

# *The New Hungarian Quarterly*

**The Centenary of Budapest** — *Zoltán Szépvölgyi, Zoltán Halász, László Gerő*

**The Political and Social Significance of Education** — *György Aczél*

**Homage to Sándor Petőfi** — *István Sőtér, György Radó, Ágnes Zibolen Vayer*

**The Third Day** — *Imre Dobozý*

**The Cultural Legacy of the Austro-Hungarian  
Monarchy** — *László Mátrai*

**The Iconography of Hungarian Art Nouveau** —  
*Judit Szabadi*

# *The New Hungarian Quarterly*

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Telephone: 136-857

Postal Address: 1365 Budapest, P.O. Box 57, Hungary

Annual subscription: \$ 8.00 or the equivalent in another currency  
post free to any address

Orders may be placed with

KULTURA HUNGARIAN TRADING COMPANY FOR BOOKS  
AND NEWSPAPERS

Budapest 1376, P.O.B. 149

See also the distributors listed on the back page

Published by Lapkiadó Publishing House, Budapest

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Printed in Hungary by Kossuth Printing House, Budapest

# The New Hungarian Quarterly

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VOLUME XIV \* No. 49

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*This issue went to press on November 10th, 1972*

## BUDAPEST WAS THE MEETING PLACE

When last September, for the first time, the mayors of the capital cities of Europe came together to discuss pressing questions of mutual interest. The occasion was a modest anniversary of sorts: the centenary of the union of the three ancient towns that now make up present-day Budapest. We are publishing in this issue the opening address given by the Chairman of the Budapest City Council, as well as an essay on aspects of metropolitan life, past and present, written by Zoltán Halász on the occasion of a Budapest exhibition that opened in Rome in October. László Gerő writes on the conglomerate of styles that make up the unique architectural features of Budapest.

Art nouveau, that romantic and elegantly decadent style which marks so many of Budapest's buildings, is discussed here as an influence in Hungarian painting around the turn of the century in Judit Szabadi's richly illustrated "The Iconography of Hungarian Art Nouveau." Readers interested in aspects of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy will enjoy László Mátrai's essay on its cultural heritage, still partly alive today.

\*

Hungary has for long been regarded as a country which, considering its size, produces an amazing number of brilliant intellectuals in many fields, such as science, music and the humanities. A change-resistant school system, partly the inheritance of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and its German-based orientation in teaching, has become, however, a serious obstacle to modernization and to the fulfilment of the pressing needs of a rapidly developing economy. Hundreds of experts took part in a profound and radical rethinking of the country's entire elementary and secondary school system and their conclusions were then discussed and debated by thousands of others. The outlines, aims and principles of the reform are explained here by György Aczél, Secretary of the Party's Central Committee. Péter Rényi reviews the collection of speeches and articles by János Kádár who has been First Secretary of the Party since the difficult days of late 1956.

Hardly any non-Hungarian would admit even a faint remembrance from his

history class that what is now tiny Hungary was just five hundred years ago one of the great countries of the Continent with a territory many times the present size, stretching to the Adriatic Sea, as well as a centre of political strength, trade and learning. Some of this can clearly be seen in the work of the poet Janus Pannonius, Bishop of Pécs and Chancellor to the great Renaissance king Matthias Corvinus. He wrote all his epigrammes, elegies and panegyrics in Latin. Born in 1434 and educated in Italy, he rose to international fame as a young man, became a favourite of the king, but was subsequently dropped from favour for plotting against the court, and died young of consumption in 1472. As far as we know this is the first time any of his poems have appeared in English translation—done for *The NHQ* by the tireless and brilliant Edwin Morgan. Tibor Kardos writes on the life and poetry of Janus Pannonius.

\*

This is the second consecutive issue in which we are returning to Sándor Petőfi, the nineteenth century romantic revolutionary poet. The reader might be interested in the accounts of his life, his ideas and his international reputation, as well as in the pictures of him we print here. Though it may be too late to revive him in English, we hope that his irresistible personality may still come through to a certain extent.

The Editor

# A BUDAPEST MEETING OF EUROPEAN MAYORS

by

ZOLTÁN SZÉPVÖLGYI

*The Budapest Municipal Council invited the mayors and burgomasters of the capital cities of Europe to a conference arranged on the occasion of the centenary of the union of Buda, Pest and Óbuda. Between September 26 and 29, 1972 they discussed common problems and plans of urban development.*

*Zoltán Szépvölgyi, the Chairman of the Budapest Municipal Council gave the opening address, a slightly shortened version of which is here published.*

## COOPERATION BETWEEN CAPITALS

**T**he capitals of European countries, throughout their history were always centres of social and economic development, of scientific and technical progress, and of culture. In the course of the centuries, invaluable treasures were accumulated in these towns and they are important centres of intellectual life, industry, commerce, and political activity. The metropolitan form of life developed first and foremost in the capitals, with all their problems and the efforts to solve them.

It logically follows that—although every metropolis has its own unique and specific image—there are also many similarities. They have to solve many similar tasks in order to create favourable conditions for the work and recreation of the inhabitants; they have to fight the same problems to let the advantages of metropolitan life come out and to reduce the hazards of urbanization. It is in the basic and common interest of these cities to develop and protect their accumulated wealth under peaceful conditions, and to ensure a steady improvement, and a more meaningful and humane life for millions of inhabitants.

This corresponds to the spirit of the United Nations Charter, which says that the UN will contribute “to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations

among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples." Effective cooperation between the capitals of Europe can further the implementation of the aims, outlined in the Charter. The more frequent meeting of those in charge at conferences on urbanization, study tours, exchange of information, coordinated research on vital issues and the drawing of joint conclusions are all important. All this would bring those in charge closer to each other although they work under different conditions and circumstances, and would make contact between the inhabitants more lively. The social processes going on in Europe, the efforts made to get acquainted with each other (which are indicated also by the rapid expansion of tourism) all act as stimuli to a certain extent. This intention is mutually strengthened and no doubt it can have a direct effect on peaceful coexistence on our continent. It can consolidate peace and security in Europe. For our capitals are not only metropolises, but also administrative seats. As the consequence of their status, economic and cultural guiding role, financial power, possibilities and obligations, they can exercise considerable influence, not only on the solution of national problems, but also on the development of the international situation.

Let me emphasize, on behalf of the Budapest City Council, that we consider the cooperation of European capitals extremely important including the personal meetings of those in charge and the exchange of opinion among them. We consider this meeting an incentive, which is in harmony with the interests of the inhabitants of these capitals and with the endeavours for peace and security of the nations of Europe.

Without trying to cover the whole subject or to limit the mutual exchange of experience, I want to outline a few topics and problems which are, in my view, of common interest. It is my conviction that while exchanging experiences we can contribute to their solution, or at least take a step forward in this direction.

1) *Protection of the environment.* The harmful effect of various human activities on the natural environment is not new. There is no doubt, however, that the increased volume of industrial production, new industries and technologies, the growth of transport, and last but not least, the unparalleled increase in the number of urban dwellers produces an acute threat to the biosphere, and the whole ecological balance is in danger of being upset. Those in charge of European capitals are well aware of air pollution, and that of water and the soil, as well as noise. The adaptation ability of mankind can hardly keep up with the rapid changes in the environment. We are getting away from our natural surroundings to which we successfully adapted in the course of thousands of years. The rapid

tempo of metropolitan life, the connected stress effects, and the harm caused by noise, etc., attack our health, and our nervous system, weaken our resistance and ultimately endanger the biological survival of the race.

The environmental policies of recent years—despite increasing difficulties—allow the basic conditions of a bearable environment to be maintained or created for the majority of the inhabitants in most European capitals.

However, satisfactory solutions can only be attained by international cooperation that extends to every field of ecology.

2) *Historic towns and modern development.* All the European capitals, including Budapest, have a historic core that reflects the past and has a considerable cultural and historic value. In most capitals, this historic core remained the town centre. As a rule, it is surrounded by high density dwellings, it cannot therefore be extended, or only if great difficulties are surmounted. In most cities apartments are turned into business or administrative premises so that the city, over-crowded during the day, is deserted at night. At the same time, an extension of the towns requires the construction of housing on a large scale. Multi-storied housing estates were built, as well as extensive suburbs, that satisfy the requirements of modern man, but as they reflect the signs of modern mass production and standardization, they are frequently monotonous, with no character at all, and do not fit into the profile of the town.

One of the most attractive and most important duties of urbanists is to protect the historic character of towns, their traditional values, and simultaneously to build new projects and satisfy the requirements of the inhabitants. The monuments of the past have to be integrated into the blood flow of the present, while giving them socially required new functions—and new housing estates have to be built in a way that harmoniously fits into the picture of the town as it developed in the course of history.

3) *Transport.* A number of problems in big cities are connected with the unparalleled recent increase in population. More accurately, they are due to the fact that urbanistic development could not keep pace with the rapid increase of the population. In 1800, none of the European capitals had a million inhabitants or more. By 1900, six cities—including five capitals—surpassed the one million mark. In 1970, the inhabitants of three—London, Moscow and Paris—numbered between five and ten million, and thirty-two European cities including fourteen capitals exceeded the million mark. The number of inhabitants in the areas surrounding large cities increased to an even more rapid extent and this was true in many cases, where the growth of the city slowed down or even stagnated.

The increase in the number of inhabitants, technical progress and especially the flood of motor vehicles, and the development of giant extensive agglomerations made transport—though not always to the same extent and in the same manner—the cardinal problem of urban life in almost every European capital.

Several surveys were carried out in recent years to prevent the complete breakdown of transport. Considerable efforts were made: in almost every capital much building is done to ease transport problems. Fly-overs are built. Road networks are being rebuilt in many places and a hierarchy of various grade motor ways, highways and roads is created. The parking of cars is a major problem, especially in the town centres. The only solution seems to me to be an improvement of public transport (underground railways, suburban express railways and buses) including cheaper fares.

4) *The town — for men and women.* I quoted the Charter of the United Nations earlier. Allow me to continue: "the United Nations shall promote:

- a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- b. solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems and
- c. international cultural and educational cooperation".

Those in charge of the European capitals—whether dealing with daily questions or with the large and comprehensive problem of urbanization—strive to serve the economic, social, health and cultural progress of the population. Their more effective cooperation would improve the life and well-being of the inhabitants of our towns, either directly or indirectly. A number of social questions, which are in the focus of interest in almost every European capital are important enough to be placed in the centre of discussion. For example:

- a) the situation, organization, achievements and problems of medical care;
- b) the situation of old people, care for elderly citizens;
- c) the useful and beneficial utilization of leisure, efforts made to increase, promote and satisfy the cultural demands of the population.

I have chosen only a few from a multitude of problems. These are complex questions that are difficult to solve, but useful initiatives can be taken and valuable results can be attained for all, if experiences gained in these important fields are compared.

## BUDAPEST'S PRESENT AND FUTURE

I would like to add a few facts and figures, plans and ideas in Budapest concerning the topics I have touched on aiming not only to inform but also to start the interchange of experiences.

*The size of a city.* The increase in the number of inhabitants and the territorial extension of the agglomeration developing around the central core are, as I said, the source of many problems.

Opinions are divided on what should be the attitude of the town leadership with regard to these. According to some, an over-grown city is unhealthy and uneconomical: in large towns the lack of informal relationships exaggerates alienation, the stress effects of the environment become unbearable, and the development and maintenance of the metropolitan infrastructure is disproportionately expensive. According to an opposing faction, the development of metropolises is a necessary stage in human progress. Large towns, primarily the capitals, are such important bases of social, cultural and technical development that their further growth is unavoidable.

We are in favour of the "metropolitan form of life". Nonetheless we in this country try to slow down the growth of Budapest; since we want to further a more proportionate development of the whole country. It is a particular problem in Hungary that despite considerable development in recent decades, the urbanization of the countryside has not made much headway. As a result of our de-centralization policy, the growth of the capital and its surroundings slowed down. In the past year Hungarian towns grew twice as rapidly as the capital, and the regional centres—three times more quickly.

*Protection of the environment.* Industry concentrated in large towns is an important source of growth for these towns. At the same time, the presence of industry in our towns causes many problems. In order to combat industrial hazards, we first have to measure, using suitable instruments, air pollution by industrial plants, the harm done by noise and the contamination of water. Municipal authorities must have appropriate powers and financial means to do away with these harmful effects or, if this is not possible, to relocate these plants.

In order to obtain results, one has to define first exactly what effects are considered as damaging. A careful elaboration of related norms is indispensable. Much has been done in Budapest to eliminate, or at least to reduce, the damaging effects of industrial plants. This aim is also served by an industry relocation policy. Seriously damaging plants are moved into remote areas.

The achievements and shortcomings of environmental protection are closely connected with the operation of communal services which satisfy the basic requirements of town dwellers. It is well known that the increase in the number of urban inhabitants, and the growing water-consumption by industrial plants result in a higher exploitation of available water resources. A special commission of the UN indicated in the mid-1960's that, in the 1970's, suitable drinking water will be one of the raw materials most difficult to obtain. In Budapest at present, two thirds of the drinking water is obtained from bed-filtrated wells, and only one third has to be obtained through surface water removal. However, the increasing pollution of the Danube is a sign which has to be taken very seriously. If we cannot halt this process in time, then we shall have difficulties not only with surface removal, but the water of the wells along the banks will also become polluted.

The choice and utilisation of fuels is one of the main issues as regards air pollution. In Budapest as elsewhere liquid and gas fuel is given priority over solid fuel. A bye-law has been issued forbidding the use of solid fuel in the centre of the city and fixing a date by which gas heating has to be installed.

*Monuments.* Following the heavy destruction caused by the Second World War, we faced enormous tasks in saving the city's relics of historical importance. We had to protect the substance of hundreds of buildings of artistic value, and after carrying out the most urgent tasks we could start, following scholarly research, on restoration work. Such work is not limited to a single building, ensembles as a whole are preserved if possible.

The establishment of "district centres" will eventually remove some of the pressure from the historic city centre: it was decided to establish three district centres on the left bank and three on the right bank of the Danube. Each of them will supply 200,000 to 300,000 inhabitants with institutions, department stores, and entertainment, and simultaneously alleviate the burden placed on the city centre. Each of these centres will be directly connected with the historic city centre by the underground railway. Their establishment—one after the other—will take place parallel with the reconstruction of the outlying districts. A large part of required new office space will be constructed in these new district centres.

*Housing.* The solution of the housing problem is one of the most important tasks. The two million inhabitants of the city live in 630,000 flats (more than 18 per cent of these were built in the last ten years). This means an average 3.2 persons per flat, which in itself is not an unfavourable figure. But, if we aim to provide every adult who wishes to live on his own

and not only families with an independent home, then there is still a great shortage. In addition, there is the qualitative shortage, that is, size, location, and fittings are not always of the required standard. We aim to speed up buildings. Our aim is to build the largest possible number of dwellings in the shortest possible time. We have to overcome a shortage of labour, therefore it is especially important to deal with this problem, with as small a labour force as possible. Large housing estates are being built. One of our main endeavours is to make use of prefabricated element technologies, but at the same time, we have to ensure standards of appearance by the proper grouping and variation of the buildings, the location of institutions and shopping centres, and by providing parks at the same time as buildings. The construction of housing estates has achieved significant proportions especially in the past five years. Three factories are providing the building elements. Several housing estates are being constructed consisting of nearly 10,000 and in some cases of even more apartments, erected on open sites or on cleared sites after the demolition of outdated dwellings.

A planned economy, an essential part of our socialist social system, enables us to carry out a complex housing programme. With regard to the past, we protect and restore architectural monuments with loving care, but at the same time we demolish inherited slums replacing them with modern homes.

*Traffic.* Traffic problems are increasing in Budapest, even though—owing to the relatively small number of cars—the situation has not become as embarrassing as in the majority of West European capitals. Much has been learnt from the experience of other capitals. Taking them into consideration, and based on the long-term transport development plan, we endeavour to solve or eliminate transport problems which already exist, and will increase in the near future. The role of public transport must be given great importance, emphasis is therefore placed on its growth.

With regard to the density of the network of public transport vehicles, Budapest is in a favourable position. Fares are cheap. We introduced a differentiated monthly season ticket system, including tickets at reduced rates for young and retired people. In Budapest, the yearly journeys per capita are 840, which is among the highest in Europe. The problems are caused mainly by the lack of capacity, consequently public transport vehicles are over-crowded, and are thus slowed down.

Corresponding with the development of Budapest and the number of inhabitants, plus the number of passengers carried, the construction of a rapid transit system was started, which according to plan consists of three, mainly underground lines that cross diagonally under the city. In building

the new Metro, we were given useful advice and assistance by specialists from Moscow. The first, 11 kilometre long, diagonal line is partly in operation, and will be completed this year. The construction of the second line is also under way. I should like to note that the first underground railway on the European continent was built in Budapest in 1896 and is still in operation. The urban rapid transit system will be connected up with suburban surface rapid trains. According to plan, this network will be supplemented in the vicinity of the town by rapid train services of the State Railways wherever existing lines permit this. The role of buses and the still existing trams will be confined to carrying passengers to the appropriate points of the rapid train service. Today, however, the major part of the burden of public transport in Budapest devolves on buses and trams, and therefore considerable care is given to their development. The number of vehicles is constantly increased. Several years ago, we introduced large capacity articulated vehicles. It was decided to do without ticket collectors in order to speed up transport. Parallel with the existing bus lines, we organized express bus routes, on which vehicles only stop at the busiest points.

Public transport is being improved but a large-scale increase in the number of cars is nevertheless likely to take place. Plans include a motor ring-road, and the necessary outlets, the construction of which is already under way. The city's main road network was built in the second half of the 19th century, according to the town planning notions of the time. The relatively clearly arranged and clear-cut system makes it a suitable backbone for the traffic network, with occasional enlargements and the rebuilding of junctions. Construction work in this respect is constantly going on. Fly-overs and pedestrian underpasses are built at the approaches of bridges and at intersections. The widening of roads has partly been accomplished through demolition and partly through extending the pavement under buildings by constructing arcades. We plan to supplement our main road network by new roads. City reconstruction is taking place in such a manner that we ensure the necessary areas for new roads.

Although their solution is the task of specialists, the choice of desired trends of development comes under the authority of the representatives of inhabitants. I, therefore, consider a multilateral exchange of experience necessary in this sphere, too.

*Health.* Medical care in Budapest has achieved considerable results, especially in the field of out-patient treatment, the integration of curative-preventive care, in the organization of preventive medicine, and the care of elderly citizens. In the district medical service, which provides basic medical care,

facilities for children and adults have been separated. Children up to the age of 14 years are cared for by specialists, and there is roughly one paediatrician for every 1,000 children between 0 and 14 years.

It was recently decided that the district medical officers for the care of citizens over 14, when assigned must have post-graduate qualifications in internal medicine. 40 per cent of our district practitioners are specialists in internal medicine. There are clinics for adults in every district (one for every 80,000, where the daily number of patients is about 1,600 to 2,000), and there are children's clinics in every 3 to 4 districts, which provide specialized assistance to the basic district medical service.

Considerable results were achieved in recent years in the integration of ambulatory and bed-ridden patients' care. The hospitals supervise doctors who look after ambulatory patients and provide efficient assistance, both in the care of patients as well as post-graduate medical training.

Twenty-eight thousand hospital beds are available in Budapest with more than 9,000 physicians; 76.5 per cent of them are qualified as specialists.

Due to the growing efficiency of preventive medicine in the past twenty years the number of new tuberculosis cases dropped to one fifth of the earlier figure and the number of acute infectious diseases decreased by almost 80 per cent. Infantile mortality decreased by half. Thanks to compulsory inoculation polio was eliminated and the incidence of measles was minimized.

Due to the industrial health service organized since the Liberation, and the modernization of factory equipment, an 80 per cent reduction in time lost due to accidents and occupational illnesses has taken place in the past ten years.

*Care for the elderly.* Lonely elderly people are being cared for in various ways. Homes were established which provide food and entertainment and where the residents are cared for free of charge or for a nominal fee. In addition there are 22 district centres where 1,000 to 1,100 senior citizens are looked after during the day, and the network of territorial social workers and nurses is growing apace. They visit and look after elderly people in their own homes. There is considerable interest in the "Houses of Pensioners", which provide apartments for retired people and hotel-standard catering at cost, as well as medical care.

*Cultural Life.* I think it is unnecessary to quote figures to indicate that Budapest, the home of Bartók, Kodály, Lóránd Eötvös the great physicist, and Attila József the poet—to mention only the greatest—is still a lively centre of culture. Most Hungarian book publishing is concentrated here and so are the largest libraries including the Ervin Szabó Municipal

Library, which has a large number of branches throughout the city. Reading here is a "public matter". Budapest is, of course, also a scientific and educational centre. I do not want to go into details about the musical life of Budapest, the theatres and Hungarian film production, which are also concentrated in the capital. We consider it a socialist achievement that culture is not a commercial venture in Hungary. A defined part of the national income is spent on culture. Tickets for the opera, theatres, and concerts are inexpensive, as are also books. Culture is in this way made accessible to even those with modest incomes.

How can one in the age of mass media, when a multitude of factors affect the passive reception of entertainment provided by television, films, records, and tape recorders, ensure that the masses become active participants? The means are well known. A large number of cultural centres and clubs, entertainment and education for the young and not so young has been provided. But it is also well known how difficult it is and how much experimentation and sacrifice are needed to fill this framework with useful, valuable, and attractive meaning—not occasionally, but all the time and over a long period. We believe and urge that the "alienating" effect of urban life is not inevitable: it can be reduced and eliminated if urban residents develop local patriotism, nourished by a knowledge of the past, and by participation in present and future plans. It is worth mentioning that in our city the "local history movement" is extremely popular—tens of thousands of young and old people, men and women, study the historic documents of their immediate surroundings. Millions watched a contest of these local history groups on television. It was won by a district team, but the real winners were undoubtedly all the inhabitants of Budapest. Exhibitions displaying aspects of urban development serve this purpose. The population there becomes acquainted with the ideas of the leading experts.

Last but by no means least, I mention efforts made to link up the cultural life of Budapest with the current of European culture in a more complex and efficient way.

Budapest is one of the centres of European intellectual life, it is the venue of many international congresses and conferences. The best orchestras and theatrical companies of Europe regularly visit this city and museums lend their treasures for display here. It is perhaps not immodest to say that the 2.5 million visitors to Budapest in 1971 were largely attracted by the treasures of our cultural past and present. Even larger numbers gained access to Hungarian culture thanks to the tours of the Budapest State Concert Orchestra, the Philharmonic Orchestra, the Budapest State Opera

House Company as well as theatrical companies, the lectures by Hungarian scientists and writers, exhibitions by artists, and through Hungarian films, books, television and radio exchange programmes.

The Budapest Festival, organized every autumn, serves a great and noble aim, and its events are always the festive overture to the season. The events of this Budapest festival present the best creations of Hungarian music, theatre, films and fine arts to Hungarian audiences and visitors from abroad. At the same time, outstanding artists and ensembles come to Budapest from various countries, together with valuable exhibition materials. I am sure that cultural cooperation between the capitals of Europe is mutually advantageous and enriching.

# INSIDE BUDAPEST

by

ZOLTÁN HALÁSZ

THE CENTENARY

From the autumn of 1972 till the autumn of 1973 is the year of Budapest's centenary. Not of its founding, of course, since it goes back into the past of more than 2,000 years. As far as the Roman Aquincum, which was already a great city with almost 100,000 inhabitants in the first centuries A.D. and even before that as far as Ak Ink, the Celtic city, whose memory is preserved by artistic brass and pottery.

Buda, Pest and Óbuda, the three neighbouring towns by the Danube, developed and lived through the storms of many centuries separately until the idea of uniting them came to the fore in the middle of the nineteenth century. Like many of the other great ideas that guided Hungary towards the road of progress during the "Reform Era", the idea of uniting the three towns came from Count István Széchenyi. It was Széchenyi who spoke and wrote the word "Budapest" for the first time. Chain Bridge, the first permanent bridge over the Danube, built thanks to Széchenyi's initiative and organising work, was the first concrete step towards the unification.

The government of the 1848-49 revolution against the Hapsburgs incorporated the creation of *Budapest* into its programme but because of the failure of the freedom fight unification—together with many other desperately urgent reforms—became postponed. It was only half a decade after the "compromise" of 1867, on the 26th September, 1872 that the Hungarian parliament was able to enact the law of the unification of Buda, Pest and Óbuda. At that time Buda had fifty-four thousand inhabitants, Pest 206 thousand and Óbuda 16 thousand, the three towns together therefore had a population of 276 thousand inhabitants. The unification of the machineries of public administration and public works took a long time, thus it was over a year later that unification in fact took place and

the "new" city became reality. The municipal board for Budapest met for the first time on November 14th, 1873. That day marks the beginning of the life of the unified city.

The year of the centenary of the unification is made memorable by urbanistic events. On the invitation of the chairman of the Municipal Council Zoltán Szépvölgyi, a conference was held between the 26th and 30th September where the mayors of the capitals of Europe met to discuss the problems of great cities. An exhibition entitled "Looking at Europe" showed the results and plans of the development of great European cities. A "Europe Park" was planted under the bastions of the reconstructed Buda Castle. The monument commemorating the unification of the three towns was unveiled on Margaret Island. Among the events of the centenary year the whole length of the East-West main line of the Budapest underground was put into service. Thereby an underground fast train link was brought about—through a tunnel under the Danube—linking Buda and Pest that became united a hundred years ago. In the course of the centenary year an international city historical conference will be held in Budapest, in the Spring of 1973, and in the autumn the Budapest Art Weeks will be held on the theme of the unification. Finally, on November 14th, 1973, on the hundredth anniversary of the day when the municipal board of the united city met for the first time, the celebratory meeting of the Municipal Council will bring to an end the events of the centenary year.

#### BUDAPEST EXHIBITION IN ROME

About a year before the centenary I was given the honour of a commission from the Municipal Council to work out the script for a Budapest exhibition. It was the mayor of Rome, Clelio Dario, who "invited" Budapest to Rome. It was the Mercati di Traiano, a building going back to the age of the Caesars that was offered as the location for the exhibition. This was appropriate, since it was Marcus Ulpius Traianus who re-organised the Danube provinces of the Roman Empire and made them prosper. It was during his rule that the golden age of Budapest's predecessor during the Roman period, Aquincum, began. At the same time this gesture of the mayor of Rome made one think: after all the two thousand year old columns of the Forum rise in the very centre of *today's* Rome, its throbbing, problem racked, alive reality towards the jet-streaked sky. I felt that a purely *centenary* exhibition would not be satisfactory in this environment. It would

be impossible not to reach back into the faraway centuries preceding the unification of the city, as their building and destructive work shaped the character of Budapest with still acting insoluble marks. But what is even more important: the present is built on the past.

I had a chat with Zoltán Szépvölgyi. Every great city has its own, individual, particular face, we said. Yet they share many common features. They have to solve many similar tasks in order to create the right conditions for the work and recreation of their inhabitants. They have to struggle with identical—or almost identical—problems in order to realise the advantages of the city life-style and to diminish the harmful effects of urbanisation. Budapest Council invited the mayors of Europe to the autumn 1972 meeting with the undisguised hope that through debating the common urbanistic problems they would initiate effective cooperation between the great cities of the Continent. The debates on the questions of city development and administration, exchange visits by the experts working in different areas, the exchange of information between the various capitals, coordinated research into certain problems and the common drawing of conclusions on the basis of these researches could undoubtedly contribute, if not to the immediate solution, but at least to the amelioration of one of the most vital problems of our age, the crisis of the urban way of life. The Budapest exhibition in Rome might become one of the elements of this exchange of information between cities, said the chairman of the Municipal Council.

#### THE MAXIMUM SIZE FOR CITIES

I have read in an interesting collection of facts\* that had been published on the occasion of the Budapest centenary the speech made by Móric Szentkirályi, the mayor of Pest before the unification in which he spoke . . . *against* the union of the towns. Pest is a rapidly growing commercial centre, argued Szentkirályi, and its further prosperity would be seriously endangered by linking its fate to that of Buda. Not only because Buda, the historic seat of the crown, is linked by every stone to the past, but also because the territory and the population of the city would be increased by the unification to an unhealthy extent. This would put such problems and taxes on the shoulders of the citizenry that they would become barriers to further progress. Szentkirályi found himself in the minority and on the

\* *Források Budapest múltjából* (Source material on Budapest's past). Ed. Vera Bácskai. Fővárosi Levéltár, 1971.

principle of "if you can't beat them, join them" he later took an active part in the work of unification. However, the thought which he expressed—and which appeared so much against the logic of development in the second part of the nineteenth century—is becoming ever more prominent in today's great cities. The rapid development of Budapest after the unification, at the turn of the century, was a positive development in a Hungary which was then behind as regards industrialisation and urbanisation. However, between the two world wars, when Budapest was still growing and becoming more industrialised even in the territorially diminished country, while the other cities fell behind, the Budapest-centricity of progress became unfavourable from the point of view of the country as a whole. In the last year of peace before the World War II, in 1938, half the industry of the country was concentrated in Budapest, while in many of the provincial towns there was little or no industry. This situation naturally had demographic consequences too: the movement from the country to the towns, that was a world-wide phenomenon was a movement into Budapest in the case of Hungary. The great devastation of the second World War stopped this tendency only temporarily. After the most serious results of the devastation were put right the city began to grow once more, what is more in 1950 the till then separate peripheric towns were also amalgamated into the capital, thus creating "Greater Budapest". The capital's power of attraction has thereby increased even more. Administrative measures (mainly restriction of settling in Budapest) did not succeed in stopping people pouring into Budapest. Economic reality—better employment opportunities, a higher standard of living—proved stronger than administrative measures. The capital had 1.6 million inhabitants in 1950, 1,940,000 by 1970 and by 1972 it reached 2 million. The "daytime" population—including those who commute to work from the settlements around Budapest—is even larger, it exceeds 2.3 million.

What is the point of view of the Budapest urbanists as regards this question that is debated all over the world? Following the conversations that I had in the course of collecting information I am afraid I have to admit that in Budapest they have not found the answer either, just as in the other great cities. On the one hand one knows from one's experience that a city which has grown too large is both unhealthy and uneconomic. (For example, the amalgamation of the towns on the periphery into Greater Budapest put still lasting, heavy burdens on the city as regards the development of public works and of the road network and other respects.) On the other hand, Budapest is so important a base for the social, cultural and technical development of Hungary that its further development is absolutely ne-

cessary for the sake of the whole country's future. Thus the whole urban policy for Budapest is rather Janus-faced.

It approves of the great city life-style, and endeavours to facilitate the urbanisation of the whole Budapest agglomeration. A characteristic example for this is the debate that took place on the question of "dormitory towns". According to the original plans eight "dormitory towns" would have been created within Budapest's sphere of attraction, to house people working in the capital. Later, however, another consideration gained prominence, which held that dormitory towns without places of work, cultural opportunities and autonomous town centres would in reality retard urbanisation, thus the plan was dropped. In the new housing estates town centres are developed, together with service industries and cultural institutions.

On the other hand, the more harmonious development of the whole country is encouraged by the endeavour to slow down the growth of Budapest. Despite the progress of the last few decades the urbanisation of the countryside is still at a low level. The largest "provincial" town, Miskolc has even today fewer than a tenth as many inhabitants as Budapest. As I have mentioned, between 1950 and 1960 the growth in the number of Budapest's inhabitants was attempted to be slowed by the restriction on settlement. Since the beginning of the sixties a conscious policy of decentralisation has been pursued in order to gradually lessen the disproportion between Budapest and the rest of the country. The bulk of new industries and important institutions is being moved to towns in parts of the country that had previously little or no industry. As a result of this policy of decentralisation the growth of the capital and its environs has slowed down, while the other towns develop twice as fast as Budapest. The rate of growth of certain regional centres that were chosen for increased development is three times that of Budapest. In the last decade Budapest's relative industrial weight has gradually decreased from 43% to 33%, but the production value of Budapest industry, measured in absolute figures, has increased. Budapest is still one of the greatest industrial cities in Europe with 600,000 industrial workers. In this respect only London, Moscow and Paris are larger.

It appears from the long-range city development plan for Budapest, which lays down the main tendencies for its development up to the year 2000, that in forty years (1960-2000) approximately half a million new flats will be built and 150,000 old flats will be demolished. The plan sees the optimum number of inhabitants in 2000 as  $2\frac{1}{4}$  million.

## WATER — LAND — SOIL — AIR

It was the fortunate meeting of natural and human factors that made Budapest into a city where one cannot merely make a living, but can live pleasantly. It is hardly fortuitous that its predecessor was called "Rich in water" (Ak Ink) by its Celt founders: the almost half kilometre wide stately Danube, the natural springs by the river and the mineral springs of the Buda hills have always made it "the city of water". From Geoffrey de Bouillon, the leader of the Crusaders, who used to bathe his painful limbs in the hot spring that is today the Gellért spa, to the Turkish pashas who built the still functioning marble baths with their cupolas (Rudas spa, Király spa) under Gellért and Rose Hills, successive generations of conquerors, tourists and citizens of Budapest have enjoyed the pleasures of the waters.

The land was also kind to the inhabitants of Budapest. The 4-500 metre high Buda hills make a wooded frame from the west and north and one could not wish a better natural look-out than Gellért Hill, whose boulders reach into the heart of the city by the Danube. From its terrace the whole Danube skyline is spread out deep below the viewer. Pest was built on a plain which greatly helped the industrial-commercial growth in the period of fast city development in the nineteenth century. The geological good fortune once again benefits the townscape: the plain gently rises at the peripheries of the city. It is as if Pest, that sea of houses, were lying in the palm of a giant, it provides a plastic, interesting view. Apart from certain districts in Pest which were built in too densely during the great boom in speculative building at the turn of the century, there are sufficient green areas to break up the city. There are great parks, such as Margaret Island, which is 2½ kilometres long, City Park, the People's Park, large and small squares, a multitude of walks and among them the green areas of the housing estates that have been built during the last decade. An extra feature to add to all this, as a positive aspect of Budapest's city architecture: the "human scale" that was kept when creating its major avenues, squares and characteristic buildings. The Fine Architecture Commission, that was founded in the middle of the 19th century, and later the Budapest Public Works Council are mainly responsible for the pleasant mood that the architectural unities of Budapest exude. The untutored merely notes it without knowing the reason for it. Yet it is basically simple: the proportions of the width of the streets and the height of the houses, the shape and scale of the squares, their relationship to the roads and buildings always remain within an intimate, human scale. It is a question though whether it will

be possible to preserve this scale in the age of tower blocks and prefabricated concrete elements.

But for the moment it was not this question, but the questions regarding the natural environment that I tried to answer. First of all: has the passivity that was manifest as regards the environmental issue even a few years ago changed, and if so, to what extent? I am thinking primarily of the passivity of public opinion, which till recently regarded it as an inevitable stroke of fate that Budapest is covered in thick smog during the winter months when the wind blows from the northern, industrial districts.

Here in Budapest the change in the mood of public opinion did not happen as in America, where it was the youth movement that swept along the reluctant adults. In Budapest the doctors, public health experts and urbanists began the work of enlightenment and the social committees that were created within the framework of the Budapest organisations of the Patriotic People's Front took it up. Propaganda—in the good sense—was and still is absolutely necessary to make society willing to make the financial sacrifices which unavoidably accompany the protection of the environment. I learnt, for example, from György Sárdi, the secretary of the "Budapest Clean Air Committee" of the tremendous resistance that had to be overcome in the factories when the installation of equipment to diminish the output of pollutive materials, requiring large investments, came to the fore. The expenditure comes out of the profits of the firm and given the prevailing structure of income distribution in Hungarian firms this lowers the share of the profits distributed among the workers at the end of the year.

The protection of the environment began with the development of norms for air cleanliness and continuous measurements taken in the city area. (In many parts of Budapest there are permanent stations measuring air pollution. These are run by the National Institute for Public Health, this body having been commissioned by the Clean Air Committee. There are also mobile measuring instruments collecting random samples.)

The industrial firms are obliged, under the pain of financial penalties, to keep air and water pollution and noise damage below prescribed norms. Unfortunately, however, Budapest has the same experience as other great cities, that in many cases it is cheaper for the factories to pay the fines than to eliminate the source of pollution. For that reason—though the situation has somewhat improved in recent years—the Budapest city administration links industrial decentralisation, which is desirable in any case, with the protection of the environment. Those industrial firms which have a damaging effect on the environment that cannot be rectified, or whose

presence in the capital is undesirable in any case, are made to move out of Budapest. These moves are facilitated by a system of state grants, but the Budapest City Council also devotes significant sums to this purpose. The Council also brought in measures for eliminating the damaging effects on the environment of the factories which remain in the city, including the planting of wooded belts that act as a protection.

Naturally, it is absolutely necessary for the sake of clean air to modernise the heating in blocks of flats—at the moment even in the inner areas of the city coal or coke is used for domestic heating. In this field the development of district heating is a considerable advance: in 1960 5,000 flats were heated from the central plants, in 1970 50,000, and this will rise to 120,000 by 1975. While the newly constructed housing estates are generally provided with district heating, in the older parts of town it is by changing to gas heating that air pollution is eliminated. It was originally planned to finish the conversion of the inner areas of Budapest to gas heating by 1975, however, various technical difficulties will probably delay the completion of the first stage of the gas heating programme by a few years.

As I have already mentioned, water is not merely “an article of utility” for the inhabitants of Budapest, but one of the basic pleasures of life. The favourite “open-air club” of the inhabitants of Budapest is the Lukács spa, mellow with age, that is one of the meeting places of the artistic and literary world. The innumerable lidos, spas and baths are witnesses to the “water addiction” of the inhabitants of Budapest. Its origin goes back possibly to the time of the Turkish occupation or even longer into the past. The provision of plentiful and good drinking water was secured in the period following the unification of the city by the so-called filtered wells which supplied the waterworks network with the river water screened through the natural layers of pebbles and sand. In the course of many generations the inhabitants of Budapest became so used to the excellent and almost limitless water at their disposal that it came as an unpleasant shock when at the beginning of the fifties it turned out that the filter wells could no longer assure the requirements of the enlarged city. In order to secure the tremendously increased demand for water it was necessary to construct a so-called surface water extraction plant which feeds the water that was pumped directly out of the Danube, after the necessary biological and chemical purification processes, into the water network.

György Szántó, one of the leaders of the capital's public works administration, provided me with interesting information in the course of my background explorations in preparation for the Budapest exhibition in

Rome. On the one hand with the fact that it was found in the course of the most recent hydrological researches that, after all, it is not necessary to spoil the quality of the water by building new surface water extraction plants. Even from the point of view of economy it is better to increase the quantity of water by further extending the system of bottom filtered wells. The network of riverside wells extends over a distance of thirty kilometres from Budapest and new water supplies might be gained by the utilisation of the karst water in the coal mines about 40–50 kilometres from Budapest. What is just as important: the industrial water network for factories is further extended. The water problems of Budapest are caused to a great extent by the fact that the bulk of the factories receive their water from the normal city network. In other words they are using drinking water.

In the course of our conversation we also touched on the problem of water pollution. Naturally, the question arose: ever since I heard in Ohio of the burning of the Cuyahoga river the thought has pursued me like a nightmare that the lovely Danube, where I have canoed so often and in whose water I had such good swims, and which even today provides the possibility for a separate, pleasant way of life for the multitude of those Budapestians who enjoy life on the Danube, might become finally and irrevocably polluted by the diesel oil of the ships and the waste products of the factories.

The position has unfortunately obviously much deteriorated in this field in the last decade but Budapest is hardly responsible for that. There is a big purification works in the southern part of the city. In the course of the next few years more purification plants will be built in order to keep pace with the ever growing quantity of sewage. The factories in (and outside) Budapest are forced by strict measures to purify industrial waste. The bulk of the pollution in the Danube in recent times originated outside Hungary—for example, the very great destruction of the Danube fish stock in the summer of 1972 was caused by the waste from a factory in Krems. Budapest hopes that every town by the Danube will do its best to save the river.

