both his life and his destiny remind one of Kafka to a point. He was a man filled with anguish; rich in emotions and of disciplined intellect. He was fully aware of the significance of his investigations. His pictorial vision was, in the beginning, permeated by Eisenstein's and Pudovkin's cinematic view of things and he was somehow linked with Dostoevski. His seemingly different and definable periods were connected with one another by certain metamorphic internal links as well as by the severity of composition and the discipline of form that were apparent through all his periods. Many years after his death his art began to affect the younger generation of painters. Dezső Korniss, who played an important role in the emergence of the "Szentendre School" was the friend of his youth and, for a time, his spiritual comrade-in-arms.

In the summers of 1935 and of 1936 Korniss worked together with Vajda at Szentendre and in the village of Szigetmonostor, on the opposite bank of the Danube. They started their work by collecting folk motifs. Of course, their activity was not the real equivalent of the scholarly music research initiated and pursued by Bartók and Kodály; nor was this necessary,

* See No. 15, p. 73

for the bulk of Hungarian peasant art had already been collected by ethnographers and the exceedingly rich material—both Hungarian and foreign—of the Budapest Museum of Ethnography was at their disposal. This was a different matter: to prove in Hungary that only myths can create forms and only communities can create myths, and again: only myths can create communities. In Hungarian villages the traditions of dancing, singing, ornamentation and architecture showing a continuity of centuries, were preserved much longer than in Western countries where villages, as communities of the past, are ceasing to exist. For Dezső Korniss a folk song, the window of a cottage, a tin crucifix by the roadside, or a tombstone offered inevitable opportunities to make them part of an ornamental anecdote in colour, making use of Surrealistic associations as is done in tales or even more in dreams within tales. A figure smoking a pipe in a window, a fairy tale bird flying above the town hall of Szentendre do not spring from the *joie de vivre* of a Transylvanian teller of tales. Even if he roams in the tragic fields of life, Korniss pursues the idea of "quietly taking note of things" and intimates tragedies like a kindly old postman, who accompanies the black-eyed mourning-letter with a reassuring smile, refusing to suffer himself from the evil tidings he has brought. This attitude of Korniss' is justified by exasperation at the dullness of Hungarian painting and its Post-Impressionistic haziness. As if painting meant an uncertainty of feelings and their dim so-called "lyricism" (József Rippl-Rónai, the friend of Bonnard, Vuillard and Maillol, moreover, their fellow-painter of almost equal standing and the genius Csontváry were the exceptions among the members of the older generation since they understood painting to be expression through colour.) Korniss could not have existed without Szentendre in the same way as Szentendre painting could not exist today without Korniss.

Not only men but art also seems unable to do without women. Let us mention the women artists belonging to the Szentendre School, such as Margit Anna,* Júlia Vajda, Mária Modok, Piroska Szántó** and Erzsébet Vaszkó. The liberating effect Szentendre offered as an atmosphere can be discovered in the works of every one of them: form history that moved on several levels; intellectual currents aiding one another; secrets palpably manifested and trivialities modestly hidden, or the abstract formulae of architecture could not but exert an effect.

Margit Anna has always been particularly susceptible to considering "natural" things miraculous and even more to looking on miracles as natural. Once a year the Serbian community of Szentendre holds a celebration and on such occasions the church doors open, candles burn before the iconostasis and the dark brown and gilded pictures come to life. The Orthodox priest chants his prayers and the choir chants wonderful responses. In the afternoon the young people dance the kolo in the churchyard. Some booths are set up against the walls of the church; in them honey-cake hearts, chains, puppets and hussars are offered for sale. Yes, mounted hussars... Red, blue and yellow decorations trim the dolman, the trousers, the boots and the reins of the small horses. Having admired such a honey-cake hussar, Margit Anna, her imagination not being impeded by any inhibitions, painted herself in the place of the hussar; herself with streaming hair and with that torch in her hand which the Douanier Rousseau gave to an infant on horseback in his "War". With a sure touch Margit Anna entitled her painting "Ars poetica". Some refined persons in Hungary consider these honey-cake figures produced for fairs as *Kitsch*. In my opinion they are transitory coloured marvels of Hungarian folk art. (The carved wooden moulds into which the soft dough of these cakes is poured are preserved in Hungarian museums and are

* See No. 32, p. 207

** See No. 35, p. 177

treasured by collectors!) I have mentioned a painting of Margit Anna's and this picture is, as it were, the triumph of imagination to which, in one way or another, Szentendre has also contributed.

We hardly know anything about Júlia Vajda, who is Lajos Vajda's widow. She conceals her personality like a child playing hide and seek. But she never succeeds in hiding herself altogether, for all those pure in heart always found her. Júlia Vajda had to fight a double battle: on the one hand, to ward off Vajda's influence and to dissolve its intellectual effects in her art at the same time and on the other to create a grammar by means of which she could speak a language whose idiom was her very own. No doubt, she is the most "abstract" among the members of the Szentendre School. This word does not really mean much, perhaps no more than that to interpret the world she uses a code different from that of other artists. For her, planes represent the "base of operations" of the code. Horizontals get even more stressed by the horizontally spread bars of lines. I sometimes think that Júlia Vajda's painting pursues the rhythm of breathing, the remembrance of evanescent forms, the trace of her hardly noticeable steps on the course leading inwards and the well-known command: "Thou shalt not make to thyself graven images!" I could hardly imagine Júlia Vajda's mysticism without the sunsets of Szentendre, which cover the soul with the fine solitude that radiates from her pictures.

It was also in Szentendre's magic circle that Piroska Szántó experienced the shocks of Expressionism and Surrealism. It was now the one, then again the other that was caught in the sieve of her emotions. Sometimes it was from the intertwining of the two that allegorical vegetation and impersonal figures came into being. It is the cavalcade of Szentendre

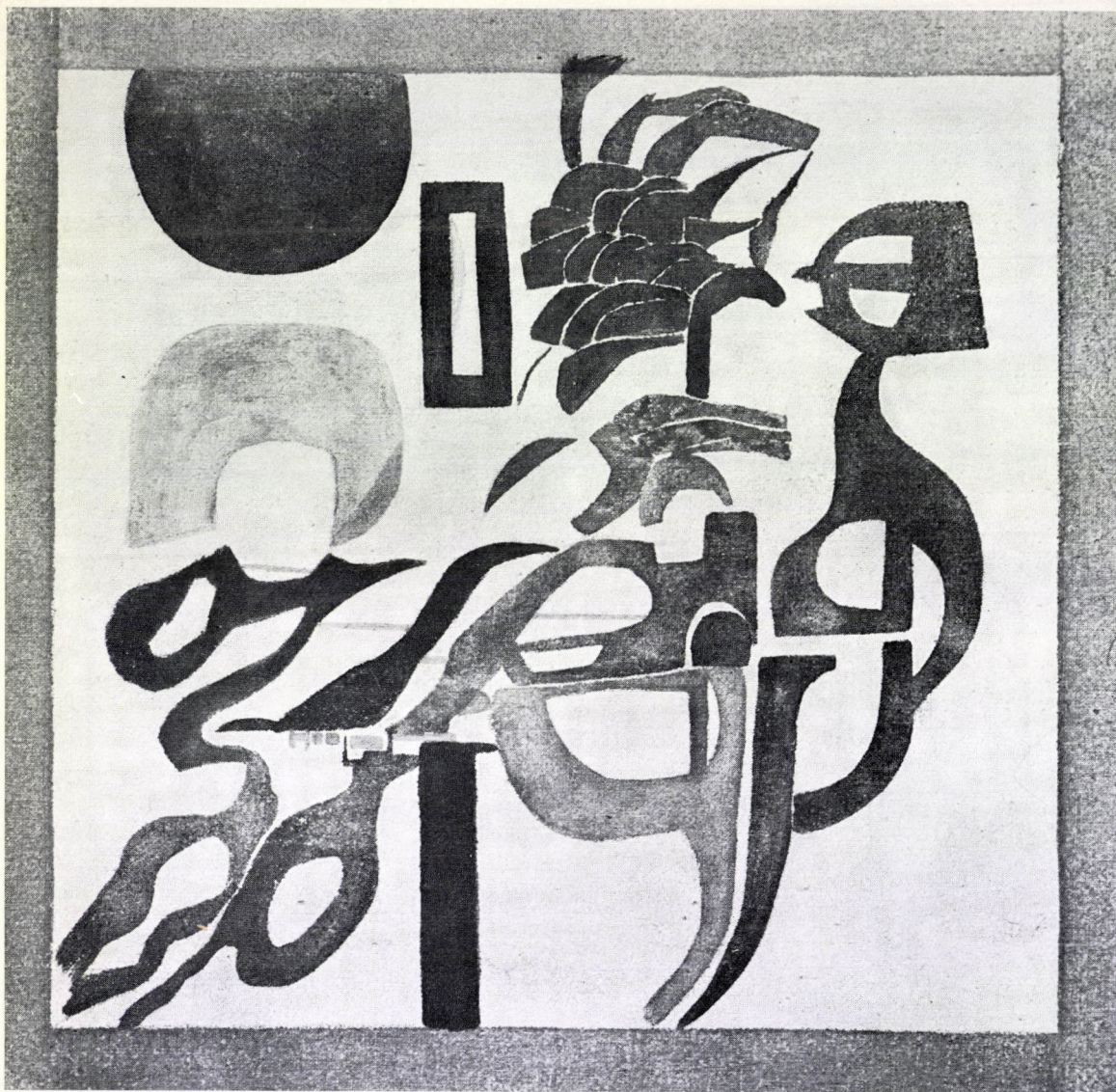
motifs that she experiences again and again; how in flitting and boisterous colour and then in grey-black-white monotonous. Whereas the structural irrationalism of Piroska Szántó's pictures raises questions, Erzsébet Vaszkó undertakes herself to give an irrational explanation of nature. She takes shelter in darkness against the obscenity of light and watches with melancholy the valley in whose corners night has its lair, spots where only distant moonlight steals into the mossy curves. In her pictures genuinely poetic moods are evoked by what is unspoken and enigmatical. Mária Modok has condensed her world in miniatures. Her world are the white cottages of Szentendre, the white reflexes of water or the whiteness of a tablecloth, which merely indicate that she understands the language of purity. Lurking practically on the borderland of abstraction she is watching and listening to the connexions of pale colours, the heartbeat of rhythms and bars and the simple and wise feminine silence, which encases her works.

But let us look at some younger ones. Pál Deim is watching the internal and external possibilities Szentendre offers in a disciplined manner. Szentendre has taught him to construct and drew his attention to the sacral contents of Byzantium. Somewhere in the distance stands the Vajdaesque silhouette, whose presence Pál Deim does not mean to deny. It may be due to this that we can feel fertile traditions in his present and in his possible future work. Now he is sensitive, cool and reticent. His future promises to be more exciting than his present. Well constructed embankments with firm foundations await the waves in which passionate and warm currents will sweep new truths from the mind to the soul and from the soul to the mind. And finally, the present writer, too, is indebted to Szentendre for his joys and sorrows, that is to say for his having become a painter.



JÚLIA VAJDA: SZENTENDRE (Oil, 50x42 cms, 1948)

Photo Alfréd Schiller



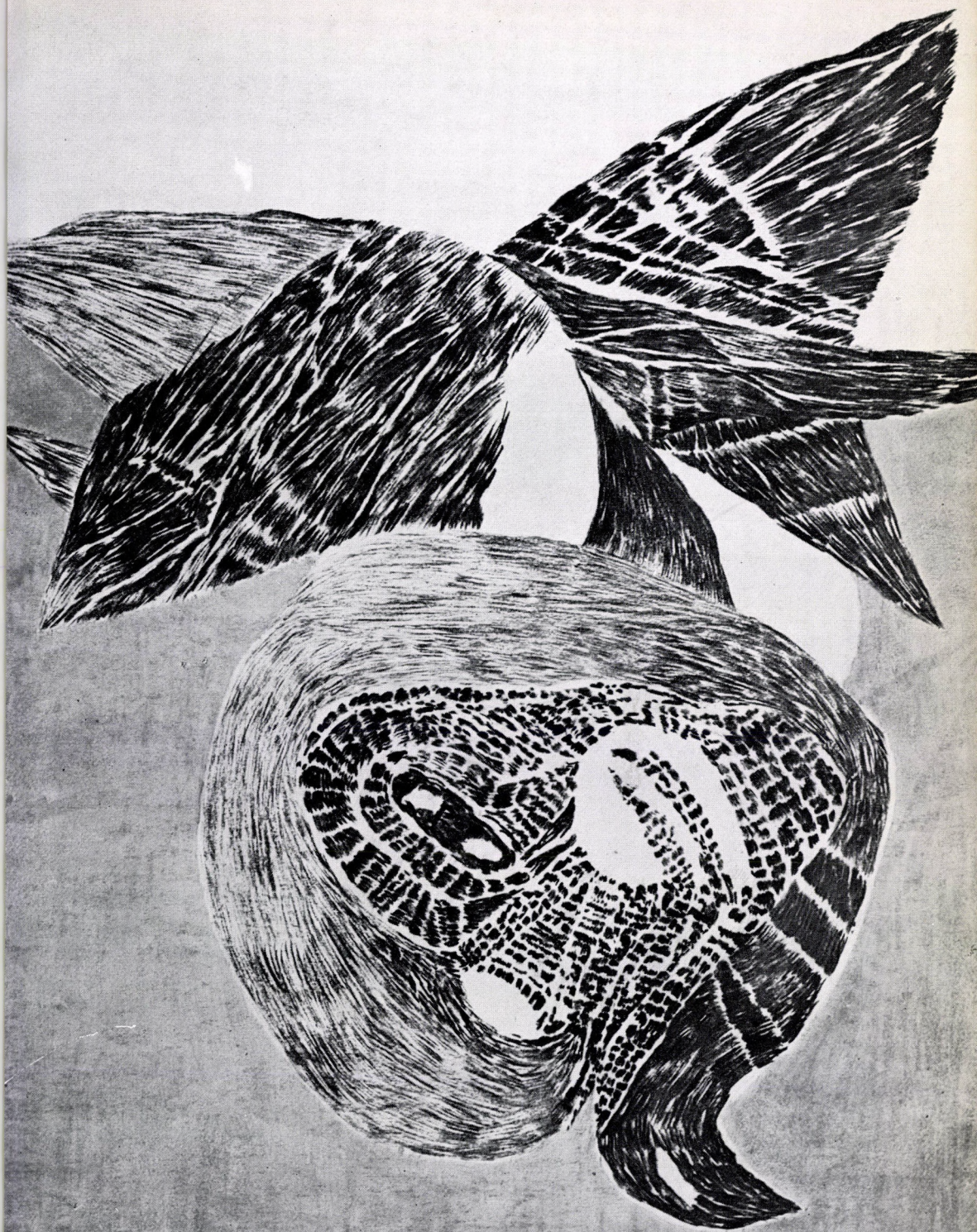
JÚLIA VAJDA: COMPOSITION (Charcoal, 30×42 cms, 1960)

LAJOS VAJDA (1908–1941): SKULL AND BIRD, ►
(Charcoal and chalk, 86×60 cms, 1939)

Overleaf:

ENDRE BÁLINT: DOVE-FLOWER (Oil on wood, 52×34 cms, 1969)