#### HISTORIC CITY IN AN EVER FASTER AGE

Two years ago I showed an American friend round Budapest. As it was his first visit to the city, he enjoyed its beauties with fresh eyes—and discovered those weaknesses which are almost invisible to ours which have become accustomed to them. For example, that inexplicably we hardly exploit the

marvellous opportunities offered by the banks of the Danube for walks, restaurants and places of amusement with picture windows opening onto the Danube. (The recently built Duna Intercontinental Hotel was the first "breakthrough" in this field since the row of hotels on the Pest bank of the Danube was completely destroyed in the second World War.) Also that the lower part of the Danube embankment can only be enjoyed by fishermen and lovers thanks to the steps leading down to the water, otherwise this beautiful road is full of huge racing lorries.

Now we came to the Chain Bridge. While we were slowly nearing the tunnel I told him: in a century and a quarter the bridge was blown up twice—luckily once only half successfully—by foreign occupiers. But despite the devastation of 1945, in the very difficult situation then prevailing, it was rebuilt at the cost of super-human effort... what is more in its original form. Exactly as William Tierney and Adam Clark had built it.

My friend nodded his appreciation. Then he asked: But why in its *original* form? After all this narrow bridge can hardly cope with great city traffic in the age of the motor car which has visibly reached Budapest too.

Please, do not believe for a moment that I recall this conversation in a spirit of irony. Especially because, though at first, I must admit my spirit that preserves European traditions that are deeply rooted in me was shocked by this entirely different point of view, in the month following our conversation, while I was spending half hours on my way home in front of the bridge at Roosevelt square and on the bridge itself, in the usual afternoon traffic jams, I realised that the *other point of view* should not be taken lightly either. Indeed, one of the greatest problems for the urbanists of today is to reconcile the two different points of view. What it is that for the sake of preserving the historic character of the city, must not be sacrificed even if the preservation in their original form of some relics of the past (as in this case of the Chain Bridge) inconveniences us and requires sacrifices. And where the region begins where this obligation ceases. Where the sentimentalism that would preserve everything becomes a barrier to progress. In Rome there are still furious debates over the destruction of the palaces from the Middle Ages which surrounded the Forum that was carried out on the orders of Mussolini. I rightly assumed that the inhabitants of Rome, the Italian urbanists are interested in the question: what has the Hungarian capital done and what does it plan to do in this field.

The historic core of Budapest consists of two main parts which are located opposite each other on the two banks of the Danube. Of the two the Castle district of Buda, which was the seat of the crown in the Middle Ages, preserved its government centre character up to the end of the

second World War. In the battle to liberate Budapest in 1944-45 this area suffered the greatest damage. In place of very many buildings there remained only charred ruins. Reconstruction was preceded by careful scientific studies—in the case of the Castle by extensive archeological excavations—and then followed the reconstruction requiring a decade of work and huge financial expenditure. In the course of this work they consistently adhered to the characteristic feature of the protection of monuments in Hungary, whose essence is that the work is not restricted to individual buildings but historic townscape ensembles are preserved in their unblemished beauty, with scholarly exactitude, for the present and for future generations. In the course of the reconstruction the role of the Castle and of the whole Castle district has fundamentally changed. The one-time royal palace will be turned into exhibition halls, museums and a library and the Castle district largely devoted to the housing of scientific institutes, exhibition halls, a theatre and hotels. Some of these are ready and functioning. For example, in the reconstructed part of the Castle that dates back to the Middle Ages a part of the collection of the Budapest History Museum is located, the renovated building that was once the old feudal parliament now houses various institutions of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (the chamber is now the scene for academic conferences), in palaces dating back to the Middle Ages there are the Bartók archives, the History Institute, the National Monuments Board, the Catering Museum, in what was once the baroque palace of the Buda City Hall there is today the Museum of the Working Class Movements.

The aim that the historic buildings and groups of buildings should be given new, modern functions after their reconstruction is of course generally approved both in Budapest and elsewhere. On the other hand many debates arose in connection with the architectural principle that placed modern houses, built in the style of our period, into groups of historic houses to replace buildings that were demolished during the war, or became uninhabitable for other reasons. In my opinion the results in Budapest have entirely justified this architectural practice. In the streets of the Castle district, among buildings from the Middle Ages certain gaps were filled in with modern houses, yet the beauty and the atmosphere of the whole remained unimpaired. At any rate the picture is much more artistic than if they had built pseudo-historic palaces instead.

The other main element of Budapest's historic core is Pest's inner city. For me—and I think for most of the inhabitants of Budapest—it is one of our favourite parts of the city because it represents at the same time historic tradition, the character of Budapest and the type of vitality and

movement which makes a city a city. In America—and by now even in Western Europe—this part of the city is increasingly transformed into a purely office and shopping district where in the evenings and at weekends everything is dead. Only in those streets is there some traffic where places of amusement attract people from their conurbations further away. The inner city of Pest has luckily not yet been transformed in this manner, though this danger did exist here too. However, there is reason to think that we no longer have to be afraid that this process so dangerous for the essence of urban life should take place here. The traditional old main street in the inner city, Váci Street, was made a walking precinct a few years ago and since then this elegant street of shops has become one of the favourite promenades for Budapestians. In Vörösmarty Square, at one end of Váci Street, a large-scale cultural centre was built and once the neighbouring Vigadó's reconstruction is completed it will be one of the centres for Budapest's musical life. I had a long conversation with Károly Polonyi, an architect, who is the head of the department for City Development of Budapest City Council, of the further plans for rehabilitating the inner city. The old, 18th–19th century buildings will be connected by passages, courtyards, glass-covered galleries and arcades, so that even in cold and wet weather it should be possible to walk round and window shop. However, the most important part of rehabilitation will be the “opening up” of the inner city towards the river. On the Danube embankment traffic will be removed to a lower level, while on the street level walks with lawns and flower beds will be set out and terraces constructed that will reach into the river and will house espressos, confectioneries and places where people can sun themselves. In my opinion this idea is good for two reasons: the Danube embankment, which in my youth was free of traffic, a promenade, and which since then has become a road for cars, to my great sorrow, will be restored to its proper purpose, will even be extended and made one of the most attractive parts of the city. On the other hand the human-centricity of the whole conception will improve the feel of the whole city. The extension of the pedestrian precinct of Váci Street will create a large community area which will undoubtedly diminish the alienating effects of the great city.

City development means of course more than the protection of historic monuments and rehabilitation—it also extends to the fundamental reconstruction of old, out-of-date districts. This is one of the most delicate aspects of city development, after all it involves moving tens of thousands of people from their accustomed environment and changing the face of whole districts. This constantly raises the question: how far can we go?

How much do we have to preserve of the relics of the past in areas condemned for demolition in order to ensure that reconstruction does not threaten the historically shaped, characteristic face of the city? Of the work now being carried out the most important reconstruction is that of the one time Óbuda—today's III District—where in place of six thousand out-of-date flats sixteen thousand new ones are being built. Another large-scale reconstruction project is being carried out in the XIV District of Pest where three and a half thousand old flats are being demolished, to be replaced by twelve thousand new flats.

In Óbuda, where there was once a Roman town, many archeological relics were found, as it was expected, in the course of the work. Careful scholarly research will decide what should be placed in museums and what should be preserved *in situ*, in the showrooms that are to be developed in the basements and ground floors of the new buildings. A good many of the characteristic buildings from the 18th and 19th century are being preserved. These form pleasant little islands among the modern blocks. They are given various functions, such as house of culture, youth club and library and their interiors are suitably transformed for these purposes. The essence of the reconstruction is naturally the building of flats on a large scale, which provides new, modern, district heated homes for thousands of families. The inhabitants of the demolished houses receive flats in exchange, those who owned their own houses receive, as well as new flats, financial compensation amounting to the full value of their property. Most of the new blocks are ten, others four stories high. Concurrently with their construction steps are taken to ensure adequate transport facilities, a network of shops and parks. All this is done by the municipal council. It is perhaps worthwhile in this connection to mention the obligatory norms connected with the large-scale construction of flats: for every 1000 flats there must be built a crèche for 50 babies, kindergarten accommodating 100, a school of ten classes, a district polyclinic and chemists of 120 m<sup>2</sup> area, service industries 310 m<sup>2</sup> in area, 1,300 m<sup>2</sup> shopping area and 100 m<sup>2</sup> of cultural institutions.

#### THE COOPERATION OF EUROPEAN CAPITALS

Budapest's centenary is naturally a Hungarian affair. The whole country sees itself reflected in the city that in the course of history has been the centre of our political, cultural and economic life, the spring of freedom movements, the symbol of the achievements of creative work. However,

the centenary of unification has become a matter for Europe too. When the Budapest Municipal Council invited the mayors of Europe to Budapest it referred to the United Nations Charter according to which the world organisation promotes the bringing about of those conditions of permanence and welfare which are necessary for the peaceful and friendly relationship between the nations on the basis of respect for equality and independence that the people are entitled to. In the course of the Budapest meeting it was found that the urbanists living in different social systems, in great cities with differing conditions, yet "speak the same language". There was an unanimous recognition of the need to increase the areas of contact between the cities because the promotion of the permanence and welfare of urban life can only have a positive effect on the life of the whole continent.

The most important contribution that Budapest can make to the European city development of our age arises from the fact that it is a capital of a socialist country. The great cities of industrially more advanced countries are in some respects in advance of Hungary in the field of technology. The mass construction of flats is realised in Budapest with the help of Soviet and Danish house factories. The fast thickening traffic has improved since we imported traffic control installations from countries with more experience in this field. There are many similar examples. Nonetheless—the life of Budapest is made more harmonious, less alienated by those features which spring from the socialist character of society. I have already cited a few examples. Let me add the free medical services that cover the whole population, such manifestations of social policy as the three year grant to enable mothers to stay at home with their babies, the ensurance of crèches and kindergartens, the many ways in which the old people are looked after—from the social homes to the network of social nurses and the Houses for Pensioners, where the residents receive board and medical care on a non-profit-making basis. Last but not least, Budapest is a city of culture not only in the sense that it is one of the pulsating centres of European intellectual life, but also because it is available for the masses. It is possible and even necessary to argue at times about the *ways* of subsidising culture. But the fact that books, opera, theatre and cinema tickets are cheap and available to everyone is undoubtedly good and important.

It is perhaps not wishful thinking to hope that from the initiative of Budapest Municipal Council on the occasion of the centenary the outlines of a new cooperation can be perceived, that will extend over a long period, because it is in harmony with the interests of millions living in the cities of Europe, and their endeavours towards peace and security.

# HOW PEST-BUDA BECAME BUDAPEST

*Architecture in the Hungarian capital about 1873*

by

LÁSZLÓ GERŐ

Budapest in its present form came into existence after the unification of three boroughs. Buda and Óbuda are on the right or west bank of the Danube, amidst the hills, Pest is on the fringe of the Great Hungarian Plain on the left or eastern bank. The trade route linking Augsburg and Vienna with Constantinople had always crossed the Danube there. The Hungarians chose to settle there at the end of the 9th century A.D. The growth of towns was slow, and it was interrupted first by the Tartar raid of 1241-42 and then by the Turkish occupation which lasted from 1541 till 1686.

The growth of the three townships, recently liberated from Turkish rule, was slow. The progress of the Castle Hill settlement, earlier the most populous area of Buda, slackened considerably in the eighteenth century when Pest grew vigorously. In the nineteenth century the unification of the three towns became timely and was finally put into effect in 1873.

Óbuda, which had been the demesne of Hungarian queens, was in part built over the ruins of Aquincum, a town and military camp in Roman Pannonia. Growth was restricted by the manorial rights of the queen and convents and its predominantly agricultural and rural character remained virtually untouched even in the Baroque age.

Buda offered a different picture. The royal palace built on Castle Hill and the walled city of the burghers reached a peak of development in the thirteenth-fourteenth century. The Royal Court was frequently in residence there. Sigismund of Luxembourg, King of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor enlarged the gothic palace in Buda, turning it into an imposing edifice, employing architects from Ulm and elsewhere. It was further extended by Matthias Corvinus, the humanist king who ruled in the second half of the fifteenth century. This extension showed an early taking over of the noblest forms of Italian Renaissance architecture, which accorded

with the taste of King Matthias's Italian wife, Beatrix of Aragon and her entourage. The carved stones excavated in the course of the past twenty years betrayed considerable affinity with those produced by the workshop of the brothers Benedetto and Giuliano da Maiano, both employed by the court at Urbino, and with similar products by Spanish masters of majolica. The Corvina codexes of King Matthias's library were the masterpieces of the best illuminators of the age.

The ingeniously constructed pontoon bridge over the Danube which probably went back to the time of King Sigismund could not stand up to the drifting ice in the river. One may therefore say that Buda and Pest were only really and permanently linked by the first Danube bridge which was also in service in winter.

The idea of building this bridge was István Széchenyi's, whose father Ferenc had played a prominent part in raising the cultural level of his country. He had founded the Hungarian National Museum. István was much impressed by his own travels in England and what he had seen there: bridges, well-cared for highways, municipal amenities, city lights and pavements, all the outward signs of the country which led the world in industrial development. He was interested in other British achievements too, like river shipping, industry in general, horsemanship, horse races, etc. All these Széchenyi wanted to bring to his own country. He always found time and energy to mention, explain and propagate them at home.

The first permanent bridge over the Danube, the Chain Bridge built in 1842-49 and designed by the Count's Scots engineer friend William Tierney Clark was mainly due to his efforts and organizing skill.

The Chain Bridge was an indispensable factor in unifying the boroughs of Pest, Buda and Óbuda which was enacted in 1872 and implemented in 1873. Another Scots engineer's, Adam Clark's ingenuity also played an important role. He was in charge of the Chain Bridge construction and later became the builder of the Tunnel.

The Tunnel (1857) connected areas beyond Castle Hill, mostly the Krisztinaváros district with the life of the new metropolis.

The neighbourhood of the Chain Bridge became the centre of new buildings. At the Pest bridgehead the new headquarters of the Academy of Sciences were built by A. Stüler in 1862, and at Buda that of the Savings Bank by Miklós Ybl in 1866. There, as elsewhere in the country, Romanticism was the ruling style at the time, going back to and making use of medieval motives. In the sixties Eclecticism became dominant. The Main Custom House, a number of residential houses around the National Museum and the present Népköztársaság útja were amongst the most

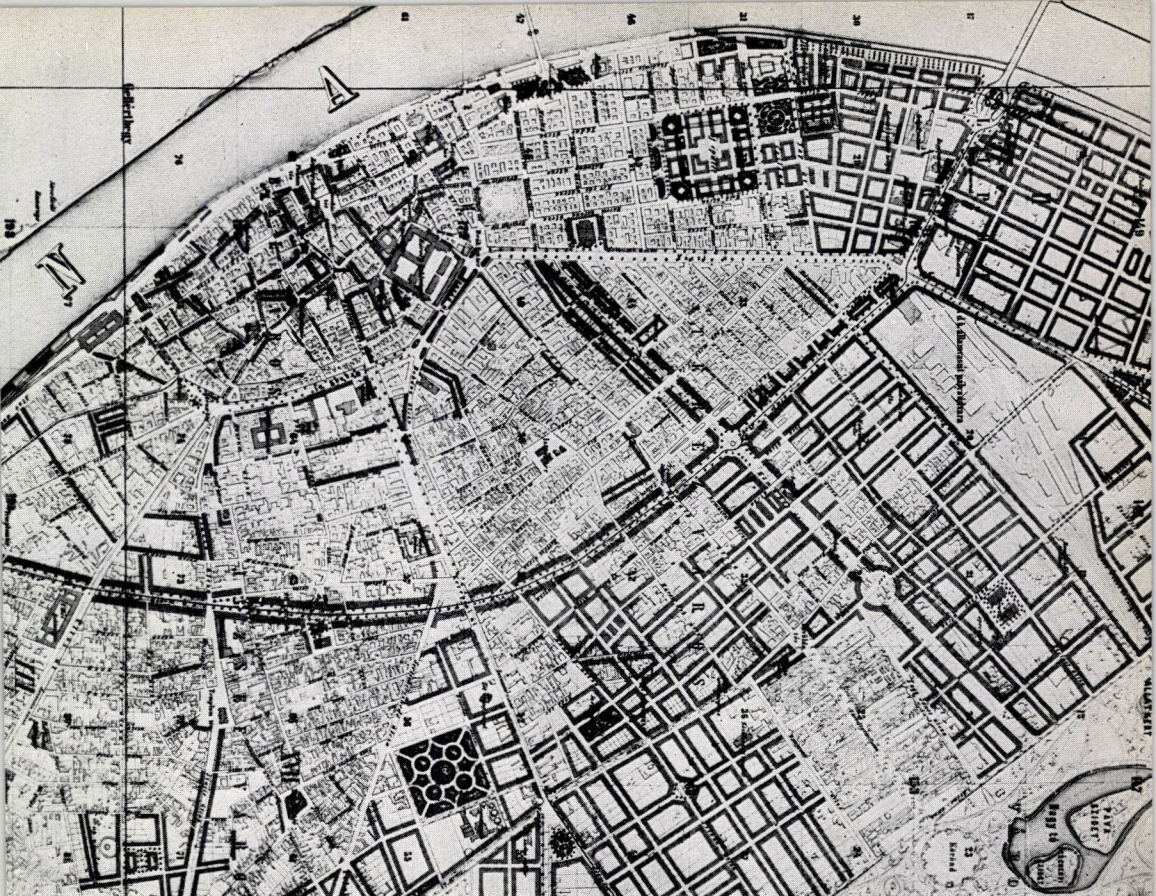
notable constructions of Eclecticism in the sixties and seventies. These buildings had a certain dignity reminiscent of the neo-Renaissance work of Sir Charles Barry in London and of Semper's Dresden.

In the nineteenth century Buda gradually lost its former leading position. The terrain and medieval walls hindered development. At the same time Pest's population soon grew fourfold, amounting to 200,000 out of the total of 276,000 in the year of unification.

The town centre of the Middle Ages, the city of Pest, had been enlarged earlier, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by the Classicist district of Lipótváros. A new town development scheme was needed since the classicist reconstruction plan by János Hild proved to be inadequate for the rapidly growing capital. More far-reaching projects were necessary for coping with future needs. But first of all an organization had to be set up which could deal with the often ungenerous conduct of affairs by the city corporation, and its overriding preference for saving at the expense of financing developments.

It was interesting to notice how once again a British example suggested this metropolitan organization. Gyula Andrásy, Széchenyi's friend and follower, as Prime Minister of the new responsible government of Hungary after the *Ausgleich*, the compromise between Parliament and the Hapsburg dynasty in 1867, fully realized the problems of the capital which were not purely those of Budapest but of the whole country. At that time all the resources of Buda and Pest were not enough to tackle them. Andrásy recognized the urgent need to create a body with sufficient financial means and executive power. He set up such a body on the model of the Metropolitan Board of Works directing the twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs of London. This British board was designed to deal with town planning, highway construction, river control, drainage, gas supply, fire service, new stores, etc. It became the highest authority concerning construction generally. Andrásy had ample opportunity to observe the functioning of the Metropolitan Board of Works of London from the very start. Using its example the 10th Hungarian Act of Parliament of 1870 was enacted containing the charter of the Metropolitan Board of Public Works, and assigning its duties and activities.

This Metropolitan Board of Public Works ordered a new survey of the capital and a reconstruction plan for 1873, envisaging a second, outer circle (Grand Boulevard) parallel to the smaller, inner one (Small Boulevard) as well as what is Népköztársaság Avenue today, a new and wide avenue destined to take over much of the traffic of the overcrowded Király utca, leading out to the Városerdő area.



*Budapest development plan by the Metropolitan Works Council showing the planned Radial and Ring Roads.*

*Photo: Tamás Mihalik*

*Pest, Danube bank (Engraving, 1850)*

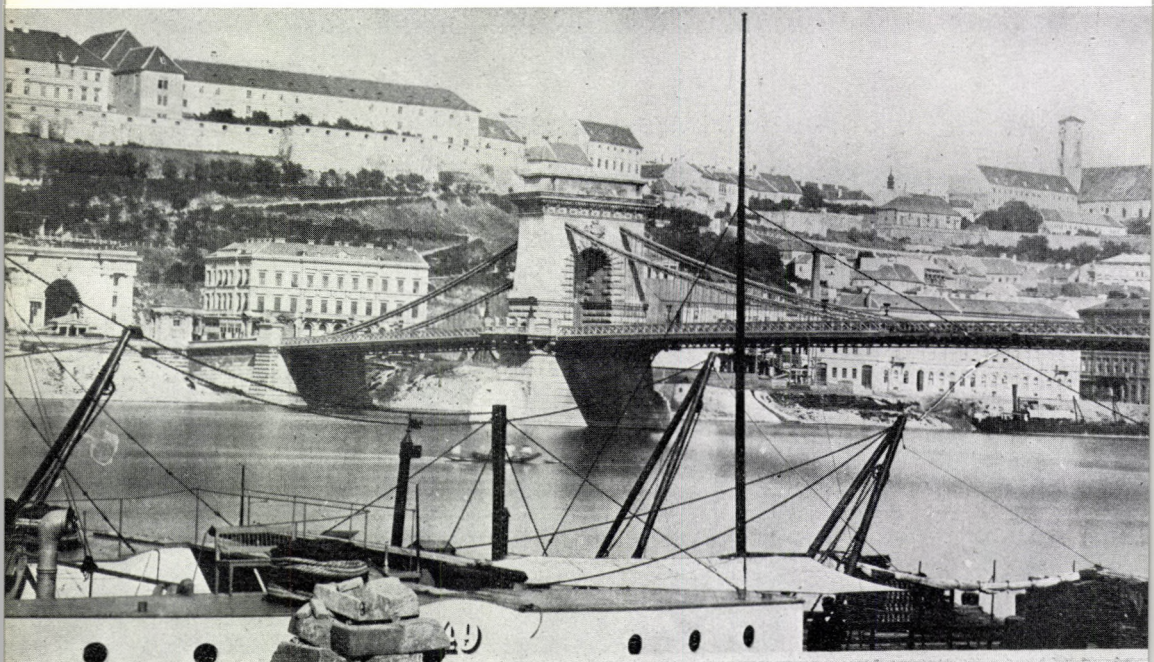


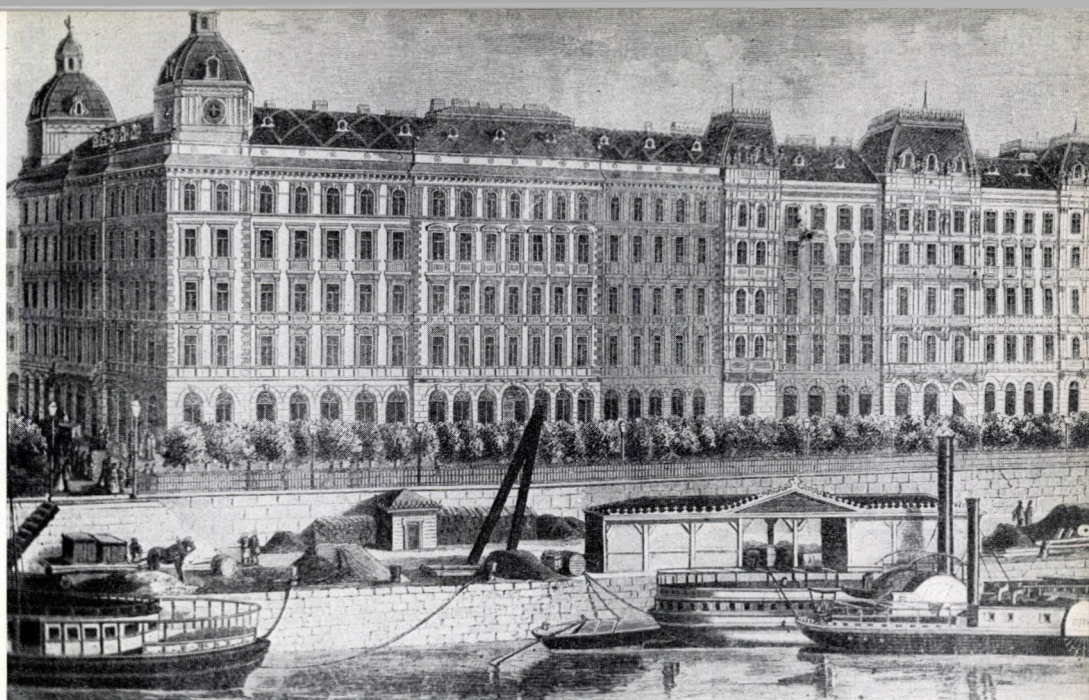


*Queen of England Hotel (Sandmann lithograph based on Alt's drawing, 1853)*

*Photo: Tamás Mihalik*

*The Chain Bridge (William Tierney Clark), the Tunnel (Adam Clark)  
and the first eclectic buildings (Miklós Ybl), in 1866*





*Part of the Lower Embankment on the Pest side (Vasárnapi Újság, 1873)*

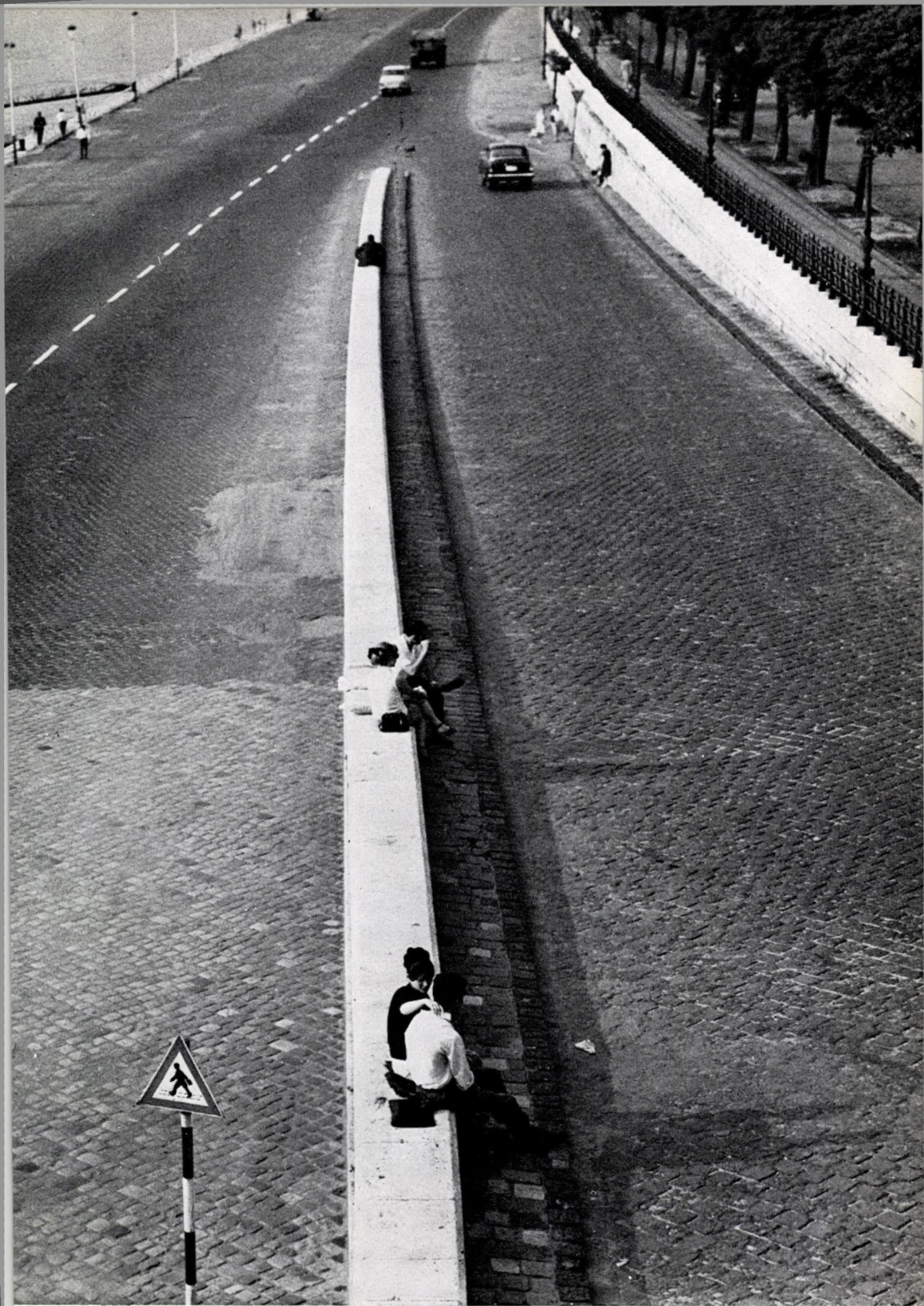
*The Andrássy (Népköztársaság) Avenue around 1890*





*Courtyard of a Pest house*

*Photo: János Reismann*



*The Danube embankment*

*Photo: János Reismann*



*View with Erzsébet bridge*

*Photo: János Reismann*

*These photographs are taken from János Reismann: Theme and Variations (Corvina, Budapest, 1972 )  
reviewed on pp. 177–178.*

The romantic-eclectic architecture of the period of unification—in the seventies—harmonized well with the city's landscape and its quiet rhythm of the classicism of the beginning of the century. The Danube embankment was constructed and a funicular railway to Castle Hill was built in 1868–70, a cogwheel railway on the neighbouring hills in 1873, as well as a horse-drawn circle tramway system. The first railway station in Pest was built in 1847, in Buda in 1861, the second Danube (or Margaret) Bridge in 1874. A row of hotels was erected on the Pest embankment alongside other new buildings and houses.

The first factories, mills and banks were also built and with them the capital entered the growing list of European cities showing rapid industrial development.

# THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATION

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

**L**ess than two years have passed since, at the Tenth Party Congress, where decisions on the most important questions of the building of socialism at a higher level were taken, János Kádár said when giving the report of the Central Committee:

"The tasks that face the country and the rapid development of science and technology require the development of the nation's skills, and the constant extension of knowledge on a society-wide scale. The further improvement of education is therefore one of the basic problems of socialist progress. The Party must in the near future take another look at the whole system of education."

The declaration of the Central Committee on education is therefore based on the decisions of the Tenth Party Congress. The time-table itself, as a process, has a meaning in this respect.

## *The analysis of reality*

The Party Congress's choice of education policy as an objective that had to be re-examined was based on a proper analysis of real and present tendencies.

The analysis of the real situation pointed to three factors, their point of juncture being education policy. Firstly it is clear that the increased requirements of industrial, agricultural and intellectual production can only be met through a general raising of standards. Rising standards throughout

The present text was prepared on the basis of shorthand notes taken when György Aczél addressed the National Conference on Education Policy, on September 20th, 1972. The conference was attended by teachers, kindergarten teachers, headmasters, and Party, Council and other officials. The text was here and there supplemented by passages from György Aczél's report to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the situation and development of education.

the world confront those responsible for education policy everywhere with the task of removing every obsolete, unnecessary, handicapping and conservative element from education and of connecting up every modern, that is progressive, current with the flow of the educational process.

This is particularly urgent in the socialist countries. What is involved in their majority is not only the need to switch, in a revolutionary manner, from the agrarian ways of production inherited from the past to modern forms of industrial and agricultural production, but also that of giving shape to new ways of social living in socialist countries. Socialist ideals governing life and a reality determined by socialism must come into being as part of a steady process of growth and this cannot be done without significant progress in education policy.

This is intersected by the second group of facts, the position of young people throughout the world and especially in socialist society. It is in the interests of both capitalist and socialist societies to integrate rising generations but there are, naturally, basic class oppositions between the interests of the two types of society. We want integration in our own way, the socialist way. And who can say that we are in full possession of a developed and scientifically generalized mechanism of this process that has, what is more, been validated by practice. Who can say that in the changing historical situation every experience gained in earlier situations is still valid. However, one can say with absolute certainty that none of the four great factors of the life of youth in society, the family, school, work and the Movement, can be neglected if this problem is to be studied seriously.

There are numerous reasons why, given the relatively peaceful circumstances of the present decade, and let us hope many more to come, the importance of schools should be considerably magnified. The transformation of the old economic order is one of them, as are changes in the social role of the family and the increasing and many-sided struggle and competition between the two socio-economic systems.

A consideration of these widely effective social phenomena leads to the third sphere, the fact that even in a society building socialism there are contradictions, there is uneven development becoming more clearly visible in the course of progress, all this showing very sharply in the life of schools as well. One should not forget that socialist Hungary inherited an obsolete school system from the old social order. There was a huge, unbridgeable gap between town, village and *tanya*\* schools before the Liberation. Before

\* Small settlements originally occupied temporarily during seasonal work, later, when permanently lived in, they acquired the character of rural slums.

1945 only 34 per cent of the children were able to attend school up to the age of 14. Basic and general changes were made in the past quarter century or so, but differences between town and *tanya* schools still exist, and pupils studying in favourable and unfavourable circumstances cannot be said to have equal chances in securing a place in an institution of higher learning or further training. The situation is ripe now and, unless appropriate steps are taken, the differences between various types of school may well produce social tension.

The three spheres are present together in this particular field. This explains why the resolution on education policy reflects not only significant educational requirements, being designed to further their realization, but also indicates important social and political duties which will have to be carried out.

The Central Committee acted in keeping with these requirements when, following a detailed analysis, it issued a resolution on the situation and development of education policy only three months ago. The resolution and the other documents of the meeting of the Central Committee have been published.

#### *The method of re-examination*

This analysis of the education system continues the method of the Central Committee already employed earlier in elaborating policy on social questions of great significance. A great number of people took part in studying the present situation in education and in formulating the necessary and possible short and long-term objectives. Help was offered by Party and other voluntary bodies, state organizations, scientists and scholars, leading experts in industry and agriculture, students and Party workers, public figures and parents and, naturally, primarily teachers from every educational field from kindergarten to higher education. The genuine enthusiasm, expertise and sense of social responsibility of the participants once more proved the effectiveness of socialist democracy in public life, and its great possibilities. The participation of teachers was especially important as they could give, and gave, the most effective help in evaluating the situation and determining what had to be done.

The submission which followed lengthy analysing work was prepared by a committee appointed by the Political Committee. Thirteen teams worked under its direction. The work was divided into two stages: first a critical analysis of the situation was carried out and the objectives were

outlined. In the second the recommendations were formulated. Discussion was altogether free in these working parties, which meant that every proposal not only could be, but had to be questioned. There were no taboos, every question, idea, thought or proposal connected with education could be, and had to be raised, whether it figured on the agenda or not. Everyone took part freely and with a great sense of responsibility, and much profit was derived from this. In this way the pitfalls of subjectivism were avoided, there being no greater danger in a society than a confusion of wishes with reality.

Several hundred different papers were written and discussed by the participants among each other and with the schools in the course of the preparatory work. Among them something like fifty public figures, scholars, scientists, managers, executives, etc. made recommendations connected with education policy. The working papers covered, apart from the specialized questions of types of school, all the significant themes as regards the content, development, planning, organization, methodology and financing of education. Papers were prepared after an extended gathering of information which included asking a great many people for their views. To give an example, the Committee for Szabolcs-Szatmár County prepared its report after asking for the views of the Party organizations of sixty-five schools.

The Political Committee agreed that at the end of the first stage a summary be sent to Central Committee members, seventy-three of whom helped by adding their most valuable comments.

The plan submitted at a meeting of the Central Committee was twice debated by the Political Committee, put on the agenda of, and debated by, the Cultural Committee of Parliament, the Teachers' Trade Union, the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Union of Technical and Scientific Associations and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Organization. The relevant ministries and authorities added their comments, and many schools and youth collectives also discussed these problems and objectives. After much analysis and debate a point of consensus was reached and there is unanimity in judging the situation and determining objectives.

### *The problem of quality*

Raising standards is the main task of every kind of education. Improving quality these days also involves the raising of the cultural standards of the masses. That is why the Central Committee decided that the primary

objective must be to improve standards in general schools, making differences between one school and another as small as possible. Resources have to be concentrated primarily on the general schools since foundation of effective teaching in secondary schools, and even in higher education, is laid there. Another reason is that teaching conditions in general schools made least progress in the last ten odd years.

Most of those who will do industrial work are educated in vocational training colleges. Young people go to the vocational training colleges at the age of fourteen, after completing the eight year general school. Their objectives can be said to be the right ones, raising standards is a matter of improving conditions. What is especially important is to secure a sound teaching staff, but the social responsibility, the financial and moral support of industrial enterprises, state farms and agricultural cooperatives is also indispensable. If this is not forthcoming, it will not only be more difficult to supply enterprises with replacements but the education of the working class of the future will also be endangered. What is involved is not a mere training of replacements. A new generation must be brought up in such a way that it will be able to satisfy continuously increasing requirements. The educational role of enterprises, state farms and agricultural producers' cooperatives is, in the final analysis, just as important as their economic functions. The further education of their workers is among their tasks. This is also an aspect of the proper treatment of people. It happens quite often in Hungary that an industrial manager is relieved of his post since he did not fulfil in his economic work the hopes of those who appointed him. I can well imagine that an executive will in future be transferred because he did not have the right human touch in dealing with his staff, because he did not interest himself in their education and further education.

Raising standards is also vital in the case of secondary schools. The vocational secondary schools had pleasing aims: securing further education in any direction as well as providing occupational skills. However, these objectives proved impossible to attain. Therefore in future these schools will limit their task in the field of higher education to preparing their pupils for the entrance examination of institutions of higher education within their specialised field. For example, the secondary school specialising in health care should, as well as providing a nursing certificate, prepare its pupils for entry to the medical faculties, the technological secondary schools to the universities of technology and the agricultural ones to the agricultural colleges. The vocational aims of the technological and agricultural secondary schools are also altered. It is not technical foundations but training to skilled worker level that they should provide.

The raising of standards is also the objective of the *Gimnázium* type education. The introduction of more differentiated teaching, the employment of the system of facultative lessons, will serve this aim both in connection with higher education and the preparation for practical life.

I should like to emphasize that every child will, in the future also, have the right to sit for matriculation, regardless of when, and in what type of school he or she obtained his or her secondary school-leaving certificate, what is more, entry to matriculation is possible, according to the rules in force, even without it.

The raising of the standards of education has to be carried out within the present school system. There is no urgent need as yet to change the structure of the school system. Within the present structure of Hungarian education there is still considerable scope for progress in basic grounding, in the education of children and in the development of differentiated training and in other fields, too.

Structural changes would look more impressive, and would appear like a great step forward. There are many who expected such a recommendation, that is, that compulsory attendance at schools be raised from eight to twelve years. But in the present situation such a decision would have disguised the weaknesses of content, and would have sidetracked efforts from a genuine modernizing of education, the working out of new curricula, the differentiated development of talents, the perfecting of educational methods and the widening of school democracy.

It is true that by now 91 per cent of Hungarian children complete the eight classes of the general school, but 9 per cent still do not. It is true that subject teaching is available in 95 per cent of the upper sections of general schools, but in 5 per cent it is not. The extension of the length of general education would increase differences in standards between schools in towns and villages, or villages and *tanya*; as regards the conditions for further education this sort of measure would at best have stabilized the differences between areas and strata. Increasing the number of classes from eight to twelve would have meant raising the standards in towns even higher, in villages, however, and especially in the *tanya*, the existing differences would have been further heightened. Doing away with these differences, however, is not merely an important political question, but also a general, social problem with important consequences. The differences in home environment which act to the detriment of children of manual workers even if they are gradually decreasing, will exist for some time yet. But society—Hungarian society, the society of workers and peasants—could not accept that the school is, in many places, unable to equalize or diminish differences, that in some

places it even acts as a factor increasing them. The parents' sensitivity is understandable, they want to ensure the type of progress for their children that was once denied to them and it is understandable that young people with a strong sense of justice should also feel this tension. One must never forget that being hurt through their children upsets people more than anything else. This sensitivity was borne in mind when formulating education policy. An example is the introduction of optional subjects. Secondary school pupils in their second year, that is at the age of 15, can work at a foreign language, or music, or other subjects they may choose with greater intensity. Up to now the parents' ambition was the decisive factor. After the introduction of the new system, the more objective views of the teachers, who know the child well, can also be considered which is, after all, to the child's advantage. Until now, only a third of the *Gimnázium* pupils had the chance to receive facultative teaching and differentiation began already in the first year.