Photo Alfréd Schiller



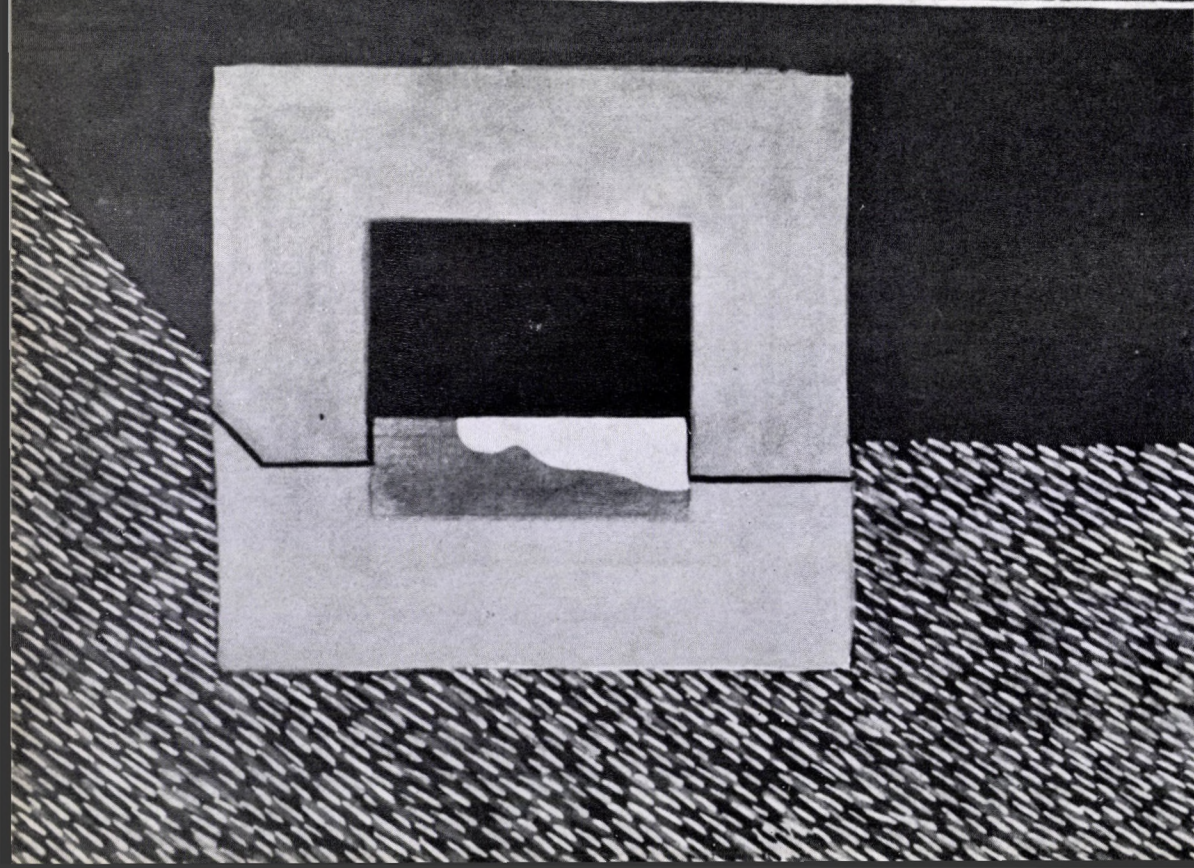
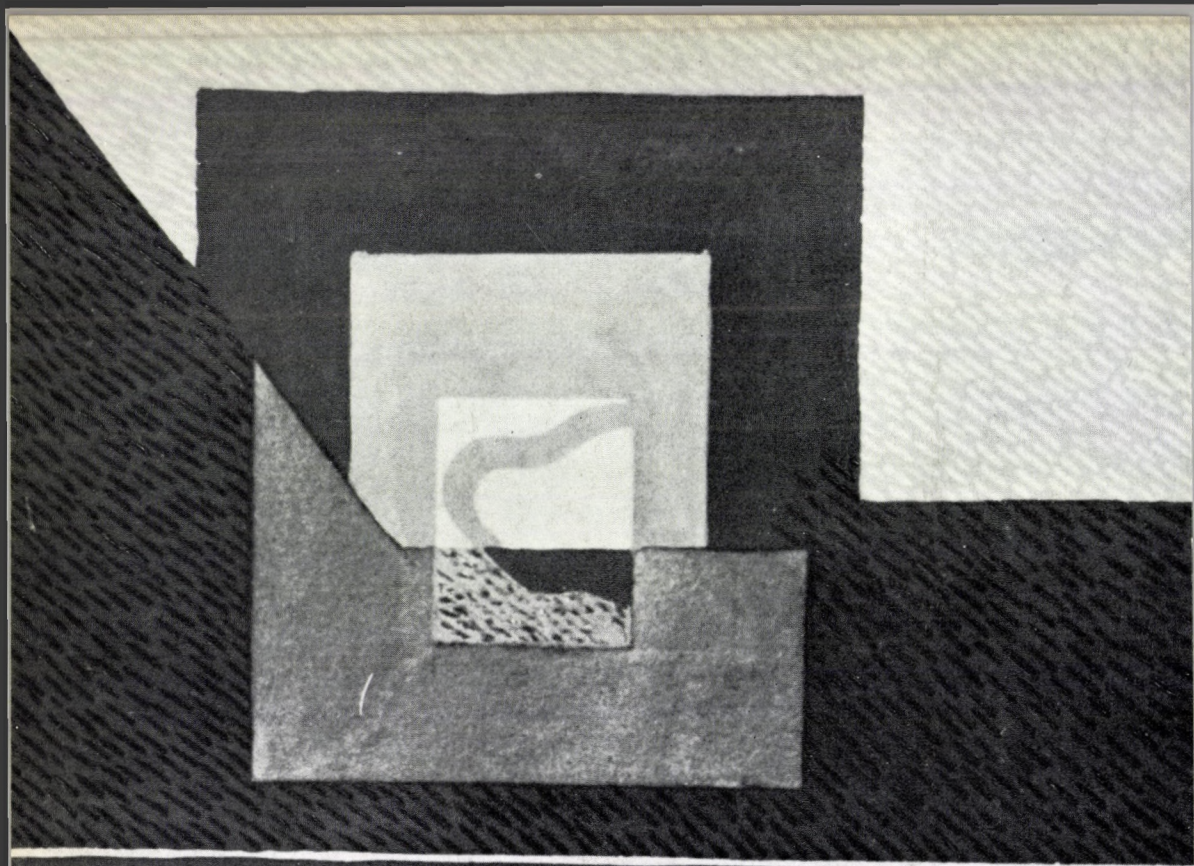




MARGIT ANNA: ARS POETICA (Oil on paper, 30×40 cms, 1947)

Overleaf:

D/1. D/1. OUR WINDOWS ARE DIFFERENT VI (Tempera 28×40 cms)



PAINTED WOODEN CEILINGS IN HUNGARIAN CHURCHES

A very successful exhibition of painted wooden ceilings, galleries and ornate church pews was staged in the summer of 1969 at the Székesfehérvár Museum, in cooperation with the Budapest Museum of Ethnography. Visitors were surprised to find space-creating elements of old church interiors instead of pictures or sculptures. Never before had such a rich collection of painted panels been shown to the public, since most of the pieces are still in their original places fulfilling their original function. (Photographs of these are shown.) Material assembled from various museums has made a display of the development and geographical distribution of this characteristic group of objects possible, with comparative displays to illustrate their connections with such related objects as peasant furniture.

Interest in painted wooden ceilings is about as old as ethnographical research. Pioneers of archaeology, art history and of ethnography from the 1870s onwards have all turned their attention to the beauty of these church monuments. The first to discover the oldest and the finest of these painted panels—those dating from between 1503 and 1519—was Ferenc Schulz in 1869 in Gogánváralja (Goganvarolea, Rumania). The greatest part of the coffered ceiling, still decorated mainly with Gothic motifs has been in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts since 1903. The choir and ceiling from Mezőcsát (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County 1746, decorated with multicoloured flowers found its way to the Museum of Applied Arts by the end of the nineteenth century. The earlier eighteenth century panels from Magyarókerke (Muerau, Rumania) (1728) were acquired by the Hungarian National Museum when the church was demolished in 1904. The earliest dated piece of Hungarian painted ecclesiastic woodwork, the ceiling of Ádámos (Adamus, Rumania),

which dates from 1526, was transferred to the Hungarian National Museum in 1909. However, along with several others these two ceilings were borrowed from the Museum of Ethnography for the Székesfehérvár exhibition.

At the time when painted church ceilings were acquired, there was a more general purpose to spur detailed study of and publicity for the works of rural artist-craftsmen, that is research into the whole range of Hungarian ornament and decoration. In all industrialized countries there were movements to revive the arts in the spirit of ancient handicrafts—and thus make them more deeply related to human life—in England, William Morris was its leading figure. János Jankó, the eminent Hungarian ethnographer is frequently quoted in this context. "In Hungary, peasant crafts and cottage industries were the parents of ethnography," that is, ethnography mostly strove for practical ends. On the other hand, the *art nouveau* movement in Hungarian arts and crafts and even architecture likewise expected ancient folk motifs to rejuvenate and revitalize their ornamental idiom. Thus, the early history of scholarship in the field of painted woodwork cannot be separated from research into ornamentation. József Huszka, the principal publicist of this movement, searched for typically Hungarian elements in the church panels. And yet, the grounds on which a right evaluation of different objects decorated with floral motifs could emerge were: "...in the products of native crafts there is no common 'Hungarian' taste; but as far as various regions have preserved their own characteristic features, tastes differ from one region to the other."

As early as the beginning of the century Lajos Kelemen's work had lasting results. He used historical methods to raise specific questions: he clarified the identity of more

than one master of ceilings and church furnishings as well as the circumstances under which they were created. From his knowledge of history he also tried to throw light upon the problem why such remains survived or not.

Jolán Balogh continued Kelemen's work along the lines of stylistic analysis. She not only indicated the Italian Renaissance as one of the chief sources of Hungarian decorative art but also made a synthesis of notions connected with borrowed motifs and the creation of independent styles. Scholarship in folk art has now produced a comprehensive manual, Ilona Tombor's *Magyarországi festett famennyezetek és rokoni emlékek* (Hungarian Painted Ceilings and Related Relics) (Budapest, 1968). This is a complete list of all extant works, with a full bibliography. Without this book it would be virtually impossible to survey the material today and it also contributed a great deal to the success of the Székesfehérvár exhibition.

Decorations of Calvinist churches and houses of the nobility

The fact that so many specialist scholars had to cooperate indicates that the material is by no means homogeneous. Most of the surviving works were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All of them were found in churches, having been commissioned in the main by Calvinist congregations. But decorative coffered ceilings have survived in châteaux such as at Sörkút (Vyborna, Czechoslovakia) and Zólyom (Zvoleň, Czechoslovakia). Furthermore, descriptions by travellers and chroniclers of the period describe the ceilings of King Matthias Corvinus' Buda and Visegrád palaces, and similar decorations in Transylvanian princely residences. However, apart from their coffered structure, they could not be very similar to the later Hungarian painted wooden ceilings. Differences were not only due to the different stylistic periods

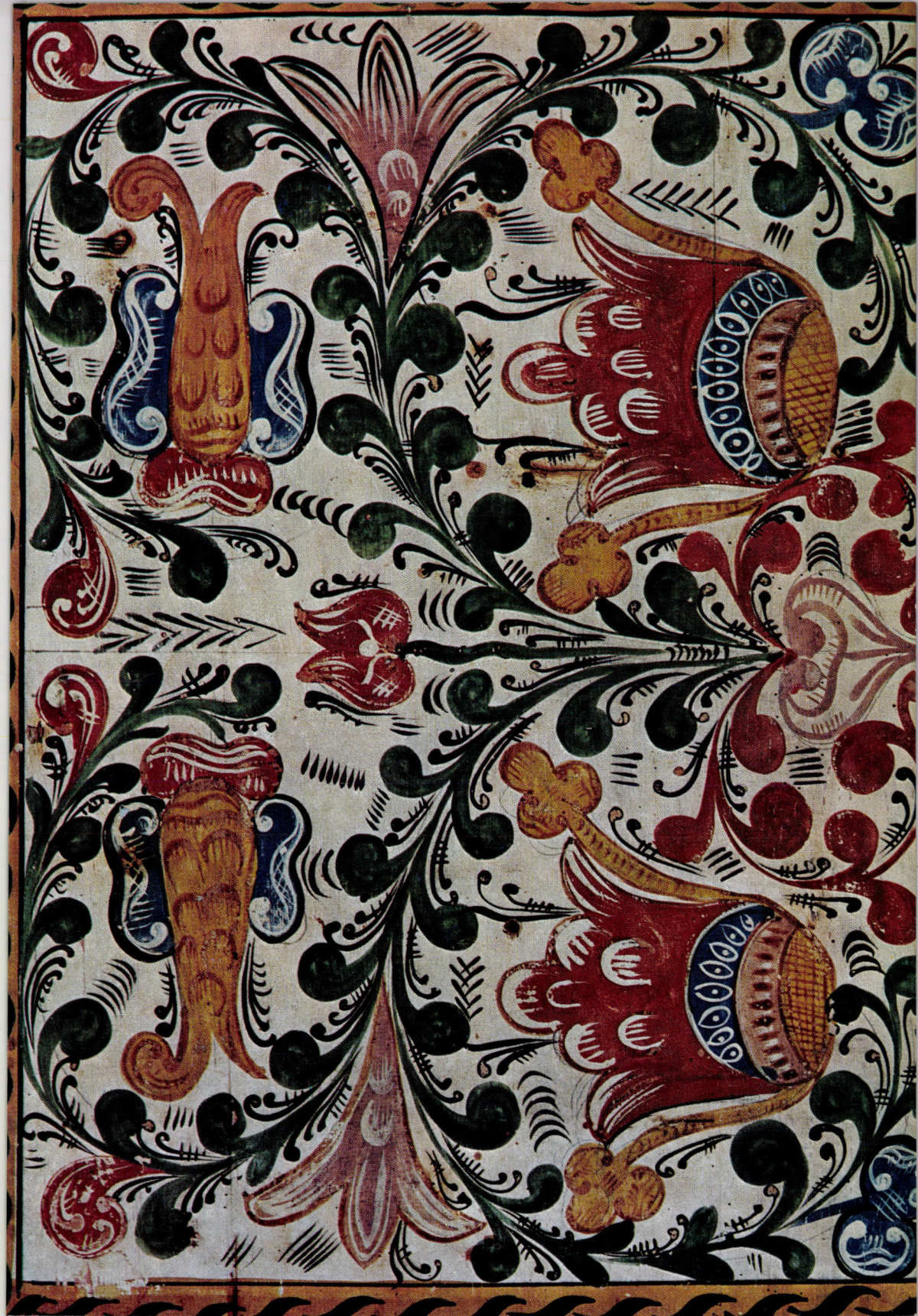
but also to the purpose of the objects in question. In all probability, such ornate ceilings as the Gogánvára one (prior to 1519) had their more modest counterparts. From this point of view, it would be worth while to explore Poland, so rich in analogous relics, for there the relics which survived from the transitional period between the Gothic period and the Renaissance number 25.* The ceilings covered with boards were perhaps of this type, whose running patterns covering the unbroken surface were made with stencils (Szmrecsány—Smrecany, Czechoslovakia; Toporc—Toporec, Czechoslovakia, etc.).

Painters and joiners

An examination of the training and the social standing of craftsmen leads to interesting conclusions. If we want to classify the objects discussed here as belonging to any one of the traditional categories of "major arts," applied art or folk art, the question of who the masters were becomes a significant criterion. The sophisticated scroll-design and the parts with figures composed into a unified whole of the Gogánvára panels are in no way inferior to the works of fine arts of the same period. Their master may have been a "limner," who was probably able to paint even a triptych. Murals, miniatures or stained glass windows certainly provide analogies.

In seventeenth-century Transylvania the makers of church ceilings were members of the joiners' guilds. Indeed, the charter, valid between 1618 and 1653 of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) joiners' guild, declares expressly: "... even if some of the joiners can paint pictures, coats-of-arms, wall-hangings, murals, they are not to pursue this for it is not their proper trade but they may paint flowers on wood and boards as is usual for join-

* Barbara Wolff: *Einige Probleme der bemalten Holzdecken in Polen. Acta Historiae Artium*, p. 243, Budapest, 1967.

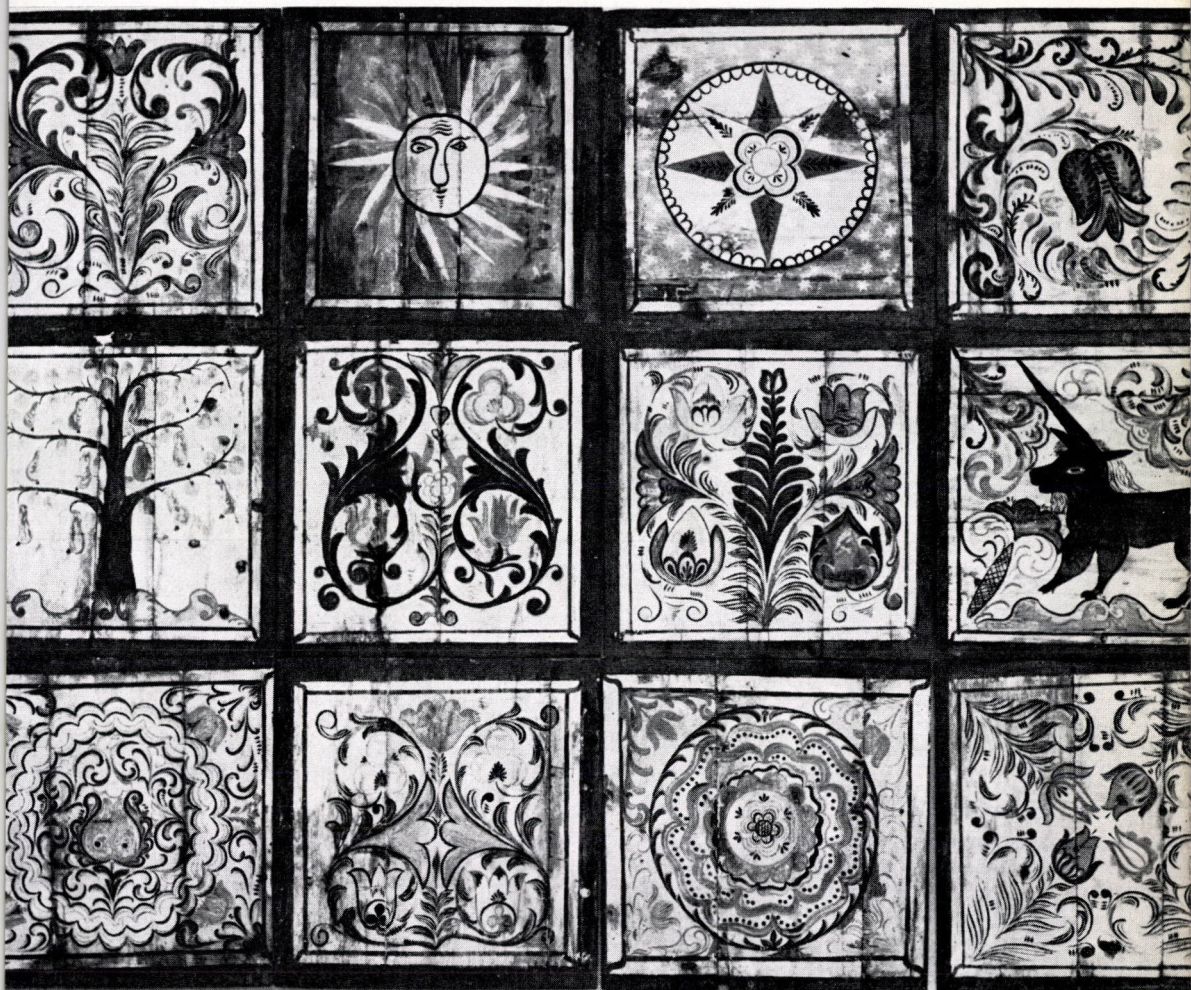




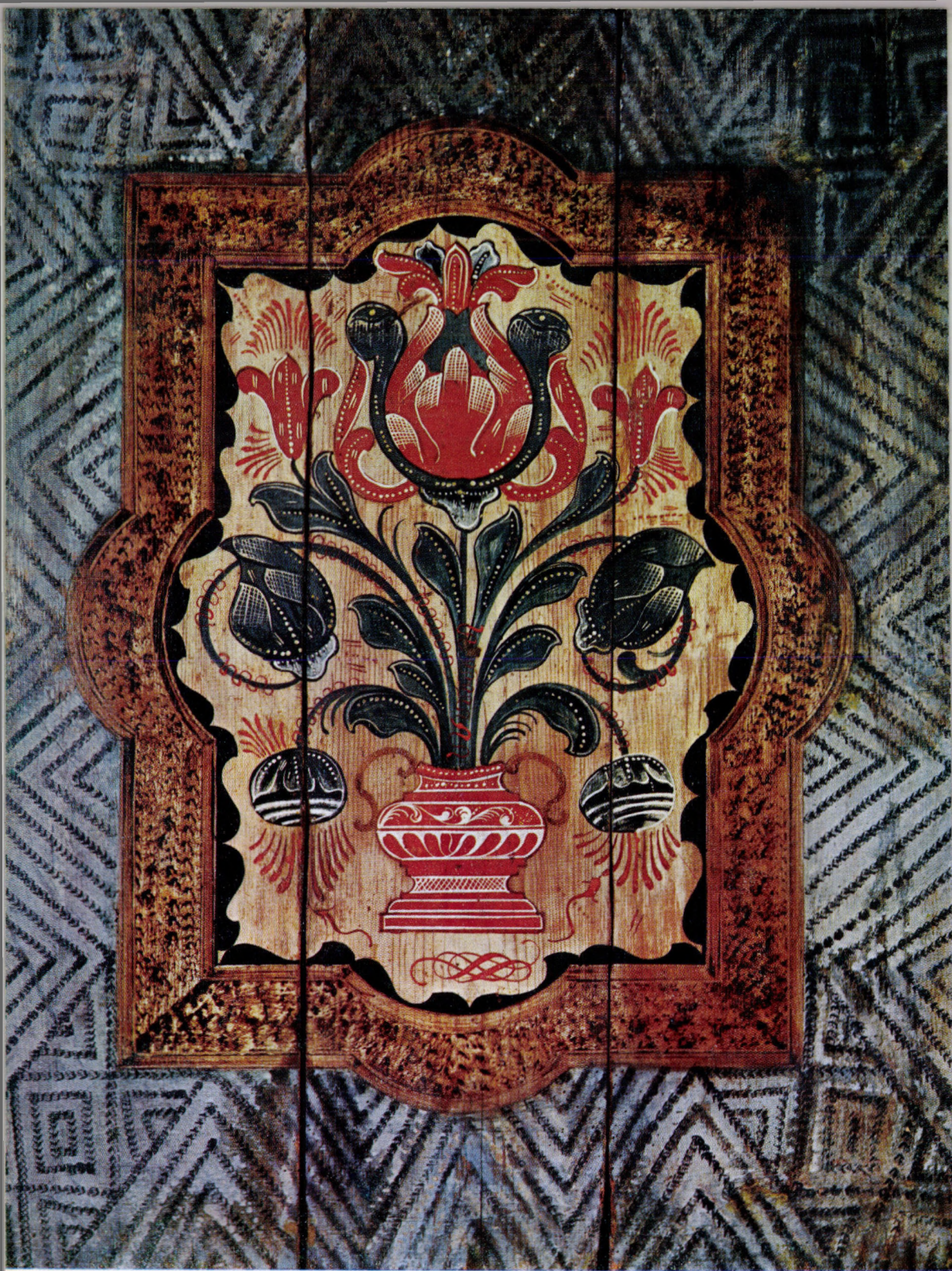
PART OF THE CEILING OF THE UNITARIAN CHURCH AT ÁDAMOS, 1526.
MUSEUM OF ETHNOGRAPHY, BUDAPEST

◀ COFFERED PANEL FROM THE CHOIR GALLERY OF THE CALVINIST CHURCH
AT MEZŐCSÁT, 1746. MUSEUM OF APPLIED ARTS, BUDAPEST.

Photo József Horvai

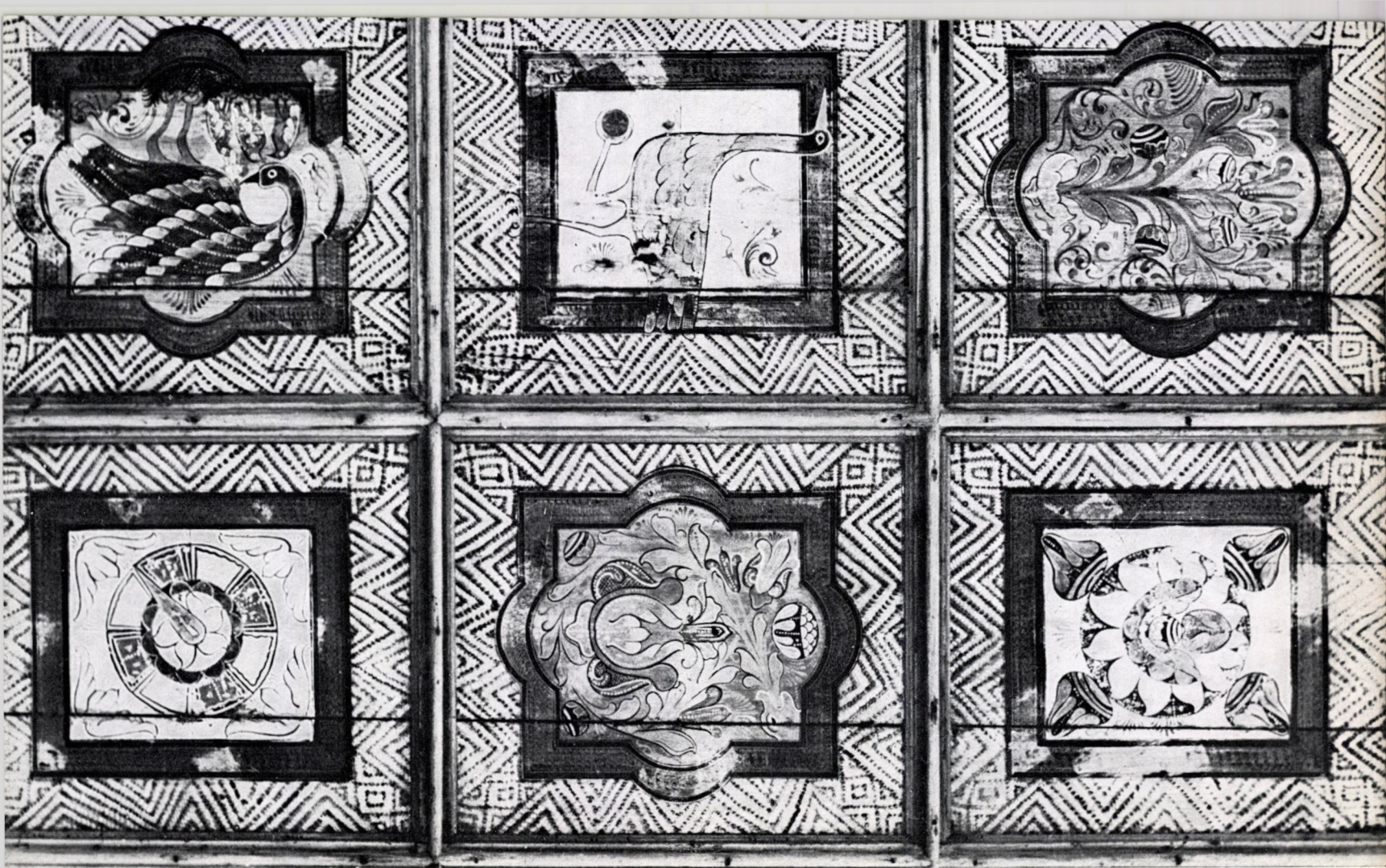


PART OF THE CEILING OF THE CALVINIST CHURCH AT MEGYASZÓ, 1735.
HERMAN OTTÓ MUSEUM, MISKOLC



COFFERED PANEL FROM THE CEILING OF THE CALVINIST CHURCH AT

Photo József Horvai



▲ PART OF THE CEILING OF THE CALVINIST CHURCH AT NÁDASDARÓC

Overleaf:
INTERIOR OF CALVINIST CHURCH, AT DRÁVAIVÁNY 1792



ers..." Thus, by then the scope of the limner and of the "painter-joiner" was firmly separated. To use the expression of the period, "flowering" was done by specialists from among the joiners of the guild. The ceiling of the Szentsimon church (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County) shows a striking example of this interrelation. (Plate 2). In the middle of such a field of a double composition there are two heraldic arms: the right-hand one holds an axe and the left-hand one—evidently pointing to the master's own work—a nosegay. The inscription, too, gives the names of two joiners.

Craftsmen working for royalty or the aristocracy were not bound by guild regulations—but, of course, they had to earn this freedom with their training and talent. János Mezőbándi Egerházi, or Képiró (which means painter) was such a master. As the court painter of Gábor Bethlen, reigning Prince of Transylvania, he made the ceilings in the mansions of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) and of Alvinc (Vințul de Jos), which, however, have perished. On the other hand, thanks to the research work of Lajos Kelemen, we know some coffers made in 1625, to be his work and the ceiling of the Gyalakuta (Gialăcuta, Rumania) Calvinist church. We have some information about his life and work; for instance, the patent of nobility granted to him in 1631 by György Rákóczi I, reigning Prince of Transylvania. This document tells us that the master mostly worked on commissions for reigning princes and the aristocracy (Alvinc and Gyulafehérvár) but that he also painted the coat-of-arms of his own master's certificate too. In general, the ornamentation of the Gyalakuta ceiling is similar to the initials of the patent letters of nobility of the period, that is, it has a characteristically regional style, though it shows the influence of the "floral Renaissance," which had followed Italian models. This term, coined by Jolán Balogh helps to stress the differences of this style from folk art.

Surviving Renaissance

It is not only by their numerical superiority that eighteenth-century objects shine in our material, which could be variously grouped. They form a more homogeneous group on account of the relatively similar training of the artists. Their relationship with the great historical styles from which their ornamentation springs is similar, as is the structure of the community which commissioned them; and so the function of such objects was also identical. In the white-washed village churches, often of medieval origin, the ceilings, fittings and furniture belonging to them carry particular aesthetic values. Indubitably churches with such interiors belong to a special class in the history of ecclesiastic architecture. This eighteenth century group of buildings is to be considered the most highly developed phase in the history of painted wooden ceilings.

Owing to its independence during the Turkish occupation of Hungary, and to other favourable conditions, Transylvania became the harbinger and home of painted wooden church ceilings. The above-mentioned panels of Gogánváralja were soon followed by another of unique value, at Ádámos (Adamus, Romania). This is the first dated example of its kind: its escutcheon surrounded by an Italianate frame is dated 1526. Its stylistic value can be summed up best in Jolán Balogh's words: "With its large rosettes encircled by Italian garlands, it offers the finest example of how a Hungarian approach can mould alien form into local art."*

However, in the multitude of Transylvanian painted woodwork, local styles can also be distinguished. Kalotaszeg, showed fine seventeenth century work in the Italian style, which prevailed all over the country in the same period, whereas in the eight-

* *Magyar Művészet* (Hungarian Art) 1934, p. 136.

teenth century the work of only one master, Lőrinc Umling, left its mark on the style of painted wooden ceilings. He and his two sons worked in about twenty-five churches. The style acquired by the old Saxon master at the Segesvár (Șișișoara) joiners' guild hardly changed in the course of long years. His most characteristic works include the panels of Magyarókereke (1728). The large rose with four petals is called by specialists a "furniture rose" and, indeed, its exact replicas can be found on two Saxon cupboards in the Museum of Ethnography. Several other eighteenth-century pieces also point to the kinship of secular and ecclesiastical painted woodwork. As early as his first ceiling, the one of Magyarkapus (Capușul Mic, Rumania), dated 1742-43, the master applied figures side by side with the floral ornamentation, black-birds picking grapes among others. Umling's works often show religious symbols as well, like the pelican feeding its young with its own blood—a Protestant symbol of Christ; the crane, admonishing the soul to vigilance; the peacock suggesting the immortality of the soul, or else the vanity of the world. The double-headed eagle first appeared in painting at Farnas (Sfarnas, Rumania) in 1750. Here, this ancient heraldic beast can be connected only with the Austrian imperial coat of arms. At Magyarlóna (Lona, Rumania) Death itself is represented in the form of a winged skull. Such figures with Biblical references do not seem to have clashed with the iconoclasm of the Protestants.

With their naive charm, the figural motifs of Kraszna (Crasna, Rumania) in Szilágy County are outstanding. The inscription conjures up the heartfelt devotion which encouraged the embellishment of the church.

From Turkish motifs to the Rococo

Apart from Transylvania, the largest amount of ecclesiastical woodwork survived in the Uplands of historical Hungary.

In each one, the style of painting differs from that of the earliest—the Szent-simon church. The two remains of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County: the choir of Mezőkeresztes (1728) and the ceiling of Megyaszó (1735), with their crudely outlined but vigorous floral decoration point to the style of the same workshop. The panels of the Mezőkeresztes choir display a symmetrical arrangement of floral motifs, which was their usual manner of composition. The tulips on them are really acanthus buds. The central panel represents Adam and Eve. The ceiling of the church of Noszvaj in Heves County reveals outstanding qualities in spite of its numerous, complex figural panels (Plate 6). The first ceiling was made in 1700, the second "WROUGHT WITH THE HELP OF GOD BY IMRE ASZTALOS OF MISKOLC 1734". Of the 40 panels, 32 are set up at the Museum of Eger, the most interesting among them representing two white geese, symbols of vigilance; also deer, storks with snakes in their beaks, symbolizing filial love and conjugal fidelity; the pelican, the doe, the fish, the mermaid, and so on. With natural and in some instances bold simplicity they form a harmonious unity with the fine interlaced foliage which surrounds them.