### *The children of manual workers in schools*

Even before the Tenth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the deliberations that prepared this meeting of the Central Committee, a great deal of attention was paid to the proportion of children of manual workers who go on to higher education, that is to the question of the secondary and higher education of young people of worker and peasant origin. Implicitly or explicitly, there is still a debate going on today on whether it was right ten years ago to abolish classifying pupils in accordance with their parents' original occupation, to abolish the rule which prescribed the percentage of children of worker and peasant origin who were to be given preference for places in institutions of further education\*, ensuring by administrative measures that this percentage be observed in secondary schools and institutions of higher education.

According to some we should have insisted on continuing to classify parents on the basis of their occupations in 1938 or 1945. Those who think in that manner ignore the fundamental changes that occurred in the social structure of Hungary. In the decades since Liberation tens if not hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have become executives and professional men. A quarter of those in white collar occupations were originally workers or peasants. If one includes those who, though they neither are nor

\* Till 1963 the admission of 51 per cent pupils of worker or peasant origin was prescribed for all faculties.

were manual workers themselves, have parents who were (or still are) manual workers, then about 75 per cent of those in the non-manual occupations are of worker or peasant origin.

If one were to include among the children of manual workers those whose parents are now doing clerical work of one kind or another, but were once workers, the proportion would approach 60 per cent at the universities and colleges and would be even higher in secondary schools.

A new generation has grown up since the Liberation and they are being followed by today's and by the next generation, who were born in the age of building socialism. The families offering intellectually advantageous conditions to their children are not a privileged stratum enjoying an institutionalized cultural monopoly. It would therefore be a serious mistake to interpret differences among social groups as class antagonism. At the same time it is true that although the cultural monopoly was abolished, equal conditions in education to go with equal rights for everyone have not yet been secured. Much work and time is needed to achieve this.

Most worker and peasant families have become more culturally demanding. Despite this, however, generally speaking they have not yet succeeded in awakening the same educational ambitions in their children as have highly educated families of professional people (where the parents take higher education for granted and are able to give all sorts of help and unfortunately, often even against the wishes of the children undertake considerable financial burdens in order to provide them with extra, private, tuition, in the interests of a false prestige that seriously damages the future of the children). All this undoubtedly gives their children an advantageous position in the school or college they attend.

It is beyond doubt that the development of the whole of our social life—the diminishing of the essential differences between intellectual and manual work, the cultural revolution, conscious social activity, the further development of socialist democracy—all result in the improvement of the chances of children of manual workers to go on to institutes of higher education. However, the diminishing of the existing differences between social groups, that is their equalization, cannot be regarded as a spontaneous, automatic process. In improving the conditions for the further education of talented children of manual workers one cannot leave matters to spontaneous processes, and to social progress "in general". Much more encouragement and help must be given to the children of manual workers so that more and more of them enrol in secondary schools, colleges and universities.

The help of society is needed, that is action by cooperatives and firms to help increase the number of places in student hostels, that of grants and

other, new and proven forms of assistance. The value of this aid cannot be over-estimated, nor can that of the movement by university students giving voluntary tuition, helping personally and by correspondence. One must not consider this activity to be one-sided: it also helps the growth of the personality of the one who provides the help. These movements give a chance to students taking part in them for collective action, allowing them to lead a useful and intelligent life; they become schools of education in humanity.

The fundamental structure of the school system is therefore not going to be altered. What is being done instead is to diminish the differences in conditions, so that the best will also progress, but the performance of the weaker ones will be improved much more and much faster than the present average.

Nonetheless, the school system as such, and the long range development of the structure of education also have to be dealt with. Scientific institutes must plan and prepare the school system of the future. It is also most important for a proper foundation of preparations that require years that effective steps forward be taken within the present structure by modernizing the content and raising standards. This is the best possible preparation for a future, new school system.

### *The tasks of the State*

The State authorities must when carrying out the decisions of the Central Committee decrease the quantity of material contained in the syllabus, as well as the workload of the pupils.

They must, within the present organizational framework, direct work aimed at improving contents. Under their guidance schools must change the contents and methods of education, they must ensure the gradual improvement of material and personal conditions, the improvement in the training and further training of teachers, and the growth of an increased sense of vocation.

They must increase the independence and the creative nature of the work of teachers.

They must allow greater initiative to teaching bodies, and increase the spheres of authority within which teaching bodies make their own decisions.

They must help in raising the prestige of teaching.

They must act to widen the pupils' rights and duties and to increase their sense of responsibility.

They must ensure that the organs of educational administration understand the essence of the resolution, as well as what their own particular tasks are in terms of it.

They must facilitate with their suggestions and directing activity the raising of the standard of work of the organs of educational administration.

It is their task to determine the objectives for the long-range development of the school system, the setting up of experiments, their control and evaluation, in collaboration with scientific institutes.

### *Preparations for the future*

Education has to prepare youth today for the future. It sounds paradoxical, but it expresses a profound truth that those teachers must do this who—in a historical or concrete sense—obtained their qualifications yesterday, put them into practice today, and teach for tomorrow. All this amounts to a contradiction that cannot be solved in the old way, only with the help of a new point of view. The demands of the future cannot be met by teaching everything in a factual way that today's youth might need in 25–30 years time. That is impossible. It is impossible first of all because we do not know exactly what they will need, but also because they must prepare not only for the future, but also for the present. Education is not successful if it prepares someone for the technology of the future only, if he has to work with present technologies when he leaves school. It is also impossible to prepare children for social conditions that will exist in a quarter of a century since the child becomes part of the contemporary adult world when leaving school. Even now it is a problem that, in schools, an idealized situation is often taught and at the same time the pupils live their own lives in far from ideal circumstances.

That is why the resolution states that in education the school must provide the foundations, the school must teach pupils to think and to think independently. The children must be prepared not only for further education but also for successful participation in further training outside the school. There are many questions that demand thorough consideration on the part of those who are shaping the curricula of the future.

The first question, leading in the right direction is the proper interpretation of knowledge and of education. Today in general a static knowledge of facts is required. This attitude is reinforced by quiz programmes that propagate an encyclopaedic attitude to knowledge. But a modern attitude to knowledge is something different. Modern knowledge means the most

important basic information and the ability to employ and further develop this, the ability to react to developments in every direction, and not the ability to reproduce dry facts.

The Hungarian principles of education must accord with the basic requirements of modern socialist society. They have to include an integrated approach to reality, sensitivity to every cultural value, unceasing curiosity, finding one's way in the world, in the development of our society, the conscious determination of the place of the individual in the greater or smaller communities and the communal use made of knowledge.

To achieve this, not only the right balance between the humanities and the sciences, but also an education in art, a sense of responsibility to the community, high standards in physical education, and above all, a positive relationship to socialist ideals, must be ensured.

Not merely knowledge is needed—though it is certainly needed as well—but a full flowering of the whole personality, including the right ideology, human and moral consciousness and talents that are part of it. This is also obstructed by the “maximalism” and “lexicalism” which primarily affects those children in less favourable circumstances whose abilities are not only no smaller, but may even be greater than those of their fellows, but who became familiar with less of the stuff of traditional scholastic culture in their homes, in their case therefore the school has a greater role than in the case of those whose family situation is better, that is looked at from the point of view of education.

What follows is that, in preparing the new curricula, a break must be made with these maximalist requirements. Let it not be forgotten that at present 20 per cent of the pupils do not complete the general school in 8 years but have to repeat one or more years. This figure must be reduced in the near future. Eleven per cent of the pupils have to repeat the first form. The proportion of repeated years is also high in secondary schools—25–30 per cent—at the universities it is 15–20 per cent.

Particularly in general schools, but also in secondary education, requirements must not put too great a strain on the pupils. Effort should be needed, but no more than the appropriate effort.

### *Uniform education and differentiation*

The problems of a uniform education and differentiation in school are the subject of discussion and debate. There is a point of view which holds that the uniform education to be given in the general school, the object

of which is to provide foundations, cannot tolerate any differentiation. In our view, beyond a certain standard area, which provides a basis for the acquisition of specialized skills and scientific knowledge, differentiated talents and interests ought also to be considered to a greater extent than hitherto. The socialist revolution has opened the gates towards the education of a fully and differentiatedly developed man. This does not mean, however, that every field of education has to give the same to everyone. Makarenko says: "The organizational task that is worthy of our age can only be the creation of a method which is on the one hand general and uniform and on the other gives each individual the possibility of developing his abilities, preserving his identity and progressing in accordance with his interests." The aim is certainly not one-sided education but over and above the basic information which is obligatory for everyone, individual interests and abilities should be given a greater role than at present. It must not be forgotten that in Hungary, in a country that is poor in raw materials, the development of talents has a special importance.

The system of grading is perhaps the most conservative feature in the whole of Hungarian education. This system came into being a long time ago and has become very rigid. Social demands, and with them the functions of the school, have changed, but as yet the schools, in many cases, instead of ensuring that pupils acquire the knowledge they need in life, mechanically record the pupils' results and use sanctions in case of failure. Learning is often for the sake of grades, not the acquisition of knowledge. In cases like that the essence of learning becomes deformed, an external pressure replaces inner motivation and the thirst for knowledge.

Some people mistakenly argue that the success of teaching is measured by grading, that it depends on the proportion of pupils or students that the teachers and lecturers fail, that the number of pupils who have to retake the exam or repeat the year is a measure of the teacher's authority.

Grading is of course necessary but it is clear that the present type of grading which is frequently used as a sanction must be replaced by an outlook and a system that acts as a motivating force in learning and in the development of interests.

Let me mention certain experiments being carried out in schools. Development in substance cannot take place unless the formulation of ideas is followed by a practical try-out. Once they are introduced a network of experimental schools is needed in order to induce teachers of other schools as well to experiment and search for new methods. Experiments in schools must be carried out with an increased sense of responsibility. Human beings, the future of human beings that is, are the subject of the experiment and

this must never be forgotten! But a sound sense of responsibility is counterproductive if it becomes a petty, bureaucratic tutelage.

There is bureaucracy still in Hungarian education, too much is prescribed and there are too many regulations. Regulations that are valid today cover more than a thousand printed pages. Some are useful and well thought out, as well as being progressive, all the same, over-regulation does not make for better work.

Some are painfully bureaucratic regulations and these must be changed.

The Central Committee resolution calls for certain specific things to be done on a number of questions. Naturally not every one, not even the most important ones can be discussed here. Among them are such important problems as the increased role of the mass media in education, the further training of teachers, and the further development of pedagogical science. In this connection at present I would only say: more help should be given to teachers working in unfavourable circumstances. There should be systematic cooperation on ways in which young teachers working in small schools, who have to deal with perhaps two or three or even four classes in the same classroom, can be helped. Television and radio should make better use of the potentialities that are contained in lectures by outstanding scientists of great experience who would be glad to help in education. Television must also play an active part in the further training of teachers.

### *The work and the role of the teachers*

The resolution of the Central Committee cannot be carried out without the consent and active participation of teachers. The Central Committee has every reason to believe that teachers understand the objectives, agree with them and devote their energies to serving them, that they increase their knowledge and do not spare strength or time when it comes to serving this good cause. The great majority of teachers devote all their time and energy to the school, and to the children. Their work must be given more appreciation, society's regard and confidence must be made more clearly manifest.

Right up to now many restrictions have rigidified the work of teachers. There are of course poor teachers who do not prepare their lessons properly, who need regulations and close supervision. But sound leadership always means confidence in people. What leadership must focus on is not so much the negative, but the positive examples and, in its measures, must think primarily of the tens of thousands who are conscious of their professional

obligations. They must be aware that the teachers and headmasters, who are able and willing to take the initiative, who have prepared themselves for their work, and who feel the greatest responsibility towards the children, look on the bulk of the restrictions as a burden and feel bitter when school inspectors who supervise them insist on formalities. The task of leadership, of the school inspectorate, teaching bodies and headmasters alike, is not to hinder but to develop and help those who are looking for better, more effective methods, not to discourage, but to encourage those teachers who do successful work.

Well trained teachers are the basic requirement for freely choosing among teaching methods. Not everything is entirely satisfactory in this field either.

In the recent past there have been indications that financial considerations are beginning to operate in various places when employing new teachers. Headmasters in some cases favour the employment of "cheap" teachers and justify this by reference to the headmaster's independence, the need to stay within the total salary allocation, and the interests of the teachers' collective. It has even happened that an unqualified teacher was employed instead of a qualified one since this made it possible to save and divide 5-600 forints.

As regards unqualified teachers, unfortunately one cannot entirely dispense with them as yet, but every effort must be made for the quick, gradual reduction in their numbers. This is why it is intended to increase the number of teacher training institutions.

### *Authority and democracy in schools*

I should like to draw special attention to efforts to extend and strengthen school democracy. The interest of society backs this endeavour. There must be education in democracy. Where better can this be done than in the schools? That is why school democracy must be in many respects even more advanced than some of the forms of democracy in society.

This is not so at the moment and even the framework is largely missing. Therefore first the framework must be created. Teachers must be assured of a voice in questions affecting the whole of the school. The only teacher who can truly educate children for democracy is one who is himself able to practise it. Education cannot be effective in institutions where the teachers themselves are not in a position to exert their democratic rights, and where they do not feel that they have a voice in what goes on in the school.

There are those who think that this undermines the respect and authority of headmasters. This is a mistaken view. There is trouble right from the

start where authority relies on mere rule by orders. The real authority of a headmaster is based on that of his staff. Unless teachers are respected, the headmaster cannot be respected either. Let me recall the old, famous Hungarian schools: their good reputation was created and preserved not merely by the respect in which their headmasters were held, but that of the teachers also, and many Hungarian literary works bear witness to this.

The headmaster, like every person in charge, must be ahead of his staff as regards political commitment and conviction, professional knowledge and executive ability. Such qualities, however, must be supported by school democracy.

It has been said that teachers are not yet ready to exercise more rights. This point of view has been rejected by the Central Committee, and not as a sort of wish-fulfillment. Most headmasters are competent, but there are poor ones as well. The same is true of teachers. It can be assumed that the strengthening of democracy will lead to greater progress and few will take advantage. There will be those who will wish to use democracy for petty intrigues and the loosening of working discipline, if, however, we had been afraid of abuses of democracy in Hungarian society then we would not have progressed as far as we have, and would not continue to progress as rapidly in developing socialist democracy. One must not be afraid of possible abuses, there are means for correcting mistakes but one must start from the conviction that people cannot, and must not, be classified as infants, especially not those who educate our children. It is far from chance that it is precisely in those schools that the teacher-pupil relation is not as good as it should be where the relationship between staff and those in charge is not very good either.

This question has, however, another aspect as well. It is necessary to learn to live with democracy and if there are teachers who become embarrassed when they have to express an opinion then the fault must be sought also in the atmosphere of the school. The management of the school must be open, decisions affecting all the young people in the school must be made openly in front of the whole teaching staff. Conditions must be created, therefore, for the teachers to become a real staff and not the atomised group of individual teachers, allowing for the decisions of those responsible to be made on the basis of the consensus of staff opinion.

It is certain that the majority of the headmasters are able to carry out their task. Those unsuitable are a tiny minority who must be assisted in using their talents elsewhere, in posts for which they are fitted, and it must be ensured that they leave their posts without a moral or financial loss and that they can continue to work as teachers.

There are sound reasons why the resolution on education policy dealt so emphatically with life inside school, and the question of school democracy. They are connected with the respect in which teachers are held, and with their weight within the community in which they live. There are a number of ways in which the status of a section of society can be raised. Let me simplify them to two basic models. It is possible to raise status either from above or below. There are several ways of increasing status from above. This raising of status from above is necessary in our present social conditions. But it can only achieve its aim if it reinforces the process of raising status from below, which springs from the work of the teachers.

One could say that respect and gratitude are due to teachers, one could treble the distinctions and awards given to them, one could give them many more holidays and one could vote the best of them into the leading committees of various voluntary organizations, and indeed, they are voted in, but all this would be worth nothing if, in the *tanya*, in the villages, towns and cities the status of the teachers were not to increase as a result of their continually improving work, and if this status did not appear—as a moral, professional and, let it be said quite openly, political force—outside the schools as well.

In socialist democracy the decisive sphere of raising status is work. This is the direction, the justified direction, of raising the status of teachers. The Party and government organs realise the rising respect accorded to improved work in schools. When the growing role of schools in a socialist society was recognized, it was made quite clear that in the present situation progress is impossible without good schools and good schools are impossible without well-trained, independent teachers.

Speaking of real, socialist authority I should like to refer to the point of view of youth. Pseudo-radical and pseudo-left-wing people are fond of saying, and here and there they find a receptive ear, that there is no need for respect for authority on the part of young people in a socialist society since that is a petty bourgeois attitude. There are those who think that the cult of the personality was based on an enforced respect for authority, therefore respect for authority leads to the personality cult. That is not true. There is a difference between different sorts of respect for authority. Let us value and raise even higher the social status of socialist, valuable and productive authority, which is based on work, the right attitude and results.

School must play a decisive role in inculcating in Hungarian youth a feeling and wish for the right sort of respect for authority. It is in school that the growth of a system of values must make a start, the main principle of which is respect based on work, on actual performance. It is teachers who

best know how greatly children are drawn to those among them who do their work well and show a knowledge of man. The teachers know that children have sharp eyes, they cannot be deceived. One might say: these are commonplaces that everyone knows. But it occurs to few that respect for authority is something that was created by history. There is a tradition of respect and there is a tradition of interpreting authority, and these influence contemporary thinking on this topic.

There are not only good traditions, there are still living, functioning bad traditions as well. In Hungary feudal, formal respect for authority was once fairly general. This had an effect on the structure of the Hungarian school system which was under strong Prussian influence in its early stages.

School democracy, democracy itself, have little in the way of traditions to look back to in Hungary. This does not mean, however, that we can dispense with the new democratic content of the new school. Respect and democracy are not antagonistic in a socialist society, but presuppose and complement each other. That is respect earned by good work! Democracy on the basis of the public activities of the growing collectives! What must be done is to make all this come true in Hungarian schools.

The community spirit of schools, school democracy, the consciousness of belonging to a certain school are not yet as good as they should be. I dare say there are still places where the old spirit is stronger than the new. But this does not matter, it only indicates the magnitude of the task. The awareness of belonging to a school must be increased and be made more meaningful. This also has a good and a bad tradition in Hungary. Let us revive the sound traditions! The democracy of school life must be improved, with intelligence and care, but not merely formally, without excessive caution, thus giving way to more initiative and the achievements will surely dwarf problems and faults.

Let the methods be evaluated by their results and life may justify every innovation if it is done well. Let us give democracy the green light, clearing the way for socialist education. Responsibility and initiative: the combination of these must characterize our work.

### *School and work*

Pupils must become familiar with work in school. They must feel the beauty and flavour of work well done. The only thing that can ensure a meaningful life is work that is well done. Work is one of the main areas

of education in our ideology. Not in a narrow, badly interpreted form such as the 5+1 system\* in many places, but by regarding educating for work as the development of those qualities—from manual skills to tenacity—which are indispensable for all manual and intellectual work. In this sense studying is also work. Someone who becomes accustomed to work in the school will be a good worker later on. They must be trained not to run away from work that requires great effort. Our youth must be trained for the trials of strength to come. Youth will accept them if it finds that work is meaningful. This, one might say, is the practical side of the matter.

But educating for socialist work is more than that. It includes making the children aware that work is the basic condition of human life, that it is not only the means of rising out of mere natural existence, of becoming human, but always also the precondition for staying human.

Educating for work—in the Marxist view this also means education in being human. Where should the child learn if not in school—in history and literature classes—that man has become what he is through his work and struggle, that the material and intellectual world, the culture and knowledge which he can acquire is the result of the work of many generations.

The conditions of our developing society make it increasingly possible to awaken respect for work on a not merely theoretical level. In our society every individual is part of the construction of the highest, most just and most humane order so far in history. This simple truth bestows a special prestige on socialist work.

One can do much to ensure that the way towards a career should be work. But this must also mean that the greatest source of our own happiness, of our desires, worries and pleasures must become working for others, the community in the narrow, wider and widest possible sense.

If these considerations are also kept in mind in education for work there is no need to fear that the pupils will look on "let us praise her, the mother of life" as an empty slogan. For various reasons the meaning and honour of work have not been sufficiently emphasized in ideological education. The task is to give rank and status once more to that work which makes man man! Péter Veres had a favourite saying: "One might perish, but one must not become a rotter." This principle—the duty to do one's work well, to think in terms of the community—can be supplemented by Lukács's thought: to lift one's thoughts from the part to humanity as such.

One must look for effective methods for educating young people to turn

\* Ordinary school subjects were taught on five days of the week, the pupils doing practical, manual work on the sixth. The experiment proved unsuccessful in many places.

out a brave generation that thinks and acts on the basis of principles, that represents clear ideological demands. From this point of view school is most important to us. The condemnation of selfishness, egotism, money-grabbing begins at school, by the rejection of ruthlessness, inhumanity and self-seeking.

Hungarian youth is intelligent and sensitive, but it lacks experience in life. Many of them may therefore lose their way. One of the main goals of ideological education and of the whole of educational efforts must be to keep them away from false paths, while also preparing them for difficulties. This is a noble human task not only in the sense of day-to-day politics but in the strictest meaning of the word. Every excess must be avoided in the upbringing of youth who have to make their own judgements, accept responsibility for their own actions, and who must possess social consciousness. The ideal is not that the young should follow orders in blind obedience, nor that they should blackmail their parents. The aim is a generation that knows and accepts and demands from itself and others the basic rules of social existence, that lives in a disciplined way in the interests of the community, that can subordinate their own individual goals, freely, of their own will, to the interests of the community. We want to bring up not anarchistic individualists but people who know their duty, live with their responsibilities, and find their happiness in the service of the community. Such people can only be shaped within the community, a community whose chief organizer is the teacher. The finest organization for community education is the Hungarian youth organization. It is not surprising that in those schools where there is trouble with community education the youth organization does not do well either. Their sphere of activity is made either too narrow or too wide.

It is not true that young people like an absence of organization and discipline. Thousands of well run clubs, camps and societies prove that young people are able to work and enjoy themselves at a high level—and keeping in mind the interests of the community—if they are well prepared and well led. It is this aspect that education in school must strengthen.

The Central Committee has carried out the resolution of the Tenth Party Congress. Based as it is on close attention to the views and discussion of thousands, Communists and non-party members, and evaluating their suggestions with great care, the resolution on developing the educational system is now ready. Ours is not a showy decision. The objectives are realistic—I might even say, though it would not be entirely true—that they are modest, they refer to everyday work, the detailed work of schools and are aimed at developing and improving it.

But this is where their strength lies! We set tasks for ourselves that can be realized with hard work but whose realisation will eventually result in higher standards for the Hungarian people in education and in the building of socialism, thereby assisting in realising our great social goals more quickly.

We want to build a socialist society that is not only capable of coming out on top of the scientific and technological revolution but—I am not ashamed to say it—of creating a happy community of working people, who are not restricted to reproducing knowledge learnt decades before but use their basic knowledge to acquire newer, better knowledge and are even able to further develop it creatively, men and women for whom the service of the community, the Hungarian socialist homeland, and its great goals are a basic need.

# SÁNDOR PETŐFI

## FOLK POET AND REVOLUTIONARY

by

ISTVÁN SÖTÉR

**D**uring the first half of the nineteenth century Hungarian literature underwent a process of development from which it emerged a truly modern, truly national literature. The new European forms, the lyric and the novel, as well as the various achievements in the drama, assumed a national, more Hungarian complexion. This development was made possible by a turning on the part of contemporary literature toward folk poetry, a movement in which a large part was played by a sense of social responsibility. The greatest poets of the period made a deliberate attempt to change "non-folk" poetry, a product chiefly of the educated, into something more national, by using the forms in which the thoughts and feelings of folk poetry were expressed. This trend toward popularism in Hungarian literature during the last century is unparalleled in the literature of the world. Hungarian folk poetry surpassed its origins and became capable of expressing universally human and, in the broadest sense, national sentiments. The movement bore fruit chiefly in the lyric and the verse epic: in the novel and the drama the forms of romanticism continued to survive. In the case of Sándor Petőfi, folk poetry exerted the same fertilizing influence as folk music, a century later, exercised on the music of Bartók and Kodály.

The development of impulses already present in folk poetry, and his use of popular literary forms in the expression of universally human and, in the broadest sense, national sentiments, make Sándor Petőfi the greatest Hungarian poet.

Petőfi's first poems, based as they were on the lyricism of the folk song, surprised his contemporaries with their ease and lightness. Themselves like lyrical folk songs, the poems gave voice to a type of experience and gusto which the nation, as it rushed toward the 1848 revolution, felt to be peculiarly, exclusively its own. There was a kind of mutinous plebeian

rebellion in Petőfi's whole poetic attitude, and at the same time a new sensitivity that brought a new world into the Hungarian lyric, enriching the whole of Hungarian poetry with the warmth, depth and perspective of folk poetry.

In his lyrics Petőfi discovered the Hungarian countryside, whose ambience he transmitted through his own feelings. The types and characters of his folksongs are this countryside's inhabitants: villagers, horsemen, shepherds, the guests in country inns, bandits, deserters, itinerant journeymen and the craftsmen from the small towns.

The poems are genre portraits, but the poet has identified with them so strongly that he seems to be painting scenes from his own life. But then, he was doing that as well. Until him, the world which Petőfi discovered had had no poetic witness.

It is a friendly, intimate world, and because in order for people to come closer together, the narrow family circle is needed, somehow in these poems of Petőfi we are always surrounded by the village in winter. Outside a snow-storm rages, paths are covered, wolves wander down out of the mountains onto the Great Plain: inside, however, is life, a warm stove and a table surrounded by good, simple folk celebrating a nameday or the killing of a pig—the simple, customary, and unpretentious joys of human society.

After so much cheerfulness, such innocent pleasures, friendship and intimacy, it may come as a surprise that a few years later, this same poet should hurl his lance at the throne of royal authority, and make of his poetry a herald of revolution. Had Petőfi's mind changed, his cheerfulness deserted him? Rather, he was living in two different, opposing worlds. The one, which he hated, would not suffer the other, in which he felt comfortable and which was his true home. For the sake of this second world, Petőfi desired revolution. The poet of innocent joys, then, of necessity became a revolutionary, but he did not turn his back on the real pleasures of life. Petőfi's attitude toward pleasure is not epicurean. There is something humble and unassuming in those poems where he depicts the ordinary man, his celebrations and everyday life: whether they speak of pain or happiness, desire or deception, they are always radiant, certain of their power, testimonies of free men. Petőfi was incapable of adapting to the mean and commonplace: however often he raised his voice in support of the downtrodden and oppressed, he never confused their broken voices with his own.

His poetry is folk poetry but more perfect, on a higher level, the level which the folk song may, at one time, have reached. It is folk poetry, but of the kind which easily becomes the poetry of an entire nation. Petőfi's shepherd song, for example, became a song for the entire nation's youth.

It is difficult to tell when Petőfi's folk songs remain simply genre portraits, and when, though they remain folk songs, they throw off their folk costume to become lyrical poetry of the highest rank. The most beautiful belong to the gallery of folk portraits and to the poet himself, in equal measure. Hearing them, one seems to be in some golden age of the folk: the country is filled with strong, free men, an ideal people in an ideal nation.

How ideal was it, really? Only a poet of Petőfi's rank could have made it so. His background is mere pain and suffering: of all his contemporaries, the poets and politicians of "Young Hungary," no-one suffered or did more without than he. The joy of life which his work preserves had to be defended against a merciless world. And yet, glancing over the first three years of his poetic career, generally called the folk song period, we see nothing but radiance, unselfconscious harmony, gentleness and playfulness. The poetry is glad to be alive, even when it sings of pain. Was there any real reason for joy? There was: first and foremost in Petőfi himself, who at this time was still in harmony with his world.

It is astounding how soon Petőfi discovered what sorts of experience were to be treasured most. But then he discovered himself, and his vocation, early. Poetry, which is brimming with life; life, which is filled with poetry: such things are not won easily, nor freely given. But until he began his fight and to pay dearly for this poet's life, the charm and naturalness surrounding him promised, like a summer morning, eternity.

It is, in fact, a Hungarian idyll: a perfect and unassuming world, which requires nothing but a particular condition of the spirit. Such a condition is rare, but for Petőfi, at that time, the exception was the rule. Life was as smooth as the gentle rocking of a cart as it travelled off into the warm, clear night—not far, only to the nearest village—yet somehow, it seemed, into eternity.

During these three years, he was the sort of poet who can only be pampered or envied. If Petőfi had remained only a poet of enchanting charm and humour, who sang of love, the family and the countryside, he would remain one of Hungary's greatest poets, a daring innovator in the Hungarian lyric. But he became the poet not of the heights alone, but of the depths of life as well. He went through serious crises, great trials of character, and through them all he stuck to his own way with unswerving resolution and sovereign determination, never compromising, accepting every sacrifice, taking every risk. He heeded no man's advice, ignored all summonses, exhortations and admonitions, and in the end proved to be right. No-one knew his vocation better than he, and possessing that knowledge he could not back down before any man.

The first three of his seven creative years were illuminated by the brightness which his first poems, with their surprising newness, created around him. However, the world soon hastened to take its blessings back. In 1846 Petőfi's sky began to darken, and out of the raging storm about and within him, he was reborn, a revolutionary.

The turn in his poetic career was marked by a narrative poem called *John the Hero*, which summarized all that had gone before.

The miraculous adventures of John the Hero are joined by the poet like scenes from a puppet show: almost, one might say, a comic puppet show. The most playful aspect, however, is the surprising ease and naturalness with which the miracles occur. John Barleycorn, the shepherd, becomes John the Hero in one continued advance, so that finally he becomes king not only of the giants, but of the whole of Fairyland. Petőfi's miracles in this poem are not miraculous at all: the more incredible, the more comprehensible they seem. It is astounding how easily and quickly John attains victory, how lightly he brushes each obstacle aside; as though Petőfi wanted to show that every conclusion is foregone, if only we embark upon the enterprise with bold resolution. That, certainly, is what he himself did. In the land of great adventures, all roads lie open to the brave.

Tale though it is, the poem also expresses a deep truth. No-one ever dreamed a more down-to-earth fairyland than Petőfi. Perhaps the dreams of romanticism are refuted best not by sober reality, but by a sober fairy tale.

The man, John, must conquer death: in this the poem touches ancient poetic myths throughout the world. Behind the cheerful story and the light, humorous telling, is the recognition from which Petőfi's revolutionary perspective soon must arise: that John Barleycorn, within the framework of his former life, cannot be content; nor *will* he be content so long as he has not performed the great work awaiting him—the conquest of the tyrant, death.

The basic thought is serious, but the story on whose wings this weight is borne is light, perky, simple, exactly like John's return home, first hanging from a cloud, then on a griffin's back.

The idyll of *John the Hero* is bound up with tragedy, and the love of life therein intertwines closely with the awareness of death: the final happiness follows only after death is defeated. Petőfi is not exaggerating: not for himself, not for anyone else. In order to preserve his world he must endure trials and suffering, and he knows that history, though in the far distant future it helps John to conquer, for him, no doubt, is preparing tragedy. But in this way life becomes complete, through pain as well as joy. All his struggles, each shock he endures, are a search, until at last he encounters his own tragedy in the revolution.

His poetic vocation had been clear to him before *John the Hero*, but only now did he realize the nature of the struggle in which poetry must be made to serve. That world in which he portrayed his people and their situations with so much radiant joy; and John, who finds at last happiness and freedom: these were but preparations for the decisive recognition to which he came in the spring of 1846, in a letter to his close friend Antal Várady; the letter which is considered to be his first great avowal of revolutionary awareness and a deliberate programme of popular revolution.

Petőfi's revolutionary world view was an organic development, in part owing to his whole experience and the fact that he knew so well the lives of those to whom he always felt his own fate to be bound. In addition to these personal reasons, however, and justifying and confirming them, is the influence on Petőfi's revolutionary outlook of the age's most progressive ideas, the socialist ideas which preceded Marx. There are traces of them in the poetic letter to Antal Várady, but rather more in the great poem *One Thought Disturbs Me*, which not only looks back upon and summarizes the decisive year 1846, but is also a vision of the future, of Petőfi's chosen struggle and chosen fate, which in less than three short years would be fulfilled.

The Petőfi of March 15th, 1848, addressing the crowd from the portico of the National Museum: it is the greatest scene in Hungarian history since Prince Rákóczi unfurled the colours. Petőfi assumes and fulfils the role for which he has prepared, and which has been awaiting him. Revolution, he says, and the struggle for freedom: to him these two are the same. The more faithful we are to revolution, the more faithful we will be to the struggle for freedom. When we fight for the nation we also fight for humanity: compromise, whether in revolution or in the struggle for freedom, will weaken both. Petőfi was not fighting for national self-interest, but he did consider as enemies all those who divided the forces which were struggling against oppression. The Hungary he wished to see created was to be a brother, not an oppressor of peoples. To Petőfi the people and the nation were one idea, and the struggle for which the people were preparing was a continuation of an older, grand and glorious national tradition.

Petőfi would be neither a true revolutionary nor a great poet if his poetry did not, even now, continue to express the complete fullness of life. His poems on youth, spring, the eternal freshness of love, are now juxtaposed against the revolutionary verses, and thus acquire new meaning. In Petőfi the joys and struggles of life are never separated: rather, they lead into and become absorbed in one another.

The last great experience of Petőfi's life was his friendship with Joseph

Bem, the Polish general who had fought victoriously at Ostrolenka in the Polish rebellion of 1830-31, and who played such a large role in the Hungarian revolution eighteen years later. Petőfi was especially close to Bem: between him and the revolutionary leaders there were many conflicts, but Bem was the only one toward whom he felt absolute trust. In fact, Bem seems to have aroused him to new life: the poet had become gloomy, but he began to see once more a future for the revolution and himself.

On the brink of catastrophe, Petőfi's poetry once again becomes optimistic, and the brilliance and force which had enchanted his readers from the start, returns. It is heart-rending to read his avowals of absolute faith, the conviction of invincibility with which, a few months before his death, he went off to battle.

But another thing is also true: he never lived to be broken by the revolution's failure, the subsequent terror, the absolutism and the terrible humiliation which awaited his contemporaries. He steps triumphantly beyond them, invincible, free as light, like the clouds and the birds.

Petőfi took poetry, revolutionized it, then committed it to the service of revolution. In his time, in all of Europe there is no one else who devoted his life so unequivocally to poetry, and poetry to the ideals of progress, revolution and humanity. He remained the people's poet until the end, and was able thereby to become not only the nation's poet, but one of the greatest poets of mankind as well. The joy he took in living, his love of freedom, his nobility and constancy to revolution, his cheerfulness, anger, happiness and tragedy, bestow on him such an extraordinarily high place, it is as though he were not the conqueror, but rather a constant denizen of John the Hero's Fairyland: a bird of passage, elusive as a cloud, which descended for a short time to live among the people of his beloved countryside. He is the one Hungarian poet in whom every prophecy was fulfilled—at times, indeed, more completely than even he had hoped.

# PETŐFI ABROAD

by

GYÖRGY RADÓ

**A**ccording to the article on Sándor Petőfi in the 1968 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. 17, pp. 450-451), "His poetry is characterized by realism, humour and descriptive power and imbued with a peculiar vigour." And further "...were it not for the barrier of the language his name would probably take its place with those of Burns and Heine in world literature." There is an ambiguity in these statements, of a sort which is prevalent wherever the Hungarian poet Sándor Petőfi is known. His name, a few critical words, the principal facts of his life and a short review of his major works may be found in every decent lexicon and handbook of literary history; but what makes a poet a poet—his works—are almost entirely shut off from the world by "the barrier of language."

Nevertheless, in spite of the language barrier, and beyond the lexicons and handbooks, something of Petőfi's work, however little, has succeeded in getting abroad. The picture provided within the framework of this short survey cannot, of course, be complete; but I shall endeavour to summarize the most interesting and significant facts.

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The 1972 edition of the *Brockhaus Lexikon* (Vol 14, pp. 440-441) says of Petőfi: "...sein bleibendes Erbe: die Kunst so einfach und natürlich zu schreiben, das die Leser seine Gedichte als Ausdruck ihrer eigenen Gedanken und Gefühle empfunden haben." ("...his enduring heritage: to have written so simply and naturally that his readers feel his poems to be the expression of their own feelings and thoughts.") There are great poets who achieve their effects through a luxuriance of adjectives and colours; others, to the contrary, combine profundity with simplicity of expression. Petőfi is one of the latter. And

there is, besides, the attraction of his adventurous life, which exerts an influence on the reader's imagination exactly as it did on the imaginations of his contemporaries. He was only twenty-six when he died, but his life and death were the perfect realization of his poetry: on July 31, 1849, during the Hungarian struggle for independence, he disappeared on the battlefield without a trace.

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The first translations of his works to appear outside Hungary were in French, German, and English.

He was not yet twenty-three when three of his poems appeared in translation in the *Wiener Sonntagsblätter*. One year later, the same translator, an enthusiastic but poetically unskilled journalist, published a volume containing fifty-five translations. Another translator not particularly blessed with poetic talent was Károly Kertbeny, whose thick volume of translations also appeared in Germany during the poet's lifetime, and who travelled through Europe spreading word of the poet's greatness. Of the great men of the period, Kertbeny was able to persuade only Heine to write a critique; although he did receive from Bettina von Arnim her ode *Petőfi dem Sonnengott*. It may also be that the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz "would have liked to translate Petőfi's verse"; and that Thomas Carlyle actually said that "Petőfi in his songs keeps to the fore the purely human, and that is why he is just as great as Goethe"; but the only evidence we have is in Kertbeny's not always reliable notebooks.

Petőfi had other Hungarian propagandists who met with better results, without wasting their energies wandering from one country to the next.

The Paris of that time was overrun with emigré democrats. At the suggestion of Hungarian friends, the French philologists Saint-René Taillandier and Thèles Bernard began to write reviews and translations in order to popularize Petőfi's name, as well as that of the revolution which had died with him. In the 1860's the Hungarian Károly Ujfalvy, who had settled in Paris, associated with Hippolyte Desbordes-Valmore, son of the poetess Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, in the translation of a volume of Petőfi's poetry.

There were others, however, who approached the subject of Hungary on their own initiative, arriving at Petőfi on the way.

Charles-Louis Chassin was known chiefly for his historical works, an autobiographical novel, and countless newspaper articles. A pupil of Michelet, it was his master who aroused his interest in the Hungarians.

Having already written a novel (1855) about János Hunyadi, the fifteenth century hero of the Turkish wars, Chassin went on to write an impressive, 360 page novelistic biography titled *Le poète de la révolution hongroise, Alexandre Petőfi*, which included prose translations. Without doubt, Chassin's book contributed to making Petőfi's name known.

These familiarizing works and the translations of the French philologists prompted several well-known poets to undertake their own translations.

In his time, the Austrian Moritz Hartmann was a recognized poet. Long a partisan of the Hungarians, he had written at the head of one section of his 1849 volume of poetry the title, in Hungarian: "Long live Kossuth!" In Paris he encountered a school companion, Frigyes Szarvady, "press boss" of the legation of the revolutionary Hungarian government, and together they published in Darmstadt (1851) a German language volume of Petőfi.

Another well-known poet in his time, who in fact is still remembered, was François Coppée. Coppée translated a good number of Petőfi's poems. His informants, however, were not so precise as Szarvady had been for Hartmann; or perhaps Coppée himself conceived the translator's task in a looser, more casual sense. In any case, his translations are powerful ringing poetry, but their content and mood fall far from the original.

It was exactly Coppée's sort of "adaptation" which reached the Spanish-speaking areas. Under their influence, the Cuban Diego Tejera became enthusiastic enough to try his own hand. The chief element of Tejera's work, of which his translations are an organic part, is the native countryside, the characteristic Cuban *tropicalismo*. In this sensitivity to landscape, he found a brother in Petőfi, the passionate lover of the Alföld, the Great Hungarian Plains. Tejera, who, as a comrade-in-arms to the national hero José Martí, became the poet of the Cuban struggle for independence at the end of the nineteenth century, used the translations of Coppée. His translations are conscientiously faithful to their model, and for that reason fall just as far from the original. They are passionate, sweeping poetry nonetheless, and literary historians have demonstrated their influence on Tejera's own libertarian poetry.

The first English verse translations of Petőfi, so far as we know, appeared—again, at the suggestion of Hungarian emigrés—in a Washington journal called the *National Era*, on the twenty-second and twenty-ninth of January, 1852. A prose version of his verse fable "John the Hero" had already been published, the work of Ferenc and Teréz Pulszky, a Hungarian emigré couple living in London, who included their translation in their three-volume *Tales and Traductions of Hungary* (1851). After this beginning,

translations appeared in rapid succession, not only in the United States and England, but also in other English-speaking parts of the world. Many names are connected with these translations, not the least of which is that of Sir John Bowring, translator of the first volume in English devoted entirely to the poet.

Sir John Bowring was an interesting and colourful figure. A polyglot, world traveller, at various times a scholar, industrialist, diplomat and merchant, he was passionately fond of the Hungarians (whose country he had visited, and whose language he understood), and did everything in his power to assist the cause of Hungarian literature. Although his understanding of versification was poor, he published numerous volumes of translations from Russian, Dutch, Polish and Serbian poetry, as well as Hungarian (*Poetry of the Magyars*, 1830). His *Translations from Alexander Petőfi* (1866) was the first volume in English devoted entirely to the poet.

It would be fruitless to list all his successors, those who have translated Petőfi into English over the last century and more; some, however, were more productive than others. One such was William N. Loew, who in 1881 published in New York his collection *Gems from Petőfi and Other Hungarian Poets*, and later, in 1912, a three-hundred page volume given over to Petőfi alone. During the last several decades English translations have appeared in Hungary (the joint work of Eugénie Bayard Pierce and Emil Delmár) and in the United States (a cooperative venture by Joseph Grosz and Arthur Boggs.) In Canada, the greater number of Petőfi translations have been the work of Watson Kirkconnell.

In 1866, his English admirer Sir John Bowring composed a poem about Petőfi, in which he compares him to a star:

...It was no meteor, for a meteor writes  
No golden lines of glory—read from far—  
But an eternal light amidst heaven's lights,  
And grouped with central stars a central star.

On the French side a truer poet, François Coppée, also composed a verse to Petőfi. But the most powerful poetic echo came neither from England nor from France. In one of his studies, the Italian Giosuè Carducci wrote the following lines:

"It is all there in his poetry: the broad sunlight of the Hungarian plain, the pounding of Hungarian horses' hoofbeats and the fire of sparkling Hungarian wines, the charming beauty of the Hungarian girls. When he died, he left behind some of the most beautiful lyric poetry written in

Europe during the last forty years. Is he dead, then? No, he has only vanished, like some beautiful Greek god. . ."

Italy also paid homage to Petőfi with translations. The first to make Petőfi popular in Italy was another Hungarian emigrant, Ignác Helfy. Helfy's prosaic Italian rendering may have limped, but his texts were passed among themselves by Garibaldi's volunteers like proclamations—in particular the odes addressed to Italy. As a consequence of Helfy's efforts, any number of Italian translators undertook to interpret Petőfi, though most of them, like Federico Piantieri, compiler of the first volume of Petőfi in Italian, worked through German or French. Two careful philologists, however, translated Petőfi from the original. One was Emilio Teza, a former professor of linguistics at the University of Pisa and a prolific polyglot, whose collection published in Bologna (1863) contained translations from Petőfi; the other his friend Carducci, who became acquainted with the poet through Teza's book. Giuseppe Cassone, on the other hand, was no polyglot: a bedridden cripple, he found some comfort in learning Hungarian with the specific intention of translating Petőfi, and published no fewer than nine volumes devoted to him. All in all the poet's romantic popularity during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries left such an imprint on the literature of translation in Italy, that translators have been publishing new interpretations ever since. Indeed, some authors, such as Umberto Norsa in 1923 and Silvino Gigante in 1938, have published biographies as well.

As in the south, so in the north: in Europe, Petőfi's popularity shot up like a romantic flame. In 1869 a volume of translations by C. H. Thurah appeared in Danish; in 1879 one in Swedish, by Ferdinand Ridderström; and ten years later, again in Swedish, a volume by Fredrik Birger Schöldström, who included texts by other translators as well as his own. For this last volume, the famous Swedish poet Viktor Rydberg wrote a critical afterword.

At times Petőfi's popularity was attested to by rather bizarre phenomena. In Scandinavia as elsewhere, he was counted the sort of poet whose biography is worth writing even without a knowledge of the facts—and sometimes in spite of them. In 1906, for example, there appeared in Copenhagen the second edition of a book by one Carit Etlar, in which the author forces his hero into such preposterous situations as must bring a smile to the lips of anyone acquainted with Petőfi's life. On the other hand, it is obvious that Etlar struck a responsive chord with a certain class of reader.

An extensive list of examples might be cited to demonstrate further Petőfi's popularity, whether in Holland, where at the end of the century

the eminent authoress A. S. C. Wallis worked industriously to make his name known, or in Finland, where since J. L. F. Krohn's 1861 translations in the press many of Petőfi's works have appeared: in 1879 his prose piece *The Hangman's Rope*; in 1892 a small collection of verse; in 1909 two short narratives; in 1922 and 1924 a two volume collection of verse translated by Otto Manninen; and finally, in 1926, once again in Manninen's translation, his verse tale *John the Hero*. Similarly, one could cite examples to demonstrate the poet's popularity among the smaller nations of Europe as well.

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Petőfi's father bore the Slav-sounding name of Petrovich, while his mother was Slovak; he himself, however, with proud self-assurance, proclaimed himself a Hungarian. His angriest denunciations were directed against those non-Hungarian-speaking citizens—not the Slovaks, Serbs, Croats and Rumanians in general, but the Hungarian-haters—who attacked the struggle for independence behind its back. Although Petőfi defended Hungarian national liberties with anger and, when necessary, with force, he nevertheless respected the national liberties of others; and the way in which these others have judged him marks a real watershed in the not always unclouded relationships of Eastern Europe. Among Hungary's neighbours, the great national poets have always taken a sympathetic approach to Petőfi, unlike their more chauvinistic compatriots: they have seen in him, as they do now, a defender of the liberties of their own people. In Rumania he was translated by Coşbuc and Toma, as well as by the contemporary poets Jebeleanu and Veronica Porumbacu; the classic Slovak poet Hviezdoslav was an enthusiastic admirer of his, just as Jan Smrek, the doyen of Slovak poetry, or the Serb Zmaj and the Croat Krleža, are today.

So far as reproducing the simplicity of Petőfi's style is concerned, Hungary's neighbours, or rather their poet-translators, have always had a decided advantage. Proximity has brought them into contact with the Hungarian tongue. It is only natural that knowing Hungarian, they have always been able to give a more adequate rendering of Petőfi's characteristic style.

Of the other peoples in Eastern Europe, the Bulgarians were acquainted with Petőfi as early as 1872, when Bulgaria was still under Turkish rule: his memory, and perhaps his verse, contributed to the process resulting in the Bulgarian struggle for independence. Such poets as Ivan Vazov, author of the epic of liberation, the widely-ranging Pencho Slavejkov, and the

poet and revolutionary Geo Milev, connected their names with his, and the work of translation continues today. The Poles, on the other hand, compatriots of Bem, the Polish general who played such a large role in the Hungarian struggle for independence, and whom Petőfi loved, have had only the scantiest knowledge of the poet's works. For nearly a century he was only a name, an idea, and translations were few and far between. He began to be generally known only during the Second World War, when tens of thousands of Poles found shelter in Hungary and thus came into contact with the Hungarian people, their past and their present. It was then that Tadeus Fangrat, Kazimiera Illakowiczówna and other Poles on Hungarian soil undertook the work of translation, but it is still true that even now, only a fraction of the poet's works are known in Poland.

It was over an interesting and varied road that the poetry of Petőfi reached Russia. When the Austrian Emperor, in 1849, was unable to defeat the Hungarian fight for independence, he turned for help to the Russian Czar, whose troops succeeded where the Emperor's had failed. Petőfi had already sounded the alarm against this new enemy in his poem *Up the Holy War*, but he vanished, on July 31, 1849, in the last great battle. The Czar, however, had troubles of his own. In the year of the Hungarian revolution he had had Dostoevsky sentenced to death—a sentence later changed, for reasons of clemency, to Siberian exile. At the same time Turgenev was writing of the Czar's war: "Men of feeling have but one homeland: democracy. If the Russians win, democracy will suffer a deadly blow." This ambivalence in the Russian attitude toward what Petőfi represented was further complicated during the Crimean War, when the Czar demanded in vain the Austrian Emperor's help in return: relations between them deteriorated, so that even official Russian circles were inclined to turn a blind eye to the fact that Petőfi, the enemy of the Hapsburgs, was beginning to acquire a reputation. This reputation was one-sided of course, although the Russian democrats did try, as far as interference by the censor allowed, to convey to their readers a true, complete image of the poet. By the turn of the century, translations of Petőfi were appearing in publications of every political persuasion—though not, of course, his radical summonses to revolution.

After 1917, the situation took an about-face. The first Russian volume of Petőfi appeared after the revolution, instigated, selected and translated, based on German translations, by Anatoly Lunacharsky, director of Soviet cultural policy in the twenties. The Russian reader, with whom Petőfi was already popular, was introduced to his most radical revolutionary verse. Lunacharsky, who was a highly cultivated man of letters, attempted

to present the poet on his many sides: in addition to the revolutionary lyrics, he offered a sampling of Petőfi's love and regional poetry as well. For long years afterward the aspect of the revolutionary was the only one under which Petőfi appeared in Russia.

During the Second World War there appeared in Russian an extremely interesting volume of translations. In size a mere notebook, it appeared not in the capital, but in a small town in the Urals. Nonetheless, it marked an important turning point, because it showed the Hungarian patriot—a side of Petőfi which had not been evident, either before the revolution or after. In the hell of the Second World War, when Hungarian troops, as the allies of Hitler, penetrated into the Soviet Union, this small volume proved to the Russian reader that the true aims and purposes of the Hungarian people, as expressed by their great poet, were entirely different from those of Hitler, into whose hands Hungary had been treacherously sold by her leaders. This same volume also marked a beginning: after the war Petőfi's work began to be introduced methodically and extensively, on a scale such as nowhere outside of Hungary.

A significant number of poets, with Boris Pasternak at their head, interpreted Petőfi in Russian on the highest level. Almost every year saw the publication of a volume thicker than the last, until in 1952 and 1953, a four-volume collection was issued containing nearly six-hundred of the shorter poems, nine narrative poems and all the prose worthy of attention. Based on these four, other volumes have been published with almost constant regularity. And there are books about Petőfi as well, in particular an interesting volume concerning his connections with the theatre, his two plays, one of which is lost, and his interesting, seminal criticism.

The appendix to this last volume attempts to throw light on an old mystery: the mystery of Petőfi's disappearance. When the poet vanished on the battlefield, legends were spun around him: it was said that he had become a prisoner of war and ended up in Siberia, where he settled—in which case he might have continued to enrich Hungarian literature with new verses as long as he lived. The author, Alexander Gerskovich, searched through the Russian war correspondence and went to Siberia in search of the truth behind these tales. The Soviet Union has also seen the first stage performance outside Hungary of Petőfi's play *The Tiger and the Hyena*, while biographies and bibliographies help to make the portrait of the Hungarian poet complete.

Petőfi is read not only in Russian, but in the languages of other peoples living in the Soviet Union as well. Indeed, the tradition goes back as far as the nineteenth century. One pioneer deserves especial mention, the

Ukrainian Pavlo Hrabovsky, who, because of his participation in revolutionary movements, spent more than half his life in prison or in exile. In Siberia, under inhuman conditions, he managed to get hold of a Russian text of Petőfi's poetry, which he then translated into Ukrainian. Hrabovsky collected the poetry of nineteenth century progressive and revolutionary poets of various nationalities, and through secret organizations, he succeeded in getting his translations published abroad. Petőfi was the poet closest to his heart, and he planned to compile a volume devoted to him. But suffering had undermined his health, and death prevented him from completing his project. As a result, the first volume of Petőfi in Ukrainian did not appear until 1938. The translator, Leonid Pervomaisky is a Ukrainian novelist and poet who also wrote studies of Petőfi. When Pervomaisky came to Hungary as a correspondent during the Second World War, he wrote a moving poem in which he described his first meeting with the poet, whose influence he felt even across the bridge of time and war. Since then translations and biographies of Petőfi have appeared in Ukrainian on several occasions. In addition to Ukrainian and Russian, Petőfi has also appeared in Estonian, Latvian, Moldavian, Bielorrussian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaidzhani, Baskir, Turkoman, Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirgiz and Tadzhik. Indeed, of the fifty languages spoken in the Soviet Union, there is hardly one in which at least a few of Petőfi's poems have not been available either in the press or in anthologies.

\*

But his works have spread even beyond America, Russia and Europe. They have also reached the countries of the East.

In 1919, when translations were collected for a special multi-lingual *Petőfi Almanach*, the published material included two verses translated into Turkish and Persian. Since then a volume in Persian devoted entirely to Petőfi has also appeared (1953), in translations by Mahmud Tavazuli.

In the Arab countries, Petőfi was first popularized by Gyula Germanus, a linguist, the leading figure in Hungarian Eastern research. Germanus's pioneering study appeared in 1940, in the Cairo journal *Mukhtataf*, illustrated with twenty translations. So far as we know, the first volume of Petőfi in Arabic appeared, once again, in Cairo, in a translation by Mohamed Ami Hussuna. More recently, in Amman, the journal *As-sasab* has published an interesting article, with translations, by Issa an-Naouri, who is preparing to publish a complete volume of the poet's work.

The translating of Petőfi into Hebrew began in Hungary and continued

in the East. In 1952, the Hungarian-born Avigdor Haméiri, an eminent representative of poetry in New Hebrew, published in Israel an excellent, beautifully illustrated volume of translations. Several of Petőfi's poems, including his well-known *The Madman*, have also been translated into Yiddish.

Petőfi has also appeared in the Mongolian Peoples' Republic: a selection consisting of his lyrical verse and a narrative poem appeared in Ulan Bator in 1961. The greater part of the verses were translated by Biambin Rinchen, author of the first Mongolian novel.

Translations have likewise appeared in China. Philologists may one day discover a still earlier date, but for the moment we know that in the twenties, the Chinese poet Lu Hsün became acquainted with Petőfi in Esperanto, from which he translated several of the poet's works. As for the present, the poet Sun Jung has translated *John the Hero* and a selection of the lyrics, while Hsing Van-seng has done the narrative poem *The Apostle*. Petőfi's works have appeared in China on several occasions: the thick volume containing *John the Hero* and the lyrics, for example, which originally came out in 1954, has gone through nine editions.

In Korean, a publisher in Phenjan has issued a book of translations by Hong Cong Lin. The volume is illustrated, and contains at the beginning a photocopy of the poem *Poets of the Nineteenth Century* in Petőfi's hand.

The people of Vietnam have twice had the opportunity to read Petőfi's works. The volume of lyrics published in 1962 in Hanoi contains *John the Hero* as well, and a preface by Nguyen Xuan Sanh.

In Japan, a volume of Petőfi's verse appeared in 1932. The translator is listed as the Hungarian Nándor Metzger; the preface is by Dr. Shiratori Kurakichi, emeritus of Tokyo Imperial University. The illustrations attempt to fertilize Japanese art with Hungarian motifs—not always, however, with success. Thus Petőfi, the very symbol of simplicity and naturalness in art, is shown in a lithograph from the early part of the century, dressed in a totally fantastic major's uniform and assuming an artificially heroic pose. And finally, the prolific Japanese propagator of Hungarian literature, Imaoka Dzuichiro, has also translated Petőfi's works.

\*

The 150th anniversary in 1973 of the poet's birth has given new impetus to the publication of translations, biographies and criticism. As part of these preparations, a French volume of Petőfi appeared in 1972, in which the four contemporary French poets Jean Rousselot, Guillevic, Paul Chaulot and Michel Manoll, bear witness to the poet's timeliness.

In English, once again for the jubilee, Gyula Illyés's biography, already considered a classic at home, will appear, with many illustrative verses. The translator is G. F. Cushing, who teaches Hungarian language and literature at the University of London.

In German, a new edition is being prepared of Martin Romané's Petőfi selection, the first edition of which appeared not so long ago. An interesting anthology titled *Denn mein Herz ist heiss* has already made its appearance in the popular, widely-circulated *Reclam* series: the editor, Gerhard Steiner, himself a translator of Petőfi, has assembled a collection of German translations from the last hundred years—translations which, as it happens, have lost very little of their music.

In Dutch a large children's book with comic illustrations has been published, a book which contains a poem by Petőfi which has already become a children's classic.

The Poles, also, in 1971 published a Petőfi selection which offers more of the love poems and lyrics than any of the previous, quite scanty Polish publications. A still more recent volume is at present in preparation.

In addition, a rich selection of Petőfi is available in Esperanto, in a volume translated by Kálmán Kalocsay. The Cuban Eliseo Diego is translating Petőfi's poetry, and there is news that Spanish translations are also being done in Peru.

Work is likewise being done in the Soviet Union. In Russian a large, illustrated volume containing the better part of the earlier verse translations, but more beautifully produced than any earlier edition, has already appeared, and a three volume anthology is in progress. *John the Hero* has appeared in Ukrainian for the first time, in a translation by Juri Shkrobinets, who a few years ago published a translation of *The Apostle*; and Pervomaisky is expected to bring out for the jubilee a volume of translations more substantial than any of his earlier ones. A richer selection than ever is also being prepared in Georgian: in fact a special Petőfi committee has been set up to celebrate the jubilee in proper fashion. We shall soon see the first volume of Petőfi's verse to be translated into Lettish, and it is certain that 1973 will witness the appearance of translations in the other languages of the Soviet Union as well.

\*

There is a famous poem in which Petőfi summarized his principles in seven short lines—a perfect example of the enduring poetry which can be created by the use of simple words. In G. F. Cushing's literal translation, the verse is as follows:

*Liberty and love,  
 These two I must have.  
 For my love I'll sacrifice  
 My life.  
 For liberty I'll sacrifice  
 My love.*

This verse, which has been translated more than a hundred times into half as many of the world's languages, was translated in 1865 during his visit to Hungary by Alexandre Dumas père:

*Deux choses ici bas me font aimer le jour.  
 L'amour, la liberté seuls trésors que j'envie.  
 Pour l'amour au besoin, je donnerais ma vie.  
 Mais pour la liberté je donnerais l'amour.*

With minor exceptions, Petőfi has been translated by poets who did not know Hungarian—not, in other words, directly based on the experience of personal pleasure, but through the explanatory intervention of others. Those translators who did, on the other hand, know Hungarian, were not poets. That is why so many interpretations have arisen which, however poetically inspired, fall as far from the original as Dumas's, and why there exist so many bad, dilettantish translations lacking in poetic force.

And that is why the lexicons and handbooks, when they assert Petőfi's greatness, are in most cases forced to mention "the barrier of language," for fear that basing his judgements on the Petőfi translations available to him, the reader will find this assertion unjustified.

The techniques of translation are, however, being developed, so that more and more often, the poet-translator who does not know the language no longer works mechanically from an intermediate text, but rather in co-operation with a partner who understands the original.

## THE PORTRAITS OF PETŐFI

by

ÁGNES ZIBOLEN VAYER

The question of which portraits of Sándor Petőfi convey a true image of the poet has been one of general concern ever since his death. Petőfi lived at a time when portraits were fashionable, even in Hungary; when portraits of writers, scholars and politicians were made by the dozen. The poet was no exception: lithographs, engravings and paintings were done of him as well. For decades, one of the most absorbing problems of Petőfi portraiture was a daguerrotype which seemed to have vanished, and which turned up only a hundred years later.

It was the custom during the middle of the nineteenth century for portraits to be idealized: the artist was constrained to make the true image and the viewer's imagined image coincide. For this reason, even the talented Miklós Barabás and Petőfi's good friend Soma Orlai-Petrich were unable to convey fully the strong individuality of the poet's spirit. Nonetheless, both made valuable contributions toward the completeness of our image of him.

After Petőfi died, nearly everyone who had ever met him felt obliged to put down his memories in writing, in order to render the poet more accessible to succeeding generations. An enthusiastic Petőfi scholar of a hundred years ago summed up the descriptions of these eyewitnesses: "His face was thin, pale, and yellowish-brown; his eyes small, black, sparkling and dark. He had

exceptionally fine eyebrows; his nose was basically Roman but a bit too pointed: there was an indentation at the bridge and two deep wrinkles between the brows. His forehead was broad but not high, and covered with dense bushy hair which he combed upward. When speaking or reciting he would stroke his hair back."

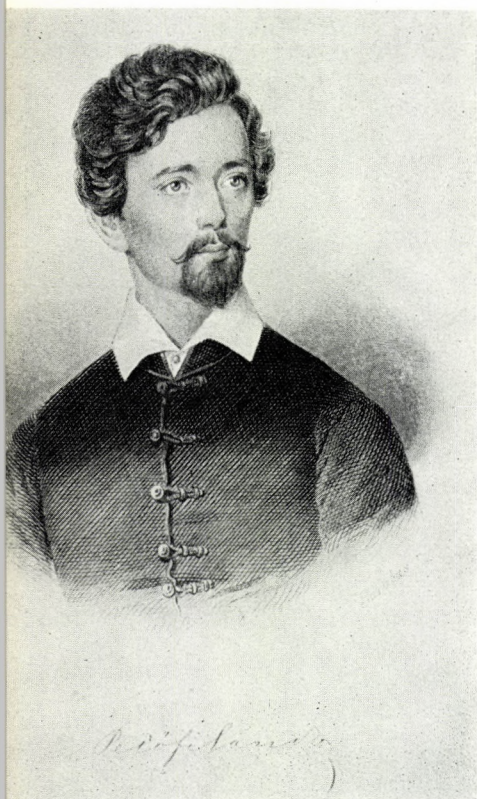
It was no easy task to make a portrait which would render this pale young face handsome and heroic, and at the same time be true: what made him attractive—his character, his radiant intelligence—was difficult to take hold of. Hungarian painters therefore presented not what they saw, but what they and their contemporaries wanted to see.

The first authentic portrait was a lithograph done from life by Miklós Barabás in 1845. Readers of the *Pesti Divatlap*, in which the lithograph was published, saw the young but already famous subeditor of the magazine standing ramrod straight, his carriage defiant, his hands folded behind his back. His clothes were braided in the *magyar* fashion, his hair was combed upward and back: he was wearing a moustache but no beard. (Petőfi often changed the type of beard and moustache he wore.) His gaze was fixed on a distant point. The whole picture, in fact, suggested a self-conscious, sentimental youth.

Slightly more than a year later, Barabás drew Petőfi once more, this time for the first volume of the collected poems. We know this drawing, however, only from Tyroler's

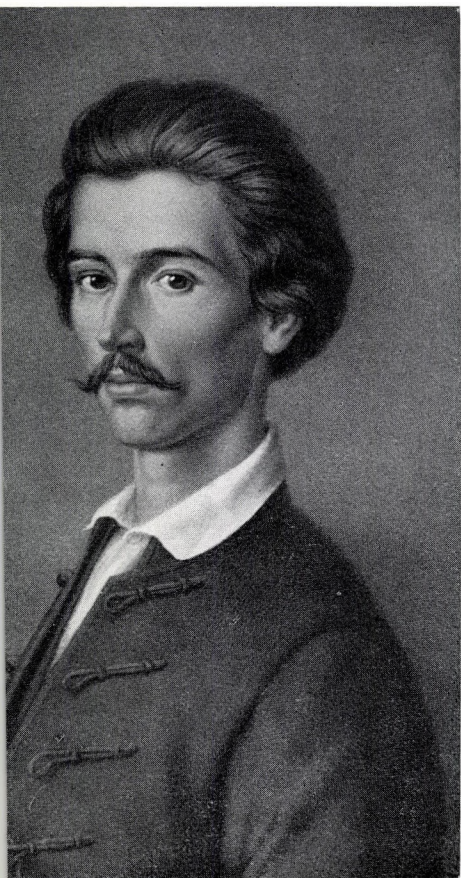


SÁNDOR PETŐFI (DAGUERROTYPE, 1847)



MIKLÓS BARABÁS—JÓZSEF TYROLER: LITHOGRAPH

MIKLÓS BARABÁS—JÓZSEF TYROLER: STEEL ENGRAVING, 1847

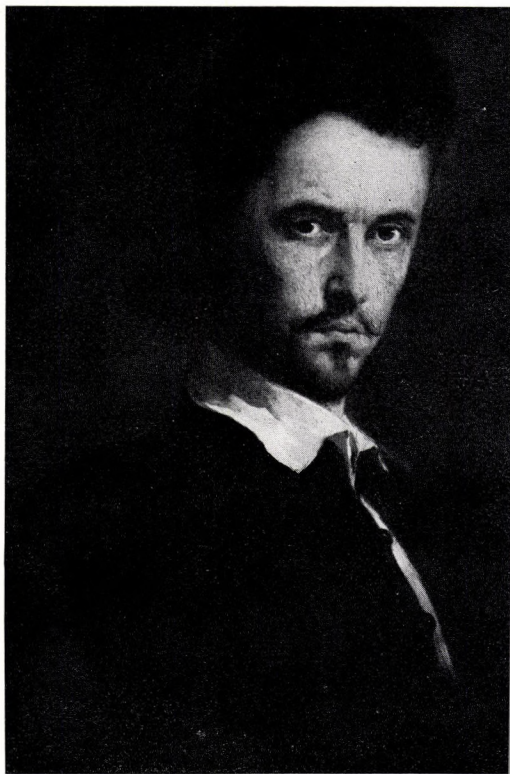


MIKLÓS BARABÁS: LITHOGRAPH, 1848

SOMA ORLAI PETRICH: OIL, 1848



GYULA BENCZÚR: OIL



*Photos by János Huschit*

JÁNOS JANKÓ: PENCIL DRAWING BASED  
ON THE 1847 DAGUERROTYPE

engraving. Here the poet's expression is more determined; his hair is thicker and more smoothly combed; his gaze is more penetrating. He has changed his moustache somewhat: the new one is longer and more tightly twirled. He is wearing a small beard. (Before the 1847 publication of his poems, Petőfi asked the engraver to make a few slight alterations in the Barabás drawing of the previous year: the result was that in the altered engraving his beard is wider and thicker.)

In the summer of 1848 the poet posed for the artist for a third time. It was then that the well-known lithograph "Petőfi as a National Guardsman" came into existence. Here we see the young revolutionary hero: the collar of his white shirt is open; his hair is romantically long; his outfit is in the usual *magyar* style, with a band of the national colours on the sleeve and a cockade on the chest. His moustache is more emphasized, but again, he is beardless. His eyes gaze into the distance; his stance is firm and energetic; the proud head is held straight. He is, in fact, the romantic hero whom Barabás, painting in 1848, felt him to be.

His good friend Soma Orlai Petrics, who was also his cousin, painted Petőfi several times during their school years: once when Petőfi was a soldier, and again in Pápa when they were students. Unfortunately, these invaluable records of the poet's appearance have never come to light, although Orlai's portraits were probably objective: he was painting his friend, and no doubt he painted without bias. Those of Orlai's portraits which do remain were clearly influenced by the poet's reputation: they betray a certain excessive respect. The first of these extant portraits is a half-length dating from 1848, which again gives us the National Guardsman painted by Barabás, but less idealised. If the portrait is to be believed, in the summer of 1848 Petőfi was wearing longer hair and a thinner moustache. The painting, to its advantage, has none of the romantic exaltation of Barabás'.

We owe a great deal to Orlai's second painting, which portrays the poet at home, at his desk. It is not the faithful rendition of Petőfi's features which is important here, but the fact that we see his full figure, as well as something of his everyday surroundings: the desk with its small objects and a bust of Béranger, Petőfi's bookcase, and what may be an oval portrait of his wife. The painting also suggests that the obstinate, self-conscious bearing shown in the 1845 Barabás painting must have been characteristic.

Petőfi spent the last peaceful holiday of his life, in the summer of 1849, with the Orlais at Mezőberény, and it was then that the poet's friend produced a third portrait. The same slender, excitable young man whom we saw earlier at his desk is now resting in an armchair made of carved wood. If this painting is somewhat stiff, there is compensation in the fact that it captures a particular moment which, without Orlai's work, would have been lost. As he often did, Orlai painted a second version of his original, in this case after the poet's death. The first, original painting shows Petőfi at home, sitting, wearing slippers and holding a long-stemmed pipe; the second version retains the pipe but is a different composition, in which the poet is wearing soft leather boots. On the otherwise empty wall is a painting of the Great Hungarian Plain, a gift from Orlai to the poet. By a strange coincidence, the original of this little landscape was only recently discovered.

These paintings and drawings aside, it was once believed that we had suffered a singularly distressing loss: the final disappearance of Petőfi's only photograph. Several sources gave evidence of the photo's existence: it was known that the poet had it taken to give to his wife, Julia. We knew also that Petőfi's son Zoltán inherited the daguerreotype from Júlia, and that after Zoltán's death it passed to his physician, Imre Beliczay. Beliczay had this valuable photograph reproduced several times, but the

original was rumoured to have been lost. Thus even Beliczay's prints could not be proved authentic in the truest sense, since the original itself might have been retouched. But just as Petőfi's beloved painting of the Hungarian Plain turned up after long years of concealment, so did the daguerreotype, discovered by a young scholar, with the aid

of the doctor's descendants, twenty-five years ago. In it we see at last, unretouched, the face which once we knew only in Orlai's and Barabás's interpretations—we see the strength, so difficult to define, of Petőfi's countenance, and the frank, straightforward seriousness of his strong, individual character.

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*A Quarterly Journal of Translations*

Editor: John Somerville

VOLUME XI

SUMMER 1972

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## JANUS PANNONIUS

### JANUS PANNONIUS DYING

Life ends, fame ends, on this one dark day:  
men who must die become misers for this?

### ON A TRANSDANUBIAN ALMOND-TREE

Something Hercules never saw in the garden of the Hesperides,  
or Ulysses, Lord of Ithaca, in Alcinous' island,  
something that would be a miracle in happier fields,  
let alone in the freezing soil of Pannonia:

Look at the boldness of the cold-month almond-flower!  
Black winter will cut short the buds of spring.  
Progne, Phyllis, was waiting in the wings; or  
did you hate Demophon after so many delays?

### WHY AREN'T THE TESTICLES OF POPES EXAMINED NOWADAYS AS THEY USED TO BE?

A woman, Peter, once dared to sit on your throne,  
becoming the centre of faith to all the world,  
a fact which time could easily have kept hidden  
if she had not overplayed her hand, in childbirth.  
After this Rome was not to be taken in,  
a pope's robes were explored for what lay under them.

No one was to be trusted with the keys of heaven  
 unless his testicles were found present and correct.  
 My query is, Why was this custom given up?  
 Anyone should prove he is a man beforehand.

#### EXCUSES HIMSELF FOR NOT ENGAGING IN THE FIGHTING

Commanders, when you count me as a king's camp-follower,  
 you are wrong to accuse me gratuitously of fear,  
 because my sword is not seen rushing at the enemy,  
 or my hands clawing the walls of fortified places,  
 but rather, as a passive onlooker, I watch others' dangers,  
 it is not cowardice, believe me, that seeks your good:  
 you, like all men, hunger for lasting fame,  
 for wounds are then forgotten, graves are mild,  
 but if the combatant poet is a casualty,  
 who then will sing your deaths and burials?

#### GOING AWAY HE SAYS GOODBYE TO VÁRAD, TOWN OF SAINTLY KINGS

The whole earth still lies thick with snow,  
 and woods once solid green are still  
 weighed down under mist and frost;  
 we must have beautiful Chrysium,  
 and fly to our Lord at the Istra.

On then, friends, let us eat up the road.

Rivers and marshes can't keep us back,  
 all the low ground is rigid with ice.  
 The man who cautiously rowed these waters  
 now gives hard-frozen waves a kick  
 with his uncaring, flaunting feet.

On then, friends, let us eat up the road.

The dinghy never slides more quickly  
 in the current, with flying oars, or even  
 if Zephyr takes it lightly in hand,

painting the curling surface purple,  
 than this racing horse-drawn sledge.  
 On then, friends, let us eat up the road.

Goodbye to you, hot springs, innocent  
 of choking sulphur-smells, but filled  
 in every watery vein with alum  
 ministering to the eyes that need it  
 and leaving nostrils clear and sweet.  
 On then, friends, let us eat up the road.

Goodbye now to the library, you  
 with such treasures of the ancient word,  
 where Phoebus left Patara to live;  
 the muses and spirits of the poets  
 no longer of love their Castalian shelter.  
 On then, friends, let us eat up the road.

Goodbye to you too, gilded kings  
 who escaped the sacrilegious fires  
 when walls crashed by you harmlessly,  
 and flames tore through the citadel,  
 and the sky was dark with cinders.  
 On then, friends, let us eat up the road.

And you, gold-russet-armoured rider  
 with battle-axe raised in your right hand,  
 whose gleaming marble columns once  
 sweated sepulchral nectar-drops—  
 help us, guard our journey now.  
 On then, friends, let us eat up the road.

### THE OVER-LADEN FRUIT-TREE

Once I drove my trunk straight up to the sky,  
 now my top twigs droop and brush the earth.  
 The burdens that bow me are not eternal or alien,  
 it is my own unhappy load that pulls me to the ground.

Others are split by searing force of lightning,  
it is fertility that calls the end for me.  
Safe and well would I be but for fecundity,  
it is my own love-tokens that bring me down.  
Nothing for it now but the black two-edged axe,  
I shall be thrown on the fire without compunction.  
Worse fate than the nut-tree's: I am knocked down  
by my own fruit, it has its fruit knocked down.  
So with the offspring of Agamemnon's wife,  
or any men sent unthinking into battle.  
If this is how children come to reward mothers,  
where are the sacred rights of nature gone?  
No wonder if wives should wish to remain childless,  
to abort the burden growing in their womb.  
If only pitiless frosts had seized my flowers  
when I put out new buds in early spring!  
Or wind had swept away my doomed abundance  
where I was soon to groan beneath sweet berries!  
I'd then have empty shade for midday panting;  
willingly reserve that honour for the plane-tree.  
I warn you then, my beautiful fine branches  
extending your long arms wide through the air:  
never strain to proud rich garden-fruit,  
better if inedible leaves were your only fate.  
Fruits are troublemakers even to those who bear them,  
leaves are innocuous and decorative.  
And you, passer-by, spare a little time  
to stake up some of the overhanging foliage.  
Often the mercy of a traveller's hand  
heals the sad wound inflicted by a brother.  
Therefore slide a prop under the poor boughs,  
and you may pluck something on your second visit.  
So may your burden be light, so shall you find  
nothing to sour you in the love and duty of your kin.

*Translated by Edwin Morgan*

# JANUS PANNONIUS: POET OF THE HUNGARIAN RENAISSANCE

by

TIBOR KARDOS

Janus Pannonius, born János Kesincei, was a Hungarian humanist poet who wrote in Latin, and who became almost the very symbol of a powerful trend in the cultural history of Eastern Europe, namely, that of Renaissance humanism. He died on March 27, 1472, in his thirty-eighth year: he had become involved in a conspiracy against king Matthias Hunyadi (Corvinus), creator of the Hungarian renaissance state, and his constitution was unable to withstand the failure of the conspiracy and his own attempts to escape. Despite their opposition, however, it was the king who commanded the first collection of Janus's verse, and for a hundred years afterward, the poet was the ruling star of the new civilization. Then he faded into the background, until the Enlightenment and the Romantic Era rediscovered the poet-prelate, and in him an image of the romantic hero. It remained for the scholarship of positivism, often surprised by his prematurely modern voice, to discover his place in that chain which forms the literature of a people. And since 1945, the revival of Janus Pannonius has continued, attaining its peak during the last year, the 500th anniversary of his death.

Janus was educated at Ferrara in the school of Guarino da Verona, the most influential teaching master of the Italian Renaissance, who bestowed on his pupils, gathered from everywhere in Europe, the teaching of Latin and Hellenic civilization. His contemporaries considered him to be the master's most outstanding pupil, and later generations, down to such representatives of modern scholarship as Giulio Bertoni, have been of the same opinion. The Hungarian poet remained with Guarino from about the autumn of 1447 until the spring of 1454, with one or two minor breaks; then from 1454 to 1458, he completed his studies in canon law at the University of Padua. Following a trip through Italy to Rome, he returned to Hungary, where, after a few years of crisis, he became bishop

of Pécs, and next to János Vitéz, who was royal chancellor, vice-chancellor of the country.

*Janus's Changing Image*

In Italy Janus cultivated the epigramme of the Martial kind with extraordinary dexterity. He also wrote epic poetry of a panegyric nature, as well as nuptial songs and threnodies. From his epic production one work stands out: the *Guarino Panegyric*, written between 1453 and 1455.

A few years after the poet's death, King Matthias Corvinus married Beatrix of Aragon (1478). With this marriage began a period of great cultural efforts and achievements: a truly humanistic court was organized, and the inherited library of the Hungarian kings, the Bibliotheca Corviniana, was expanded. It was only proper—circumstances, in fact, required—that the greatest of all Hungarian cultural achievements until that time, a complete or partial collection of Janus Pannonius's poetry, should also find a place here. It is known from the romantic story told by Antonio Bonfini and many others after him, that the king, during a sojourn in Pécs, discovered that his once close friend, the only intellectual companion worthy of him, had been secretly buried here, in the city which had once been his episcopal seat. Bursting into tears, the king commanded a magnificent ceremonial burial: let them take for the tombstone the eloquent inscription which Janus himself had composed in a moving elegy, when he felt the approach of premature death:

*Hic situs est Janus, patrium qui primus ad Histrum  
Duxit laurigeras, ex Helicone, deas.  
Hunc saltem titulum, livor, premitte sepulto,  
Invidiae non est in monumenta locus.*

(Here lies Janus, with whom came first to Danube's shore / The laureled goddesses of Helicon / This triumph, Envy leave unto the dead; / Malice, spare at least his resting dust.) (Elegies, No. 30, ll. 116–20, p. 356. Prose translation.)

The sovereign entrusted the collecting of Janus's verse to Péter Váradi, archbishop of Kalocsa and royal chancellor—but only the epigrams. It was hoped that this brilliant, scintillating, Renaissance-spirited poetry, deriving from Ferrara and Padua, but from Hungary as well, would help to sustain

the effervescent atmosphere of the court. Váradi knew well that Janus's poetry was a worthy successor to the Martial epigramme, a fact which he noted in his writings. Indications are, however, that the poetic material was arranged in such a disordered fashion that its tragic dénouement almost entirely disappeared, swallowed up in the thematic variety typical of Renaissance taste.

A new period in the Janus cult began in the era of the Jaghiello kings, from 1521 onward, when efforts were made toward a complete edition. Janus now appears in printed, rather than manuscript, form: the *Guarino Panegyric*, a collection of the elegies, the epigrams, the *Marcellus Panegyric*. He becomes a classic, and is published for the youth in schools. In 1518 Beatus Rhenanus published in Basel a mixed collection of Janus's verse with just such a purpose; and certainly the Bologna publications of 1522 were also prepared with pedagogical intent.