Mezőcsát is a village on the border of the Northern Uplands and the Great Plain. The gallery and ceiling (1745) of its Calvinist church have been transferred to the Museum of Applied Arts. They show elegant floral ornaments and the only panel with figures, the pelican feeding its young with its own blood, shows the same decorative approach. The composition of almost every panel is based on the well-known "Italian vase" scheme, whereas a great many of the flowers are of Turkish origin. The abundance of minute tendrils ending in globules is characteristic of the style. The gallery and ceiling were made by joiners of Révkomárom, who were also the masters of the ceiling of the church of Tök (Pest County) (1740), a work perhaps even finer than

the Mezőcsát one. All the Tök panels are centrally composed.

Objects from two Transdanubian workshops are known. The workshop of Veszprém County produced the gallery of the church of Sóly (1724), the double coffered panels of Vilonya and some fragments of Mezőlak. The two petals of the acanthus bud curving asymmetrically towards each other can again be recognized among the flowers painted in brilliant colours on a white ground. The acanthus buds are varied now and then with a calyx leaf or, in every third row, with tiny rose petals. As against the style of the Uplands the leaves and vines are more animated and curving, in fact they are more painterly. The characteristic feature of the other workshop, the one of Baranya County, is that its style is unequivocally Rococo. Again different phases of the same stylistic trend can be found in the interiors of the Calvinist churches of Drávaivány (1792) and of Kőrös (c. 1790).

There are few remains to be found in the Great Plain. The gallery of Mezőcsát, mentioned above, belongs there only geographically, stylistically it is linked with the art of the Uplands. The ensemble of Abony (Pest County), still *in situ* was made at about the same time. Among its numerous, centrally

arranged motifs, stars and flowers, the peculiar trees shown in a naturalistic and yet strange way are the most remarkable ones. Another fine work found its way from Hódmezővásárhely (Csongrád County) to the Museum of Applied Arts. It consists of gallery panels placed in niches and painted in bright colours with flower-stocks. Several small motifs reveal the vigorous and lasting effect exerted by Renaissance ornamentation as late as in 1732.

Owing to changes in the structure of work, later, nineteenth century remains were no longer made by craftsmen belonging to a guild but by masters working independently in most cases. The bulk of the remains, that is to say earlier and more characteristic pieces of painted woodwork preserved the effect of great styles, of prevailing "high cultures." If one regards these works from the angle of applied art, their folk art characteristics are thrown into relief; and, if viewed from the point of ethnography they definitely become archetypes of folk art. Indeed, painted ecclesiastical wooden ceilings, belonging to a group transitional in its character, are a specific phenomenon in art. In all likelihood, scholars will continue discussing these questions. This, however, does not influence the qualities and the "couleur locale" of the decorated panels.

ZSUZSA VARGA

THEATRE AND FILM

FROM THE OLD NEW TO THE NEW OLD

Gábor Goda: *The Fortune-Teller*; Gábor Thurzó: *How Long Can One Be an Angel?*; István Csúrkai: *Fall Guy For Tonight*; Tibor Déry: *The Mirror*; László Németh: *The Hen-pecked Husband*; Dezső Szomory: *Ermine*.

In the 1969 Budapest autumn season several Hungarian plays had their first performance: some were new, some were revivals. The first nights of the new were not, perhaps, the most fortunate.

The first to be performed was a comedy based on Gábor Goda's satirical novel, *The Fortune-Teller*, at the Thália Theatre.

Gábor Goda is a novelist, characteristically urbane; his cultured, ironical style could be that of a highbrow if he were less strictly committed. The novel, *The Fortune-Teller*, was published after 1956 and—surprisingly—it was set in the country. Through a story about a juggler and his daughter this grotesque novel told how village stupidity and sheepish liberalism helped in the end the enemies of the system to burn down the village. Goda wrote this satire before 1956, and when it was published, everybody believed that it referred to 1956. The novel was now adapted to the stage by dramatic critic Péter Molnár Gál, but he did not succeed in turning it into a real play. It is a lifeless illustration to the novel. The direction tried to enliven the vacancy with shrill gags, but if a flat pianissimo is sung at the top of one's voice, only the pianissimo

disappears, the flatness will remain. The audience will never know whether the singer can sing both pianissimo and in tune.

The new season brought his first failure to Gábor Thurzó, too, who has been highly successful until now. Thurzó belongs to a generation which grew up and started a literary career—with novels and short stories—well before the Liberation, in the thirties. He started as a Catholic writer and never changed his attitude: at the same time he resolutely accepted the present system in Hungary. His *Closing Time*, *The Back Door*, and *The Devil's Advocate* had considerable success in recent years and he became the most popular contemporary playwright. His previous play, *The Devil's Advocate* was bought by theatres abroad. Two Polish theatres have performed it by now.

Disguised and undisguised lies

His new piece, entitled *How Long Can One Be an Angel?* was performed by the ensemble of the Víg Theatre in its smaller repertory theatre, the Pesti Theatre. The play is mostly a comedy. Its main character is an ageing painter at the peak of his career, living in comfort with his young wife and his sister, enjoying all the material and social advantages of success. A TV interviewer is about to make a transmission from his house when he is told that his old friend

and colleague suddenly died. He had never achieved success, but he, as is revealed, never made concessions, never sold his talent and lived his life as a great artist, though unrecognized and poor. The hero, it is revealed in the play—has been lying all his life, all his paintings were meretricious humbug. The play is the story of this revelation.

Neither the subject nor the situation are new, but this does not exclude interest and the hidden tensions could make it good theatre. The play, however, is too feeble. As much as the successes of the painter are boosted and exaggerated, the reality following the revelation is too black and rotten. If the play had been written in an unrealistic, grotesque style, it might still pass. But Thurzó is a realist, and yet he cannot create the climate of truth either for these extremes or for their contrasts. Artifices and mechanical solutions are manifested at every turn. This time his construction is primarily school-bookish and in addition, for the sake of theatrical effect, he mixes unpretentious gags, sometimes even witticisms permissible only in vaudeville. Here and there, the true wit and subtle irony of Thurzó also show through, but even this cannot save the play.

After some more or less ambitious failures—at last a successful Hungarian play appeared in Budapest, though its success was not what we would call success in the usual sense.

Success—for a few hundred spectators

István Csurka, the author of the play *Fall Guy for Tonight* is younger than the two playwrights discussed. He has no personal experience of the pre-war world, and so, feeling no nostalgia, he has no need to compensate. He began to write only after 1956, and did not take part in the literary enthusiasms of the fifties. On the contrary, he treats such enthusiasm with a mocking but very subtle irony. This is his attitude

towards other enthusiasms too—but he knows that nihilism born of a loss of faith and apostasy can harm clever people, and can lead to tragedy. This somewhat complex but fundamentally honest attitude often worries those who prefer simplified formulae, and thus Csurka, a very talented, ingenious and original prose-writer*, has frequent clashes with his critics. The first night of *Fall Guy for Tonight* has been postponed from season to season, but now it was liked by most critics. In spite of this we cannot speak of success in the customary, quantitative sense of the term, as the small studio theatre can play it only a few times a month.

"...if he says NO to everything..."

The title *Fall Guy for Tonight* refers to gamblers, meaning who will be the final loser in poker, who will be left to pay. Four men: a writer, a teacher, a mathematician and a publisher's reader meet every Friday in the flat of the reader, to play poker. The first act opens on a Friday evening, like any other. They start to play with their usual rites and bon mots, and agree to play only until midnight. During the game they don't pay attention to their talk, everything runs according to form, they are fooling around and teasing each other, but it seems that they are only interested in the game. And it looks as if the game was exactly the same as always: one player loses, and as he is broke, he borrows from the others; they extend the playing time and everything continues as before, but gradually it appears that there is a difference: the game does not really bring relaxation or pleasure. Their nervous tension is not really due to losing and winning. Slowly, it becomes clear that they all hate their evenings of poker, but they cannot give it up for they don't know what to do with their lives from which all faith, all meaning and all real content

* see "Why are Hungarian Films So Lousy?"—his short story in No. 32.

has disappeared. Finally, after fits of sincerity, and crises of rage, their emotional balance is restored and they seem to quieten down by daybreak when they say good-bye to their host. But the host is still aware of his inner crisis. "The twentieth century has made intellectuals fastidious and suspicious and gave them the false belief that their only possible attitude is to say NO to everything"—says the host, not quite seriously, when his guests leave. But for him, the matter is serious. He has no motivation to eke out his existence any longer, he wants to be rid of this life "before it's too late," before he becomes completely rotten. When the gamblers go at dawn, his nephew comes to him with a girl, asking him to lend them his flat for a few hours. The owner of the flat takes a razor blade hidden in a cake of soap and leaves for the Turkish baths to put an end to his life. His nephew knows where he is going and why, but he does nothing to stop him. When the girl hears what it's all about, she begs the boy to follow him. "I'm not going. I like him"—he answers. And he doesn't go.

Foreground—background

In this play Csurka depicts the general, fundamental attitude of negation, but without finding any positive values on behalf of which he could cry out this "NO" into the world. Of course Csurka, who has a well-developed sense of the dramatic, carries this attitude through to the end, to its ultimate consequences, and in this sense, his characters are extreme and unique. In this respect he is like any other real dramatist. But there is another aspect to the grotesque and tragic truth of the play: all the characters are based on real people and well-informed members of the public whisper to their neighbours in the theatre which character and which name covers which well-known person. The writer also included himself under an alias. But all this has nothing to do

with the play's artistic value. Csurka's work is dramatic and affects even that part of the audience which does not know anything of its background, only what the play reveals about each character. Csurka's dramatic merit is his light-handed, easy and playful handling of situations; at the same time he flashes insights to illuminate destiny behind the game, until the balance is reversed, acute problems come to the fore and in the background, the facile surface chatter continues with its false gleam. Csurka's characterization is not always sharp enough, but the parts can be acted well, his dialogue is brilliantly amusing in its everyday unaffectedness, and is always apt for the situation.

Despite failure

The play was excellently directed by Péter Léner at the Thália Studio Theatre. The Studio Theatre can seat an audience of a hundred. Spectators are accommodated on two sides in slanting rows and the actors on the small stage are watched from two sides. This constant close-up requires both from the stage manager and the actors a simplified, film-like performance, and this is what Péter Léner offered.

In addition to looking for new plays, theatres comb Hungarian literature of the last decades for anything that could be revived—in the hope that their former success can be repeated, or that past failure had been due to special circumstances and that their value could now be proved.

One such revival is Tibor Déry's *The Mirror*, in the Vig Theatre. Déry is one of our most outstanding contemporary prose-writers. *The Mirror* had been produced at the Budapest National Theatre directly after the war. It is set in the house of a judge, immediately before the outbreak of the war. The judge is an honest, liberal-minded bourgeois who succeeds less and less in staying honest under the pressure of an increasingly aggressive

fascist policy, that is, his circumstances deteriorate because of his honesty. The situation is made worse by his son's friends being illegal communists, the enemies of the regime. The crisis is unleashed when one of the young communists, a girl, the girlfriend of his son, comes to the house of the judge one night to hide from her persecutors. The family is under heavy pressure and this creates great panic, and there is a clash of contradictions in the conflicting interests. The mother threatens to give up the girl to the police. The judge looks for a compromise, but the communist girl leaves the disintegrating family to itself. Next day the judge resolves never to do anything against his own conscience but by then his son, tormented by grief for his lost love and by his qualms of conscience, committed suicide.

A "Mirror" with a frame

The play is called *The Mirror* because it is in a framework which has little to do with the story itself and the characters of the frame have no separate destiny. The story is heard by a similar family as a radio play. After the scenes of the radio play, the family of the "frame" go on with their everyday life, they have supper, the members of the family talk to each other, discuss the play, then they turn on the radio and listen to the story again, and so on.

Déry has not been lucky with the dramatic genre. He tried to write his first plays in the 'twenties in the fashionable avant-garde style of the times but unfortunately the avant-gardist theatre had never gained ground in Hungary and so these small plays have never been performed. After the Liberation he tried his luck several times but his plays were never very successful. The last time, three years ago, when the National Theatre performed his play about the 1934 Vienna worker's uprising, it also proved a failure.

Now the Vígszínház revived *The Mirror*, directed by Dezső Kapás. The text was con-

siderably shortened; most of the schematism characteristic of its time of writing were left out, and the family in the frame was played by the same actors as in the main story, who looked at their own destiny in a mirror. But in spite of the good, sometimes effective performance, success proved elusive again. Some critics doubted whether the omissions were justified, some opined that the same actors playing both families destroyed the mirror-like character of the play. (They said that other families, perhaps the audience, should look into the mirror, not the family in the play.) But this debate has not much point. The play is simply not dramatic enough. The frame has nothing to do with action, it has no drama in itself, it is only an illustration, and as such, it takes up too much time. There are vacant moments in the main play too, for there is only one scene—the clash between father and son at night—where the tension of real drama can be felt. However, almost every line shows the literary quality of the author who is an excellent writer.

László Németh: The Henpecked Husband

Another revival was that of *The Henpecked Husband* by László Németh. The author's name may be familiar to the readers of the New Hungarian Quarterly. He is an outstanding novelist, dramatist and essayist, his novels have been published in English and in other languages. This play, written some time ago, was revived last year by a provincial theatre, and now the Budapest Madách Theatre tried to revive it in repertory. The basic situation is a stereotype often used by László Németh: a promising man, a person of high intelligence and worth—usually under the influence of a woman—tries to renounce the world around him which is mean, unworthy of him and does not understand him—and this revolt may or may not be successful. In this case the main character is a librarian in a small provincial

town, a municipal official. His wife and daughter live the society life of provincial gentlewomen, with parties, admirers and gossip. The husband takes on part-time work to satisfy the material demands of the women. Once he wanted to be a research scholar; he had written an outstanding work on local history and his talent was considered to be very promising. The play opens with the arrival of the local doctor's sister who had known the early work of the librarian and who mourns the decay of his talent in the service of a narrow-minded wife. With her brother's help, she tries to provoke the librarian to rebel, but he has no self-confidence left, he is attached to his terrorist wife and to her possessiveness, which he mistakes for love.

In these often-seen situations László Németh presents good dialogue, which reveals the thoughts of his characters, but the performance failed to arouse enthusiasm in the spectator.

Only one revival has achieved an excellent performance and genuine success this season.

The shame of a career

It is often said in Hungarian literary circles that the drama is not a Hungarian genre. Hungarian literature could match the best of world literature in many genres, first of all in lyrical poetry, but it could produce no outstanding dramatic works. There are only one or two plays which could be the pride of any literature: *Bánk bán* by József Katona (1813) and the *Tragedy of Man* by Imre Madách (1860). The National Theatre, whose first duty is to maintain classical traditions, has performed some other Hungarian plays from the nineteenth century but they were regarded rather as pious gestures. Since the Liberation, the National Theatre has never revived any so-called bourgeois twentieth-century Hungarian play.

This seems rather curious at first. In

Hungary the theatre has gained popularity only in the twentieth century, and the Hungarian bourgeois plays were the first to be known abroad: plays by Ferenc Molnár, Menyhért Lengyel and others have been performed almost everywhere in the world. The official spokesmen of Hungarian literary public opinion did not recognize such plays even before the Liberation. After repeating for twenty years that there is no such thing as Hungarian drama, we are now witnessing a curious development. One after the other the "non-existent" bourgeois dramas began to appear, by Ferenc Molnár, Jenő Heltai, Sándor Bródy, Menyhért Lengyel, Milán Füst, Dezső Szomory, Ernő Szép, among others. And they gain one success after another. Today, any theatre could fill its programmes with such plays. Only the National Theatre does not stage them.

Mummy is old-fashioned

What is the explanation of this curious phenomenon?