Precise comparison with the ancients does not count for much in this period: Janus is the ideal, and as Sebastian Magyi writes, for educated Hungarians their Virgil, Ovid and Catullus at once. They discover the greatness of the Janusian spirit, which had already found a ringing voice in Guarino, no less than in his son Battista Guarino, Vespasiano da Bisticci, Beatus Rhenanus, Erasmus and every other significant representative of the period. They take notice of the *nitor*, the *candor* in Janus's verse; they see in him a marvellous rhythm, a lightness, a shining brilliance and creative force. In the latter half of the century the humanist partisans of the Reformation will seize upon certain anticlerical passages in one section of the elegies, and with them push Janus to extremes.

The theoretical foundation of the 1784 edition takes an entirely new turn. This so-called "Teleki" complete edition begins to sense the erotic element in Janus, and undertakes to defend it with the watchword "enlightenment". It sees in him, in other words, a predecessor of the Hungarian Enlightenment, one of the foundations of enlightened culture. There follows the era of Hungarian romanticism, when his quarrel with the king, his escape and tragically early death, as well as certain passages of pathetic forgiveness, offer to this later period an image of Janus as a romantic. It would seem that Janus, who had written in Latin, would be an unlikely hero for the era which revived the Hungarian literary language; but this was not necessarily so. The poets of the Hungarian Reform Era at the beginning of the nineteenth century knew Latin quite well, most of them as if it had been their mother tongue; likewise the poets of the 1848-49 revolution, since after all, it had only been within the last decade that Latin was eliminated in Hungary as an official language. In the discovery

of the beauty of landscape, in the poetry of familial feeling, of freedom and love, Janus had been a pioneer. It was just these characteristics which Hungarian-language poets of the time such as Sándor Petőfi, and before him, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz, Dániel Berzsenyi and Mihály Vörösmarty, found to be classical.

The suffering, tormented, elegiac Janus; the Neo-Platonist who had gone beyond Neo-Platonism; the thinker who felt so deeply the inheritance of Hellenic philosophy, had yet to be revived. Several generations had to pass before these elements of his poetry could be regenerated. It was not Janus, however, who caused this regeneration; it occurred not under his influence, but as a consequence of contemporary Hungarian social and cultural conditions. There now arises, at the end of the nineteenth century, a type of Hungarian poetry similar to his in sombreness, Promethean rebellion and sensitive suffering: the poetry of János Vajda, Gyula Reviczky, Jenő Komjáthy and of the man who, in his social isolation, his opposition to conditions at home, his oscillations between affection and dislike for his native land, stands closest to him: Endre Ady.

Janus was a poet either blessed or damned with extraordinary genius, and various eras have valued only parts of his work. His full achievement is only now being realized through translation, five hundred years later, on the anniversary of his death. Of course, such a summary assertion must be unfair, for from Jenő Ábel and István Hegedüs to József Huszti's basic monograph of 1931, a great deal has already been done on Janus's behalf. Through the translating endeavours of István Hegedüs, László Geréb and Károly Anzelm Berczeli, through the increasingly complete translation of his work, first planned in 1945, and translations by a long list of such excellent poets as Sándor Weöres, Győző Csorba and Lajos Áprily, the poetry of Janus Pannonius is achieving wide circulation among the entire Hungarian literary public.

#### *Latin, Middle Latin, Italian*

There are multiple, justified reasons why Janus Pannonius was instrumental in the creation of a new society, and was able to reproduce its explosive character in a language which is still effective. First is his knowledge of Latin; second, his familial, societal and geographical origins; and third, the contemporary cultural and scientific evolution of Italy. Janus did not have to struggle to express modern thoughts and emotions in Hungarian, a language hardly yet fit for *belles lettres*, because he had acquired

that polished Roman literary language which, with its linguistic tools accumulated over a long period of time, offered dazzling possibilities for the creation of a new, individual and modern Latin literary language.

Nor was he a poet with only one style. He had learned a great deal from Virgil, Ovid and Martial, and not a little from Cicero and Claudianus. In the manner of Petrarch, he created a Latin language for his own needs, particularly in the field of psychology, in order to express the ideas and changes of the new, thriving literary life. At times he created expressions parallel to locutions used by the ancients; at times he retranslated the locutions of middle Latin, or even the Italian vulgar tongue, and created Latin phrases which had never before existed.

Janus had an ear for music: the *canzonetta*, *canzone* and *strambotto*, with their rhythmic structure, conveyed to him the tension of the Italian language. To translate the Greek texts of the *Anthologia Palatina* into Latin was for Janus an exciting creative task, but he took pleasure also in reading or translating the works of the moderns: the songs of Leonardo Giustinian, greatest of the Venetian lyricists; the Italian love poetry of Petrarch's friend, Jacopo Antonio Marcello, which he translated into Latin; and finally, the *Rime sparse* of Petrarch himself. Such were the sources from which the Janusian sensitivity acquired a shape, so that it may well be that Janus, like Dante, placed *ingenium* before craft and even doctrine. Generally he too wrote poetry which took as its starting point the humanism of Petrarch, offering preference to the "silk cocoon" as a true method; he also holds, however, that the poet, like the bee, collects pollen from the flowers and fields of poetry, which he then converts into honey: that is, he converts the borrowed material into his own likeness.

Janus's talent for poetry was based in large measure on his phenomenal talent for memorizing, and on his linguistic powers. He read night and day, and relying on his unbelievable memory, quoted with the passion of a fanatic what he had read. In competitions that went on until dawn, he was able to dictate in perfect meter verses on any given theme, more rapidly than his companions could write them down. Battista Guarino notes, in addition to this, that he once composed about a thousand consecutive verses, and days later dictated them in succession from memory. The pleasures of everyday life and of books, dissolving into one another, fertilized his imagination. Of course, he also liked to show off his mythological knowledge, but with him mythology retained a sense of life. He made use of its elements in a basic, essential way: the tales of mythology did not choke his fantasy. He announced proudly that so far as the ancients were concerned, in the "matter" of poetry he had won, even if in "elocution"

he could never approach them. Essentially, he stood for a complete fusion of life in art, a full perspective, selectivity and the purity of classical expression. He played freely with form, and wrote at least as many lyrical epigrammes as intellectual ones. The epigrammes acquire their formal character by blending compact expression with moving emotional content. That is why his two-, four-, and eight-line verses pulsate: they are direct, modern. At the same time such longer poems as the already-mentioned *Guarino Panegyric* also move the mind and heart, as do his elegies written in Hungary, which are always factual, yet filled with fantastic images. It is, in other words, his sensitivity to both objects and language which makes the Latin poetry of Janus Pannonius infectious.

### *Heir to the Humanist Tradition*

Janus Pannonius was born in a small village near where the Drava pours into the Danube, in that corner of Slavonia which in early times was Pannonia, and which in 1434, the year of his birth, belonged, from both an ecclesiastical and political-economic viewpoint, to Hungary. It is significant that Janus maintains a modest silence concerning the greater part of his family circumstances, mentioning only his mother, the younger sister of János Vitéz. It was she who, at the cost of terrible sacrifice to herself, looked after her son's education until he was accepted by Vitéz, the tutor retained by János Hunyadi, the great military leader and victor over the Turks, to educate his sons, including King Matthias himself. (It was Vitéz who finally, in the interests of a deliberately humanist policy, sent Janus to study with Guarino da Verona at Ferrara.) We know, however, from a short biography written half a century later by Angelo Colucci (who seems to have collected his information from one of Janus's school companions, a certain Faliscus) that Janus's father was a carpenter, and that his name was Ludicius. (It should be mentioned, on the other hand, that even his biography emphasises the concerned mother, who educated her son beyond her material means.) In the hierarchy of artisans, the craft of carpenter was an elevated one, answering to some sort of building contractor. It is probable that this Ludicius was, in fact, a petty noble. And unless Ludicius is a distorted form of Ludovicus, it may be a latinization of a Slavic surname, something not at all impossible in this area, and certainly not in the village of Kesince, whose population were Hungarians and Slavs.

Janus never mentions his father, who very early seems to slip unnoticed

into the background of this southern border zone, which at exactly this time (1436-39) was the centre of the Hussite revolution in Hungary. And not only the local centre, but the stage for an entire, large-scale, nation-wide movement. Cities had been rising in Hungary since the beginning of the century; the peasants, during the course of the great Hussite uprising in Transylvania in 1437, had gained the written right to confront the nobles as equals—even if this privilege proved short-lived. All over the country people were singing cantilinas which mocked the lords and the representatives of the church. It was these circumstances under which Janus's first impressions were gained.

The changes affecting the state were also extensive. The recruiting officer János Hunyadi, who had studied military science at the side of Filippo Visconti (in whose army he served from 1431 to 1433), was coming to symbolize the heroism of the Hungarian state, and of the people who lived along the shores of the Danube. It was Hunyadi who, as a condottiere, created on the model of the Signoria the foundations of the new, centralized Hungarian state; so that after his death his widow, his brother-in-law and their followers were able to force the election of his son, Matthias Corvinus, to the throne. But by this time Janus's friend and "pen", János Vitéz, had already sent his nephew to Italy as heir to the humanist tradition; one might even say, as the organizer of a new type of literary circle.

If Janus's sudden, eruptive appearance is startling, almost without precedent, it is nevertheless not a complete surprise, considering that the cultural tradition of Renaissance humanism was already at least a century old.

The tradition was, however, quite narrow. Up until the very end it was limited to the upper strata of the educated. Even at the end of the seventeenth century, it did not extend beyond a few hundred people, even though by that time it was possible for almost all levels of the Hungarian intelligentsia—Catholic priests and Protestant pastors, educated nobles, schoolmasters and lay students, town clerks and poets—to read and understand the ancients. During the years of Janus's childhood one may speak of a humanist tradition only with direct reference to the royal chancellery, and to such centres as were bound by special ties to the Italian universities, masters and cities.

The implantation of the Neapolitan branch of the Anjous on Hungarian soil helped to bring about the spread not only of Western European social and economic institutions, but also, from the middle of the fourteenth century, of cultural tendencies as well. With the 1400's begins a stubborn

and finally successful effort to reorganize the royal chancellery in a humanistic spirit. Sigismund of Luxembourg, King of Hungary, first invited to Hungary Giovanni Conversino da Ravenna, whose father had been court physician to the Hungarian king Louis of Anjou, and who had been born in Buda; but the aging humanist declined to undertake the journey. At last the king's efforts bore fruit: he succeeded in bringing with him from the Council of Constance, in 1417, no less a personage than Pier Paolo Vergerio, the humanist of Istrian origin, who settled permanently in Hungary and, as the close friend of János Vitéz, remained the prime mover of organized humanism until his death in 1444. Other humanists also appeared for a time: Ognibene da Scuola (1418-25); the Dominican Antonio Loschi (1426), who, despite his anti-humanism, remained basically a humanist; Giovanni Dominici; and the greatly influential Ambrogio Traversari, who brought with him a new perspective. And meanwhile, almost symbolically, the New Palace, on the model of the Paduan Palazzo della Ragione, continued to rise in Buda.

In Várád, János Vitéz gathered a humanist library and organized a humanist circle. Among its members, besides Vergerio, were the Cyprian humanist Filippo Podacathero, as well as Gergely Szánoki, the originator of Polish humanism, and others. János Vitéz, who himself never went to Italy, sent young men of promise on the chancellery's behalf to study at Ferrara with Guarino da Verona, who had been a school companion of Vergerio under Giovanni Conversino da Ravenna. While Janus studied at Ferrara, János Vitéz was collecting his *Book of Epistles*, which he supplied with notes on classical subjects as a handbook for the young men of the chancellery.

### *Janus in Italy*

After only a short time at school, the thirteen-year old child gave evidence of astounding progress. According to his school companion and friend Battista Guarino, he had learned Greek so well that he could translate fluently at sight, and by the time anyone took notice, had become a well-known poet. Janus was going through deep, fundamental changes: he awoke to his humanist vocation, to the knowledge that he must transpose classical poetry and civilization to his homeland, just as his master had brought Greek to Italy and strengthened the hold of Latin. Inspired by Guarino's version of the Petrarchian concept of vocation, the boy poet exchanged his Hungarian name, János, for the Latin Janus, in the know-

ledge that this exchange signified a humanist baptism, an artistic rebirth, a fundamental alteration with respect to the past—something definitive, from which there was no road back.

*Joannes fueram, Janum quem pagina dicit,  
Admonitum ne te, lector amice, neges.  
Non ego par fastum spreui tam nobile nomen,  
Quo nullum toto clarius orbe sonat.  
Compulit invitum mutare vocabula, quum me  
Lavit in aonio, flava Thalia lacu.*

(János was I, yet it is Janus who writes this verse, Dear reader, should'st though ask why, Not from fool's pride do I abandon my name: From whom might I take a better, more beautiful name than this? Thus I became Janus, when the Muses, Lifting me up, crowned me with laurel.)

(Ep. No. 1, p. 16)

Janus's extraordinary talent, his distant, "barbarian" origin, the aggressiveness of his epigrammes and his own stubborn behaviour, were the cause of much disputation, so that he began to feel as if a truly new and great period in his life had begun. But would it be a happy period? He was mocked for an unlicked cub, a northern barbarian, as though his great distinction were to be without a homeland. The applause to which he had grown accustomed became the applause of foreigners: it was as if, together with his childhood, he had lost his home, his family, his native land. He writes in a moving epigramme (On Altering One's Life):

*Sat quivis semel est habitum mutare priorem;  
Felices! quibus id contigit in melius.*

(It is sufficient to alter our fate but once; Happiness is his for whom the change succeeds.)

(Ep. No. 229, p. 144)

He undergoes a serious crisis, which will reach its peak when he returns home and is no longer able to fit into the backward, out-of-step, feudal society. In spite of everything the Italian period was of course, brilliant; Janus identified with the Italian *Rinascimento*, and was able to assimilate its problems and ideas. At the same time, because he also stood somewhat

outside, he was able to judge: this he dared to do, and his criticisms were harsh. It is natural, therefore, that his satirical epigrammes, which are both intellectual and emotional, should shine more brilliantly, and expose more sharply the elements of contemporary society, expressing them in a more enduring style, than do his panegyrics. The epigrammes make use of startling expressions in their efforts to convey the ideology and the new mythus of humanism: in fifteenth century humanist poetry Janus was, in the strictest sense of the word, an avant-gardist. His "matter", of which he was so proud, was in fact the whole of society and every register of the human soul, at least so far as the young genius was able to understand them. His point of departure, naturally enough, was school life: but this was the school of Guarino, where all the regions of Italy and nearly all of Europe, the children of lords, burghers and peasants, came together. In this forge contradictions for the most part dissolved, but until then many disputes occurred. The Italians considered every northerner a barbarian. With firm conviction and a long series of examples, Janus was able to reply that true men are born everywhere, "in whose breasts burn passionate hearts" (Ep. No. 91, p. 66).

The basic formula of these school epigrammes is to ridicule stupidity and ignorance. To Janus, that person is ignorant who, like Philiticus, though the offspring of peasants, boasts of his noble forebears; likewise the person who, like Ovillius, is simply silly. He criticizes the egotist, the plagiarist, the sycophant, the liar, the foolishly inflexible and the violent. Janus is perhaps the only one in this period who dares to attack (and in the family of his master, Guarino) sexual violence as one of the outward forms of oppression. When one of Guarino's sons commits violence on a servant girl, Janus condemns this *turpe vitium* and asks how it would be if others were to treat the master's own daughters in a similar fashion.

The criticism, it should be noted, was written by an adolescent poet whose erotic verse approaches Becadelli's in its free-spokenness and ingenuity. But in addition to those verses which describe a visit to a brothel and the charms of various Sylvias and Ursulas, he also created love poetry which for passion and truth belongs among the most beautiful ever composed.

Actually, the gate from the world of school opened chiefly onto everyday events. On Sunday the students are taken to hear sermons. Father Linus, the great teacher, preaches, and Janus mocks his stuttering (Ep. No. 165, p. 108). Father Dennis, for ascetic reasons, doesn't wash. But this is the middle of the Renaissance, and Janus draws the merciless conclusion: if purity of soul were measured thus, the peak of purity would be the sow. (Ep. No. 187, p. 123.) The entire town gathers for a public

execution. Janus is present too. Later the poor ragged fellow turns out to have been innocent. The judge withdraws his sentence, and Janus writes a poem which is a mirror image of the injustice of the times (Ep. No. 184, p. 12).

Quite early, in 1450, he writes a series of epigrammes, one of his most brilliant, on the pilgrims in Rome. The city teems with Spaniards, Frenchmen, Teutons, Slavs and Hungarians (Hunni). Why? Can't they pay their respects at home? He lists those who profit from pilgrimages: the Papacy of course, but chiefly the taverns. Some make their best money in autumn, others in summer or spring. But the tavern owner: always. Janus opposes those who make their living by dint of hard work with more profitable occupations: first trade, then military exploitation; but the tavern owners surpass them all (Ep. No. 174, p. 114). They become as rich as Cosimo de Medici. Janus, as it happens, was well informed: the profits from pilgrimages were reserved for the Medici banking house (Ep. No. 173, p. 112). He took offense when his friend, Marzio Galeotto, though a poet, joined the pious crowd, rather than listening to the great, atheistic Greek philosophers: Theodoros, Protagoras, Epicuros. His conclusion is bitter: "A believer may never be a poet." (Ep. No. 177, p. 114.)

### *The Guarino Panegyric*

Janus's ideals were culture, peace, the goodness of man. He loved Guarino's pupil Leonello d'Este, and despised the tyrant Sigismondo Malatesta. Frandus, a knight, becomes drunk and drowns in the River Po; Janus speaks in his name: if one must drown, why not in wine? (Ep. No. 210, p. 132.) Janus's mocking genre portraits exploit every possible means: caricature, exaggeration, heightening, folk raillery and rhetorical turns, in order to achieve their explosive effect. At the same time, his epigrammes, of whatever length, describe fully the magic circle which surrounds the citadel of the soul. He writes a moving poem on the Hungarian military leader János Hunyadi; broods on the ruins of Rome; bids a gentle, impassioned farewell to Várad, that his sledge may slip softly across the frozen marshes and the pusztas to the Danube. With sinking heart, he bids farewell to his school companion Perinus, when the latter returns to Cyprus for the last time.

His political panegyrics, such as the *Guarino Panegyric*, are not lacking in their own emotional charge. The Ferraran master was for Janus the authentic humanist ideal: Guarino's principles were the principles of his own vocation, and his glorification of them brings into being a new human

ideal. Janus's longest poem, on the military virtues of Jacopo Antonio Marcello, seems to have been written because his friend had fallen into the sort of danger which might cost him his life. To be the military leader and political commissioner of Venice, to officiate in the organization of her army, was an excellent task; but risky. The Count di Carmagnola had already been executed, and Leonardo Giustinian sent into exile for a time. Without this background of danger and tension, Janus's hyperbolic portrayal would be incomprehensible.

At the same time Janus was creating new and surprising—surprising, because so early—examples of the mythus of the age. In the *Guarino Panegyric* he acknowledged the age-old humanist vocation to be the fundamental historic manifestation of the transmission of culture. This is not the monumental line of moralistic Old Testament figures passing their empires on to their heirs; still less the religious "golden chain" of the Neo-Platonists. It is, rather, synonymous with the visible thread of cultural development from the ancient East to the very present. Janus, almost simultaneously with Giannozzo Manetti, eulogizes man in his capacity to create, like a god, and to shape history. In his eyes Jacopo Antonio Marcello is the image of man as conqueror of nature, great not only because he was able, by means of locks, to raise the Venetian galleys to the level of Lake Garda, but also as a sailor, an explorer, a restless Dantean and Petrarchan hero, a new Ulysses who foreshadows the voyage of Columbus, which will follow only decades afterward.

In this respect, Janus's spirit was bound to the ancients: to Martial, Virgil, Ovid, Claudianus and Cicero. But there were for the young poet liberating examples of the present as well: Petrarch, Guarino, Becadelli. In the enchantment and pantheistic appreciation of nature he preceded Marullus; the family motif, which later unfolds so wonderfully with Pontano, appears in him in full force, as well as that poetry of suffering, characteristic of Hungarian elegies, which will arise only much later, perhaps only with Sannazzaro and Tasso. But even there it appears in a different conception, for different reasons, with a different emphasis and different results.

After the Italian period, which closed in 1458, there lay waiting for Janus at home a social career and prestige, but also illness, suffering, isolation, jealousy and hatred, as well as differences of opinion from which, quite naturally, would develop the break with the king and the feudal nation. King Matthias Corvinus was attempting at about this time to establish a humanist court, which for the moment extended only to Vitéz, Janus Pannonius, Marzio Galeotto and a few prelates who had been educated

in Italy. When Janus returned home and was already bishop of Pécs, someone asked him sarcastically why and for whom he wrote, since he had no listeners, no readers. And as Ovid reassured himself in Tomi, that the Muse had accompanied him to the grim, distant northeast (*Tristia*, IV I. 19-20, 88-92), so Janus retorted: *Cur scribam Musis et mihi Vite, cano* (I write, Vitus, for the Muses, and sing for myself.) (Ep. No. 365, p. 232.)

Janus sensed that the lack of a sympathetic audience brought with it an absence of tension, and that this ruined his dexterity of style. He knew, however, that the poetry written in Hungary, having been passed through the sieve of stringent self-criticism, was up to the mark.

So far as the poetry written in Hungary is concerned, the emphasis must, without question, fall on the elegies. Nevertheless, some excellent epigrammes also belong to this period. I am thinking not so much of the congratulatory, celebratory and complimentary epigrammes directed at the king, but of the satires—which, as it happens, were also directed at Matthias. I am thinking, for example, of when Janus refuses to accept the king's talkativeness in regard to state secrets, or attacks informers, and the fickleness of the ruling classes; when he mocks the feudal lords, who scoff because he fights in the wrong way, and has never scaled a steep castle wall. His epigrammes are most moving when he sings of Galeotto's comic duel, or expresses concern for János Vitéz, who knows no limit to work; when he looks with tenderness on an almond tree growing on Hungarian soil, which has blossomed during the cold winter, and whose early flowers will be nipped by frost (Ep. No. 364, p. 230). But perhaps the most moving of these works, because the most universal, is the supplication to the god Mars for peace. (Ep., No. 385, p. 244.) The apostrophes mount as Janus, in a tone of horror, despair, and a truly humane patriotism, rejects this earthly apocalypse (*Ibid*, II. 7-15).

The same mood, a deep concern for society, is apparent in the finest of the works written in Hungary, the elegies. These elegies are the enduring symbols of the internal and external conflicts which Janus endured during the thirteen years at home. In Italy, in spite of disagreements and disputes, Janus had been happy, because he was strong: his situation, however difficult, did not prevent him from perceiving truth. Now, all that had changed. The country, the landscape, human companions had become alien; illness, which beset him again and again from the moment he arrived, rendered life itself unbearable. If moments of peace and pride do occur, he is unable to find a place for them in his poetry, since even life's more felicitous aspects appear to him in the light of lost happiness—in most cases, from the standpoint of his perilous condition. The decisive mood—

which is why he chose the elegy—is sorrow. Escape and longing are dual, different in nature; but they lead along the same torturous road: escape is beyond his power, and what he desires cannot be obtained. The gentle or rugged beauty of the Pannonian countryside, for example, with him is always distant or emotionally moving, as is the case in *The Almond Tree in Transdanubia* or *On a Tree Overladen with Fruit* (El. No. 35, p. 380). Suffering at home from fever, he writes his elegy *To Balázs, Away at Camp* (El. No. 24, p. 328), in which he imagines a starry night, clean air and the wild, gay songs of camp feasting: the theme here, however, is not so much his longing for a particular landscape, but the healthy, truly human life. In *On His Illness in Camp*, on the other hand, the poet is away, and defeated by sickness: he sees before him a vision of the gentle landscape at home, and remembers with longing past moments of pleasure (El. No. 30, p. 356, ll. 37–44). Even within the Platonic–Pythagorean framework, the tormented Janus can imagine harmony with nature only in a gentle, animal existence: were unmerciful Fate to force him to return to life, he would wish to be anything but a man. And even those elements of society which he loves best—his family, his mother and his sister—appear only at moments of catastrophe or grief—as memory, succor, majestic death, or hope. The *Threnody on the Death of His Mother, Borbála* is one of the peaks of Janus's poetry: it tells the story, in a way that resembles a fairy tale, of a small boy and his mother, from the mother's afflictions to her modest self-sacrifice, from their happy life together, when he was able to take her under his wing, to the final, painful separation. And this pontifical parting is so intense and pure, that its equal is to be found only in the literature of music (El. No. 27, p. 334).

*The Flood* is, with respect to ideas, the farthest Janus ever reached. In it, he suffers for the whole of mankind, for the homeland, its people. Specifically he mentions the "lower classes," the peasants and dwellers in cities, who lose all they have and are themselves lost. His images derive from the ancients, from Virgil and Ovid, and from moderns such as Petrarch. Yet the ethos of the poem, its apocalyptic atmosphere and universality, belong to a particular time and place—the time of the 1468 flood. The author, it should be noted, was the man of whom Battista Guarino wrote "he abused no-one with injury and shame, nor was anyone oppressed by him." Even now Janus fears the wind will sweep away his supplications, and all of mankind be lost. But if not, if "only the Hungarians" (*Soli Chuni*) must suffer for the sins of mankind, then be it so! The disasters of nature (rather than those brought about by the Turks) will make of the Hungarian people a Christ-like sacrifice for all mankind:

*Sin soli luimus, communia crimina, Chuni,  
Humanum nobis dulce piare genus.*

(If we, Hungarians, alone may wipe away Man's sin, then sweet the sacrifice.)

(El. No. 34, p. 370, 11. 97-98)

There is evidence elsewhere in Janus that by "Hunni" he understood the medieval conception of the Huns, who, comprising one people, immigrated from the East, and whose language remained Hungarian.

Janus's vision of annihilation repeats the ideas of Heraclitus—the destruction by fire and water of worlds which know nothing of each other. This is the terrible corollary to humanist "fame" and "glory." And yet, Janus cannot be satisfied with this solution. There is still some small hope. Though sinful mankind be lost, though the homeland perish, he and his sister will rush to the peak of Parnassus, and like a new Deucalion and Pyrrha, tossing stones behind their backs, recreate mankind. And this renewal will be a moral one, but not, since it occurs on Parnassus, without the aid of poetry:

*Sic ego Deucalion, sic tu Pyrrha altera fies,  
Sic erimus mundi, semina prima novi.*

(I shall be a new Deucalion; you, a new Pyrrha. Thus from our seed this world below shall be born anew.)

(Ibid., 11. 205-206)

DEZSŐ TANDORI

“AND BRIEF, GOOD MOTHER,  
FOR I AM IN HASTE”

(Richard III)

Wednesday. February 9th. 9:35 A.M.

(Where possible let's use round figures.)

Why get worked up, 10 minutes before going out? 10 more minutes at home, and while I feel O.K. now, I know it's going to shake me up. Why do I bother writing this down? (What?) Of course I ask myself. I sit down just the same and write, though I must be ready by 9:45. Good thing I called the cab for 10.

Or should I call you up and tell you about it?

(I've still got 7, 8 minutes, and our phone calls always disturb me.

But why am I disturbed? "I called you only because

by the time I get home . . . I want to get started . . . all right, then  
I'll talk to . . ."

And one of you hands the phone to the other.)

As a matter of fact I call you up often, no one could say . . .

My calls aren't cut short like this which is all I could manage now

(5 or 6 minutes). It's better, too, that I sit down instead . . .

though I know it disturbs me, and perhaps

I'd better cancel the cab; my nervousness

will betray itself later, a sudden uncertainty grips me.

"I'll talk to you . . ." "I'll talk to you then": sometimes the voice is  
the man's,

sometimes I can almost see *the face*, the 76-year-old face

as in the elevator mirror when I'm riding up to you

to the 6th floor, as I see my own face, soon to be 36.

"Someone went this way before me, someone who I almost am,

so different from me, yet I grow more like him . . ." (And shall be.)

Sometimes the woman answers . . . (and here we really must  
pare things down to age; it's 9:44.) As early as '45  
just after the war you took me to B—I for the vacation.  
It was the woman's voice that said goodbye to me;  
and from the tool-shed—that's where they locked me up because  
I didn't want to stay alone there, and cried—I watched  
it. Strange that I'm almost as old as he (and you) were then,  
36, and that even now, with any 10 minutes to wait I still can see  
through the shed windows after the rain that deep green—I guess—garden.

*Translated by Daniel Hoffman*

This poem was awarded the Hungarian Writers' Association Robert Graves Prize for the Best Poem of the Year for 1972—an award of 5,000 forints Mr Graves had founded out of his Hungarian author's royalties in 1969. Previous winners were László Kálnoky, 1970, and Zoltán Zelk, 1971.

# THE THIRD DAY

by

IMRE DOBOZY

This is part of the first chapter of a novel in progress. As is to be expected, the characters are not yet fully drawn, nor is the motivation of their actions made clear. I shall therefore try to explain a thing or two to obviate misunderstanding.

The novel is about the way the Hungarians and the Russians first got to know each other. Naturally this was not a social sort of meeting. In the spring of 1945 an increasing number of Hungarian soldiers, retreating before the hammer blows of the advancing Soviet Army attempted to desert as they were approaching their homes. They did not want to fight the Russians, but they did not want to fight the Germans either. They were bled white, they were fagged out, and they had lost faith in themselves. Surviving was their sole aim. This sounds a pretty poor show, especially if one thinks of the many bloody wars Hungarians fought for their freedom. Yet, for very complex and at the time insuperable historical, geographical and social reasons the Hungarian soldier did not turn against his real enemies during the Second World War. The twenty odd officers and soldiers that figure in the book also have one paramount aim: to survive, to go home and quietly await the coming of better times. That things did not happen that way was not their doing or will. While in flight, the would-be deserters got involved in a skirmish with a German rear-guard unit, and this, despite their intentions, became their letter of introduction, as it were, to the Soviet army following in pursuit.

The Hungarian soldiers, who all had their homes in the same place, but who are as diverse in character as people generally are, first carry out police duties, not on their own account but on the orders of the Soviet military command. Later, organized into a regular company, they take part in the fighting to liberate Buda—the Western half of the capital—and a city forty miles to the southwest, Székesfehérvár and the north-east and central parts of Transdanubia, west of the Danube. It is in the midst of dissensions, wranglings, double-dealings and, at times, explosive situations that the Hungarians and the Russians begin to recognize in each other first the soldier, then the man, whom they come to understand, if not to see eye to eye with in most things.

My novel is substantially built of blocks of real life stuff. It includes a good deal of autobiographical material as well. The characters, who were or are still living, differ not all that much from those that appear in my fiction. The places are also true to life, only the names have been altered. The town of Szentmiklós, for instance, lies close to Budapest both in the novel and in reality, only it is not called Szent-

miklós. The proximity of the capital explains that one or two Serbian-sounding names occur, since at the time of the advance of the Turks a good many of the fleeing Serbs settled in the neighbourhood of the capital, where several thousands of their descendants are still living today.

Finally, I should like to illustrate what the participation of this Hungarian company meant in the last stages of the liberation of the country by sketching the further lives of two of my characters. One of them is Dodó Kékessy—a professional soldier, a cold-blooded, soundly trained, first-rate army officer. He hates the Germans, not because they are Fascists but because they are losing the war. To be fair, he fought loyally on the side of the Russians. But when all is said and done, it matters little to him on which side he is fighting as long as he is not losing. On one occasion, in Transdanubia, the Russians wanted to interrogate a captured soldier of the Spanish Blue Division, but they had no Spanish interpreter at hand. Kékessy, who spoke excellent Spanish, came to their assistance. Shortly after the incident it transpired that Kékessy himself had fought in Spain on Franco's side. He was so highly esteemed as a crack soldier that even the division commander was sorry to court-martial him, but this had to be done. Kékessy, however, managed to escape, and slipping through the frontlines he made his way to Austria, then to Italy. Much later, he wrote a letter, signing his real name, to his former commander. Since then there has been no news of him. One thing is certain: if he is still alive he must be looked for among soldiers, or he could be a mercenary.

The other character is Bokács, the company's political commissar, who was nicknamed the "Cobbler" behind his back. He was commissioned as an officer because of his left-wing past, but he had no authority, a shoemaker being light years away from a real officer. Bokács, however, had one advantage, slowly asserting itself but absolute in the end: he knew the mind of little men, their talents and desires. Besides, he was unassuming and undemanding to the point of being ascetic. He needed nothing more than his daily food ration, he did not loot, and at the end of the war he had as little as he had when he joined the company. Owing to this many of the soldiers thought of him as slightly batty. Still, it was mainly due to his knowledge of the human character and his puritanism that inhumanity never became prevalent in the company, not even under the most trying circumstances.

My novel does not try to proclaim the one true version of what happened. It is merely intended to be an eye-witness account.

I. D.

**D**enis Ignatovich did not brook any delay. He ordered the parade for Friday morning.

"Take your pick," he said waving his hand generously when he put the store of the district recruiting centre at our disposal. The Hungarian troops driven out of the town had been unable to clear it.

"I want to see the entire Hungarian company in proper outfits and sound boots."

Company! There were twenty-two of us altogether, not enough to make up a platoon. Bokács had said he'd clap his hands and a hundred men would come running from the brick works. I don't know whether he'd

clapped his hands or not, but no one showed up. This Bokács boy had been foisted on me by Denis Ignatovich. I knew him by sight. He was a boot-maker, from one of the narrow alleys behind the old Turkish bath in the lower town. The first thing he did was to get an officer's topcoat for himself. It hung from him as from an old clothes-rack. Now Bokács could no doubt do a number of things with his coat. He could roll it up, use it for a blanket or a pillow, give it away or have a civilian suit cut from it. One thing he could never have done, however, and that's wear it. He had deep set eyes, a furrowed face, and he left tufts of grey hairs on his mug after every shave. When he rolled a cigarette he never failed to show, like some stigma, the black, indelible grooves left by the waxed thread on his thumbs.

My walking up and down in the room jarred on Irina's nerves. Irina was the commander's interpreter. She was a Jewish girl from Munkács. From what I could gather from her talk about her family, she was Jewish-Slovak-Hutzulian-Hungarian-German. She was a finely boned girl, a little shorter than average, with everything you could wish for; proudly pointed breasts, a bottom that fitted the palms of your hands, down to thighs that were elegantly long considering her height, which I had taken a good look at three times from down below, dropping my cap for the purpose. The first, second and third time all I could think of was how nice it would be to get her down on her back.

"Irina, today's the nineteenth, what do you say?"

"I know."

"I was born this day on Franciska Manor, six kilometres from town, helped into the world by an old woman fieldhand. The snow was so high they harnessed four horses to the sleigh but the doctor couldn't get through."

"Oh, your birthday is it? Congrats. How old are you?"

"Twenty-four."

"No, you can't be. You must be kidding."

"Do you find it too much?"

"No, I thought you were older. How long have you been in the army?"

"Three years. So I look older, do I?"

"A little. But don't worry: all of us look older than we are."

"I say, Irina, would you like to come to my birthday party? White linen, silver table-ware, Viennese porcelain . . . just like before the war . . ."

She put her elbows on the table. In a thin voice she repeated: "Just like before the war."

Dodó Kékesy turned up, self-possessed, smart, greeting me with a nod of his head, and kissing Irina's hand.

"Excuse me, lieutenant, but we are supposed to be at the Soli Deo Gloria Club by ten a.m."

That is it. A recruiting rally. We wanted to have a company or at least a proper platoon made up from our own ranks. This would not only be an answer to "the Cobbler's" over-confidence, it would ensure our influence in the company.

The wind rose and swept the snow down to the low-lying fields near the Danube, that were cut by what was left of the ancient Roman road. The road was alive now with a train of covered waggons heading for Galmád in the wake of the receding front line. Russians on the Via Appia. A good title for a novel. Dodó asked in a matter-of-fact way whether the broad,—meaning Irina,—was rising to the bait. No answer was needed; the sound of his voice told me that he had cottoned on. Dodó had a definite resemblance to those hawk-faced cut-throats whom you can admire in sixteenth-century prints now as Spanish conquistadors, now as Levantine pirates. Down on that old road my grandfather had met his death. I was fourteen. My grandmother had woken me at dawn after the threshing and given me three pengős, saying, "you are taking wheat to sell, darling, keep an eye on the weighing-machine, don't let the old thief cheat me." When we turned out with the big waggon from the farm-yard, my grandfather also gave me three pengős and said that the old whore would get what she deserved if we didn't come back until we'd spent every penny we got for the wheat. The old folks were dears separately. But they just couldn't stand each other. In all the forty-nine years of quarrelling they stopped quarrelling just long enough to beget two children. By the time we got to the old Roman road we had drunk the wine we'd brought from home. My grandfather went straight into the Three Foxes Inn. He came out in high spirits, first offering the bottle to me; then as he was about to raise it to his lips, he fell on his face. The bits of glass cut his face, the worst wound being just below the left cheek-bone. His blood oozed thick and dark. His thirst, his eager and sly smile had frozen on his face.

I ought to have told Denis Ignatovich at once. Now it was impossible to go and tell him.

My company had dwindled to thirty-one men around the village of Felsővány. I had been transferred to the right bank of the Danube, as C.O. of a machine-gun company. I had met two of my home-folks on the train, Sergeant Kázó Milosevics and corporal György Báldi. They had found out from somewhere that the Russians had crossed the Balaton highway, which cut our town in half. The war had thus become a one-man drama for all three of us, burdening us with the heavy duty of assertion

and negation. First I had thought of sending word to my parents. Anyone in whom the sovereign personality has been eroded for too long and too forcibly by a role assumed freely or imposed from outside is reluctant to decide his own destiny. The train had stopped at a station and there were shouts that the journey could not be continued because the rails had been damaged. Milosevich nudged my arm.

"Not that way, sir. Towards the ramps at the back." His legs bent, Báldi sprang off like a monkey from a tree. He had been serving with the Hussars before the war and he still walked like a man with a horse between his legs. We caught sight of Dodó then. He was coming out of the weighing-house, stamping his boots to rid them of the muddy lime. He noticed us at once. He raised his hand with a sliding movement up to his automatic. Then, luckily, he realized what we were up to.

"You got off the wrong side, Lieutenant."

"That's right, damn you."

"If that is so, I hand over the command to you as my senior officer."

There were nineteen men in there, all of them locals, shivering with cold. I knew only three of them, Ensign Tas Vereczkei-Wahlberger, the butcher's son, and Lance Corporal Jancsika, the young verger of the lower town church. I made up my mind quickly. We'd make our way into the town as a reconnaissance patrol, quite openly, and go as far as we could, and then at night, we'd slip through the frontlines. Báldi thought of the old mill ditch in which we could get as far as the Chestnut Grove or possibly further. It proved to be a good idea. We headed south, amidst a row of small cottages surrounded by gardens, from which no one came out. The Russians must be very sure of themselves, Dodó said, they did not bother to shell the town. It was true, all you could hear was the sporadic firing of small arms. Approaching the old water tower we had to climb out of the ditch which had been filled in to make a carriage way ten or twelve feet wide. Jancsika emerged first and got behind a tree to make water. He stopped suddenly, forgetting his tool in his hand. His face was green when he turned back. "We've run right into them," he said in despair. "*Consummatum est*," he added. He had learnt one or two Latin tags from his priest. His self-possession abandoned him in the face of danger, but not his snobbery. The Germans had entrenched themselves where the chestnut grove started. Two sections, about thirty men, with light machine-guns and bazookas.

"Forward. That's our only chance."

As we went past them, the German second lieutenant called after us. There was nobody east of them; either turn back or stay with them:

he couldn't tolerate any odd bods straying between him and the Russians.  
I flew into a rage.

"Go ahead!"

When we reached the water-tower the second-lieutenant shouted "Back!" or he'd open fire. We climbed the tower. Vereczkei-Wahlberger tapped the concrete wall of the tower, and was pleased.