If we contented ourselves with an obvious explanation, we could say that in Hungary, literary and theatrical policy reflecting the position of the state has always been embodied in the programme of the National Theatre. It was so in pre-war Hungary and it was the same after the Liberation, when the National Theatre became the champion of a Communist cultural policy. At that time, the chief opponent of Communist and Socialist policy was the bourgeoisie of the country, and the main enemy of socialist ideology was the bourgeois ideology. This brought about the curious situation that after the Liberation the National Theatre performed plays by inferior nineteenth-century gentry playwrights (Csiky, Ignác Nagy), and never performed the valuable and even progressive plays of bourgeois authors. In this literary climate, there was another factor: in the old, semi-feudal Hungary to be Hungarian and national was identical with being

rural, countrified: feudalism was the *a priori* enemy of an urbane bourgeois culture and its propaganda could win the alliance of the peasantry because they lacked sufficient education. Working class cultural leaders also fell into this trap for a while. Now, twenty-five years later, the new generation has discovered the charm of their grand-parents. It is natural that these plays should be performed and directed mostly by the young. Grand-parents are not dangerous, they don't oppress their grand-children; unlike parents, they don't want to force on them their own ideals; on the contrary, they are forced to adjust themselves to the parents of their grand-children. After the war the bourgeois drama was annoying, ridiculous, dull and unbearable. Now it is charming, amusing and original. This may be the real explanation of the phenomenon.

The glamour of "Ermine"

Take, for example, Szomory, who was born in 1869 and died in 1944. He began his career with naturalistic works; he lived in Paris and in London. He came home in 1906, having changed his style under the influence of the Art Nouveau. It was not surprising that after the Liberation, critics condemned him: he was capricious, romantic, affected, and so on. Now the Madách Theatre performed his comedy called *Ermine*. The hero of the play is a successful dramatist, perhaps the writer himself, full of airs and graces, vanity, charm, conquests, un-

faithfulness, talent and affectation. The world around him is the same—in part, he arranges it so, and partly he sees it like this. He is involved with an actress who had borne him a child but their love has cooled. The writer did not know about the child, but now the mother brings him to the writer asking him to care for the boy for some time while she is abroad. The writer fulfils this duty, but his capricious love for the actress he abandoned proves to be deeper, and there is a happy ending.

The play was directed by Ottó Ádám. His forte is analysing, in describing complex situations and relationships. Here he needed additional talents. First of all he had to present a dual attitude, looking at Szomory's world with irony and at the same time with affection, to smile down on it, but also to bring out its innermost smiles. In this, he succeeded brilliantly. It is true that he had the help of Miklós Gábor as the main protagonist, who has acted in this style many times but plays all the better for that: this time he perhaps over-explains the character. Such a fine actor could be understood with less explanation. The feminine roles were well understood and played by Klári Tolnay and Edit Domján, and the whole ensemble was excellent. And the world has turned around Dezső Szomory: today he does not affect originality, he is really original, he is not eccentric but extraordinary, he is not affected but interesting, he does not *reflect* his ridiculous epoch, he *describes* it. Sic transit ingloria mundi.

JÓZSEF CZÍMER

THE TEMPTATIONS OF THE PARABLE

Miklós Jancsó: *Winter Wind*; Ferenc Kardos: *A Mad Night*

A word-count of Hungarian film-criticism would show an increasing frequency for *parable*. Reading about the latest films one becomes aware that this obsessed form, breaking away from reality, which conceals many levels of meaning in the structure of a single concise pattern, turns up in quick succession. It is found both in an historical and a contemporary setting, the only problem is finding the key. Now and then, and to a great many, it seems that the key is buried in a too clever way, and cracking the code is far from easy. But is that such a mortal sin? After all the purpose of the work is precisely a beckoning to the viewer, a call to embark on some sort of intellectual adventure which provides no ready-made cheap moral lesson at the end.

Miklós Jancsó's *Winter Wind* for instance remained such an unsolved puzzle for the great majority of critics, not only in Hungary, but even more in other countries, as its reception at Venice showed. One cannot say that Jancsó has in the past been spoilt by critics who understood what he was getting at, but *Winter Wind* was received with a more complete incomprehension than any earlier film. What kind of a peculiar story is it, they asked, that delves into distant and peripheral events connected with the *Ustasha*, who are these Croat nationalists? It is not even made clear what organization they belong to, and what aims they serve. One might think that this closed world and these arbitrarily chosen heroes exist only to allow Jancsó to parade turns and movements that have come to be accepted as typical of his *panache*, even though he does not exactly repeat them.

It is not up to me to discuss the virtues of *Winter Wind*, and the ways in which it succeeded, or failed, since I had a hand in the

script myself. This perhaps allows me to speak about the ideas and intentions behind it with all the more authority. Here, as in other Jancsó films, the setting is only a basis which provides a fertile soil for the building of the pattern. The story is nevertheless based on fact. There really was an odd sort of training camp in Hungary in the early 30s which was not unconnected with the Marseille regicide, the murder of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and of M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister. Marko Lazar is, naturally, a fictional character, Jancsó means to show how a nationalist terrorist hero is made up. Is the example perhaps too distant, hasn't it anything to say to us? But these days there are still movements which combine legitimate revolt with reactionary deeds. What will happen to someone, that is what the film asks, who shows great individual courage and the faith of a fanatic, and then enlists in an essentially reactionary movement? How does the movement use the personal virtues of the man, and at what moment does all this become a burdensome hindrance?

"All we wanted to do with this film", Jancsó said in an interview, "was to show a mechanism that had gone mad, which does not take into account any sort of human point of view or logic, but begins to function as a law unto itself. There may be a tremendous amount of genuine good-will at the back of such a movement, its original endeavours may have had a real kernel, some real hurt may have motivated it in the first place (the Croats had some genuine grievances which played a part in the genesis of the *Ustasha* movement), genuine revolutionary notions may have been the original aim of those who brought the mechanism into being, in spite of this the whole affair can be reversed, the closed mechanism that has become an end in itself is alienated from its humanitarian objectives, working with a

maddened impotence it grinds down everything human in itself and around itself."

Oddly enough some people objected that the hero of *Winter Wind* was not two-dimensional. It is true his integrity and ability to kill blindly, his dreams of liberation and murderous insecurity all play their part in determining his attitude, but is it not precisely this that allows him to come to life, and that permits the viewer to feel a certain empathy? Romantic and right-wing strands are closely interwoven in him, to the point of paranoiac obsession. But even this is not a simple character-trait but the mark of the environment on him. Violence, treason, terror surround him all the time. Death at the end comes as a surprise neither to him, nor to the public.

Jancsó directs the steps of his hero in a generous choreography. His idiom, and most of his opponents admit this, has never before been as lucid, pure and condensed as in this film. One has got used to it by now and one has learnt how to read the momentum and torment of the movements and the musical rhythm of the camera. He does not provide details or any sort of psychological analysis, the proof of his theorem is carried out with all the severity of a mathematical formula. Structure turns articulate.

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This manner of expression has clearly affected and inspired Ferenc Kardos, a young director. Of course he works on an entirely different level and with an entirely different construction. His film is a comedy, and his kind of parable takes us into the world of the absurd. *Egy őrült éjszaka* (A Mad Night) is set in a Budapest state-owned super-market. The setting does not promise much, but it means no more to Kardos than history does to Jancsó. He too wants to examine a well-defined closed world and the working of a mechanism. What gives this story its special flavour is precisely that corruption, fear and mutual distrust take place in the most commonplace surroundings.

All these men and women, every one of them, without exception steal all right, and cheat, and embezzle. The manager on his own initiative and to his own profit, the others who work there are encouraged by him, giving him a cut, but they get their own ample share too. And the auditors? Are they perhaps the emissaries of the people who have come to uncover the irregularities? They are fake auditors of course, their title and function is purely a means for them which allows them to carry on their robberies in greater safety. We might ask why everything is so gloomy in a socialist society, where are the honest and honourable men, but whoever asks that, radically misunderstands the film. The small world of a super-market is not a model of society as a whole, but the disfunction of a diseased cell. Fortunately the whole game is hellishly funny. What the characters think of each other, the way they attack each other in turn, the continuously changing alliances, in truth everyone is everyone's enemy. Alliances are shortlived and transitory.

What is original and bizarre in Kardos' film is that Jancsó's great historical subjects are as it were devalued onto the level of a super-market. A single gesture and we feel free to laugh. The abuse of power so often produces tragic and pathetic dramas, in this raw comedy the mood is entirely satirical. Pettiness is the life blood of this mafia. Not that this makes the heroes any the less dangerous. Certainly not. They are all dangerous criminals, but their steps are not shadowed by sombre tragedy, they are exposed with relish. The chosen characters are superb. The auditor No. 1 (Ferenc Kállai) is a rough diamond, full of impertinent aggression. Money, women, manipulations, he wants to enjoy them all in the midst of his games. The other auditor (László Mensáros) is, in keeping with the rules of the genre, a complimentary counterweight. He is a well-mannered gentleman who wears gloves.

Laughter can kill. This laughter conveys

Kardos' verdict to the public. In its own way *Egy őrült éjszaka* is as relentless as a Jancsó film. Kardos carries on to the end and does not show mercy to anyone. The creation of a world that is an end in itself demands that the setting should be truly closed. Bringing a story to life that uses a single set was not an easy matter. The involved corridors of a supermarket, its counters, its shack-like offices do not provide the same spectacular vistas as an immense steppe or the severe design of a trench do in a Jancsó film. Kardos shows a good sense of rhythm and mobility as he manoeuvres on this thankless ground. János Kende, the cameraman, must have been a great help in keeping up this rhythm. His camera is moving about the whole time, it searches and investigates, and follows. The biggest merit of the film is that it truly transvalued the

Jancsó formal idiom, keeping only as much as was really necessary to keep up the momentum and the rhythm of changes of tension.

Unfortunately Kardos could not resist the temptation to complicate arbitrarily the action for the sake of the effects that unexpected situations produce. The film as a whole is strictly constructed and carefully planned though not always logical, but there are points where the suspicion arises that new and new ideas and turns occur simply for the sake of creating more excitement.

Kardos started the film with a quotation from Gogol, and though he did not rise to Gogolian heights, he at least aroused an appetite for healthy comedies which use laughter to free the public from many a curse that beset it.

YVETTE BÍRÓ

“AH! ÇA IRA” AND THE REVOLUTION

*Miklós Jancsó on French Television**

The series “Contemporary Artists of Cinema” broadcast by French Television, featured a report on Miklós Jancsó, which was filmed in Hungary. The report, explaining the director's artistic methods and principles, carried—among others—selections from his movies *Confrontation* and *Silence and Cry*. The broadcast was preceded by the showing of *The Round-Up*.

This programme about Miklós Jancsó broke with some of the finest stylistic traditions of the “Contemporary Artists of Cinema” series, perhaps just because it portrays Miklós Jancsó, an extremely lucid artist, who never ceases to question himself on the meaning of his work, on the role his films play in Hungarian society and on the problems of communism. It was, therefore, fitting

to give him the floor; we too preferred to present the critical lecture he himself had delivered rather than to expose our own views. Since, in our opinion, the ideological and aesthetic problems Jancsó has touched are of foremost importance, it seemed us sufficient to have stressed their coherence and appositeness with the help of extracts from his recent films—in all their complexity and richness—in other words, to expose their dialectics.

“It was in *Cantata*, my second picture, in which my script-writer Gyula Hernádi and I made the first attempt to liquidate our illusions. The illusions I mean were those of a generation which had experienced a war

* Taken from *Les Lettres Françaises*, December 10, 1969, p. 20.

and a subsequent revolution—or at least something called revolution. A revolution in which we participated actively, in which we believed and still believe. But suddenly, for reasons beyond us, it was as if we were being bypassed. *Cantata* was meant to express our stupefaction on noticing that the world had changed in a way we didn't expect. It was as if our hands, which had participated in the construction of this new world, should suddenly disavow the work done by other hands. To make this quite clear, I should say that we were not in agreement with Stalinism, though we, too, had participated in it at an early stage. Thus, we turned against Stalinism, we protested against every system trying to identify socialism with a reign of terror. As for me, I believe that socialism and democracy are one and the same.

"Such was, then, the nostalgia we tried to present in *Confrontation*. This means that we do not wish to disclaim our own revolutionary position, but merely to come up with a new appreciation of our own role in history. With this film we tried to show our own part in history. In some ways we are playing with history and what we have shown the spectators is a game—a quiz, to make them think about the question, how to create a humane world? Or: to what extent can violence be justified? Is it inevitable that society (which can in any case coerce the individual) cannot organize itself without adopting the means of violence? Or would it be capable of finding other, more humane, means? I am wont to say that society possesses a formula for this, though it is certainly not a panacea, called democracy.

"In a revolution, even in a socialist revolution, various groups will sooner or later confront one another. It is also evident that whatever their respective positions may be, they will employ a number of methods which will become identical eventually. . . . To put it more clearly: there are not that many different methods of chasing a man

before killing him. But when we state this—as we did in *Confrontation*—it will not alter our opinion—as revealed in all our films which is absolutely clear: never, either in our purpose or in our films, did we disclaim our adherence to the Revolution. In this sense our films are historically realistic and plead in favour of Revolution, even though they may raise a series of problems. I think one must be very stupid to think that one cannot serve the Revolution except by always offering incense, like the Catholic Church glorifying its old saints and its own history.

"For us, the fundamental question remains: how to achieve a revolution without society petrifying again? How to achieve a revolution in which ordinary people—I might say the oppressed ones—the proletariat, should always have the strength to establish a power which is their own, a power which could never become their enemy.

"During the age of *Confrontation* we did more than just live through it: in fact we made that age. It's we who made this socialist country and we did do, in fact, all the things you can see in the film. With our friends from the People's Colleges (including directors András Kovács, Imre Fehér, Péter Bacsó) we had a good laugh when we saw our former comrades trying to criticize *Confrontation* to prove to their children that they had not been such as we pictured them in the film. On behalf of this generation I think it is a curious example of conservative calcification when they think that by idealizing their former role they could educate their children better than by revealing things as they were.

"In the Hungary of 1945, the times were just as young—in a manner of speaking—as were the people shaping them. A great part of the honest leaders of that time were mere youths. All this coincided with a new impetus, showing itself in Hungary by an entirely new tone. What is striking, however, is that certain deformations were inherent already even in this exceptional environment of the Revolution. To be sure,

we were unaware of it at that time. For a long time even after the Rajk trial we continued to support, honestly and militantly, Rákosi—and of course Stalin. We believed Rajk to have been guilty and we damned him in spite of the fact that he had been one of the leaders of our People's Colleges Movement. It was a rather complex age and it still is, for us, even though by now we know more about it than we did

then. Under such conditions no film picturing that age can pretend to explain everything that went on. At most it can serve as a warning. A warning to all revolutionary movements in the process of being born, and to those which have not yet triumphed, that the Revolution carries certain dangers in itself: the dangers we have experienced and which others should strive to avoid."

FOLKLORE IN MOTION

*Towards kinetic art**

In every art form, the influence of the national heritage, especially folklore, can be a facile store of popularly understood cliché, or it can be used to regenerate and adapt esoteric or alien developments.

There are still some people who believe that to regard the animated film as an art form is in itself esoteric. For this, the animated film itself may be partially responsible: for many years, the artistic aspirations of animators have been subjugated to commercial interests and animation tended to mean the Walt Disney type cartoon. Czech and Polish studios, soon followed by Yugoslav and Hungarian colleagues, were among the first to widen the scope of animation and explore its possibilities beyond the simplest form of amusement for children.

The artistic, or poetic, use of animation seems to accompany the regeneration of film as an art form. For whether a film begins in the camera or on the drawing board, its apotheosis is in being projected on a screen. When the main feature is one which appeals to "art house" audiences it is sensible for a cinema to make up the whole programme to please the same audience, whether with a short documentary film or an animated

cartoon. When the Costa-Gavras film, "Z", (based on Vassili Vassilikos's novel) took London by storm at the beginning of the year, it was shown with a Hungarian cartoon called "Trends" (*Tendenciák*, by Marcell Jankovics) which makes the point, in sets of quick images, that human beings are prone to carry bad beginnings to worse extremes, that a tendency can easily become a trend: a particularly apposite preface to a film which analyses the beginnings of military terror in present-day Greece. As in Czechoslovakia and Poland earlier, the increasing originality and thought-content in the Hungarian cinema has been accompanied by an increasing number of artistically ambitious and often artistically highly successful animated works from the Pannonia Studio in Budapest.