"The Swabians can fire all the cartridges they've got if they like." Milosevics peered out and swore in Serbian. A German soldier was walking back from the tower towards the ditch, pointing upwards. The Second Lieutenant had deposited four packages of dynamite. The German tied them together neatly and expertly like a wrapper in a department store, and was off to plant them under us. Vereczkei's thick nose broke out in sweat.

"That's enough to blow us sky high."

Dodó laid the German flat with a single shot. The Lieutenant did not bother to send for the explosives, but turned all his guns on us instead. The shots banged the concrete wall of the tower, driving us nearly mad. A lad, whose name I only learnt later, clutched his chest with one hand and fell down dead on the iron foot-walk. His mouth opened in the shape of an O. He must have shouted a cry of agony, but it was drowned in the din. Milosevics got out bandages, but the boy did not stir.

"Fire!"

I took it for granted that the Germans would have another go at blowing us up under a cover of fire. Jancsika was slightly wounded by a flying piece of concrete. He put his hand gingerly to his face. "Jesus Christ," he said, when he saw blood on his fingers. In an outburst of anger, heedless of the whizzing bullets, he drew himself up to his full length and hurled his three hand grenades at the Germans below.

The water-tower shook in its entire length. A wedge-shaped segment was blown away from its top. "The bastards," Dodó said, "they're firing their anti-tank weapons." He searched his pockets for ammunition but there wasn't any left. He took Milosevics's gun, and flattening himself against the window, fired single shots. I aimed at the Lieutenant: three shots and my magazine too was empty. The tower clanged again. Fragments and scales of rust showered down on us. Dodó sprang back from the window and threw his gun on the footwalk, giving it an angry kick. Down below the din of arms suddenly grew louder, then it died down. Jancsika peered out and made the sign of the cross.

"Here they are." he said gasping.

"With the explosives?"

"No, not them. The Russians."

Dodó gave me a look, and taking out a small, chromium-plated 6.35 Walther pistol from the pocket of his tunic, hid it in the leg of his boot. I began to listen to the shouts below. Apparently they thought we were Russians too.

"You were great!" they shouted. "You put up a good fight. But now you can climb down!"

They were struck dumb when they saw us. They even forgot to disarm us. Their commander, a young Lieutenant, perhaps in his confusion, came up and introduced himself. I mentioned my name and introduced Dodó and Vereczkei. "You speak excellent Russian," the Lieutenant said. "My mother is Slovak," I answered; "I learnt Slovak when I was a child because she wanted me to, and it wasn't very difficult to add Russian to that."

It was then that we noticed a small group of Russian officers and a few soldiers approaching across a wide clearing. The commanding officer of the battalion came with his deputy, the battalion adjutant and two other younger officers. He cut short the Lieutenant, and said he'd seen enough. I gave the order for my men to line up, the line had an undular look. I cannot say the Russian commander was pleased with us. He asked the Lieutenant why he hadn't disarmed us. "I didn't," was his brief answer. This could mean that he'd forgotten it, or that he hadn't wanted to do so. He warned the Lieutenant-Colonel quietly that I understood Russian.

I couldn't wait any longer. With one stride I stood before him. He didn't let me start my explanation, he wanted to direct the conversation himself.

"I was watching you from among the trees. Why did you stop firing?"

"We ran out of ammunition."

"So we arrived in the best time?"

"Yes, I should say so."

"Who are you?"

"Deserters."

"Did any of you fight in the town?"

"None of us. We were making our way home from units stationed in different places."

He walked round us once.

"If I'm right, you intended to come over to us."

He stated rather than asked. The intonation of his utterance excused me from making an affirmative or negative reply.

"You speak good Russian."

"My mother is Slovak, she wanted me to . . ."

I've spoken this sentence fifty times since.

"But why did you learn Russian? Didn't you serve with the General Staff? Or with Hungarian Counter-Intelligence?"

"I'm a combat officer, and a reservist at that."

He couldn't decide in which category to place us. Perhaps he thought three officers were too many for twenty men. Or perhaps he thought we were too many as we were. He made his decision after walking up and down for a good while.

"I'm Lieutenant-Colonel Blinytsky. Denis Ignatovich Blinytsky. You did right to come over to our side. I'll report your conduct to my superiors."

I should have spoken then. We weren't switching sides, we were defeated soldiers, and steeped in bitterness. We had lost in a game in which we had never had a chance to deal. But we just stood there in the tense silence, the moment of confession missed, and the Lieutenant-Colonel at last ordered us to move. By late in the evening we had been lined up eleven times in the yard of the upper town school. When Brigadier-General Agayev, the commander of the division arrived, it was dark, and sleet was falling. We were chilled to the bone, Blinytsky was hopping at the general's side, holding a torch to our faces. At half past nine we were given some tea, which Vereczkei threw up as soon as he'd drunk it because of his nervousness. At eleven we were led into the gymnasium of the school. Blinytsky told us they'd found a solution, which he thought would agree with what we had in mind. They entrusted me, as the commander, with the task of filling our group to company strength, by recruiting.

"Your company, with a special police character, will have the duty of protecting roads in the base of operations and other policing tasks. In this way they can help relieve the combat troops."

Vereczkei was relieved. Armed night-watchmen service, he said; we could have done worse. Blinytsky was in a bad mood. After three and a half years of front service, he was appointed commandant of the town of Szentmiklós as a reward, and for a rest. But he had had his battalion taken from him. He hobbled out of the gymnasium grumbling, without saying good-bye.

Dodó was silent. I asked him what he thought of it all. "Of what? — "Of the whole thing." — "I don't know. Nothing." — "Aren't you hurt at least?" — "Well. . . being shocked was never my strong point." — "It's not only the war that's over!" — "You're blowing the same tone as the old man. Europe will never be the same again." — "What did he mean by it?" — "I know nothing of Europe." — "You've seen enough of it, haven't you?" — "That's different." — "Well, he must have meant something." — "It'll be worse. That sort of thing. A rougher place to live in. No more

lukewarm comfort." — "Not everybody lived in comfort." — "No? It doesn't matter. In my father's eyes Europe was one with good breeding. Or with good taste. I don't know. I'd much rather you told me how far you've got with Irina."

It was freezing cold in the club. The breath fluttered in white wisps. I had expected a hundred and fifty, two hundred men to come; there were forty at most. For a minute I heard the screaming of the Russian katyushas beyond Galmád. In the end it mattered little how many of them had come. The smell of failure was in the air. I was not suited to convince them of anything: I had at least as many reservations concerning the Russians as they had. The son of our neighbour Zoli Kocséry, a petty clerk at a district law court, and a lieutenant of the reserve, did not bother to sit down. He leaned against the door-post with a cigarette between his lips.

"I was just curious to see if the guides of the Muscovites went red in the face." It made him happy to have said it. He had paid them back for his great-grandfather, whom the family did not boast about, who had acted as a guide for the Russians in June 1849. He had taken a rifle battalion of General Cheodayev's army corps from the frontier as far as Debrecen. The others did not much differ in tone. First Imre Totisz shouted at the top of his voice that war bred peaceful tolerance, and peaceful tolerance in turn put you to the test. I had no idea what he was up to, but after a few minutes, he enlightened me that he had been quoting from St Paul's epistle to the Romans. Géza Mella questioned the authenticity of the quotation. They wrangled over the issue. Mella was an ex-priest. During his front service he amused himself with the exegesis of texts found in neither the Old Testament nor the New.

Ervin Kispál, branch manager of a savings bank, walked up in front of the chairs with his hand in the pocket of his short sheepskin jacket. He was an air-force officer. He had come home like me, only two days earlier. I hated him. A curly-haired, bumptious womanizer of bewitching looks. He used scent and perfumed his cigarettes. He called us dirty slave-drivers who must be wanting to round-up prisoners for the occupying power. Dodó, who was about to light a cigarette, now clicked his cigarette-case shut. He planted himself in front of Kispál.

"Get the hell out of here."

"What? Are you trying to stop me having my say?"

Dodó did not raise his voice.

"Perhaps you didn't hear me. Get out. And say that about your whore of a mother."

Kispál went white in the face. He backed away slowly, though no threat

was apparent from Dodó, rather a kind of excited anticipation. The hope he could strike, or kill. I was thinking of something I forgot so often and foolishly later, that this beast of prey should be kept on a chain.

Somebody asked Dodó why he'd undertaken service on the Russian side.

"I have no ambition to be driven out of the country. Besides, it makes no damn sense to sit at home and bother your head with stupid questions. When the war's over, I'll join the police and chase gangsters, and when we've caught all of them, I'll turn one myself."

Doctor Lanka nodded. That, at least, was plain speaking. Two came forward. Then three. Then another two. The *Nyebó* would have a good day. He could laugh at us for going to those classy gents.

Ensign Vereczkei came trotting into the hall. You could see from miles off he had some bad news. I looked for a smaller room, in which somebody had torn up the leather covers of the chairs with a bayonet.

"There's trouble, lieutenant."

"Couldn't you cope with it?"

"Lance Corporal Jancsika was forced into the manor-house by two soldiers, where an officer ordered him to obtain food for fifty-two men before night-fall."

"All right. What do you want? Nobody can forbid the Russians to get provisions for themselves until their supply columns arrive."

"The trouble is that they're not Russians."

"Don't be a fool."

"They're Hungarians." This piece of information set even Dodó back on his heels.

"What the hell do they want?"

Vereczkei was in a sweat.

"Their Lieutenant has decided to break out after dark as he realizes he can't defend his district."

"What does he imagine? The dummo! He went to sleep and now he wants to make a hero of himself at the expense of his men. He's been hiding in the manor-house for five days. Why didn't he surrender?"

I caught myself shouting. Let's go to the manor-house! Dodó kept me back.

"Perhaps what I'm thinking of isn't such madness. A well-equipped platoon, obedient, in a tight corner. . ."

"What? Of course it isn't madness"! I sent Milosevics for ten men. They'd be enough to stop an attempt by the platoon to break out.

The soldier peeping from the porter's lodge let us in officiously and ran

for his Lieutenant. An old servant appeared from somewhere. He came running on his pair of rickety legs.

"Oh, did you come back?"

He led us into a well-appointed small reception room on the ground floor. It was bitterly cold, but everything looked untouched, a honey-coloured Ishpahan carpet on the floor, some English engravings on the wall.

"May I bring you something, gentlemen? We've got excellent madeira, the vintage is the year of the death of King Károly IV."

The Lieutenant entered. With a wave of his hand he sent away his orderly. A broad-chested, thickly-built boy, with round eyes, projecting cheekbones, and yellowish skin. His gaze slid from me to Dodó. He thrust out his arms and dived for him. They grappled, cracking each other's bones.

"Double-bottom! How on earth did you get here? You bastard of a soldier. Do you still go to the john twice a day? A common Hungarian-Japanese border! Dodó, are you still alive? Let me kiss that outlaw mug of yours!"

They went on shouting. Out of their minds. One of them tripped, and both of them rolled on the yellow carpet. The Lieutenant's cap fell off. He had a crew-cut. Down the middle a greying strip in his hair for a broad parting. He might be twenty-two or twenty-three years old, younger than Dodó with whom he had been at the Military Academy. The servant brought in the madeira. The Lieutenant put his cap back on and reported. Lieutenant Gábor Körtvéli. He must be Transylvanian: here he would be called Körtvélyesi or Körtvélyessy.

"I find it difficult to tell you. . ."

One word would have been enough, or a gesture of sympathy, and he would have burst out crying. The old servant poured out the madeira into silver-rimmed glasses. It had stopped snowing. The sun had come out. The honey-coloured carpet dazzled in its light; the etchings seemed to step out of their nut-brown frames. One o'clock. The *Nyebó* would search every nook and corner of the town for me soon.

"Wait, you must realize how things stand." I told the Lieutenant.

He put his glass down, breathing heavily. I embarked upon an objective analysis of the situation.

"I haven't a clue where exactly the front line runs, but it's at least thirty-five to forty kilometres away, beyond the Ercsi-Dorog line, to the south-west, I suppose, immediately before Székesfehérvár, somewhere west of the Bicske highway. In that irregular triangle touching on the Danube and partly on the capital in the east, there are, according to our estimates,

a complete Soviet rifle army corps, and two armoured divisions, moving about with supporting artillery and supply columns."

"Yes, but under the cover of night. . . There are forests. . ."

This brat either accepted something without question or he rejected it lock, stock and barrel. He didn't know what compromise was.

"Get it into your head that there's no way anywhere from here!" When I got as far as saying that we were already under the command of the Soviet army, he interrupted me indignantly.

"How could you do such a thing! If I'd known, I wouldn't have stopped to talk to you!"

Dodó laughed and said he had thought Gábor would first try and act the part of an officer loyal to the last ditch before giving in.

"We've gone over," he said imitating a flail with his thin fingers. "I'll tell you everything later. You'll think we made it all up."

"I'm not interested in his stories."

"Come off it. Look at him. He's play-acting like a regular Cid on the stage. I'll give you a big kick in your backside and that'll bring you round. Who d'you think you are? You're a bastard, a nobody just like me!"

They again started to shout at each other, but angrily this time.

"Who said," snapped Dodó, "after we first went into action, that the fire-power of a Russian platoon was treble that of a Hungarian one? Wasn't it you? Don't act the poor dupe who's been sold down the river. You knew damn well we were fighting a losing battle. Did you or didn't you?"

Körtvéli arranged the folds of his coat. His boots and coat were clean, his face well-shaven, his skin well-scrubbed.

"It's one thing to suffer defeat," he answered, "and quite another to desert the flag."

He was staring as if he'd never seen us before.

"You're traitors," he said. He'd said it. I knew he would say it sooner or later. Our arguments had only succeeded in carrying him further out as the waves do with a suicide who's decided not to reach for the life line. He put his hand on his holster. He slowly backed out of the room. Our ten men were waiting in the courtyard, in a loose formation, with rifles still at their shoulders. Körtvéli jumped back on the threshold and shouted.

"Scoundrels!" he yelled at the top of his voice. I was afraid his yelling might bring out his men lurking in the cellars. I addressed Dodó.

"He's your friend. Do something".

I cut across the courtyard, out to the highway. The surroundings were still. Not a Russian soldier in sight. But my looking around was only a pretext. I hadn't come out of the manor-house for that reason, but in

order not to be present. I ought to have given more specific orders. "Do something." The Lieutenant, I concluded, was acting against his knowledge and experience. What was going to happen to him was a punishment not for ignorance but for an attitude. For an attitude, for his steadfastness incapable of changing colour, which, at least in principle, is quoted very highly on the exchange of moral virtues, at any time, and under any regime.

I once more heard the Lieutenant's strident voice. It no longer irritated me. There are many who can serve faithfully. Very few who can accept defeat. Though, after all, the latter is easier perhaps. Hus must have suffered more than Galileo.

How long is hell? Ten minutes? Fifteen? Opportunism might be that for decades. Conscience throws up hot shame again and again, as a volcano does lava. Vereczkei came out running.

"It shouldn't have been done!"

Körtvéli was lying outside the room with the honey-coloured carpet, face down, a bayonet sticking out of his back. Dodó was walking in circles in the yard, kicking pebbles.

"I didn't tell you that! How dare you?"

When he reached the door, he stopped.

"Shut up. I advise you to shut up."

White foam in the corners of his mouth. He would kill me. Or have me killed. Why had I left him on his own?

I didn't want to ask which of the twelve men had done it. It couldn't have been Dodó. No. His way was the bullet. Vereczkei even less so, he had been up in the turret gazing at the scenery. My eyes ran along the line of men, standing frozen. The bayonet sheath at the side of the ninth man was empty. A lean, paltry man this ninth, called Rupka; a shop-assistant.

"Rupka! Throw away the bayonet sheath!"

His face flinched; he stepped out of line.

"Where, sir?"

"Anywhere!"

Dodó had once more come level with the door. There was a human glint in his eyes once again. Or rather one between accomplices.

"Oh, yes, I forgot about that."

Rupka loosened and took off his belt, and ran round the yard; then, heading straight for the centre, he hurled the sheath into the old well. Half a minute passed before we heard the impact. The servant, who had brought in the madeira, was staring at the dead body in revulsion.

"Take him away for heaven's sake!"

Milosevics pushed him into the room.

"Hold your tongue you old fool, or you might find yourself in the well too!"

Rupka found his place in the line once more, a little relieved. The secret would remain between us. Nobody would ever find out. Yet three days later we found Rupka in the resting place next to the orderly room as one who had lain down for a nap, with a bayonet sticking out of his back. A similar broad-bladed German bayonet. Or perhaps the very same.

I could not refrain from looking at Körtvéli's face. In case there was some message to be seen on it. There is one on the face of most people, just before death: fear, agony, liberation, curse. I turned him on his back. The weight of his body thrown on the hilt of the bayonet forced the point to come a little way out. He had died instantly. His face still preserved a paler shade of its original yellowish hue. His round eyes now stood the sun's rays without batting. He hadn't suspected he would be killed. He hadn't believed it was possible. I carefully unbuttoned his greatcoat and pulled out his wallet from the pocket of his tunic. At the moment of death he had jerked up his left knee a little and it was in this posture that he had fallen, tilting to the right. His blood too flowed away to the right, through the sleeve of his greatcoat, into the coarse pebbles.

Behind me there was a shocked, indignant murmur. Milosevics and his men had not been on guard, or had been unable to prevent the platoon from swarming into the yard from the cellar. Their sergeant headed for me, shouting with wide open mouth.

"He was stuck like a pig!"

They mobbed me, and pulled at my greatcoat. I lost my head, stammered, unable to utter a meaningful sentence, perspiring amply down my back.

"Please, listen. . . The intention. . . We wanted to. . ."

The sergeant was beside himself with rage. He was pushing me with the barrel of his gun. My ribs hurt.

"Into the corner!"

A moment later all of them were shouting the same as a password. They drove and pressed me up to the wall of the annex. They'd fix me as sure as hell. I heard the gun locks clicking. A cold spasm started up from my loins into my chest, then down into my legs again. Shame brought me to the lowest point of fear that it would not be foreign, but Hungarian, soldiers who would finish me off.

Where were my men? What the hell were they doing? Dignity, I said it aloud as the word came into my head, but it did not help any. I wet my trousers. I disgustedly felt the lukewarm moisture seeping down into my

boots. They had stuck to their Lieutenant for some reason. They had loved him for something. My feet were off the ground as I was being dragged along by the hands clutching me. I was no longer thinking. I had given that up. Dodó appeared from somewhere, briskly and energetically. Using his right elbow like a wedge, he was working his way through the dense crowd.

"Sergeant! Line up your men and report!"

The sergeant raised the butt of his gun, ready to hit out.

"You shit!"

Dodó got hold of the gun with his left hand, while with the right he slapped the sergeant's face with such force that his cap fell to the ground.

"What did you call me? Repeat it."

The surge of the passion of retaliation broke. The cap had to be retrieved, picked up from the ground, and put back on the head. Dodó had pressed the button of the only alarm bell which still worked. The sergeant had lost his self-confidence.

"Sir, what I saw was. . ."

"What did you call me? Repeat it."

If the sergeant were to make a threatening move, he would pounce on him. If he were to reach for his gun, he would pump a round into him. However, Dodó used nothing but his will, authority and his rank. Standing in front of the soldiers, slowly calming down, he was not an officer. He was *the* officer. The superior. The sergeant raised his hand to his face. He rubbed it, once up, once down. He stood at attention.

"Sir, I'm sorry but I didn't think before I spoke."

"Line up the platoon. I don't like to issue an order twice. When you're ready, report to the Lieutenant."

Before long the platoon was lined up in impeccable order, the men silent and hostile. The sergeant reported. His name was Kemeczi, and that is all I remember of the whole thing. Ill at ease in my wet trousers I wished everybody to hell. In the end Dodó came and briefed the group. If they ever came under my hands I'd see to it that they had a hard time of it.

\*

"The Cobbler" was having lunch in the kitchen. He ate lentils and took bites from a fried sausage. He held his mouth open while munching. By the time I found him in the street of the Lame Mullah, I had pulled myself together after a fashion. It is an old street opening into a small square with a minaret. There are many Turks among the inhabitants and

still more whose family name is Serbian. By the time they arrived running all the way from the Balkans, the pursuers and the pursued, they seemed to have thought it quite possible to set up house in the same street. The Street of the Lame Mullah is a quiet world apart to this day, a reservation. It is also the promenade of the lower town. In the afternoon everybody is out in the street in front of their houses, even in the winter, though teeth may chatter. The butcher spills the bloody water on to the pavement, the greengrocer throws rotten fruit there, and garbage. The town health officer writes out his fine notices well before he starts out on his round of inspection.

Bokács wiped his mouth, first with the back of his hand, then with a handkerchief. He turned to his wife.

"Mother, can we go into the room?"

"Yes, you can, father."

"Then we'll go in. Let's have the brandy, please."

I briefly told him what had happened. The air in the room made my eyes smart, there was a pervasive smell of some tanning stuff. "The *Cobbler*" stood up and began to pace around the table like a cow. His baggy breeches, which not even the pair of braces could hold high enough, puckered up while he was walking.

"There might have been real trouble," he said at long last.

He was grateful. And he liked it that we had proved stronger than he'd thought. His furrowed face was eager and officious.

"That's it! Hit out at them! In this war there's no place for pulling your punches."

All right, but it was not fighting. Quite different. The soldiers had said it. We'd stuck Körtvéli like a pig.

"The *Cobbler*" poked his forefinger under my nose.

"The shitty Lieutenant got what he'd asked for. Those on the fascist side deserve what they get."

But like that, it sounded much too summary. Körtvéli was so much else, besides his mistake of thinking loyalty to be more important than adaptation. Bokács filled the glasses, from time to time clicking his and mine.

"If the Germans got you, what d'you think they'd want to know? Who your father was, or your mother? Or whether you could recite the Lord's Prayer? No, chum. Why you served the Soviets. That's what they'd ask you in the first place. And they'd string you up the first tree like a straw doll."

Exasperating logic. But, at least till the end of the war, it seemed irre-

futable. "The *Cobbler*", noticing my shock, had a good laugh. His chin fell, his gaping mouth showed hardly a tooth at the back.

"I only said it. So you should get it straight. Don't be afraid, as long as you're with us, no one can catch you in this stinking life."

Half past two. The reek made my gorge rise. You could see the fountain beside the minaret through the window of the room. Children were sliding up and down on the ice around the well. The sun glowed pale red—a firelight in the distance. Bokács did not want to hear of incorporating the platoon we had found at the manor-house into the company we were to set up. Had I lost my wits? So many guns in unreliable hands? A gang on the run, they must be handed over to the Russians.

"They're twenty-one years old. You should know at least that much about them."

He grinned. He let his claws a little further out.

"What do you need men for? There was such coming and going in that fur-coated nest, you must have got enough men, as many as fleas on a dog. Or am I wrong?"

So he knew. If he had passed it on to Blinytsky, Körtvéli had perished in vain.

"Couldn't the window be opened? This smell . . ."

He opened it. Using one foot he pushed something further in under the bed. A small stack of squares of tanned leather, and a bigger one of sole leather.

"That's my capital. I have no time at present to do any cobbling. I sell this when I have to."

I never had worries like that. Ever since the family had moved in from Franciska Manor and my father had taken over the tobacconist's shop from his brother, he had given me more money than I could spend.

"And what if your stocks of leather run out? What are you going to live on then?"

"The *Cobbler*" rubbed his palms together.

"There'll be plenty of everything. Once we can work for ourselves . . . Look at the Soviets. They've got everything."

"They haven't got everything."

He could have struck me. He grew red in the face.

"You, too? Well, you, too?"

I witnessed the birth of a myth. It's not enough for the hero to cut off the dragon's head. He must be at least a prince, and wear golden spurs and a peltisse resplendent with jewels.

"Don't you understand it's more this way than if they had everything?"

"Shut up!"

There wasn't much point in this argument. I needed the platoon. I tried a frontal attack.

"We've got twenty-nine men. How many have you got?"

He sucked his teeth.

"Now let me see, let me see. . . I can't tell you exactly."

"Still, roughly?"

"Well, they keep coming, slowly but surely. You know as well as I do that people nowadays aren't in a hurry to pick up a gun."

"So?"

"Forty, fifty decent people can surely be counted on."

"You promised a hundred. And not people. Soldiers. We haven't got time to waste with recruits. Their duties start on Saturday."

"We'll have as many as we can find."

"If we haven't got the right strength, I'm going to give up my command."

"Hm, hm. Just like that? You make me dirty my pants."

"I'm not playing with my words."

"All right. Good-bye, then. We'll find somebody else!"

"Of course you will. Plenty of officers have fought against the Germans. You can have your pick."

My rhetoric was not without its faults. I hadn't the slightest intention of giving up my command. I had a morbid abhorrence of making real breaks, of anything irreversible. Weighing up mine and other people's chances, I sometimes, but rarely, dally with the idea that I should try once, at whatever cost, to go all the way, even running my head into the wall if there is one, unswervingly and without losing heart. But my instincts rebel at once, warning that if ever anything of this kind was to happen, it would not be according to my will but the dictates of necessity. Bokács lost his temper.

"Dare you try to force my hand? Did I lose the game, God damn you?"

"Both of us did. We must go before Denis Ignatovich together."

"All right! I won't tell lies to my comrade the Colonel!"

"There's no need to! All we have to do is wait a couple of days before this platoon gets into its stride on our side. Can't you understand? If we go and report to Blinytsky, he can't do anything but put them into the first transport, bound as he is by his superiors' orders."

"The *Cobbler*" went and closed the window. The air was cooler now, yet his face was moist.

"What are you all trying to get me into?"

"So you say nothing?"

"But for how long? I won't go on waiting till doomsday. . ."

"It's only a week. Don't worry. These lads won't be any worse than if we'd recruited them here."

"The *Cobbler*" nodded.

"All right. But it's very hard. You can't understand this. When I first caught sight of them on the highway leading to the upper town! Like the kings when they saw the manger."

Dodó entered the room. He reported that the platoon was to move to their sleeping quarters, what had been the recruiting centre, and do so after dark, squad by squad. Vereczkei had commandeered a yearling from the local landlord's barn, and the men were to get bread whenever they could lay their hands on it.

*Translated by László András*

## ACTA OECONOMICA

*A periodical of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

Volume 8

1972

Number 2-3

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ACTA OECONOMICA is published in eight issues, making  
 up two volumes a year, some 400 pages each.

Subscription rate per volume beginning with January 1973: \$24.00; £9.60; DM 90,—



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
 P.O.B. 24 Budapest 502,

Distributors: KULTURA, P.O.B. 149, Budapest 62, Hungary

# SURVEYS

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

## ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD

I should like to express my thanks, and those of the Hungarian delegation, to the British and Hungarian authorities for their kindness and the readiness with which they offered assistance in the course of preparing this Colloquium. When these conferences were initiated, after a Cold War period involving a radical reduction in contacts, we thought of getting them going in a field which is not politics as such but very close to it, at any rate considerably closer than either say the natural sciences or linguistics.

I think we can safely say today that the idea has proved a sound one since, owing to the general improvement in the international situation, economic contacts and the interests associated with them play a growing role in relations between states, systems of alliances and political power structures.

At our very first meeting both lecturers and those who contributed to the discussion implicitly or explicitly recognized that we are living in an interdependent world, with power relations, aims and objectives and potentialities in constant regeneration. Potentialities, of course, also include obstacles, provided they are not insuperable in a world where the vital questions of individual nations are inseparably linked to one another in spite of differences in prevailing social systems. Ricardo in his day could still start

from the abstract assumption that commodity exchange is transacted between two countries only, in ours we feel it every day that there are no bilateral problems in the old sense of the term, either in international politics or in international economic relations. The relationship between two states, that is, between two economies, is more heavily dependent on their obligations towards allies, on their position within an integration, and on the consequences deriving therefrom, than on bilateral aspects. Or the other way round: extreme, particularly grave, bilateral problems—viewed through the system of alliances and integrations become international issues and, depending on the interests of the afore-mentioned systems, acquire world-political importance.

This is why, in addition to bilateral problems, these British-Hungarian economic conferences focus attention on a *definite field*, on the way in which we approach it, on the similarities and differences of viewpoints and on ways in which we are able to bridge these differences in the interests of cooperation. This is, I think, the unwritten tradition we adhere to when undertaking an analysis and discussion of economic relations between different integrations. This is the more important since great changes are taking place even within established integrations, changes extending from the growth of membership, through the development of "integration techniques" to political prospects

Introductory address, delivered at the 3rd British-Hungarian Economic Colloquium, Cambridge, 20. Sept. 1972.

(cf. De Gaulle's *l'Europe des nations*, or the political union Churchill suggested in Zurich, in 1946). On the other hand the contours of a new international political system are gradually taking shape, of a system evolving from the necessity of peaceful coexistence, as Lenin first put it in 1920 and of the cooperation of countries which are part of different social systems or on different levels of development. Europe is trying to find her place in this new international system, but in order to do so she must first clarify certain internal problems peculiar to the continent with due regard to existing realities, and to establish the practical norms and rules which may become the foundations and an example—if successful—of cooperation between countries belonging to different social systems.

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Some of you may get the impression that I am talking a great deal about politics and very little about economics. I must admit that this sort of friendly criticism or reproach would not be made for the first time. I still persist in the view that most traditional theories of foreign trade have underestimated the significance of international political factors. I could add that Gunnar Myrdal has also pointed this out. What, in fact, happens is much more than that every new political situation means a new force acting as a catalyst in international economic affairs. An international economic system built on U.S. domination and in which the trade and monetary regulations came into being, or were dictated, in accordance with the interests of the United States, is in the process of disintegration in the non-socialist world. The Bretton Woods system was focused on the U.S. dollar, but the competitive position of the United States within the capitalist world has since become weaker, the U.S. balance of payments and that of trade, as well as the country's budget, regularly show a substantial deficit, and inflation has accelerated without a propor-

tional increase in economic activity. The President of the United States himself speaks of a "new economic policy", stressing that "the US no longer wishes to play the part of Atlas", that is he admits that an era has come to an end in international financial and trade relations, and that a new period has started.

This new period can be described in many different ways. Nixon speaks of "shared leadership, divided responsibility and justly distributed burdens", while others look to the rapid progress made by the European Economic Community and by Japan as a more essential factor. In my view the U.S. are no longer capable of rationally carrying out the "scope of action" the country fought for and secured for itself in 1944; this is why such concepts as the limits of power and its rational forms and methods have come to the fore in the considerations of politicians concerned with economic affairs.

Not only international economic affairs are linked with such strong ties to politics but also the various domestic economies. Economic activity is an integral part of human activities, that is, of those of national societies, it develops in connection with these, securing its place within society, the thinking of men, and value systems. The number and weight of non-economic (meta-economic) factors are growing even within various economies; American economists using mathematical methods have demonstrated that their weight is greater than that of the economic ones.

When, in our days, comparing a nation or a system of alliances with other nations or systems of alliances, we cannot do so without considering the following factors in addition to national income (which is generally analysed either as a whole, calculated *per capita* and also in its dynamics)—: the prevailing political system, the size of the territory in question, the number and density of the population, military power, scientific potential and the general cultural level. In the case of a comparison in a wider

sense of the term other factors may also be relevant, from the morale of the community to the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the population but it is not my aim to enumerate all these factors.

\*

What I have in mind when talking about new international relations is that the "balance of deterrents" has been replaced by the "balance of power", the factors involved being listed above. A situation in which an equilibrium between two parties is established, every individual factor being equal, is inconceivable in practice. One is therefore entitled to presume that these factors are interchangeable and that a possible asymmetry of certain ones may be balanced by the opposite asymmetry of others. In this sense economics are part of the power balance on which the present improvement of international relations rests. It is therefore reasonable to include strategic problems in this analysis, these being a continuation of international affairs, although by doing this, I do not pretend to be either an active politician or a strategist. What I mean by this attitude and method of analysis is that I do not wish to separate economic issues from international political and strategic decisions which have such a substantial influence on changes in international economic relations.

It is of particular importance to keep an eye on such requirements these days when talking about trade between different integrations in the interests of European security and cooperation. Those who are acquainted with the structure of these integrations (their institutional system) are also aware that they are associated with coordination, with the activities of legislative and executive bodies implementing coordination with the functioning of committees of experts, in some places with a redistribution of incomes based on political considerations, completing, initiating or determining the activities of the micro-economic sphere. If, in order to create European security, we

ascribe a comprehensive significance to economic relations, we can obviously not handle or enlarge cooperation while disregarding the existence of these bodies. This is not due to our attributing insufficient significance to the enterprise sphere, but because interstate economic organizations cannot be done without, either between integrations or within them. On the other hand, it is equally evident that the economy is the centre of the value system in every national society; and therefore a security system disregarding economic cooperation (economic interests) in a dynamic and interdependent world like ours, must remain sterile, that is, tensions evolving within it or penetrating from without, are liable to shake its very foundations.

It can also be said of the present that the changes having taken place, or taking place, in the economic field have been lagging behind the rate of political change in the past two years. A substantial regrouping of political forces could be observed in the last two to three years whereas the growth rate of activities has been "normal" in the economic area. The negative power politics exert on economic issues is always greater than the positive one, that is, politics can more easily prevent something happening rather than initiate and evolve something successfully. The reduction to the bare minimum of trade and economic cooperation was due to political causes in the years of the Cold War, although this does not mean that, given the change in the political situation, economic relations are automatically restored or that they take on the new forms of cooperation that have evolved within the various integrations in the meantime. There is no doubt that we, economists, are not exempt from responsibility in this respect. For a long time we thought and professed that changes in political conditions would enable us to formulate new recommendations overnight, to turn out ideas and mechanisms for cooperation, for economics is obviously, owing to its very nature, much more "flexible" than politics. We must admit, however, that our

discussions are often at no further stage than they were some ten years ago, we repeat that cooperation between planned economies and market economies has to face certain obstacles, that economic structures are pretty unequal, that socialist countries are unable to export as much as they need to pay for imports, that bilateralism and the absence of convertibility erects serious obstacles and so on, in most cases without showing the way out or making any attempt to formulate new ideas. At this stage of the Twentieth Century economic flexibility can hardly be taken to mean that trade goes on between countries that have no diplomatic relations. It would be easy to name countries unable to trade usefully with one another although their diplomatic relations have never been severed or have been explicitly good. Economic flexibility at present must be interpreted as meaning also—or in the first place—a capacity to create a new institutional system.

It may well be that the conference on European security and cooperation, as well as the majority of public opinion in Europe, expect us to act along similar lines and to make similar recommendations.

I have noted with great pleasure that the lectures of our British colleagues—of both Mr. Frank A. Bicknell and Mr. John H. M. Pinder—contain a number of proposals and notions requiring very thorough practical consideration. It is evident that in the case of developing economic cooperation between integrations both the economic organizations acting between states (governments), or established by them, and enterprises in the legal sense of this term, will have a role to play. The Investment Banks, playing a part of growing importance in both integrations, may find themselves in a key position.

Several authors have suggested establishing an all-European cooperation and development fund. This would help the financing of joint ventures, the building of the infrastructure (from power systems through road networks to telecommunications) and

would support the convertibility of the socialist currencies. The size of contributions to the fund could be made a function of *per capita* national incomes, payable in convertible currency by West-European countries and in commodities and services by the socialist ones.

It is, however, evident that all-European political and economic cooperation should not be reduced to an occasional conference but should be the task of a permanent organization with its own institutional framework, being partly of a political nature, and partly of an economic one. Such institutions might contribute to a gradual reduction of suspicions that survive from the days of the Cold War, and to a discussion of issues not able to tolerate the strain of publicity, and also help to overcome bottlenecks from time to time. Committees might include one for the reduction of armaments, another for cooperation, or for examining scientific and technological problems. The institutional system of European Co-operation will naturally have to be linked to the various organizations of the United Nations (from the Security Council, through UNCTAD to the Economic Council for Europe).

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In addition to expounding these ideas, which are meant primarily to stimulate and enliven the debate, I should like to discuss three further points in conclusion.

One is a danger to which I should like to draw emphatic attention. One frequently comes across proposals which, perhaps not owing to *mala fides* but to not understanding the situation, may take us back to the old vicious circle, to the world of the armament race. These proposals rely on two assumptions. One of them is that the interests and commitments of the U.S. in Europe are diminishing, and that this changing atmosphere may find expression in the reduction of troops stationed in Europe. The other assumption associated with the first derives from two arguments, but leads to the same

result. According to one, Western Europe would, under such circumstances, remain defenceless, according to the other, Western Europe must become independent from the U.S. in matters of defence. Both arguments lead to the conclusion that Western Europe must be armed to be able to defend itself in the given case. The first argument seems to disregard the fact that the balance of power in Europe is part of the world equilibrium and can therefore not be upset by anyone without involving the danger of changing a world equilibrium which is the field of action and reaction between the major powers. Secondly: the section of public opinion in Western Europe which is afraid of a "military attack" on the part of the socialist countries is negligible indeed, that is, the probability of the "given case" is nil. Let it suffice to recall that all initiatives for peace and cooperation have, in recent years, come from socialist countries, including the suggestion of creating a European security system. As regards greater independence from the U.S., this is certainly basically sound. Should NATO survive and the countries of Western Europe remain members, or continue to closely cooperate with it, then the intensive armament of Western Europe would strengthen NATO against the Warsaw Pact which would again lead towards the upsetting of the European balance of power, and of world equilibrium. It seems much more reasonable to clarify possible misgivings at a security conference, to discuss and establish mutual guarantees, to create common interests in economics, in scientific research and so on, rather than create unilateral facts which may upset the economic development of the western countries or steer us back into the well known vicious circle of the Cold War within which, owing to the cumulative nature of these processes, every step was followed by a counterstep, and every counterstep by another step, on the assumption that the other party wants to cause the ruin of, or launch an attack against, the first.

The other point I want to make is that

cooperation started after two decades of Cold War necessarily contains certain significant elements of doubt and mistrust. This involves two important facts. One is that decisions and steps meant to improve international economic life must not be delayed, since a delay (or a non-decision) is after all also a decision, that is a decision to maintain the old status temporarily. The old status—diametrically opposed to new requirements—means the survival of the old system of actions and decisions, and again gives rise to the processes and situation created by the Cold War. Another very important fact is that cooperation cannot be started by tackling the most intricate issues. We must, naturally, be aware of where we want to go and of the alternatives we are facing. We must not, however, think that all open questions and difficult problems can be clarified before starting to cooperate. Joint work and activity should be started in all fields where common interests exist and the minimum of confidence is attained which is indispensable when men work together. Later, on the basis of more experience, precedents and confidence, issues of a more complex character may be tackled against the background of a functioning system of cooperation. Let us not forget that every system in operation has some kind of internal coherence and logic, thereby affecting our decisions, as well as those actions performed by economic units or individuals under the impact of the environment.

The third idea I want to mention in conclusion, is that economic development, as a necessity, was introduced into the world by this very dynamic continent of ours. Economic development has done a great deal of good and has transformed the very foundations of the lives, power relations and efforts of nations and societies. It has also produced a certain amount of evil, economic wars, social injustice and tensions, violence and the oppression of other nations and continents. Further negative aspects of this development were recently discerned, such

as simple environmental damage, and the dangers of upsetting the biological equilibrium.

This economically strong continent, rich in cultural values, is still in a position to show the world that, in spite of the coexistence of different socio-economic systems and of the rapid change in circumstances, it is possible to cooperate economically in a manner in which this cooperation equally promotes the differing interests of equal partners. This political and economic cooperation could serve as an example in this troubled and agitated world. Today the possibility still exists that Europe might give this great example to the world so that the conditions here evolving should serve the nations of other continents as well. We must not miss this opportunity, since opportunity never knocks twice. Necessity takes its course, most of the problems may perhaps get solved, but at any rate without

us, and we shall be remembered in history as the generation of missed opportunities. We must therefore act in time, and at short notice, since possibilities are not increased by time but reduced from day to day.

In the hope that we who attend this Conference are all aware of these vast opportunities and of the importance of time, I wish to express, once again, a wish that our work benefit mankind, contributing to the understanding of the two countries we are representing, to our understanding the world and of the common tasks which derive from this understanding.

I am convinced that all those attending this Conference are imbued with this sense of responsibility, and with that spirit of initiative which grows out of this sense of responsibility, not only in the course of these deliberations, but also in the workaday world that we will once again be part of after they are concluded.

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EGON KEMENES

## DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE BY HUNGARY

The programme accepted by the 25th jubilee session of the United Nations in the autumn of 1970, declared the time-table of the Second Development Decade in order to help the solution of problems of developing countries on a global scale.

Like other countries, Hungary also has to shoulder certain commitments to help solve one of the most serious problems of our age. Hungary has undertaken and carries out these tasks within the scope given by prevailing conditions.

Hungary's development assistance has not been chosen as the subject of this paper because of the size of the Hungarian contribution. The sum contributed by Hungary as development assistance is in fact moderate

as compared to the approximately \$15.000 million given to the developing countries in 1971. But the content, form and methods of Hungary's development assistance might be of interest to those concerned with questions of aid, either in a scholarly way or as members of governmental or international bodies.

The initiatives, the experiences and the scientific achievements of a small country might also prove to be valuable contributions when it comes to solving problems of world-wide importance, in spite of the far greater economic resources of the major powers. This is shown by both the most recent progress in the natural sciences (e.g. in modern physics and medicine) and in the

Table 1. *The Foreign Trade of Hungary with Developing Countries*

Year	Import from Developing Countries	Export to Developing Countries	Share of Foreign Trade with Developing Countries in the Total Foreign Trade Turnover of Hungary, in Percentages
	Million \$		
1960	81	100	7.8
1965	119	134	6.5
1966	141	128	6.7
1967	122	141	5.7
1968	124	130	5.2
1969	113	171	6.6
1970	153	202	5.7

Source: Calculated on the basis of figures published in the Statistical Yearbook for 1970. Budapest, 1971, Central Statistical Office of Hungary.

social sciences. The experience in development assistance given by Hungary—a medium sized European socialist country at a medium stage of development—might be valuable to every country with similar properties.

For economic and geographical reasons Hungary can only develop its economy by intensively joining in the international (primarily European) division of labour. The expansion of external economic relations speeds up not only internal economic growth but, together with it, also the capacity for development assistance. Hence such forms of cooperation as Hungary is developing at present with other European countries are of twofold importance: they add to the aggregate of European economic resources allocated to development purposes, on the one hand, and show, on the other, how European countries with differing social systems can cooperate in the sphere of development assistance. This is of particular importance now, that efforts made to achieve European security are opening up new vistas to all-European economic growth.

#### 1. *Hungary's Foreign Trade with Developing Countries*

Normal commodity trade and financial arrangements naturally do not rate as development assistance. In foreign trade, theoretically, exchanges of equal value take place between countries. Thus, over and above comparative advantages, an economic energy surplus enabling developing countries to overcome their backwardness does not derive from normal foreign trade. Moreover, modern analysts of external economic relations (recently, for example, François Perroux) have pointed out that exchange between countries not at an equal stage of development does not promote the levelling of differences but, on the contrary, it further increases the advantages of the developed partner as against the underdeveloped one.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, in the case of trade with developing countries, developed countries should grant deliberate preferences.

<sup>1</sup> François Perroux: *Indépendance de l'économie nationale et interdépendance des nations*. Paris, 1969, Aubier Montaigne, pp. 302.

Table 2. *The Foreign Trade of Some European Countries with Developing Countries*

Country	Share of the Foreign Trade with Developing Countries in the Total Foreign Trade Turnover, in Percentages	
	1962	1967
Austria	6.4	6.0
Denmark	10.1	9.8
Norway	10.4	9.0
Sweden	10.8	10.0
Switzerland	11.5	11.6
Finland	7.2	6.8
Hungary	7.4	5.7

This principle is manifest in foreign trade relations between Hungary and the developing countries. Although the effect of Hungarian foreign trade, naturally, makes itself felt in a relatively narrow sphere only, its structure and conditions contain elements which help the economy of developing countries to obtain relative advantages in a particularly critical situation, or at a crucial period. It can even happen that special favours granted at an opportune moment and place might release certain development energies in a given developing country.

Table 1 on page 121 specifies Hungary's foreign trade with developing countries in recent years.

The figures show that the absolute volume of foreign trade with developing countries and its relative weight as compared with Hungarian foreign trade as a whole was slight. It was smaller than that of small European countries of similar size and ap-

proximately corresponded to that of Austria.<sup>2</sup>

Foreign trade between Hungary and developing countries has certain characteristic features: by the reduction of duties and preferential treatment as regards prices the Hungarian government facilitates imports of such tropical produce as is of particular importance for the export trade of a number of developing countries. As a result, Hungarian imports of tropical fruit have increased.

Hungary is ready to buy goods produced by new industries in developing countries; by so doing it is instrumental in diversifying the national economy and export pattern of these countries. Hungary has, for example, bought 500 freight cars from India in recent years. Hungary has adopted a principle in its long-term planning which follows the same object: the Hungarian textile industry expands the production of special higher quality textile goods only, in the case of simpler fabrics it increases the import of finished goods from developing countries, instead of boosting its own mass production capacity. In this way industrial cooperation has been established with Egypt and India, and Hungary furnishes the textile industry

Table 3. *Hungarian Import of Some Tropical Products from Developing Countries (1,000 tons)*

Product	1960	1970
Coffee	3.3	25.4
Cocoa beans	4.1	11.3
Tropical fruit	22.6	79.8

Source: Statistical Yearbook 1970. Budapest, 1971, Central Statistical Office of Hungary.

<sup>2</sup> In 1968 the Center for Afro-Asian Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences worked on a detailed analysis of the development aid granted by five small European countries (Austria, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland); the

aim of this survey was to provide a basis for further developing the ideas and the practice of Hungarian development aid policy. Some of the data included in this article were taken from this survey.

of these countries with machines and equipment, thus enabling them to increase their productive capacity.

These two examples go to show that Hungary consciously takes part in developing that new kind of international division of labour urgently demanded by both developing countries and experts in world trade.<sup>3</sup>

The two examples from the vehicle and textile industry indicate—and this is why these examples are so important—that Hungary has not made great and one-sided sacrifices for the benefit of developing countries but has developed, in both cases, a new and more rational kind of division of labour which is advantageous for Hungary. Leaving the production of relatively simple industrial goods to developing countries has enabled Hungary to produce goods requiring higher technical skill in both the vehicle and the textile industry. In Hungary—a socialist country—there are neither pressure groups nor lobbies which, as in many Western countries, have the power to obtain protection or manage to manipulate the survival of obsolete industries and Hungary is, therefore, better equipped to switch over to a new kind of international division of labour.

Another important aspect is that Hungarian terms of payment, as applied in foreign trade with developing countries, are more favourable than the usual ones. Hungarian foreign trade enterprises frequently grant commercial credits to developing countries at an interest rate of a mere 2.5 per cent. Foreign trade, however, between Hungary and developing countries is transacted on a bilateral basis enabling the latter to pay for the Hungarian products (generally investment goods) with home grown produce.

Perhaps I ought to point out that there

<sup>3</sup> See lectures by Raul Prebisch, R. K. A. Gardiner and Jan Tinbergen held at the "UNCTAD III. Symposium" arranged by the Netherlands National Committee for Development Strategy in The Hague in January 1972. (Published in "UNCTAD III. Symposium Report".)

is a considerable difference as regards the settling of bilateral accounts, dependent upon whether trade takes place between countries at an identical or at a differing stage of development. In the case of countries on an equal level of development, that take an active part in international trade, selling a wide range of goods on many markets, the constraints of bilateral accounting may check the further growth of trade beyond a certain point. This is true to a certain extent as regards trade between socialist and Western countries.

However, bilateral accounting in trade between countries at a different stage of development is in the interests of the weaker partner, particularly at the outset, allowing him to adjust the balance of bilateral trade by paying with export goods of his own, saving his scanty reserves of convertible foreign exchange.

Hungary introduced a preferential tariff system, as suggested by UNCTAD, for the benefit of developing countries. This has been in operation since January 1st, 1972 and will certainly impart a new impulse to foreign trade between Hungary and the developing countries. The preferential list contains five hundred and eighty items ranging from raw materials and agricultural produce to finished industrial commodities. Hungarian preference tariffs aid imports from the least developed countries as well as from developing countries which have already reached a certain standard of industrial development.

## 2. *Loans, Credits and Grants*

In Hungary, as in other countries, deliberate development assistance started with foreign trade. It assumed considerable dimensions when those developing countries which achieved independence in 1960 and in the subsequent years also became trading partners. These countries had certain special features marking them off from those devel-

oping countries which can be considered Hungary's traditional foreign trade partners. Having embarked on the road to industrialization, the demand of these countries for means of production coincided with the search for new markets of the growing Hungarian engineering industry. These countries, lacking capital, were in need of international loans and Hungary also helped by the granting of credits.

As a result of the relaxation in tension which started in the 1960s, Hungary's international relations expanded and the country was able to take a more active part in various UNO organizations (UNDP, UNIDO, UNCTAD, FAO). The development assistance funds of these organizations were given Hungarian contributions.

Economic decisions and actions as a whole, pertaining to the category of development assistance, became such a common phenomenon by the mid-sixties that, firstly, experiences could be evaluated and, subsequently, certain notions summing up the principles and practice of assistance could be worked out.

This was not at all easy since the principles laid down had to meet certain requirements. Such requirements were, for example, that sacrifices made by Hungary in the interests of development assistance, the readiness to make sacrifices, is a basic criterion, that they should be in line with developments in the domestic economy and suitable for integration with Hungarian modernization plans as a whole, and that burdens should manifest themselves within this system at the relatively least vulnerable points and not where there are narrow bottlenecks anyway. This demand is all the more justified since Hungary is also making efforts to modernize its own economy and also imports capital for this purpose, having raised a number of loans on Western money markets in recent years.

Another principle is that the form and content of aid should be in conformity with stipulations following from analyses by socialist economists in respect of the eco-

nomic growth and the social development of developing countries.<sup>4</sup> These stipulations cannot be considered as a kind of rigid dogma; there are considerable differences of opinion between Marxist economists regarding development strategy and its execution.<sup>5</sup> Besides, these principles are not of lasting validity but change in line with theoretical research and the experiences gained. Earlier, for example, socialist economic analyses dealing with the economic growth of developing countries one-sidedly stressed industrial development or disapproved, for theoretical reasons, of mixed companies partially owned by socialist countries in developing countries. In Hungary, however, responsible persons have advocated from the beginning that mixed companies be established, since in the case of aid granted in this form technological know-how and managerial skill are also involved. It is obvious that developing countries cannot do without the former and are at the same time badly in need of new productive capacity.

In the past decade Hungarian development assistance has quantitatively increased, and the quality of aid has also changed. At present Hungary grants aid to developing countries in the following forms:

- credits and loans exceeding one year and at a preferential rate of interest;
- contributions to multilateral aid institutions;
- bilateral technical assistance and
- multilateral technical assistance.

It should be noted that differentiation according to public and private assistance, as is customary in development aid statistics,

<sup>4</sup> József Bognár: *Economic Policy and Planning in Developing Countries*, Budapest, 1969, Akadémiai Kiadó (2nd Edition).

<sup>5</sup> See *Proceedings of the conference on the implementation problems of economic development plans and government decisions in the countries of Black Africa*. Budapest, 3-7 March 1969, ed. by József Bognár. Budapest, 1971, Center for Afro-Asian Research (Studies on Developing Countries No. 50), Vol. I-III.

is pointless in the case of Hungary in view of the fact that in a socialist country enterprises are state-owned, credits granted by enterprises or banks therefore have to be considered as public assistance. Recently, however, gifts donated by private persons to development assistance organized by voluntary organizations, in order to help young people from developing countries who wish to study in Hungary, are becoming more frequent.

#### *Bilateral Credits and Loans*

In recent years Hungary has agreed to grant credits to developing countries at a preferential rate of interest (Table 4).

The duration of these credits is generally 8-12 years. Developing countries pay 2.5 per cent interest on government loans. This is more or less the usual interest rate, the average having been reduced from 3.2 per cent in 1964 to 2.5 per cent in 1966. It has remained that since. It should also be noted that developing countries generally pay back credits plus interest with their own products and not in convertible foreign currency.

Experience has so far shown that economic relations are most fruitful in the case of those developing countries which, in addi-

*Table 4. Bilateral Loans and Credits Accorded by Hungary to Developing Countries (Commitments)*

Year	Million \$
1960	34
1965	42
1966	52
1967	45
1968	55
1969	67
1970	80

tion to long-term trade and financial agreements concluded with Hungary, are also granted assistance within the framework of a separate technological and scientific co-operation agreement. These agreements take into account both the needs of developing countries and Hungarian potential and can therefore indicate long-term objectives. This is advantageous for developing countries since it increases the stability of the development assistance granted, thus enabling a developing country to integrate certain elements of aid with its long-term development plan.

Such agreements are generally concluded

*Table 5. Development Assistance by Some European Countries (Bilateral and Multilateral Official and Private Assistance)*

Country	in Million \$			as Percentages of GNP		
	1964	1966	1970	1964	1966	1970
Austria	21	49	96	0.25	0.49	0.67
Denmark	32	21	37	0.35	0.19	0.62
Norway	23	17	67	0.36	0.22	0.59
Sweden	67	108	229	0.36	0.48	0.73
Switzerland	110	110	137	0.86	0.73	0.67
Hungary	10	52	80	0.19	0.91	0.86

Source of the West-European figures: Development Assistance 1971 Review, Paris, 1971, OECD

when delegations from the Hungarian People's Republic visit developing countries or vice versa. For example, when a Hungarian government delegation led by Pál Losonczi, Chairman of the Presidential Council, visited Iran and India in 1969, the negotiating partners established that Iran's development plans contain a number of projects in whose execution Hungarian industry can take part. Such projects include the improvement of the communications network and energy grid and of harbours, the improvement of agriculture, the building of slaughter-houses and making educational supplies available.

Hungarian government delegations visited Africa and Latin America in 1971. At present forty economic agreements, including agreements for economic and financial assistance, are in force between Hungary and developing countries.

Table 5 on page 125 contains a comparison between development assistance granted to developing countries by Hungary and by other small European countries.

As regards the *content* of development assistance, Hungary's aim is to promote, as far as possible, industrialization and, in general, the diversification of the national economy of developing countries. Both relations of the earlier kind and the Hungarian pattern of production determine the concrete products and equipment to be supplied to each country under the aid agreement.

The supply of developing countries with vehicles and spare parts produced by the highly developed *vehicle industry* is one of the main features of Hungarian development assistance. Hungary has supplied Egypt, Indonesia, Burma and the Argentine with more than a hundred million dollars worth of railway rolling stock in the past fifteen years. Diesel motor trains are called "Hungarian trains" in Egypt. Factories for the production of reinforced concrete sleepers, established by Hungary in Syria and Iraq, also aim to improve rail transport.

Road vehicles also have an important

place. IKARUS-made articulated buses in service in Cairo and Alexandria are called "King-Size Buses" in Egypt.

Cooperation between Hungary and Egypt in the production of buses and motor trucks is underway. A similar cooperation agreement on tractor production has already been reached with India. The Hungarian engineering industry also sells complete plants, in this way helping to develop the vehicle industry of other countries. To give an example, a goods motor vehicle repair shop was supplied to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and a Diesel motor repair shop to Cuba.

Hungarian development assistance also includes energy production; such as the El Tabin thermal power plant in Egypt, as well as the Faridabad and Ganderbal hydroelectric power plants in India. Small waterworks of the type supplied to Mongolia may well help to solve problems in a number of developing countries where water supply is not assured.

Cranes and other kind of harbour equipment, such as the combined bridge constructed in Heluan (Egypt) are infrastructural investments aided by preferential credits.

In addition to taking part in the improvement of the infrastructure, Hungarian development assistance also contributes to the expansion of industrial productive capacities of developing countries. In recent years Hungary has furnished developing countries with complete sets of equipment for more than a hundred factories and small industrial plants. Although the greater part of these are neither large nor complex, nor is the value of individual investments high, their significance should not be underrated since they meet certain development requirements which are important in the case of countries which have recently taken the road to industrialization.

Some of the items belong to the food-processing industry, traditionally of a high standard in Hungary. There are complete flour-mills with a capacity ranging from twenty to fifty tons a day. The inter-govern-

mental agreement between Hungary and Cuba provides that Hungary will help to reconstruct slaughter-houses and take part in the modernization of the meat-processing industry in Cuba. Hungary has also helped to establish factories producing pure chemicals and pharmaceuticals; this has provided an opportunity for the noted Hungarian pharmaceutical industry to pass on its experience and know-how. Pharmaceutical works planned and partly managed by Hungarians produce chloramphenicol and vitamin B 12 in India. A factory equipped by Hungary, producing veterinary vaccines, preparations for improving the nutritive power of fodder, vitamins and antibiotics was established in Mongolia and pharmaceutical works were built in Ghana. A Hungarian-Nigerian mixed company was established for the production of drugs according to Hungarian manufacturing processes. Hungarians started the production of veterinary vaccines in Cuba. At present the Hungarian Phylaxia Vaccine and Food Preparation Co. cooperates with the National Veterinary Institute of Cuba with the aim of starting the production of blended fodder.

The highly developed Hungarian precision engineering industry is of importance from two points of view. Firstly: it enables the export of finished goods with a specialized function. Metrimpex, for example, the foreign trade enterprise responsible for the sale of precision instruments of Hungarian make, has sold complete sets of laboratory equipment to the universities of Chile and Peru to the tune of 10 million dollars. Secondly, the advanced standard of the Hungarian precision engineering industry permits the establishment of plants abroad within this province in the framework of development assistance. In this respect the Hungarian-built factory in Egypt, which produces surgical instruments, and Hungarian plants functioning in India and Indonesia, producing fluorescent tubes and incandescent bulbs, are particularly noteworthy.

Vertically integrated aluminium produc-

tion—from the geological exploration of bauxite deposits to the building of plants producing aluminium sheets—is a field in which Hungary disposes over considerable scientific and production experience which it can now hand to developing countries. The Indian aluminium industry, for example, has received help from Hungary including designs, know-how and technical assistance. The aluminium plants at Korba and Koyna were built by Hungarians.

Instead of enumerating all productive plants Hungary has established within the framework of development assistance, it is more expedient to point to the characteristic features of Hungarian development assistance in practice, and especially to the governing ideas of recent years.

As regards the practical aspects of the matter it can be said that one of the aims of Hungarian development assistance is to render it possible for recently established plants to, as it were, provide for amortization of credits granted to establish it by paying them off with their own products. This is of considerable importance, since developing countries have—as is known—difficulties in paying back credits granted to them. It also eases the selling of products at a time when their introduction on the market progresses slowly and requires additional investments. A case in point is the electrode and fluorescent tube factory which was established on the basis of joint Soviet-Hungarian development aid in Egypt, some of the products of which are imported by Hungary.

From the mid-sixties new and more ambitious ideas have come to the fore in Hungarian development assistance. The tendency is to link up the productive capacity of the developing country in the operation of a complete industrial plant. Within the framework of this kind of cooperation, Hungarian enterprises export machinery and equipment needed for establishing a certain investment project and also offer technical assistance in the initial stages of production. The Hungarian firm partly erects the factory

buildings and equips the plant. In India, for example, Hungary handed over designs, documentation and know-how and undertook the training of the engineers, technicians and workmen of ten enterprises. The Hungarian Videoton Radio and Television Factory, together with the United Incandescent Lamp and Electrical Works and the Transelectro Foreign Trade Co. cooperate with Egyptians. Certain products are assembled in Egypt, on the basis of Hungarian know-how, the component parts and units being of Hungarian make.

As a logical consequences of this, co-operation does not come to an end after a plant has been established, but is continued and kept up within the framework of the common enterprise. The earlier mentioned Nigerian-Hungarian pharmaceutical works and a cheese producing plant in the Lebanon were founded as joint ventures as far back as 1968. The Hungarian Foreign Trading Bank Ltd. and Technoimpex, a foreign trade enterprise, have entered upon negotiations with the aim of establishing Hungarian-Mexican mixed enterprises.

A Hungarian-Ceylonese joint undertaking is a good example of an industrial enterprise established in common with a developing country. The Hungarian firm United Incandescent Lamp and Electrical Works Ltd. reached an agreement with a private firm in Ceylon in 1968. Under the agreement, the Hungarian enterprise subscribed to shares worth £10,000. of a new enterprise known as Tungfram Ceylon. The Hungarian partner received preferential shares yielding a fixed interest of 7 per cent p.a. The Ceylonese partner provided a banker's security guaranteeing the transfer of profits. A currency clause guarantees the stable value of dividends and of the paid-up capital. The agreement stipulates that—after five years—the Hungarian partner can sell out to the Ceylonese partner, on the basis of mutual understanding, the cost to be paid off in the course of the subsequent five years, in equal yearly instalments.

The Hungarian partner supplied the machinery: the Ceylonese partner paid the purchase price with the help of a five year credit granted by the Hungarian firm at a preferential rate of interest. After the plant was put into operation, the Hungarian factory furnished components needed for the production of incandescent lamps. An additional aim is that an increasing proportion of component parts should be produced in Ceylon and that, eventually, all the component parts should be produced on the spot.

The Hungarian partner has, of course, undertaken to furnish every kind of technical assistance needed for the assembly of incandescent lamps and for the local production of component parts.

At the request of the Ceylonese partner the United Incandescent Lamp and Electrical Works Ltd. provides—as long as it holds a part of the capital—the chief engineer of the firm who is an *ex officio* member of the board of directors. The chief engineer is responsible for the quality of the products and it is his obligation to adapt Hungarian experience to conditions in Ceylon.

The jointly owned factory was designed for an initial annual capacity of three million incandescent lamps, however, even while the factory was still in the process of construction, the partners already raised the question of expanding production both for technical and economic reasons. In the second phase a fluorescent tube plant and workshops for the production of vacuum technical products will be added. The expansion is to be carried out in conformity with the original agreement, that is, the Hungarian partner supplies machines on credit and holds a part of the capital under unchanged conditions.

Plans also include the establishment of a trade organization. In keeping with market research carried out earlier, products are to be sold in Ceylon and in neighbouring countries.

Countries of the Near-East are also interested in establishing joint ventures under such conditions.

### *Contribution to Multilateral Aid-Funds*

Hungary has undertaken to voluntarily contribute to aid activities organized by the UN. Hungary's contribution to the Development Programme of the United Nations amounts to \$50,000 a year.

### *3. Technical Assistance*

In the past decade technical assistance given by Hungary has covered the following fields:

- Hungarian experts and advisers have been sent to developing countries;

- experts from developing countries have been trained partly in Hungary and partly on the spot, that is, in developing countries;

- research work has been done on behalf of developing countries, technical plans have been worked out, advice has been given and expert knowledge imparted.

Technical assistance generally relies on bilateral scientific and technological cooperation agreements reached between Hungary and developing countries. Such agreements have been signed with the following countries: Egypt, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Tunisia, Algiers, Mali, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, Dahomey, Niger, Syria, Yemen, Chile and Cuba. A number of countries, including Guinea, Morocco and India, have also obtained technical assistance without signing specific agreements. Negotiations are going on with a number of countries and will very likely lead to the signing of technical assistance agreements.

Scientific and technical cooperation based on the knowledge of scientists and technologists has already enabled Hungary to help in solving certain problems of developing countries. Many Hungarian experts are working in developing countries, doing different kinds of work.

As with other countries, specialization determines the main points of technical as-

sistance. The renowned Hungarian scientist Lóránd Eötvös, inventor of the Eötvös torsion balance used for geological research, was a pioneer in modern geophysical research. Many outstanding geologists were trained in the laboratory Eötvös established at Budapest University (which—today—bears his name). This explains why geological research, and the technical and economic fields related to it, are important features of Hungarian technical assistance. Hungarian geologists are exploring natural resources in, and making geological maps of, developing countries. Hungarian geologists helped to explore Guinea's bauxite deposits. Hungarian geologists, engineers and economists worked out within the framework of the UN's technical assistance programme a method which permits a more efficient exploitation of bauxite resources in British Guayana.

Geological exploration abroad has grown to such dimensions that a special enterprise called GEOMINCO Ltd. was founded for this purpose at the beginning of 1969. The scope of GEOMINCO's activities includes prospecting in the field of geology and mining as well as related technical and economic activities. GEOMINCO Ltd. has concluded an agreement with Kompleximport of Mongolia for the exploration of tin and molybdenum deposits. TESCO, another Hungarian enterprise concerned with the organization and implementation of technical assistance, and GEOMINCO Ltd. have organized and sent a group of geological and mining experts to Mauritania. The Hungarians now investigate possibilities for cooperation in geology and mining technology. Negotiations are also going on with other African mining countries to discover whether joint research is feasible.

A group of experts sent abroad by NIKEX, Hungarian Foreign Trade Co. and GEOMINCO have concluded an agreement on geological prospecting in the copper mines at Kethri (India). Hungarians have sunk four oil bores in Iraq.

Scarcity of water in a number of develop-

ing countries impedes the development of agriculture, in particular animal husbandry. Hungarian experts have been successful in drilling wells and establishing catchment basins in African and Asian countries. In Mongolia, for example, after an earlier search for water, 34 Hungarian experts sank 225 wells between 1966 and 1970.

Hungarian hydrologists also helped to solve the water supply problems of developing countries. The Hungarian hydrologist Ede Kertai worked out a highly efficient method for improving the water output of rivers. Recently a special enterprise called VIZEXI was founded in Hungary for planning and carrying out hydrological projects.

Hungarian soil scientists visited a number of countries in Africa and South America, with Professor János Balog in charge. Research work carried out by them is highly important since it allows countries in the tropics to work out long-term agricultural development plans.

As regards public health Hungary has been giving assistance to developing countries for many years. A number of Hungarian doctors are working in Algiers, Morocco, Ghana and the Sudan, organizing

public health and taking part in research.

Hungarian economists, financial experts and statisticians are employed by educational institutions or are working in the economic field for government organs, organizing the statistical service of certain developing countries, to give just one example.

The advisory activity of Hungarian experts in management and business organization is a contribution to the establishment and development of small and medium scale enterprises and cooperatives. The number of Hungarian experts working in developing countries has increased at a fast rate in recent years, which shows how much their presence is appreciated. There were fewer than a hundred Hungarians working in developing countries in 1965, their number is close to six hundred by now.

Another form of technical assistance is the training of the experts of developing countries, either in Hungary or abroad. Hungary admits an increasing number of scholarship holders from developing countries.

Early in the 'sixties roughly fifty skilled industrial workers and technicians from developing countries were trained in Hun-

*Table 6. Official Technical Assistance:  
Experts Sent to, Students and Trainees Coming from Developing Countries*

Country	Number of Experts Sent to Developing Countries			Number of Students and Trainees Coming from Developing Countries		
	1964	1966	1970	1964	1966	1970
Austria	40	45	288	200	189	367
Denmark	214	324	774	355	440	383
Norway	114	253	508	90	187	276
Sweden	157	312	658	365	652	1315
Switzerland	96	117	357	693	535	743
Hungary	270	360	592	664	1065	1348

Source of West-European figures: Development Assistance 1971 Review, Paris, 1971, OECD

gary every year, this number increased to around a hundred by 1964 and is approximately one hundred and fifty now.

The training of university and college students from developing countries is also highly important. The number of students was only 400-500 on average in the first half of the 1960's but considerably increased in the second half of the decade. In the academic year 1970-71, 1,348 students from sixty developing countries were studying at Hungarian universities and colleges; of these 1,013 came from Asia, 263 from Africa and 72 from Latin-America. Most of them were given technical training.

The post-graduate training of scientists is a recent development. Technologists who already have university qualifications and can look back on some practical experience, receive postgraduate training at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Hungarian professors and lecturers teach at universities in developing countries, in Mali, Iraq, the Sudan and Tanzania, to name only a few.

Hungary does its share in keeping with the country's resources, in providing men and women with specialized training for employment in developing countries and as instructors for their own men. This is indicated by Table 6.

Hungary also does its share in multilateral assistance. Hungary's contribution to the UNDP was mentioned earlier; the country also made a financial contribution towards technical assistance organized by the specialized agencies of the United Nations. Special seminars are frequently arranged by UNDP, UNESCO, FAO, JLO and UNIDO in Hungary. These are financed out of these contributions. Ten to fifteen scholarship-holders from developing countries come to Hungary every year at the expense of Hungary's contribution. The majority of scholarship-holders have, up to now, come from Egypt, India, Tunisia, Burma and Pakistan.

A number of Hungarians were sent to developing countries by multilateral organi-

*Table 7. Value of the Official Bilateral and Multilateral Technical Assistance (Million \$)*

Country	1964	1966	1970
Austria	2.3	3.5	2.7
Denmark	6.1	10.8	11.7
Norway	5.1	6.5	4.3
Sweden	11.3	24.5	20.6
Switzerland	3.2	3.4	2.0
Hungary	6.1	9.5	10.6

Source of West-European figures: Development Assistance 1971, Review, Paris, 1971, OECD

zations. Some of them are technologists, but the number of statisticians, economists, co-operators, geologists, hydrologists and academics is also considerable. Hungarians commissioned by FAO established agricultural projects combined with hydrology projects in the Yemen, the Sudan and Nigeria.

The Hungarian government allocates considerable sums to technical assistance on both a bilateral and multilateral basis. Hungary spends roughly \$10 million a year on technical assistance. The vocational training of workers and technicians covers about \$400,000 a year, university and college education \$4 million. The post-graduate training of scientists costs about \$200,000 a year and state subsidized trips by experts to developing countries cost about \$4 million. Two million dollars are spent on the further training of experts from developing countries. Hungary is high among the small European countries in this respect, as is shown by Table 7.

In concluding this survey, research carried out by Hungarian scientists on the opportunities for economic and social growth in developing countries deserves to be mentioned. In this respect a comprehensive work, in English, by Professor József Bognár,

which reached the second edition within a short time, is of outstanding importance. Besides analysing the problems of developing countries, Prof. Bognár also deals with the experiences gained in the development of the Hungarian economy during the past quarter of a century.

In Hungary research on developing countries is carried out by the Center for Afro-Asian Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; the results of their investigations are published in English and French in the series entitled "Studies on Developing Countries".

#### 4. *Aid Capacity and All-European Economic Cooperation*

Cooperation based on a broad international division of labour—a characteristic feature of the economy of these times—has liberated new growth energies. Cooperation extending beyond national boundaries might help to raise the efficiency of development assistance—both in general and specifically. *In general:* because small European nations can justifiably expect the advantages of "large scale economy" through cooperation, thus speeding up their economic growth, while also expanding their aid capacity. *Specifically:* because many development projects of a complex character but relatively small volume turn up in developing countries, providing a suitable outlet for small European countries to put development assistance into practice by cooperating with each other. A characteristic chain of action in the case of agriculture is made up as follows: water resources—irrigation—storage—cooling—industrial processing. Cooperation in establishing such a chain of action, equipping it, supplying and training skilled personnel and so on can take place regardless of differing economic systems.

The unfolding on a broader basis of this kind of cooperation is subject to three conditions:

a) Developing countries must take the initiative and seek cooperation. For example, institutions which coordinate foreign credits and aids in developing countries are appropriate for suggesting cooperation (e.g. the National Development Corporation in Tanzania is concerned with industrial development as well as the Corporation which emancipated itself from the NDC in 1968, dealing with agricultural investments only.) This requires, of course, that governments and the competent institutions of developing countries should be informed about the assistance capacity of small European countries in order to coordinate, and "synchronize" it with one or another concrete project of theirs.<sup>6</sup>

b) A further condition of cooperation between small European countries in the field of development assistance is mutual understanding and confidence between those enterprises which eventually supply goods and services for the practical execution of development assistance.

The most important factor of this in Europe today, is cooperation in production and marketing between Eastern and Western countries. Hungarian enterprises have made—up to the middle of 1972—such cooperation agreements with 270 West European firms, among others, with important enterprises such as Steyr of Austria, Volvo and Findus of Sweden, Sandoz of Switzerland, Fiat Grandi Motori of Italy and MAN and Daimler-Benz of the German Federal Republic. This kind of co-operation increases—almost without additional investment—the production and marketing capacity of both partners.

c) The third condition is an international ambience which raises hopes of a lasting European peace and security and thus stimulates the countries and those in charge of the economy in Eastern as well as Western Europe to establish institutionalized relations.

This prospect already *de facto* makes itself felt: in order to stabilize trade relations most West European countries declared

their readiness to conclude long term (five years in general) trade agreements with Hungary, in most cases supplemented by agreements regarding production cooperation.

<sup>6</sup> The UNIDO publication: *Directory of External Sources of Financing Available for Industrial Projects in Developing Countries*. Vienna, 1969, UNIDO, contains useful information on this matter.

All-European economic cooperation coming into being and, consequently, new economic energies originating as a result of European security, give further impulse not only to the economic growth of European countries but also enable Europe to take part in the solution of the serious problems of developing countries to a considerably greater degree than hitherto.

LÁSZLÓ MÁTRAI

## THE CULTURAL LEGACY OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY

The downfall of the Monarchy is somewhat of a tricky subject, not only because of the enormous amount of information and facts at our disposal, but also because it carries a certain "ideological" burden. It may not therefore be out of place to preface this article with a few remarks on my approach.

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Since the subject is the disintegration of a great power with a major historical role in its time, and the concomitant cultural effects, the historian is bound to find himself confronted with the obstacles which arise from different systems of values and different attitudes. Without indulging in historical relativism, or even scepticism which contradicts the very meaning of historiography, we are all aware that a man's appreciation of progress or decadence, of well-merited decline or an end considered deplorably premature greatly depends of his whole system of values. A brief survey of the studies on the Monarchy is enough to convince us

that the majority of them provide no direct and objective knowledge of historical relations: these can only be acquired indirectly, after an evaluation of the author's ideological position (not that I claim that this is anything new in considering questions of methodology or historical philosophy). In these "fundamental" questions, therefore, any concealment of my own ideological position would not serve the interests of scientific truth; on the contrary, it should be made as clear as possible: the sailor who navigates in continually changing waters must, for his own sake, know his own position exactly.

I am discussing this subject primarily from the Hungarian point of view, but I shall not limit myself to Hungarian problems, in fact, for the purpose of "comparative cultural history", I shall extend this study to include Austrian and Czech problems as well. As a result the general scope of the material will be rather more limited, and the examples and illustrations mainly taken from literature and science, the other

branches of cultural history, such as music or the fine arts, furnishing only one or two supplementary examples or parallels.

### *The Common Language*

The first question in this comparative study of culture defines itself sharply and clearly. Did the peoples existing in the Monarchy enjoy some common culture, did some sort of "Gesamtkultur" exist built on the economic and political basis of the "Gesamtmonarchie"? A definite answer to this question is at least as difficult (in fact even more difficult and complicated) as to decide whether an independent Austrian or Swiss literature exists or whether they are merely the Austrian or Swiss branches of German literature? I think it can be safely assumed as a simple fact of cultural history that the people in the Monarchy had, in fact, a "more or less" common culture, in the sense that national characteristics merged into it. It was common to them all to the extent to which common experiences in one cultural field made it possible and indeed necessary. But within this "more or less" common culture an inner paradox remained present, in that the people who shared this general culture marked it with their own particular history, and hence fractured its common character.

So let me start with the most difficult question. The language of the "Kaiserliche und Königliche Monarchie," perhaps translatable as Imperial and Royal Monarchy, but universally known as "K. u. K.," increasingly learnt and used by some sectors of the non-Austrian peoples (the ruling classes and the majority of the intelligentsia), bore all the marks of the origin of the non-Austrians using it and was—to say the least—unfit to play the role of a literary language. At the same time this same German language played a very positive part after the 1860's, when it opened the doors of international science to the intelligentsia, because at that

time German was the main scientific language in certain branches of science (i.e. in philosophy, history, medicine and in many branches of the natural sciences).

This "common language" was also useful to other social classes because it could be used throughout the Monarchy: it was the language of travel, commerce and negotiation, and its use produced a certain kind of joviality and good humour, because everybody knew that this Viennese dialect was less and less the classical language of Goethe and Schiller... Historians (and psychologists) will easily understand that the common German language spread among the social classes directly benefiting from the position of the Monarchy as a larger economic unit, and its effect on the development of capitalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

### *The Common Way of Life*

Around 1900 the upper and middle classes of the bourgeoisie, the groups going up or down in the world, the civil servants and army officers also enjoyed a common way of life, together with their use of a common language. In this environment and way of life the character of "K. u. K." Vienna overshadowed the national character of the non-Austrian groups (it would be difficult to say in what proportion). This common character was not only visible in, for instance, the eclectic public buildings, or the railway stations built according to the same pattern from Trieste to Lemberg and from Prague to Orsova; there was a deeper common denominator appearing in the customary behaviour and thinking of the population as a whole, and this was much more important, constituting an effective sociological and historical factor. In Prague, Vienna and Budapest the average flat consisted of three rooms; a dining-room, a bedroom and a children's room: the very average that has been described in the works

of Kafka, Joseph Roth and Ferenc Molnár: any difference upwards or downwards indicated with almost mathematical accuracy the precise conditions of that bourgeois family; a member of the upper bourgeoisie also had a drawing room, the intellectual a study or a consulting room, and the petty bourgeois contented himself with the "dining-room" alone. No dining room was conceivable without the "Kredenz" or "credenza", the special cupboard in which china and silver were proudly displayed. This was probably the most widely-used German word in the non-German territories, second only to the military *Habt-Acht* (Attention!). In the middle of the dining room would stand a large table surrounded by leather-covered or plainer chairs, always in exact accordance with the economic and social status of the family, and if possible, slightly above it. . . . Such a family had three to five children who all went to school; the clever boys notched their way upwards by becoming civil servants or members of the intelligentsia, the not so clever went into their father's business, eventually taking over the shop, workshop or office. The household was run by the mistress of the house, but the work was done by the servant girl, usually taken from one of the national minorities, because they were more obedient, cheaper or, in Hungary, from among the landless peasants because they were notoriously "unassuming". Apart from the general servant the family also kept a nurse-maid—the more well-to-do families had a *Fräulein* instead—but they almost never employed male servants (a valet or lackey because this was understood as the privilege of the aristocracy, and it would therefore have been a form of cheating to overstep this barrier). (The *Heizer*, a masterpiece of Kafka's, translated into literary form the fact that the furnacemen and domestic servants in the Monarchy were mainly selected from the Slav population.)

This manner of life continued to develop and expand after 1900, along with undeniable capitalist developments in the

Monarchy, to which it was so closely linked that it provided the inspiration and themes of contemporary literature, and was doomed to perish with it. Splinters of it survived however, and not only in literature. How, and to what extent they continue to exist in the various "successor-States" is one of the most interesting questions in the cultural sociology of the peoples of this region.

This upward trend around 1900 had only been progress for the bourgeois classes. The nobility, the high-ranking civil servants and the financial aristocracy found it most undesirable, like every kind of democratisation, lessening of the power of the old ruling classes, because it obviously and categorically expressed a decline in their own status and the rise of the bourgeoisie.

#### *The Disadvantages of the Poor*

The conditions of life for the exploited and poorer sectors of the population at the end of the century can be seen in the following story. The German language, which opened larger practical and intellectual vistas to the bourgeois sectors, was also the official language of the army, and as such, proved a horrible straitjacket for all recruits whose mother tongue was not German. A veteran artillery sergeant of the K. u. K. Army recounted how, looking through the papers of a private in the artillery, he found some mysterious notes. He promptly interrogated the suspect, a young peasant, and found that the poor fellow had made study-notes not to disgrace himself in training. I quote here only one of his hieroglyphs: *süta-plita-gangicse*. Solution: *Schildzäpfchen samt Angiessen*—a more or less important part of a gun: knowledge of its German name was indispensable to any decent gunner of the K. u. K. Army. There is no need to explain that in such a social-psychological situation the language, the carrier of thought, consciousness and culture, ceases to spread culture and friendship between the people;

on the contrary, it becomes the tool of deaf and blind authority, only increasing the loneliness and alienation of those who are at its mercy.