The humorous and satirical cartoons of Macskássy and Nepp have stood for "Hungarian animation" for many years now. To their widely known and widely popular comic style the Studio, which produces over

* The author is indebted to Miss Mariann Fáy for the use of material from her study on the Hungarian animated film, prepared under the auspices of the Institute of Cinematography.

fifty films a year by now, has added a growing number of productions which cannot be called "cartoons" in the accepted sense of the word. Beginning with filming paintings by famous artists, such as Derkovits* (1961) or the specially painted pictures of Dezső Korniss, animated by György Kovásznai, the younger directors working at the Pannonia Studio have extended the technique of animation to subjects inspired not only by the visual arts, but also by poetry and music.

Two of the younger directors, Zsolt Richly and Sándor Reisenbüchler, have achieved a fusion of poetry, music and the elements of folklore on the screen. The transformation of folk motifs into an individual style, into the material of a modern and personal art form, is as complete in their short films as it is in the music of Bartók.

Zsolt Richly's first film "In India" (*Indiában*, 1966) was in fact his examination work, based on a poem by Attila József. Each frame is a painting; and following the poet's lead, Richly too avoided the over-facile use of Oriental elements. His pictures do not illustrate, but attempt to recreate, the poet's images.

Sándor Reisenbüchler's first major work, finished in 1968, was also inspired by a poem, "The Rape of the Sun and Moon", by Ferenc Juhász. It is an even more original departure than "In India" for the poem is not used as a spoken commentary, but the power of the myth is retained. The twelve-minute film is accompanied by music, including excerpts from Vivaldi, Prokofiev, Penderecki and Orff's *Carmina Burana* which contribute more emotion and excitement than any spoken commentary could provide.

It is the visual experience, however, which renders "The Rape of the Sun and Moon" unique and unforgettable. Its opening frames, presenting the harmonious coexistence of man and nature, fertile and flowering, borrow from the decorative patterns of Hungarian

folk art not merely their formal details, but also that very feeling of certainty and reassurance which the two main elements of folk decoration, tradition and repetition, the repetitive use of familiar forms, can give.

The combination of microcosmic and macrocosmic images in art is another echo from Juhász's poetry, which is closely bound to the scientific attitude of our times. With the entry of the forces of evil, the Dragon whose every step brings death and desolation, the folklore-shapes of trees, birds and flowers are deformed into amorphous shapes, not unlike microscopic slides, as they fall apart. Even the heads of the Dragon are transformed into claws and tentacles, following the patterns of natural evolution; the heart of a frog becomes visible, as under irradiation, and throbs away as a melting, greenish cell-formation.

After the holocaust, redemption is brought by a hero, but he is not entirely the hero of folk tale, merely a part of humanity rising from the mass. The instrument of redemption, a flower, turning into a guiding star and invincible sword, brings hope and freedom. He confronts the Dragon, representing all humanity, and unlike in folk tales, the victory is not his own glory. He disappears after his act, and only the result of his liberating struggle is shown: a fresh spring of nature and human life.

Zsolt Richly in his next two films (both based on Kodály's choral works) drew on the visual resources of peasant art, but again, transformed them into his own idiom to a lesser or greater extent. In the first film, "Suite" (1969) five folk songs in Kodály's arrangement are accompanied by visual images more closely welded to the rhythm of the music than has ever been achieved before. The images dance to the music in such perfect emotional cohesion that one forgets that synchronization is an artefact produced in the laboratory: movement and music appear as an organic whole, as they do in the folk dance.

Elements and associations which are hid-

* See Nos. 1 and 21 of *The New Hungarian Quarterly*.

den or are mere hints in the words of the songs are brought to life in the pictures, and their mythological references are emphasized. For instance, in the third song, "The Hair Grower" (*Hajnövesztő*) a young girl asking for rain is also the fertility goddess of ancient beliefs, an earth-symbol, and her growing hair suggests the growing crops. As in the last part, "Lady-bird" (*Katalinka*), an ancient myth is combined with a modern idiom, in fine line drawings with a slight resemblance to Klee's. In the first, second and fourth songs the ornamental folk motifs flow from one transformation to the next, a device frequently used by Richly, who none the less contrives to preserve the unsophisticated purity of peasant poetry.

His next film, "The Peacock" (*A páva*, 1969) eschews the playfulness he used in "Suite". The folklore elements are absorbed and digested more completely, and the film is nearer to being expressionism animated than any previous work. Expressionism as a style suits the animated film better in some ways than it suits painting. In painting, its very anthropomorphism can jar and irritate, whereas the same quality provides the dramatic surprise, the movement in animation, where it none the less remains sufficiently abstract to accord with stylization, the basic principle of all good animation.

Two transformation scenes stand out: the eye germinating, in one sequence, into a symbolic peacock which is the genesis of Light, becoming a rainbow, a star and the sun; and the second, where the flame of the

eye flies up to liberate the land, and its failure is expressed in perfect visual terms as it turns into the iron vice or oppression, subsiding into the misery of the oppressed as signalled by the downward curves of the thatching. Richly's subdued use of colour and abstracted use of shapes achieve a complete departure from peasant elements, as do Ady's poem and Kodály's music on the soundtrack.

There are of course many other films, primarily intended for children, which illustrate folk-tales with peasant art, or animated puppets in peasant dress. Many of these are highly successful, even on television; but such films as "The Sun and Moon", "Suite" or "The Peacock" belong to a completely different category. On the one hand, they are to be shown in cinemas with serious films: on the other, they are part of the most significant development in the visual arts in our time: kinetic art. These films may, eventually, move from the cinema into the exhibition hall and the museum, where they could be shown continuously, avoiding that slight sense of loss and frustration caused by being unable to take in their full beauty and richness at one viewing. They could be studied at various levels, like slides in the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris, and the feeling of their evanescence could be overcome. This way, their movement in time, such an essential part both of film and kinetic art, could simply be a part of the total visual experience, and no longer be a cause of regret.

MARI KUTTNA

MUSICAL LIFE

NEW RECORDS

HANDEL: *Organ Concerti*, Op. 4, Nos. 1, 4, 5; Op. 7, No. 3. Gábor Lehotka (organ), Liszt Ferenc Chamber Orchestra conducted by Frigyes Sándor, Qualiton LPX 11380, Stereo SLPX 11380.

Gábor Lehotka, the young but distinguished Hungarian organist hardly needs an introduction. I note with pleasure that British colleagues increasingly share the opinions of Hungarian critics in valuing Lehotka's talent.

It can hardly be sufficiently stressed that Lehotka's chief virtue is in his uniform, yet freely flowing *rhythm*. He always offers live, vibrant music, absolutely intelligent music, free of any doctrinaire argument. In his interpretations he boldly ignores centuries of performing conventions, always evolving the meaning from the score. Only the internal harmonic and functional movement of the music interests him, together with all its external projections; hence his technique which embodies this intimacy.

In Handel's concertos he again found that momentum which caused these light and playful masterpieces to remain in the repertoire of organists through the centuries. If one approaches the concertos with a severe, critical eye for style, concentrating purely on an examination of their harmony, melody and form, it appears that these works were conceived in the baroque convention. But this suddenly changes when the performer brings

forth the image of the sound and with it, Händel's profound intentions.

It is well known that Handel himself was an outstanding organist, thus he handled the instrument in the most natural manner possible. But this is not of unambiguous benefit to posterity: on the contrary, this is why these organ concertos have been left by Handel in a sketchy form. Even the new complete Handel edition's relevant volume (Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, Serie IV Band 2. Orgelkonzerte I), which is compiled in accordance with exacting standards of scholarship, had to include some supplementary suggestions to eliminate or at least to reduce this sketchy character.

Lehotka recognized that in this case, adherence to the old text would only lead to a lifeless, museum-like atmosphere. He did nothing more than to take the inscription *Adagio ad libitum* of the Op. 7 No. 3 seriously—and composed a very beautiful adagio movement. He did the same with the cadences of the two other organ concertos, which proved to be too short in relation to the rest of the movements. All this avoids any break in style, and appears as a perfect resolution of the contradiction between the sketchy notation and the natural sound of the work.

In his earlier recordings, Lehotka played on the organ of the Szent György Church of Sopron, installed in 1633. He plays Handel's concertos on an organ built in the first half of the eighteenth century, preserved at Pan-

nonhalma. As we learn from the introduction by Dr. Kilián Szigeti, this baroque positive organ has about fifty notes ranging from C to d''' The recording shows it to be a splendid, noble instrument with crystal-clear tones. The keys open the pistons directly, without any tracker—hence the player can form a closer, more intimate contact with the notes than even on the best modern organ.

BARTÓK: *Complete Edition, Orchestral Works*, 8. *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta* (1936); *The Miraculous Mandarin — Concert Suite*. Budapest Symphony Orchestra conducted by György Lehel, Hungaroton LPX 1301. Stereo SLPX 1301.

The complete Hungarian edition of Bartók recordings has attracted attention all over the world. The most eminent Hungarian artists are working on this imposing undertaking, and the international reaction to the first records indicates that the work is appreciated.

György Lehel was known for a long time as one of the best Hungarian conductors of modern works—Bartók's *Music* achieved many successes both at home and abroad, in public concerts or on radio, under his direction. He boldly realizes each segment and particularly every change in this work. In this recording perhaps the first movement marked *Andante tranquillo*, and the third, the *Adagio*, succeeded with the greatest degree of differentiation. Lehel has a particular ability for rendering a certain sound in Bartók's music, the so-called "music of the night" quality, in which only minute buzzing and fluttering sounds ruffle the basic texture. The *Adagio* movement of the *Music* is of this kind.

The Miraculous Mandarin was one of Bartók's ill-fated works. In his lifetime it was produced only occasionally, and even then, it stirred up a scandal: the fate of the performances in Cologne and Prague—in the

late 1920's—further intensified the antipathy raised by the work, and the Budapest Opera removed the dance-pantomime from its programme again and again. This induced Bartók to prepare a shorter version, suitable for concert performance, which he himself called a *Concert Suite*, and which is essentially identical with the original, up to the point where the mandarin begins to pursue the girl. (Bartók made only two minor deletions in the score.)

This *Concert Suite* is conducted by Lehel on the other side of the record. This performance has the sureness of touch of a native language. Each of the girl's tempting scenes is heard with the force of veritable enchantment, and Lehel succeeds in stirring the musical texture to a real climax, which creates the impression that the work is completed.

The value of this work is enhanced in the Bartók complete edition by the splendid explanatory notes by Ernő Lendvai, the noted Hungarian Bartók scholar, illustrated with musical examples.

BARTÓK: *Complete Edition, Orchestral Works*, 6. *The Miraculous Mandarin — Pantomime*, Op. 19 (1918–1919); *Dance Suite* (1923); *Hungarian Peasant Songs* (1918–1933). Budapest Philharmonic Society Orchestra conducted by János Sándor, Hungaroton LPX 11319, Stereo LPX 11319.

Naturally, conducting the complete score of *The Miraculous Mandarin* for a record is an entirely different task. Bartók himself took a stand on this when he created his *Concert Suite* and gave us to understand that the pantomime acquires full meaning only in the stage performance. Indeed, one must be thoroughly familiar with the stage action, to form a picture of the whole work. Particularly the music of the triple killing and the triple "resurrection", which expresses the action throughout, but because of this, very often comes to a stop—does not

always reveal its beauty during the mere hearing.

At the same time it is natural that a complete edition of Bartók records must include the full version. Fortunately there is a conductor, János Sándor, who has conducted several successful concert performances of the complete *The Miraculous Mandarin*. The Philharmonic Society Orchestra consists of members of the Budapest State Opera House, that is, of musicians who can feel the work in their very blood, since the *Mandarin* has been in the repertoire of the Opera constantly since 1955.

This is also a successful recording, although it differs from György Lehel's *Concert Suite* interpretation. Lehel revealed all the sensuous beauty of the seduction more calmly—though it is true that the musical material of his 19-minute production differs radically from the 32 minute complete version. The freer exploitation of the stationary moments might easily have exploded the full version, but János Sándor's performance is dynamic and unified, tense and dramatic. The woodwind soloists, each of whom is a first-rank performer, deserve particular mention.

It is instructive to hear, after this, the *Dance Suite* of 1923, the second movement of which unmistakably discloses an intimate and deep kinship with *The Miraculous Mandarin*. The fourth, slow movement marked *Molto Tranquillo*, is particularly near to the atmosphere of the dance pantomime, which shows that the realm of the folk song in the Bartókian sense is ultimately capable of assimilating any content. For the *Dance Suite* is a series of folk-song elaborations in the broadest sense of the term, even if no concrete folk song appears anywhere in it. On the other hand each of its themes *could* be a folk song. This relationship between folk music and the composer is familiar from Bartók's other works, but this is the instance where the entire musical material, radiating the spirit of folk music, makes the inclusion of a distinct folk song superfluous.

The beginning of the first movement immediately arrests attention: the beginning is subdued and dramatic, and perhaps this is the very reason why it strikes a remote kinship with Stravinsky's earlier stage works. The rhythm of the fast movements could have been somewhat more pliant, but by emphasizing its spasmodic, syncopated rhythm János Sándor deepens the relationship with the *Mandarin*.

In 1917 Bartók composed one of his most popular cycles of folk song elaborations, entitled *Fifteen Hungarian Peasant Songs*. He scored a few pieces of this cycle for a full orchestra in 1933.

This seldom-heard work—which is to a certain extent an occasional piece—performed with enthusiasm, ends the record.

BARTÓK: *Complete Edition, Posthumous Works*, 3: *Violin Concerto* (1907–1908); *The Wooden Prince — Suite*; *Rumanian Dance No. 1. — Orchestral Version*. Dénes Kovács (violin). Budapest Philharmonic Society Orchestra, conducted by András Korödy. Hungaroton LPX 11313. Stereo SLPX 11314.

Bartók's first violin concerto survived in eventful circumstances. This work, dedicated to Stefi Geyer, consists of two movements, the first of which is identical with the first movement of *Two Portraits*, the one marked *Ideal*.

This first movement is of key importance in Bartók's life-work, the theme itself reappears in too many works to be listed here—but the pure hymn-like note that represents the movement as a whole has a conceptual significance. Moreover, this work of Bartók's youth also shows an incontestable, but seldom observed relationship with the "great" violin concerto.

This recording presents an entirely new and revealing picture of this early work. It is true that the second movement shows some features of the German neo-romantic style—thus it is natural that the first movement

should have become important to Bartók in later years. Nevertheless, the performance of the two movements together is a great musical experience. In the first movement Dénes Kovács is marvellous. He found the only possible right approach with quite exceptional perception in the first bars, where the solo violin appears to emerge from the orchestra purely by chance and intones the principal theme as a *primus inter pares*, as it were. Here the violonist needs to be a soloist, and then he has to find his way back into the orchestra, yet play in a distinct voice. Dénes Kovács's crystal-clear, gently entreating, imploring tone is heard with more clarity, and at the same time it merges with the other instruments more completely than ever before. The second movement is more clear-cut: it is a virtuoso violin-concerto. This too, Dénes Kovács executes without any display, with natural simplicity, and with fascinating energy. In the coda of the second movement—immediately before the closing chords of the work—the principal theme of the first movement reappears and in Dénes Kovács's performance this moment crowns this early work of Bartók's with extraordinary beauty.

Bartók himself orchestrated the well known *Rumanian Dance No. 1* for the full orchestra—but only recently was the original score reconstructed from the instrumental parts of the first performance. This reconstruction served as the basis for this beautiful and lively recording.

The Wooden Prince—Bartók's one-act ballet—is too well known to require detailed introduction. But the suite prepared from its musical material is all the more novel and less widely known. Bartók condensed the dramatic action into three movements that follow each other without pause. *I. Dance of the Trees—II. Dance of the Waves—III. Dance of the Princess with the Wooden Doll*. The nature-scenes of the first two movements are delicately counterbalanced, and at the same time grotesquely complemented by the wooden doll's angular gestures which are evoked in the third movement.

András Koródy and the Budapest Philharmonic Orchestra—that is, the Budapest Opera House Orchestra—play this Bartók suite, which is new even to experts, with familiar ease and simplicity.

MAROS: *Eufonia 1-2-3; Cinque studi per orchestra*. Hungarian Radio and Television Orchestra conducted by György Lehel. *Qualiton LPX 11362*.

Rudolf Maros composes elegantly and with a light touch.* He handles the accepted effects of modern music with absolute assurance. His first, second and third "Eufonias" composed in 1963, 1964 and 1965 were written in the spirit of "euphony" in the modern sense. The 52-year-old composer rigidly dissociates himself from all kinds of programme music in the literary sense, and in fact he writes orchestral études with modern techniques. In the earliest work on the disc, the *Cinque studi per orchestra* dating from 1960, he designated the road he followed in his other works, but without attempting to deny that he is a member of the post-Bartók generation of Hungarian composers. Perhaps he comes closest to Bartók's tone in *Eufonia 3*.

The standard of the performance is guaranteed by the performances being by the Radio Orchestra, conducted by György Lehel.

SÁRKÖZY: *The Poor One...* (*Rappresentazione profana*), 12 Movements on Words by Attila József. Erika Sziklay (soprano); Budapest Choir (Chorus Master: Miklós Forrat); Hungarian State Symphony Orchestra conducted by András Koródy. *Júlia Songs—Lyrical Cantata in Seven Movements on the Poems of Bálint Balassi*. József Réti (tenor); Attila Lajos, János

* See Imre Fábán: "Rudolf Maros and Post-Kodály Attitudes", and a movement of Maros's "Trio for Harp, Violin and Viola" in *The N.H.Q.* No. 34 — Editor.

Kovalesik (flutes); Hédi Lubik (harp); János Sebestyén (harpsichord).

Choir of the Hungarian Radio and Television conducted by Zoltán Vásárhelyi, Qualiton LPX 11371.

The spectrum of styles of contemporary Hungarian composition is very wide, variegated, ranging from the relatively conventional modes of composition to the aleatory. István Sárközy, who is in his fiftieth year, belongs to the more conservative wing of Hungarian composers. This, of course, does not alter the fact that Sárközy is an inventive composer. (Besides, after a generation or so, stylistic differences are no longer of interest.)

This work, consisting of twelve short movements is varied in itself, without being eclectic in any way. In this instance Erika Sziklay is not in her best voice but she retains her characteristically pliant and crystal-clear soprano, which, despite her sophistication, has stylistic echoes of folk singing.

Unfortunately the disc does not offer either Hungarian or foreign language texts either to this or to the *Júlia Songs* on the other side. Nevertheless the English listener will easily understand the intentions and meanings of the *Júlia Songs*. Bálint Balassi's* (1554-1594), renaissance poems are set to music with charm, delicately striking the middle course between archaization and modern interpretation. The basis of his musical language, however, is based on a style identical all over Europe, in the second half of the sixteenth century, which makes it easy to understand. (In English musical history John Dowland and his followers cultivated it at the highest possible level.)

The leading figure of Hungarian choral music, Zoltán Vásárhelyi, leads the choir in a lively rendition, with József Réti's clear lyrical tenor soaring and vigorous as always.

ANDRÁS PERNYE

* See one of Balassi's poems in this same issue on p. 65 translated by W. D. Snodgrass.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

Thank you very much indeed for the copy of the 34th number of your *Quarterly* carrying the excellent article of Prof. Péter Nagy on his Indian visit. It brought back memories to me of his visit to Poona—alas, too brief—and his discussions with us here. The article provides a very balanced and sober account of a subject that all too often tempts writers to exaggeration, inbalance and dishonesty. I particularly liked the style of the article which manages to combine very successfully both fact and impression so that “the feel” of the subject is conveyed as much as information about the subject. Kindly convey my greetings and warm appreciation to Professor Nagy. I hope he will visit us again.

One small correction. The “horizontal” religious mark distinguishes the devotees of Siva; the vertical, the devotees of Vishnu. The former is made of ash from a sacrifice; the latter from some kind of paste. Usually the lines (both the horizontal and invariably the vertical) are three in number. But whereas the followers of the Siva-worship have all the three of the holy ash, the followers of Vishnu have the central line of red or yellow paste and the outer ones are of white paste.

S. Nagarajan

University of Poona,
Department of English
India

Sir,

Winds of change are blowing over Eastern Europe: economic reforms are the order of the day. In a refreshingly non-doctrinaire analysis Imre Vajda argues that the nation-state is far from withering away. On the contrary, it will have important roles to play even in the new economic integration movements in the East as well as in the West. What is more, one is ill-advised if one tries to explain economic integration from the point of view of orthodox Marxist economic determinism. Vajda convincingly argues that the organizational forms were created first—by the Treaty of Rome, for instance—and that there remained and still remain formidable obstacles to economic integration in spite of the leading institutional arrangements.¹

In a very thoughtful article József Bognár describes the new economic reforms in Hungary which aim to de-centralize decision-making by introducing market-signals into the economy.²

Péter Vályi characterizes the financial and monetary measures necessary to make the new economic mechanism work.³

¹ Imre Vajda: “Integration, Economic Union and the Nation State”, N.H.Q., No. 31, Autumn 1968.

² Péter Vályi: “The Planned Economy and Financial Policy,” N.H.Q., No. 31, Autumn 1968.

³ József Bognár: “Economic Reform and International Economic Policy,” N.H.Q., No. 32, Winter 1968.

Finally, György Ádám speculates that closer ties between Eastern and Western Europe are the only hope for the latter to cope with what Servan-Schreiber describes as "The American Challenge."⁴ What kind of balance sheet can we draw up about the economic prospects of Eastern Europe based on these articles? What criticism and what extensions can we offer? This is the subject of this essay.

Let me state a thesis first. It is suggested to me by the concurrent reading of the above essays and some recent writings in *Organization Theory*. Incidentally, organization theory is not really a new discipline although it has come into the forefront of interest in the West due to the writings of Herbert Simon of Carnegie Tech, for instance, or William H. Whyte. ("The Organization Man" is the most well-known contribution of the latter.) No, the essence of organization theory was already known to Adam Smith—who, incidentally, could be considered the father of liberal capitalism as much as Karl Marx is considered the father of the predominant social philosophy in the East. Adam Smith describes a pin factory at one point in his *Wealth of Nations*. The essence of the description is that the ten or so labourers who combined to make pins can make hundred times more pins than if they work separately as artisans, each fashioning a complete pin. Division of labor, specialization, *effective organization* leads to many-fold increase in output. Note that this is different from St. Thomas Aquinas's description of God-given talents: every one of us is more suitable to do some tasks than others, thus it pays to specialize and concentrate on what one has the most aptitude for. Adam Smith's division of labour is different: the fact of specialization creates the skills not vice versa and effective organization results in the manyfold increase of output. This could not have been achieved by mere specialization: we would have had ten artisans making

different parts of a pin, at their own leisurely pace, in an uncoordinated fashion, to their own pleasure. Sometimes we would have had too many pin-heads, sometimes too many stems, in an unpredictable fashion. The pin-makers would have been happy: they would have each taken pride in the artistic quality of the pin-heads or stems they produced, furthermore, due to inefficient production there would always have been a shortage of pins thus they could sell their pins at a good price and make a decent living. What about the pin factory now? Due to timing, co-ordination of the process they produce a hundred times as many pins as before. Pins will become cheap, all those who use pins can have all they want. Social welfare has increased. The owner-manager of the pin factory beams: profits are better than ever. But what has become of the artisan...?

...and what became of the thesis I was going to state? No, I didn't forget it. It is a simple point I want to make, suggested among other things by Vajda's analysis as well as the above free-wheeling flow of words. The thesis, then, is that organizational forms are pre-eminent, they determine to a large extent the content and quality of economic life and not vice versa. It is clearly a legalistic or institutionalist interpretation of economic history. It is contrary to the Marxist interpretation, although Vajda's stand suggests that the two interpretations are not irreconcilable. I am not interested at this point however in attempting such a reconciliation—any good dialectician will be able to do it, I am sure. What I am interested in is to milk out all the implications of this thesis in light of the four articles about Eastern Europe. I shall start with József Bognár, quoting from page 85:

"*Top management* had a decisive role in the preparation of the Hungarian economic reform. *Top management* is the only... organization that covers the entire complex of the *company's* activities. In the first phase of the introductory process it initiated and organiz-

⁴ György Ádám: "Standing up to the American Challenge," N.H.Q., No. 31, Autumn 1968.

ed the drawing up of the reform. It encouraged the supporters of the reform to collaborate on the basis of a uniform conception. When it came to turning-points and the future of the reform hung in the balance—for it depended on a few ayes and nays—it took quick and resolute decisions. . . . After the basic conception had been worked out, *top management*, as the supreme . . . guiding force, elaborated the details for the organs of the executive power, and devoted itself, henceforth, with all its might to convince the *share holders*. It was due to the latter that people who were, at first, averse to the idea of a reform or thought that at best half-measures would be taken, took up the cause of the reform."

"Of course, the preliminary spadework done in the course of preparations had a strong impact on *top management* too."

Next, let me quote from Péter Vályi (page 73):

"A couple of important principles of the financial policy to which we have to adhere in the years of the introduction of the reform follow from planned growth and dynamic equilibrium (*of the company*). These principles set out from the fact that financial policy is an organic part of general *company* policy and is an important instrument for the attainment of *company objectives* based on economic foresight."

Am I reading here a corporations' annual report? By no means. I must ask the reader to substitute for wherever I used *top management* "The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party," for *share holders* "public opinion" and for *company objectives* "a socialist planned economy" and he will have re-created the original text of the annual report—pardon my slip of tongue—of the original articles.

The meaning of the above word play I hope will not be lost: I claim that running a development programme is much like running a modern corporation. The size of Hungary's economy compares to the size of some U.S. corporations, the questions confronting a corporations' *top management*

are not unlike the questions the Hungarian reformers face as described in the above articles. One could make a strong case for economic growth as an institutional, managed activity, whether we look at Adam Smith's pin factory or 19th-century Japan. Present-day large conglomerates, competing in many different markets and unrelated product lines, could be compared to socialist countries trying to run a development programme. The lesson, then, is: everything hinges on management performance. Can *top management* in Eastern Europe perform as well as U.S. corporate management? The thoughtful analysis in Vályi's, Bognár's and Vajda's essays suggests that it might. In any case, we wish them the best of luck . . . but please, don't forget about the artisans!

As an added thought: György Ádám's answer to Servan-Schreiber suggests that if management talents are needed, *top management* in Eastern Europe can get it from Western European or U.S. companies, on a contractual basis, in the form of joint ventures. Has anyone ever thought about contracting out the whole development programme?

Dennis T. Szokolay

Stamford, Conn.
U.S.A.

Sir,

Thank you very much for letting me see Dennis T. Szokolay's witty and thought-provoking letter which I read with great interest. Its wit, I must say, lies rather in the clever use of a pun than in the novelty of his message. The projection of microeconomic concepts and functions to a macroeconomic level (i.e. treating the national economy as if it were a mammoth enterprise) is in current use in modern economics. Similarly, the concept of a national accountancy is nothing else than the adaption of entrepreneurial accountancy to the national economy. Modern process-planning methods, e.g. PERT or CPM, can just as well be used for the

making up of a country's development plan as for drafting the investment programme of an enterprise. Treating the national economy as if it were a single gigantic enterprise is a far less startling idea for socialist economists than it might seem to Mr. Szokolay and his Western colleagues who perceive the outlines of enterprises, i.e. the *parts*, far more intensively than the outlines of the *whole*, i.e. the national economy.

I wasn't even surprised by the main thesis: "The thesis, then, is that organizational forms are pre-eminent, they determine to a large extent the content and quality of economic life and not vice versa." If I would omit the preposition "pre" from the word "pre-eminent" I could even agree, for nobody challenges that socialist *planned economy* as "*organizational form*" determines to a large extent the content and quality of economic life. The fact that the "vice versa" effect is denied makes the thesis biased (stultifying it at the same time), for just in our days we had the opportunity to see that changes in the content and quality of economic life bring about changes in the organizational form too, namely, in the *methods* of socialist planned economy.

As a matter of fact, the experiences of the highly efficient organizational methods of capitalist enterprises are consciously utilized in the management of Hungarian enterprises. For example, recently the internal organization of a large textile factory with a labour force of 25,000 was reorganized on the basis of the spot check and advice of a Swiss plant-organization advisory bureau. A number of examples could be cited regarding realized joint ventures with Western capitalist firms.

The succinct statement in Mr. Szokolay's article: "The size of Hungary's economy compares to the size of some U.S. corporations" is apparently appropriate although it does not refer to Hungary only. Yes, in size but measured by *what*? If measured in terms of money the answer is in the affirmative but it is certainly in the negative if it is measured

by the number, composition, past and aspirations of the human community comprehended by the two kinds of organizations. I'm fully aware that the annual turnover of the Detroit General Motors Corporation amounts to three times that of Norway's Gross National Product and is more than the double of the GNP of Hungary, Austria or Denmark (these are facts!), yet, I'd have to stand for a long time in front of the (presumably fine and big) headquarters of the General Motors Co., in Detroit and I still could not feel as one does on the battlefield of Gettysburg, or in front of Notre Dame in Paris or the Ják Church in Hungary. After all, differences between nation and enterprise do not lie merely in the size of the economy.

For this reason I find Mr. Szokolay's summary conclusion exaggerated: "The lesson, then, is: everything hinges on management performance." Of course, everybody has a one-sided way of looking at things determined by his own profession (sometimes I shudder becoming aware of my own one-sided attitude); however, if we apply our point of view to everything without limit we shall come to absurd conclusions such as, for example, the proposition in Mr. Szokolay's article: "contracting out the whole (Hungarian) development programme (to Western European or U.S. companies)." The absurdity appears at once if the proposal is turned around. When is President Nixon expected to entrust Soviet experts with the liquidation of unemployment or racial discrimination in the U.S.A.?

Now, as for the artisans. The question raised: "But what has become of the artisan?" does not only worry Mr. Szokolay, for it interests, in addition to Huxley and Röpke, Hungarian sociologists and myself too. Does detailed mechanical work, the lot of man of today in the process of mass production, compensate for the joy of individual productive work? The question sounds dramatic but is unreal for there is no other alternative. Nowadays masses are living who can only

be fed, clothed and housed by mass production. What would the wealth of the United States come to if it would be deprived of the basis of mass production? Mass production was, of course, also developed in the socialist countries, in Hungary for one. It should, however, be added that the Hungarian economy realized the importance of small-scale industry, producing individual products of excellent quality and the indispensability of small-scale enterprises in the various branches of services and repairs. This explains the considerable importance attached in Hungary to small-scale enterprises in various fields of production and services in our days and to the increasing number of artisans.

The solution of the problem has to be searched for in quite another quarter—in the optimum utilization of leisure, one of the main problems of developed industrial societies today. However, a discussion of the latter question would be beyond the scope of this short letter.

Egon Kementes

Budapest.

Sir,

Now that my essay on Gyula Krúdy has appeared in No. 34 of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* I am sorry to say that I discovered at this late stage that I forgot to mention the name of the author of my chief source. Allow me to use your columns to repair this unfortunate lapse.

I used many sources and I did a great deal of research of my own. The book which offered me most was *Krúdy Világa* (Krúdy's World) published five years ago by the Fő-

városi Szabó Ervin Könyvtár. (Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library).

Áron Tobiás created this book. I said *created*, no more modest word will do to describe his work. Áron Tobiás truly placed Krúdy's work and Krúdy's world at the centre of his magnificent book, and not his own marginal notes. He humbly withdrew, making room for quotations, letters and the personal witness of contemporaries.

Allow me to express my belated thanks to Áron Tobiás, the selfless and self-sacrificing editor of *Krúdy Világa*, and to do this publicly with the help of your paper.

György Sebestyén

Vienna, Austria

Sir,

Allow me to use the opportunity provided by the renewal of my subscription to compliment you on your excellent magazine. What I like most of all are your reports describing your stay in the USA, and the sketches and short stories. Couldn't you possibly also bring out a German translation? In my opinion it would be well worth while to expand the extra money and work. Here in our country people know hardly anything about Hungary. And nevertheless it seems to me that it is precisely in your country that Socialism is going through a promising stage of development and that it is most important that this should be more widely known here.

Dr. theol. Hannelis Schulte

Ziegelhausen,
German Federal Republic

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

BÁLINT, Endre (b. 1914). Painter. Studied at the School of Applied Art in Budapest. Some of his paintings were exhibited at the international exhibition of surrealist and abstract art in Paris in 1947. Had one-man shows in Belgium, the Netherlands and France. Illustrated an edition of the Bible: *La Bible de Jérusalem*, published in Paris 1959. Won first prize in an Edinburgh book illustration competition. A study on his work is shortly to be published in Belgium. See Krisztina Passuth's illustrated article "Endre Bálint's Painting" in No. 18, and his "The Search for the Archetypal Form (Lajos Vajda's Paintings)" in No. 23 of *The N.H.Q.*

BÍRÓ, Yvette. Film critic, our regular film reviewer.

BOGNÁR, József (b. 1917). Economist. M.P., Professor at Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest. Member of the Editorial Board of, as well as a frequent contributor to, *The N.H.Q.* See his previous contributions in Nos. 7, 11, 16, 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, as well as "Major Political and Economic Issues in Hungary" in No. 37.

CZÍMER, József (b. 1913). Theatre critic, translator, our regular theatre reviewer.

DEVECSERI, Gábor (b. 1917). Poet, essayist, translator and classical scholar. Has translated many Greek and Latin poets (including the complete Hungarian Homer), classical tragedies and comedies, and also "The Merry Wives of Windsor", as well as a number of English and other lyrical poets. His collected essays on classical poetry appeared in *Műhely és varázs* ("Workshop and Magic") in 1959. Has written on verse-translation, published eleven volumes of poetry, several verse-plays and a travel book

on Greece: *Epidaurosi tücsök szőlőjének* ("Sing, Cicadas of Epidaurus"), 1969. See his "A Guide to the Odyssey" in No. 20, and three poems in No. 31 of *The N.H.Q.*

ERDEI, Ferenc (b. 1910). Agrarian economist, General Secretary and Director of the Research Institute for Agrarian Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and member of our Editorial Board. Was Minister of the Interior of the liberated territory of Hungary in 1944, Minister of State in 1948, Minister of Agriculture from 1949 to 1953, Minister of Justice in 1953-54 and Deputy Prime Minister in 1955-56. Is also an M.P. Has published several sociological works on the Hungarian peasantry, *Futóhomok* ("Drift Sand"), *Magyar tanyák* ("Hungarian Farmsteads"), *A szövetkezeti úton* ("On the Co-operative Road"), etc. See his "Problems and Prospects of Agriculture" in No. 15, "The Image of Socialist Agriculture" in No. 23, and "An Idea and Its Realization" in No. 30 of *The N.H.Q.*

FEKETE, József (b. 1922). Head of the Secondary School Department in the Ministry of Culture, a teacher by profession. See also his "The Question of the Two Cultures in Hungary," "Eleven Plus in Hungary," and "Problems of Coeducation" in Nos. 1, 7, and 18 of *The N.H.Q.*

GASTER, Bertha. Journalist. A linguistic sub-editor of our review. For many years Middle East correspondent of the *News Chronicle*. See also her "A Hunting Party at Eisenstadt" in No. 29, "A Little World Made Cunningly" in No. 30, and "With Borsos at Tihany" in No. 35 of *The N.H.Q.*

GYÖRFFY, György (b. 1917). Historian, specializing in medieval Hungarian history. A senior research fellow of the

Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His publications include *Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéről* ("Studies on the Origins of the Hungarian State", Budapest, 1958), and *Geographia Historica Hungariae tempora stirpis Arpadianae*, Vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1966.

JÁNOSSY, Lajos (b. 1912). Physicist, Professor of Theoretical Physics at Eötvös University in Budapest, Vice President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Member of the Editorial Board of this review. Before 1950 was Professor of Physics at Dublin University. His research centers on cosmic radiation (*Cosmic Ray*, published in 1948). Has also published several works on the quantum and relativity theories; his experiment in photon-interference (1957) made him widely known. See his "The Rhythm of Time" in No. 35 of *The N.H.Q.*

JUHÁSZ, Ferenc (b. 1928). Poet. The son of a village stonemason, he came to Budapest after the war to study at Eötvös University among the first great wave of peasant and working-class youths to whom the opportunities of higher education were first opened only around 1947. While his early poems, fresh and full of optimistic vigour, showed a strong influence of folk poetry, from about 1953 onwards he developed an immensely complex style. The latest work in his already considerable output is a poem of several thousand lines, entitled "My Mother" and published in 1969. In his foreword to *The Plough and the Pen*, an anthology of Hungarian writing from 1930-1956 edited by Ilona Duczynska and Karl Polányi and published in London by Peter Owen in 1963, W. H. Auden declares about one of Juhász's poems: "...I am convinced that 'The Boy Changed into a Stag Cries Out at the Gate of Secrets' by Ferenc Juhász is one of the greatest poems written in my time." That poem was, as is the one we print here, translated by Kenneth McRobbie, the Canadian poet, who is at

work on a volume of translations from Juhász. See also "Thursday, the Day of Superstition" in No. 21, and "The Force of the Flowers" (excerpt) in No. 23 of *The N.H.Q.*

KEMÉNY, István (b. 1925). Sociologist. Studied economics and philosophy at Eötvös University in Budapest. At present on the staff of the National Széchényi Library. Has published studies on social stratification, reading habits and social mobility. At present is engaged in research in the cultural background and education of a Budapest working-class district.

KERESZTURY, Dezső (b. 1904). Poet, literary historian, essayist, head of a department at the National Széchényi Library, member of our Editorial Board. Among his more recent contributions see his "Kodály—the Man and the Achievement" in No. 26, "Bibliotheca Corviniana" in No. 33, and "Endre Ady" in No. 35 of *The N.H.Q.*

KONRÁD, György (b. 1933). Novelist and sociologist. Studied Hungarian literature at Eötvös University in Budapest. For a while reader in a publishing firm. From 1959 to 65 was child care officer of the 6th Metropolitan District of Budapest. At present sociologist at an urban development and planning institute and engaged in research in the sociology of literature. Apart from his first novel, published in 1969, from which the two chapters printed here were taken, he has published essays, criticism and a book (in collaboration with István Szelényi) on the sociological problems of new urban housing estates.

KUTTNA, Mari. Writer, film critic and translator. Born in Budapest, but emigrated to Australia at an early age. She studied history and literature at Sydney University, graduating with the University Medal and a scholarship to Oxford. Since then, she has been working in publishing and jour-

nalism in London, with frequent working holidays in Budapest to see as many Hungarian films as possible. See her Film Review in No. 37.

LANG, George E. (b. 1927.) Born in Hungary, Mr. Lang lives in New York and is now Vice President of Restaurant Associates Industries, Inc., one of the largest restaurant corporations in the world. He is currently at work on a history of the Hungarian cuisine from the 5th century to the present, which will be published by Athenaeum Publishers, New York. He is also a consulting editor for Time-Life Books' *Foods of the World* cookbook series, and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* recently requested that he write the new entries on Gastronomy. On July 4th, President Nixon appointed him to the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission.

PERNYE, András (b. 1928). Musicologist, our regular music reviewer.

SIKLÓS, László (b. 1934). Free-lance journalist. For ten years worked in a shipyard, later headed the cultural centre of the enterprise. Articles and reports by him have, in the past two years, appeared in various journals. See his "The Socialist Brigade Movement" in No. 37 of *The N.H.Q.*

SZÁSZ, Imre (b. 1927). Novelist and translator, our regular book reviewer.

SZÉCHY, Károly (b. 1903). Civil engineer, D. Eng., Professor of Foundation Engineering and Tunnelling at the Technical University in Budapest, Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hon. D. of Techn. University of Helsinki. Heads the design and construction works of the new underground system in Budapest. Studied at the Technical University in Budapest and at University College, London. Was responsible for the reconstruction of the highway bridges

blown up during the war, including the famous bridges over the Danube in Budapest. Is also Chairman of the Hungarian National Group of the International Societies of Soil Mechanics and Foundation Engineering as well as of Bridge and Structural Engineering. In addition to more than 150 scientific papers he wrote three text-books ("Foundation Engineering," "Foundation Failures," "Art of Tunnelling") which were also published in several foreign languages, the last two also in English.

SZIGETI, Endre (b. 1904). Journalist. Before the war, local government editor of *Nemzeti Újság*, a Budapest daily. At present on the staff of *Új Ember*, a Budapest Catholic weekly. His main field of interest lies on the borderline of religion and science. Has published essays on these subjects in various Catholic journals.

TÍMÁR, Mátyás (b. 1923). Economist, D.Ec., Deputy Prime Minister, Chairman of the Governments' Economic Council, Member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Became involved in the labour movement as a skilled worker in the leather industry in 1941, joined the Communist Party in 1943. After the war worked in the youth movement and in the party, and obtained a university education. 1949-55, Department Head in the Ministry of Finance, 1955-57, and again 1960-62, Deputy Minister of Finance, 1962-67, Minister of Finance. For a while taught at Eötvös University and Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest.

TORNAL, József (b. 1927). Poet, translator. After secondary school worked for a while as skilled factory hand and later as a technical clerk at the Csepel Motor Works in Budapest. Published his first poems in 1966. In addition to two volumes of poetry he has also published translations from the poetry of Nazim Hikmet and others.

TÖKEI, Ferenc (b. 1930). Philosopher, literary historian, sociologist, D. Litt. Graduated in oriental studies from Eötvös University in Budapest, worked for a while in a museum and then in publishing. In 1962 joined and now heads the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Since 1969 Editor of *Filozófiai Szemle*, a bi-monthly review of philosophy. His research work includes classical Chinese literature and philosophy, general problems of literary theory and problems of the Marxist concept of history. Has translated numerous works of Chinese literature and philosophy. Works: *A kínai elégia születése* ("The Birth of the Chinese Elegy"), 1959; *A kínai irodalom rövid története* ("A Short History of Chinese Literature"), in collaboration with Pál Miklós, 1960; *Az "ázsiai termelési mód" kérdéséhez* ("To the Question of 'the Asian Method of production'"), 1965; *Műfajelmélet Kínában a III-VI. sz.-ban* ("The Chinese Theory of Literary Forms in the 3-6th Centuries"), 1967; *A társadalmi formák elméletéhez* ("Towards a Theory of Social Forms of Organization"), 1968; *Kínai filozófia, Ókor, I-III.* ("Chinese Philosophy, Earliest Times, Vols 1-3), ed., 1962, 64, 67; *Antikvitás és feudalizmus* ("Antiquity and Feudalism"), 1969.

TÖRŐ, Imre (b. 1900). M.D., Biologist. Professor of Histology at the Semmelweis Medical University in Budapest, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Main works: *Általános biológia* ("General Biology," 1956), *Szövettan* ("Histology," 1958), *Az ember fejlődése* ("The Evolution of Man," 1960).

VÁLYI, Péter (b. 1919). Economist. A chemical engineer by training, he was first deputy Chairman of the National

Planning Bureau, became Minister of Finance in 1968. Has been active in comprehensive central planning of the national economy for fifteen years. President of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Committee for Economic Co-operation. See also "Hungary's Twenty-Year Economic Development Plan" in No. 11, "The Third Hungarian Five-Year Plan," written in collaboration with István Hetényi, in No. 25, and "Planned Economy and Financial Planning" in No. 31 of *The N.H.Q.*

VARGA, Zsuzsa. Art historian. Studied Art History and Hungarian at Eötvös University in Budapest. Works in the Hungarian Section of the Museum of Ethnography in Budapest. For a while did research in early sixteenth-century Florentine painting but switched to ethnography, particularly the folklore art objects related to religion: paintings, sculpture and *Hinterglassmalerei*. Has written a book in collaboration with her husband, also an art historian, on Lajos Kozma (1884-1948), a famous Hungarian architect before the Second World War.

VAS, István (b. 1910). Poet, author, translator, one of the outstanding personalities in contemporary Hungarian writing, a member of the Editorial Board of this review. His recent publications include a volume of collected poems, parts of an autobiographical sequence, *Nehéz szerelem* ("Troubled Love," 1964), and a collection of his shorter translations from foreign poets, *Ha a tenger éneke* ("Song of the Seven Seas," 1962). See also his poems "The Via Appia", in No. 23, "Gods" in No. 29, and an article "The Changing Image of Apollinaire" in No. 34 of *The N.H.Q.*

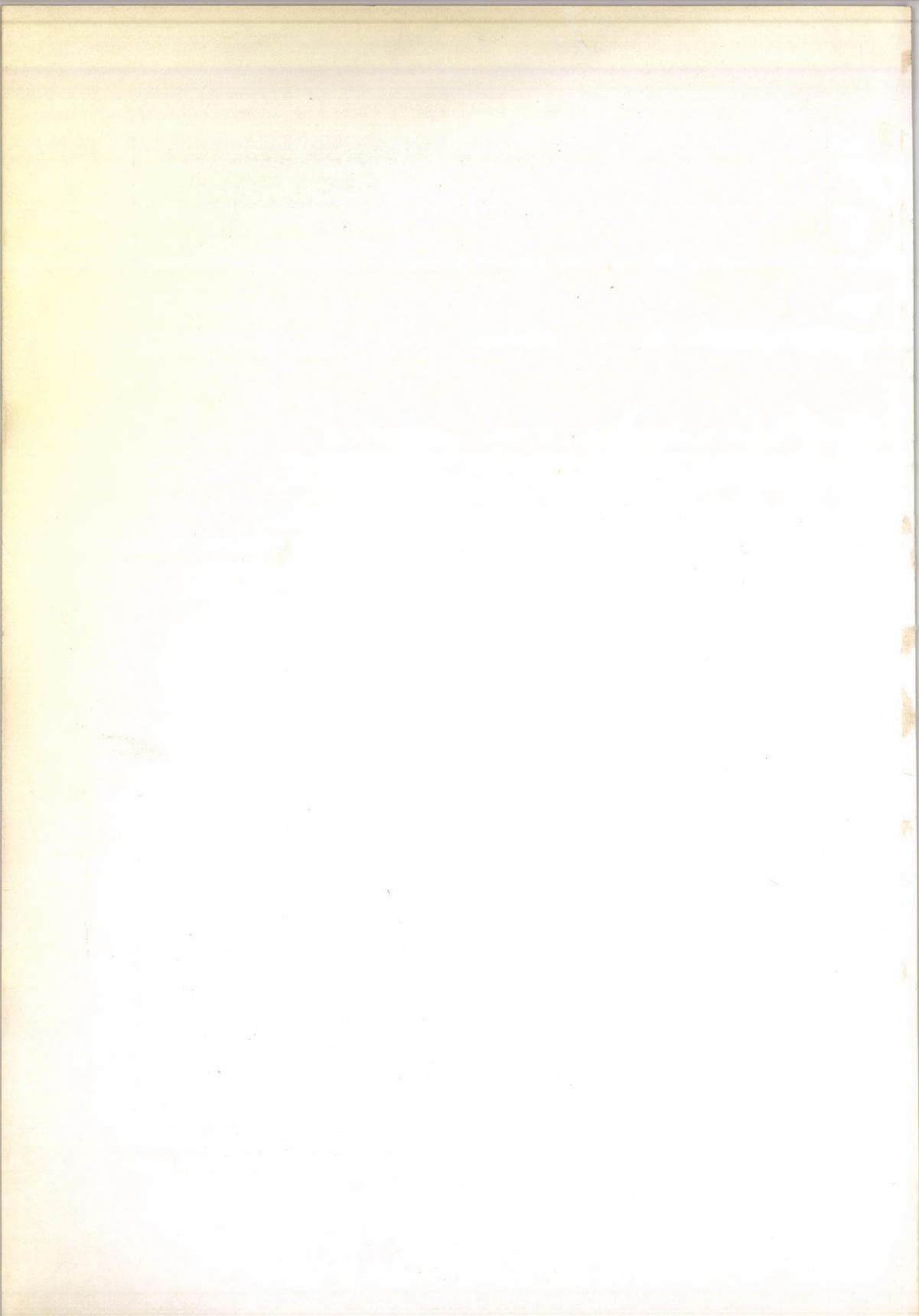


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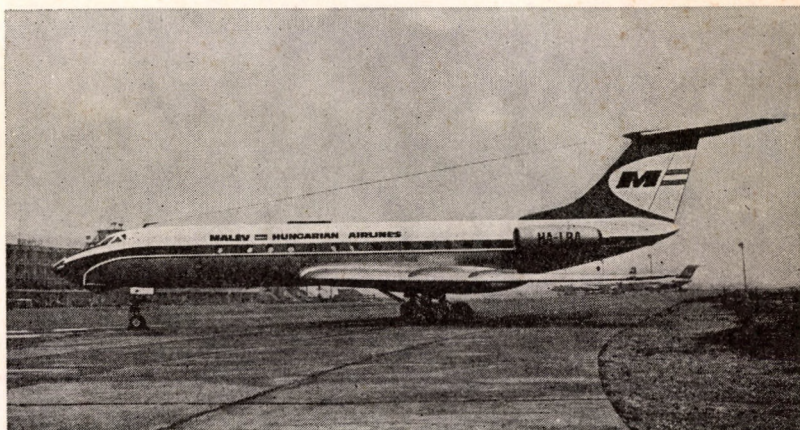
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