If the State is an organ of coercion, its most "coercive" tool is the army; when the oppressed people rise against the State, the first obstacle to confront them will be the army. It is no accident that the K. u. K. Army played a major part not only in unleashing and then losing the First World War, but also in the disintegration of the Monarchy in a very concrete form, in that the soldiers streaming back from the front after immeasurable sufferings were an important factor in the destruction of the Monarchic framework of the State. The army also played a social-psychological role because, already well before the War, the K. u. K. Army had been the institution creating the greatest number of enemies for the Monarchy. Robert Musil, for instance, discovered the terrible hopelessness of human existence in a military school—though this could have been a consequence of his own personal sensitivity. (Very oddly, despite the fact that he had become a writer, he later adjusted quite well to the absurdities of military life.) But if we consider all the works dealing with this problem in the culture of the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, from Jaroslav Hašek's *Good Soldier Schweik* to Alban Berg's *Wozzeck*, it is clear that there is much more to it than simply the difficulties of a soldier's life, hard on civilian gentleman and peasant alike. The multi-national or supranational State, its whole apparatus, or one of its essential institutions, was challenged in these works: and this was an important sign and symptom that the centrifugal forces of the Monarchy were gaining the upper hand and threatening the very existence of this "medium-size" Great Power. At the same time it seems that the diagnosis was correct according to which an early internationalism appeared in a Monarchy burdened with vestiges of a late feudalism.

#### *Common Characteristics in Literature*

The evidence furnished on this point by the concrete facts, as reflected in Austrian, Czech or Hungarian literature, must here be evoked if we wish to obtain a truly authentic picture of what was common to all and what was individual to each in the Monarchy at the end of the century and in the following period of disintegration.

The tripartite kingdom of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia, which could not come into existence, constitutionally, primarily because of the energetic opposition of the Foreign Minister of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Hungarian Count Gyula Andrassy, was nonetheless more or less an accomplished fact spiritually in the intellectual life of these three peoples, and it is these common features I am investigating.

A somewhat limited change occurred around the turn of the century in the literary history of these three peoples and the individual destinies of their writers, and a much more profound change after the First World War and the subsequent disintegration of the Monarchy. It is of course true that "consciousness" follows changes in the situation, but not always in timed sequence: historical crises may be foreshadowed in poetry well in advance of the actual happenings, and echo in it long after they have subsided.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Rainer Maria Rilke and Franz Kafka are the greatest representatives of this type of literature, which began in the "golden age" of the Monarchy and ended after its disintegration, at which time it was incorporated in the national literatures of the new States. These three great writers are modern in all the good and bad senses of the word. They are modern from the historical viewpoint, because in every line they wrote is the attempt to discover an answer to the most burning questions of their own time, and they are also modern in aesthetic terms because they

experimented with new (or partially new) forms in the description of reality. Enough has been written about them to fill a library, treating them under various literary categories: they have been described as expressionists, the representatives of the "Wiener Dekadenz", existentialists, and so on, and all these classifications provide valuable insights, especially when the analysis of concrete details has revealed some new philological-historical connection or some fresh psychological nuance. The historian, however, asks in the first place—and to this question there is no reply—what is the common feature belonging to these important works which can be said to bear the unique stamp of the social and historical background of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy?

### *The Relationship to Death*

These three great writers are the classics of loneliness, alienation and the transiency of life. Some would claim that such characteristics are also to be found in other writers. True: but not in this kind of amalgamation. It is of course true that in a certain sense every literature and art concerns itself with the fleeting nature of life because its human function is to find "something perdurable" in the ceaseless flow of birth and death. This perdurable "something" could be called immortality from the emotional angle, the unchanged essence behind changing phenomena from the philosophical angle, or the universal and eternal system of values in terms of humanity in its historical process, from the historical angle—but it is a fact that all art has an inner connection with death. Even if Schopenhauer's extremist and pessimist statement that every art is inspired by death is incorrect, there is considerable truth in the words of a Belgian Shakespearean scholar: "Have you never noticed, Sir, that all great art is sad?" This connection with death consequently is not, and cannot be, a specific characteristic of writers of the Monarchy,

since it characterizes every literature from Aeschylus to Dante, from Shakespeare to Tolstoy.

But a deeper relationship with death existed which came into being in the general crisis of European society around 1900. Its outstanding figures are Proust and Joyce. The melancholy emanating from their works is deeper than the melancholy of earlier bourgeois novelists. Balzac and Flaubert described the transitory character of the external world, but with Proust not only the external world but creation and even the writer's existence became a matter of doubt. Hence the very existence of the realistic great novel became a question in itself, and thus it concentrated its themes on the writer himself as the subject. The writer, who had formerly taken the whole external world as his province now—as it became increasingly suspect and hostile—withdrew within his own "inner boundaries" and became progressively more and more introverted.

### *Kafka*

These developments, however, were not the result of an arbitrary choice on the part of the writer, but the inevitable impression on art of the substantial changes taking place throughout Europe. Thomas Aquinas rightly said that man could not help his thoughts, neither can a writer freely choose the content of his works, in fact he does not even choose the attitude he adopts towards them, because his opinions, whether constructive or not, about the outer world are determined by the objective circumstances of his own individual existence. The point that weighs with the historian is that the great literary documents of the crisis of the Monarchy are not really in the same category as the works of Proust and Joyce, which are concerned with the crisis of the novel. Franz Kafka's genius developed and reached its peak in the period of the Monarchy but the crisis he represented is far more profound

than that revealed in the two French and Irish classics respectively. It is worth noting, however, that Joyce was himself temporarily within the Monarchy (see Stephen Bloom's relations in Szombathely, and Joyce himself in Trieste). Kafka's work is the extreme example of alienation, loneliness and transience, for Proust's world was alienated from the present, Joyce's from society as well as the present, but Kafka, in addition, was alienated from himself.

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It is no secret that this fatal "extra" was due to the fact that Kafka lived in the period of the Monarchy, so the specific "K. u. K." character previously described must be sought in his work. He was, by the way, the last representative of the trend that began with Hofmannsthal and Rilke. Kafka's importance in the universal history of civilization lies precisely in the fact that in his person and work the general decline of the European bourgeoisie merged with the main literary trend expressing the decline of the Monarchy.

#### *Hofmannsthal*

In many respects Hofmannsthal's work occupies a key position between the old and the new in literature: he wrote his first poems and plays at the end of the century, when capitalism in the Monarchy still possessed its last reserves of vigour: the world was still open to the poet and he was free to experiment with different literary methods and attitudes. His first period, therefore, was influenced by the prevalent aestheticism and the cult of classical Greece (as if he were an archtype of Stefan George) and a further unfortunate feature of this period of his was his epigonism<sup>1</sup>, well-known to literary historians. A decisive change in his life and art

occurred around 1898 (almost exactly at the turn of the century) when—he himself did not quite understand why—he found he had to choose a new direction in his life and work, because he was unable to continue in the old ways. The "Letter of Lord Chandos" was a poignant manifestation of this poetic crisis. In the somewhat stilted archaic style of the era a youth announced to Lord Bacon of Verulam, his spiritual father, that he was abandoning the writing life because he realised the hopeless impracticability of poetry, the impossibility of faithfully conveying reality. This work, in my opinion, lies on the borderline between Impressionism and Expressionism; driven by the desire to express outward reality fully and absolutely, he found himself faced with the choice of either substituting the subjective for the objective as the matter of literature, or of renouncing art completely. Can poetry seize and hold from passing reality something like "the smell of freshly washed stone blocks in a lonely corridor"—this wording of the crisis is akin to Proust. Hofmannsthal overcame the crisis with a "positive" solution (he chose the world, external reality), while Rilke, his fellow poet, chose the "negative", the introvert way, and became Kafka's predecessor. As a consequence, Hofmannsthal was able to remain, or rather develop into, the poet of Austria, while Rilke became the poet of the Monarchy... An impatient historian might ask why I find it necessary to go into all these hyper-aesthetic details; why not leave them to elegant essayists? The answer is clear: writers put into words the consciousness a society possesses of itself: without their evidence we can learn a great deal of the history of an epoch, only not what happened to the subject of the whole story, man himself.

#### *Rilke*

The *Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge* (Notes of Malte Laurids Brigge) is a

<sup>1</sup> See Requardt, Paul; H. v. Hofmannsthal (in Friedmann-Mann, *Deutsche Literatur im 20. Jahrhundert*, Heidelberg, 1961, II. Bd. 60 p.).

shockingly "Proustian" novella which clearly demonstrates that Rilke chose "the other way", he withdrew into the privacy of his soul. His chief character lives in a pathologically extreme condition of complete separation from the world, divorced from place, time and the human world; he lives half in a trance, but at the same time suffers from this divorce from reality and from his fearful loneliness. This is indeed the position proclaimed by existentialism, in which death is a permanent companion but by no means a solution. Rilke himself could live his life in the special world of art which was independent of place and time—for a period he was Rodin's secretary—it was his hero, Malte Laurids Brigge, who had to suffer the inhuman, schizophrenic tortures of his *Sein zum Tode* (Being for death).

It is as if Rilke had sketched it all out as a design for living for Kafka, in his life and work. His writing bore the stamp of this dual suffering, in which the general crisis of the European bourgeoisie and the special crisis of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were merged. It is for future writers to investigate more fully this double uncertainty of existence as demonstrated by Hofmannsthal, Rilke and Kafka. Here and now I must limit myself to the assertion that these three great authors, belonging to the same identical historical trend, experienced and described in their work three different degrees of the incertitudes of existence. Hofmannsthal: beware, the world has become uncertain; Rilke: withdraw into your inner self; Kafka: there is no help, we must all die a miserable death.

These crises were determined by history: they forecast at the turn of the century the social crisis and the approaching world war, apprehended unconsciously in the writers' sensitive minds, even if, like Rilke, they aristocratically turned their heads away from "daily politics". "He who has not built himself a house so far will not build one any more": this might be no more than an over-sensitive poet speaking, but it is in

fact a "concrete" historical prediction of the long years of homelessness, loneliness and suffering which awaited the people of this region. In an unstable country and a perishable world all three tried to discover the "indestructible in us" (das Unzerstörbare in uns)—as Kafka put it. Hofmannsthal found it in an Austrian sense of vocation<sup>2</sup>, Rilke in an interior fiction of a religious character and Kafka found it nowhere at all.

### *The Choice Before the Writer*

The writer in 1900 had two alternatives before him: to cling to the past—but then he could not be a writer—or to find his way to the masses—but then he could not remain a bourgeois. Those who could not "commit" themselves forwards or backwards chose the way upward, or inward, which amounted to the same thing. Like St. Augustine: *noli fores ire... in interiore hominis habitat veritas*<sup>3</sup>; they chose religion, Utopia, the existentialist *nihil* or some other "third way". Rilke's words (given a new colour recently by György Lukács in his theory of catharsis) warned us: "You must change your life!" We seem to hear Erasmus of Rotterdam, who said: "Nothing will be good and perfect until men are good and perfect!" The trouble is only—and this is at the bottom of the vicious circle of every bourgeois humanism and every "reformism"—that man is not a Baron Münchhausen to lift himself out of the morass: he must rid himself of the morass around him if he really wants to get out. Marx, referring to the French materialists and Bentham in an early work of his, the *Holy Family*, wrote that: if man was shaped by circumstances—and this was a fact—we had to make these circumstances more human in order to make

<sup>2</sup>Literally he speaks of *unzerstörbar Österreichisches* (indestructibly Austrian) in his moving essay on Grillparzer. Ganzheim to his credit also pointed out that poetry and politics were healthily related in his work.

<sup>3</sup> "Don't crave for the outside World... the truth is within man."

men human. In short, the design for the "new world" so keenly awaited by Rilke amounted to—change the world and your life will also change.

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The crisis and downfall of the Monarchy in the context of cultural history can only be fully described through an exhaustive study of the voluminous material and extensive information about its interconnections which is available. So it is understandable that up to the present I have had to treat it qualitatively, rather more in the manner of an essay. So, similarly, I can only add a few facts to show the main lines of the common, centripetal features of the three territories of the Austrian Monarchy at the turn of the century, and its diverging, centrifugal characteristics after the collapse.

#### *The "Loss of Reality"*

The human and artistic attitudes represented by Franz Kafka (apart from personal talent) were in fact the expression of the complete hopelessness of a man chained to the Monarchy: as can again be seen in the problems with which his "spiritual cousin" Robert Musil, chooses to deal. Musil, although he did not suffer from as many problems as Kafka, could never make up his mind between the devil and the deep blue sea, between the "Österreicher" (Austrian) and the "Preusse" (Prussian) (Ulrich and Arnheim), and I myself believe that this "definite inability to choose" was the reason why *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* remained finally a truncated torso, like Kafka's great works: it also explains why he wanted to leave art for science, and then longed to return to art again: i.e. for him the borderline between the subjective and the objective was blurred, and he himself described his position as "*Essayismus*". (A similar break with traditional forms

appears in the works of the third "spiritual cousin", Hermann Broch.)

The same "loss of reality", increasingly observable in literature also appeared, *mutatis mutandis*, in Viennese science. Ernst Mach was a world famous physicist, but he built a philosophy on his physics which dissolved the objective outer world in the "inner" world of subjective perception, and he destroyed even this remnant of certainty when he declared: *das Ich ist unrettbar* (the Ego cannot be saved)—as if he were speaking for Kafka<sup>4</sup>. The Böhm-Bawerk-theory of marginal profit was a highly intellectual economic concept but marred by the same error, in that it transferred the objective value-producing force of labour to the relativist realm of subjective appreciation. Or again Ludwig Wittgenstein, who lived and worked in the more stormy atmosphere of the steadily approaching collapse of the régime, and with whom the scientific claims of positivism went side by side with an extreme intellectual mysticism which negated every objective science (or dissolves in it). All these are signs of a deteriorating relation to reality, or its loss.

Further comparative information shows that the common cause of all these similar phenomena was the gradual contraction of the future of the Monarchy, the ensuing loss of perspective and, in its extreme form, the loss of a sense of reality. Those, such as the Hungarians and Czechs, for whom the downfall of the Monarchy did not mean the extinction of a great power with which they identified, but the birth of their own national independence, had something to cling to during the cataclysm: the existence of their own people and country. The future had not contracted for them, on the contrary, it opened newer vistas, and they had every reason, and did not lack the means, to seek a realist solution in concrete reality, instead of turning to religion, Utopia or the innermost reaches of the soul. The amalgama-

<sup>4</sup> Mach, E.: *Die Analyse der Empfindungen*. Jena, G. Fischer, 1900, p. 17.

tion of the "Monarchic" elements of the past and of the national and popular elements of the future produced such brilliant works as Jaroslav Hašek's "Good Soldier Schweik" which, it is true, may lack the poetic melancholy of *temps perdu* but certainly also lacks its morbidity. Where Karl Kraus, in his apocalyptic danse macabre (*Die letzten Tage der Menschheit*) could only despair, where Franz Kafka could only reveal the hopelessness of all human existence, this brave Czech who used humour equally well as a defensive and offensive weapon, found the way to the future.

### *The Hungarian Reaction*

A similar but original combination appeared in Hungary around 1900 and later during the "collapse", in which the common elements of the Monarchy and specific Hungarian elements of culture merged. The struggles and traditions of the independence of the past centuries determined a priori that Hungarian writers and artists only took over the best from Vienna. This "best" was obviously the still progressive cultural inspiration provided by a capitalism which still had some reserves of vigour at the time. Here I am referring in the main to the ideas of bourgeois radicalism, which probably exerted more influence on development in Hungary than in Austria, and which had started many progressive thinkers and politicians on their way to democracy, such as the poet Endre Ady, the sociologist Ervin Szabó, the political scientist Oszkár Jászi, the politician Mihály Károlyi.

It was only natural that other trends also exerted an influence, trends which became outdated along with the Monarchy, even though around 1900 they had seemed to promise—owing to the peculiar optical delusion of the bourgeoisie—sensational prospects of a "new culture". The partisans of the early Expressionist movement, the "Wiener Dekadenz", aroused enormous in-

terest in Budapest. Béla Balázs, who later became internationally known as a film expert and critic, in 1909 wrote an "Aesthetics of Death" which contained all the irrationalist, aestheticizing, mystical and pessimistic elements which belonged to the arsenal of the Wiener Dekadenz, and which also attempted to answer the question of the *Unzerstörbare*, in a relation to death. It was around then that the young Lukács wrote his *Die Seele und die Formen* (The Soul and the Forms) which also proclaimed experimentation with death, the priority of art over reality, and crossed the borderline between literature and science, subordinating Tolstoy to Dostoevsky, just as Béla Balázs downgraded Mozart to "nothing but a fairy tale" in comparison with the "transcendent" Schubert.

Both Lukács and Balázs were representative of the pre-war era of the Monarchy, but their development took them further and further from it, and later they found solid ground amidst their own people and in the Marxist ideology of the proletariat. The same process of "growing away" from it is admirably shown in music, for example, in the work of Béla Bartók who, in a modern form of music which did not deny but expressed crisis, found his way to the people, where he differs from Schönberg, of whom a (non-Hungarian!) critic wrote that "he became a revolutionary only to enable him to remain a conservative...".

The Monarchy has left a further literary "legacy" in Hungary which is still operative in our day but hardly known to the public abroad. In the next generation of writers, now around sixty, are two characteristic novelists who have both followed the example of Proust in their masterly pursuit of "temps perdu". Their childhood felt the after-effects of the historical storm which had swept away the Monarchy and they became, as it were, specialists in decay. But the Hungarian society in which they grew up was no longer attached to that failing world; at most it only carried traces of the former ties. These traces were in fact, how-

ever, only memories: they did not decide the writer's future in any way nor constrict his prospects: they were no more than a theme, a subject for him which, for all its melancholy, opened up future vistas. Two such works exist: "Confession and Farewell" by Pál Granasztói, the other "School on the Frontier" (Harcourt, Brace and World) by Géza Ottlik, which is the real counterpart of Robert Musil's "Törless" although Ottlik had never read Musil's book.

### Gyula Krúdy

Both these novels are unimaginable without the work of Gyula Krúdy (1878-1933) the Hungarian writer best acquainted with the last period of the Monarchy. If a comparative literary history of the Monarchy ever came to be written, an analysis of the works of Musil of Vienna, Kafka of Prague and Krúdy of Budapest would be most rewarding in scholarly and philosophical terms. Krúdy also specialized in decay and the fleeting impermanences of life; he was a *narrator temporis acti*: his works are full of the lost figures of the dead and gone Monarchy; one of his characters openly declared that "everybody who still wants to live here after Franz Joseph's death is a fool". Nonetheless, there is a cathartic effect in everything he writes because it is attached to a realist tradition in Hungarian literature which saves Krúdy from extreme irrationalism, from the lack of any future perspectives for the poetic and the tragic. His works are practically untranslatable, which is why he is considered one of the most "Hungarian" of writers. They are also characterized by a subtle interpretation of real and dream worlds, but there is nothing Kafkaesque in them because he never oversteps the boundary between poetry and morbid fear. His chief work "In my past

days as a young gentleman" relates the story of an afternoon: it is set in a small inn in a petty bourgeois district of Budapest. It is called "To the City of Vienna" and is famous far and wide as the only place throughout the country where they keep "Schwechat Lager Beer". The characters are the ordinary people of the neighbourhood to whom the most peculiar things are happening with the approach of dusk. We never learn whether all these happenings are only the illusion of their quiet drinking; at the peak of the illusion a mysterious foreigner appears who is a real Austrian archduke: all these things happen in 1906, on the last afternoon of the "To the City Vienna". This last afternoon is not tragic in the sense that no further afternoons are to follow: it is only the last because the old couple who keep the inn are retiring and giving way to the young, with whom certainly quite different things will happen. Life is a dream but life continues—this perhaps sums up the attitude of Gyula Krúdy, the best Hungarian writer on the atmosphere of the disintegrated Monarchy.

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A short definition of the two last periods in the cultural life of the Monarchy based on the foregoing is now worth attempting. Due to the collapse and final end of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as an economic and political base its cultural superstructure first found itself in a state of crisis and was later overcome by a condition of extreme unreality, the typical condition of a superstructure which has lost its base. This explains the often peculiar phenomena which made their appearance, as is inevitable in every similar historical situation, when a great power has ceased to be a great power, but the habitual forms of thinking still persist among the people for some time to come.

## AN UNKNOWN PEOPLE OF THE SUDAN

*Four months with the Maiaks*

Emil Torday was the last Hungarian ethnologist to carry out field-work in Africa south of the Sahara. He did so at the beginning of this century, working for the Belgians and for the British. Since then Hungarian African ethnography has been restricted to the collection of museum pieces (Rudolf Fuszek in Liberia) and to theoretical works (László Vajda and Tibor Bodrogi). It was only recently that an opportunity arose for a Hungarian ethnologist to do field work among the native peoples of Africa, following in the footsteps of the famous last century travellers László Magyar, Sámuel Teleki, Pál Bornemissza and Emil Torday. It was my special good fortune that it fell to my lot to continue the broken chain, which I was able to do thanks to the Hungarian state and the Sudanese Ministry of education.

I spent six months in the Sudan between February and July 1972 with a grant from the Hungarian Institute of Cultural Relations, as part of the Sudanese-Hungarian cultural agreement. I spent the first and the last month carrying out research in the library and museum in Khartoum and at the university, which left me four months for field-work. Following the original plan I went to the southernmost part of the Blue Nile Province, the Kurmuk District near the Ethiopian border, to visit one of the almost unknown surviving tribes of what is called the "Southern Funj" area, the tribal group traditionally known as the "Hill Burun" to the colonial and later the Sudanese administration.

Having visited every one of the Hill Burun tribes, spending a few days with each, I chose as my primary focus of research the tribe with most members by far, the Maiaks, who are the most segregated from the effects

of Islam that transformed native traditions with surprising speed. I was essentially on my own for the next four months and the Maiak tribe accepted, even quite literally adopted me quite early on. In other words the distrust natives show a stranger presented very few problems. I lived with them, regularly took part in their activities and even in their rites and I had the chance to carry out most intensive and successful social anthropological field-work. Naturally I also paid several visits to the neighbouring smaller tribes, various tribes of the Uduk, Mabann, Gumjum and Berta peoples, in order to clear up certain questions of origin, cultural links and linguistic connections.

The Hill Buruns—who call themselves *Mongatingi Leben* ("Those Who Hear—Understand—The Language")—and whose language is *Lep* ("The Language")—live in the territory of the Kurmuk and Roseires Districts. Their eight tribes all together number 12,500, of which the Maiak, the largest, accounts for 6,500. These tribes can be divided into three cultural groups. In the north there are the Magady (Mughaja), Murkuny (Abuldugu), Tyarkum (Surkum), in the east the Dyariba (Zeriba), Shimi and Dyorot (Jerok)<sup>1</sup>. Both groups are stongly Islamized, the northern one presumably having been so already at the beginning of the "modernizing" influences of the Turkish-Egyptian administration which replaced the Funj Empire. The two tribes of the middle-south-west-group, the Maiak and the Mufwa, seem, however, to be untouched as regards their social, economic and religious system, which is why I thought studying them especially important, as there is practically nothing on the Hill Buruns in the in any case infinitesimal anthropological and

<sup>1</sup> In parenthesis I give the names to be found on the official maps of the Institute of Cartography at the University of Khartoum.

other literature of the area. No doubt due to their Nilotic language, but not at all Nilotic culture they can provide interesting data on questions of the origin of the Nilot peoples, their early history or even late secondary degeneration.

*On the savannah*

The Ethiopian border area is a flat, dense forest and bush covered savannah, which was parched yellow and crackled with dryness when I arrived there, and was covered with grass and bushes several metres high when I began my return journey to the north in the pouring rain. All round a few hundred metre high, steep hills rose from the savannah. Boulders on top of each other, slowly worn by the water, where a whole score of small tribes from far away found refuge from the slave hunters of centuries. Not as if these hills could offer complete sanctuary from the armed tax collectors of the one-time Blue Sultanry, the Funj Empire, or later from the officials of the Turkish-Egyptian rule, who gathered tax in the form of men instead of durra-corn, or in the second part of the last century when all hell was let loose after the Sudanese war of liberation, the Mahdia. From the south the Nuers, from the east the Ethiopian Gallas and Beni Shangul Watowit and his Arabian Sheiks, from the west the Baggara Arabs and from the north the soldiers of the Mahdi all regarded the Kurmuk district as a free hunting ground and in consequence the population, which was in any case not very large, was reduced to a quarter of its previous size in a few decades. Some tribes almost died out, others escaped to faraway lands. The majority nonetheless remained, because it was at least possible to defend themselves in the hills: they were not as helpless against the enemy as on the plains.

Even a mere decade and a half ago elephants, Kaffir buffaloes and giraffes

wandered in the plain in large herds and the nights were loud with the screaming of the hyenas. Then came 1959 and the terrible drought when the rainy season simply did not come, despite the Maiaks' stoning to "death" the Djok Domu, the red mountain god who "held back" the rain. Thousands of carcasses covered the area, the vultures grew fat and the big animals—those that remained alive—all escaped to the south, to the other bank of the Yabus River, that has permanent water, where they found food around the marshes. Since then it is only at the beginning of the rainy season that the ostriches, antelopes, gazelles and a few carnivores return—the lion now only exists in the Burun tales—fewer and fewer of them, because their living space was in the meantime occupied by the cattle and goats of the Arab and Fellata nomads moving to the south.

The wooded savannah with the islands of hills strewn around it at the foot of the Ethiopian plateau is a fringe area, it gave doubtful refuge to a whole score of escaping groups from the conquerors and slave hunters, at least the difficult to approach boulders made defence possible. Each tribe built on the side or top of a hill and kept strictly apart from the others, had relations of enmity, often carrying on a traditional vendetta with them, even if they were all clearly aware of their linguistic and cultural ties. Nonetheless, the separate, closed way of life has not produced any significant linguistic separation and in the development of cultural differences it was only the influence of Islam that played a role. In the course of the twentieth century the Burun tribes mostly moved down from the hills to be near to the periodic rivers—Khors—and wells. In the case of the Maiak and Mufwa this took place scarcely a decade ago, with a certain amount of government interference in the interests of public safety, and today only the crumbling foundations for the huts and millstones show where the villages once were on the steep crags split by the heat and

the rain. The nineteen villages of the Maiak tribe are still situated around the hill, on the two banks of the Khor Ahmar, The Dark Red River in keeping with the original order. They have developed their highly organised life on the plains surprisingly quickly and their numbers suddenly increased at the beginning of the last decade, probably as a result of the significant increase in the "inner land" near the houses, and naturally the multiplication of their produce. The Burun myth of their origins, according to every tribe, is that the world and its living creatures were made by the sky god, the *Djok'n yal*, but since then he has had little to do with the everyday life of people in which the wicked mountain god, the *Djok pomu*, who is called by a different name by each tribe, plays a much greater role. The original man of the tribe was everywhere someone who came out of the hill, or rather according to the Maiaks, from the termitary by the hill. He found himself a wife in the neighbourhood and the oldest relation group (village) of the tribe is descended from him. With the exception of Mufwa this myth is mixed everywhere with the myth of the relatives of the ruler, the Funyaw (Funj) group, who arrived in the area later. The Funyawis, who were sent as tax collectors by the highly cultured Blue Sultanry to the "primitives" of the Burun tribes, understandably would like to maintain that their group was the first and the others all "came later". Despite the fact that at least in the last generation this justification for "ruling" made little sense, since the Funyaw group entirely merged into the Burun and the *Ret* (king) lost all his powers and functions. Today it is only his stories that he enjoys retelling and the genealogy of his ancestors that differentiate him from the others. The majority of the exogamous groups of the tribes also prefers to tell this myth and this indicates that the stories told of the deeds of earlier rulers have at least some basis in fact. In any case the "official" oral history is the one with a rational char-

acter, of which the person who tells it excludes every mythical feature.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Burun history*

Were we to attempt to place the history of the Buruns in some sort of absolute chronology on the basis of genealogy, the non-royal origins myth and my own estimations, one could only go back as far as the second part of the eighteenth century, at the most. We do not know what happened before that and where the Buruns lived then, but they had to live somewhere else since at that time this area was populated by the Uduk tribes. After the four or six *Rets* of the "unofficial" origins myth came the Funj groups and immediately took over power and the well known Nilotic title of the *Ret*. They can count up fourteen Funyaw *Rets* there. From this time onwards there are a few historic guiding points connected with individual rulers, such as the "invasion of the dervishes", i.e. the Mahdia and the punishing expedition of Mismis (i.e. Mr Smith, Bimbashi of Roseires) against the eastern slavehunters at the turn of the century. This latter event made such a deep impression in the otherwise uneventful life of the Buruns that, to this day, many children are named Mismis in distorted English.

#### *Burun economy*

The entirely self-sufficient Burun economy is built mainly on agriculture, which

<sup>2</sup> The historic stories of the Hill Buruns—involving real, genealogically identified actors ("the brother of my mother's grandfather", "my grandfather's best friend", etc.)—are full of fairy story elements. They only distinguish strictly between myth and fairy tales in the case of the origins myth. In the fifty four myths, tales and stories that I collected from the Maiak, Mufwa and Shimi tribes it is hardly possible to distinguish—the elements can only be separated with the help of the opinion of the story teller.

extirpates by burning, but is a consciously complex manuring shifting cultivation. The digging-stick is the tool for cultivating the soil despite the fact that the hoe is known, but only used for weeding. The characteristic two-field use of the land—the “garden” by the house or compound for the extensive family, sown with early vegetables and the outside land, a longer way from the village, which is occupied by individual families, but owned by the village on a collective basis—makes possible the division of produce on the basis of the work they require and the time taken in growing. Corn, a very primitive type of sweet potato, ochre and the two kinds of early durra grown on the inner areas are suitable for bridging the “famine” period, or at least part of it, of the rainy season since these can be harvested from the beginning of August. The harvesting of the nine different types of durra grown on the outside fields is spread out—almost continuously—from September to February. This does not mean, however, that the agricultural year, which thus extends from June to February, is spent in continuous work, since the land is owned communally—although used individually or by the extended family—and work on the land is also communal. At least the local groups, i.e. villages, of the user husbands (and wives) take part in the work and complete it very quickly. The storing of produce is again by individual family, consumption, however, is theoretically by the extended family, but in practice by the whole local group or even the tribe, as every passer-by may freely take part in the meals and the communal work campaigns are linked to conspicuous consumption. Consumption is not adjusted to the decreasing quantities produced in recent years because of the slow desiccation process. The number of festive occasions and the number of participants has remained constant and consequently the “famine” period, that was with great difficulty reduced to a month thanks to increased “garden” produce, is again lengthening. It is character-

istic that there is a precise system concerning famine-foods which is very different from that applying to the vegetables which are usually gathered.

In the self-sufficient economy of the Hill Buruns the traditional form of exchange is merely an exchange of activity, linked in part to the group work of communal agricultural activities, which is returned on a mutual basis and—in a different form—is connected with the institution of marriage. Because of the changing marriage system and the tax paid in money for each animal kept in the past twenty years exchange and commerce with those outside the tribe are increasing. Today permanently settled Arab merchants can be found everywhere, though as yet they are not trying to spread the goods of civilisation and deal with the natives primarily on an exchange basis. In order to raise the taxes the Buruns increasingly produce sesame as an income grain crop on the outside fields and the number of animals kept—goats, sheep, pigs and poultry living within the compound and cattle kept outside the village by the unmarried boys—is also increasing. Their number was very low before and they had little significance. Apart from the pigs the animals are still killed mainly as sacrifices and it is obvious that despite the Nilotic language of the Burun the members of the eight tribes hardly or not at all milk the cows, although this is one of the basic functions of the economy of all Nilotic people, as cattle raising itself is dominant in these cultures.

#### *Exogamy*

The village is the exogamous group and not the clan. There is no larger group, for example the nineteen Maiak villages are all independent, regard other villages as “strangers”, are patrilinear descent units, and within the village everyone regards everyone else as a relative, even where this is an obvious fiction. The three-generation extended family

within the village separates even in the case of minimal over-population. A new extended family is formed which remains near to the original family only as regards location, and authority links of a political nature cease to exist. The point of over-population is determined by the number of places available in the compound, i.e. the group of huts and gardens, of the founder of the extended family. One of the most interesting aspects of the system of descent is the order of inheritance. To be an heir is an office, a title commanding respect, whose symbol is a big spearhead. This spear is not used for any other purpose, and its shape is unlike the everyday weapon of the Buruns, which is a throwing spear with a small head. The *odak*—the heir—is always the youngest boy and this system is so strict that if the youngest child is a girl this means that there is no one to inherit and the wealth of the deceased head of the family is distributed among the relatives. The *odak* system has a very regrettable side, which is presumably to a large extent responsible for the fact that the oral traditions of the Hill Buruns are so poor. The heir inherits not merely the worldly goods, but also the family traditions, the myths—the family knowledge. When there is no *odak*, because the youngest child is a girl, or the *odak* dies before he could pass on his knowledge to his youngest son, this knowledge becomes lost because no one else is entitled to receive it.

The non-Islamised Hill Burun tribes have two recognised ways of getting married. The inhabitants of the suitor's own village are all "blood relations", to marry someone from there would therefore be incest, the greatest sin. The sisters of the institutionalised "best friend" must be favoured because, among those belonging to a different village, "strangers" are not very different from "enemies", the "best friend" is the nearest, and his family does not have to be included among those towards whom the traditional distrustful attitude requires reserve. The suitor can also enter the girl's house at any

time when she is the best friend's sister, something that is otherwise unthinkable.

If the "best friend" has no sister or if his sisters are not attractive, there is a further avenue which also aims to reduce the disadvantages of being a "stranger". My uncle is "my second father", my aunt on my mother's side is "my second mother", their daughters are therefore my siblings, so I cannot marry them. On the other hand the daughters of my mother's brother and of my father's sister belong in any case to a different village, in other words to a different patrilinear group, they are therefore highly suitable marriage partners. Everyone prefers to pay bride money to people who are relatives, even if distant relatives, to whom they can go freely, without any important restrictions, to eat during periods of famine. If many boys marry in that year, the whole village sometimes faces financial ruin because of the bride's price.

#### *Bride money and dowry*

The literal translation of the Hill Burun expression for bride money is "wealth for the marriage", despite the fact that the goods changing hands become the property not of the young couple, but of the girl's father who can, if he wishes, divide some of it among the families in his village, but in general jealously guards it to enable him to pay his son's bride money without having to ask his relatives for help. The girl receives household equipment as her dowry but the man, apart from the round grass hut built by communal effort and the piece of land that he is entitled to from the land of the extended family, has only what he has saved since his childhood. The paying of "the price" is his parents' task, or if they lack the means, then that of the whole village. That is why they especially like to marry the best friend's sister, since then the strange situation arises that the first man whom the groom approaches for financial aid is the best friend;

thus in the exchange of the goods it is only the act of the exchange that remains, its content is lost, since the girl's family receives precisely those valuables which their son gave to his friend, not as a loan but as a gift.

On several occasions I took part when the parents of the two sides sat in a hastily prepared grass hut, made specially for the occasion, in order to discuss the details of bride money, while the relatives sat in a circle in rapt attention, although the debate—even quarrelling—was purely formal since the sum of the bride money was almost constant, almost the same in every case. Two cows for the parents of the bride, a bull, which they ceremoniously sacrifice and eat, together with four goats and a pig. The latter is provided by the girl's parents. The girl's parents also receive two sheep, sixty bundles of tobacco, 70–80 spear-heads, 8–10 hoe-blades, 14 baskets of durra and 6 baskets of sesame seeds. This amounts to about 120 Sudanese Pounds, which sum the whole of the Maiak tribe could not put together in cash. Ten such marriages in one year from the same village and the whole village would become pauperised; that is, if there were not girls to be married in the same village, who bring in the same in bride money. Thus, in the long run, bride money makes no one rich. Nothing else does either, naturally, since the goods acquired are consumed communally, in the first place by the extended family and also by the whole village. According to my calculations bride money equalises any differences that may arise in the wealth of the different villages within ten years at the most.

However, it is only in the last ten years that they have been paying bride money, at least as regards the non-Islamised tribes. In the old marriage system the groom had to work for the girl, often for six or seven years, in the fields of his prospective father-in-law, as is the custom with the Ingessana tribes living further to the north. During this period he was hardly allowed to exchange

a few words with the girl and the many magic and behavioural ties with her parents made—and still make—the groom's life sheer hell. It is forbidden for him to speak to them without first being spoken to, to ask for water, or to accept food. The latter is regarded as physical contact and the girl would become jealous if her mother gave food to the boy. He can only approach the group of huts belonging to his father-in-law in bare feet and in a squatting position, with his head bowed, to wait there till a few indifferent words have been thrown at him, and the girl has brought water. This severity is maintained even after the wedding; it is only after the birth of the first child that the parents-in-law become somewhat more accommodating. However, it is the bitter duty of the husband to work in his father-in-law's fields for some years.

Since the paying of bride money became general the labour duty before the wedding has been restricted to one year, a single rainy season, though the older ones complain bitterly against the "new-fangled liberties" and "lack of morals". The bride money actually really has a deleterious effect on family life as the groom on occasion has to marry the girl by force, since only the agreement of the parents is required, the girl's willingness being thought superfluous. Today it is the one year marriage process that is obligatory. Bride money is paid around April. After that the groom cannot meet the bride in public until December, while he is working in his father-in-law's fields. Then the young couple may spend a few days together in the savannah. Then harvesting again and in the next few months it will become clear how fertile the land and the girl are. Finally, in July, they move together, when the final grass hut is built in the groom's village, beside his father's house. Despite the lengthy wait they never break up, as divorce is unknown among the Buruns and the groom is committed for a lifetime from the first moment of wooing, the paying of the bride money and work.

*Social life*

The social life of the Hill Buruns revolves around the two kinds of fertility, that of humans and that of the soil. The year is divided into two parts. In the dry season we find the celebrations of marriage and of mourning (the "second death", the death of the soul). The celebrations of the rainy season are linked to agriculture. The two parts are linked by a great, ten day long fertility celebration in April, when the fertility of man and of the soil meet. This holiday is also linked to hunting rites. Hunting, incidentally—judging by its system, the attitude towards it, and the hereditary chief of hunting—must have played a very significant part in the economy and thoughts of the Hill Buruns at one time, today, however, there is hardly anything left to hunt.

It can be seen from what has been said so far that the Hill Buruns live in a practically leaderless society, despite the fact that each tribe has a ruler. However, the political system of the small stratified tribe is so primitive, that even in the case of war, villages fight separately. The only event in which the whole tribe takes part is the great fertility celebration. The villages—in exceptional circumstances, in dangerous situations—are led by a council of elders composed of a few hereditary "great men".

*Mythology*

In the world view of the Hill Buruns the sky is divided into two: the eastern, daytime sky (*yal*) in which the creator, shapeless *Djok'n yal* lives, and the western, nighttime sky (*iny*) which is so empty that it is not even worth mentioning; its only purpose is to give way to the descending sun before it falls into a ditch under the faraway horizon in the savannah. Then the sun makes the return journey through the north to its

starting point. Yet if a Burun says *Djok* (god) he does not refer to our Father in Heaven but to *Djok pomu* the wicked one in the hills who, as a receptacle, carries in him the *sheris*, the Evil, which otherwise is found everywhere, in the falling branch, in the bite of a mosquito and in every human being. In the ideas of the Buruns the *Djok pomu* is connected with every event in life. If one knocks one's foot, if the merchant pays little for the sesame oil, if the harvest is poor, if someone falls ill or dies—all these are caused by the wicked god, who lives in one of the mysterious caves in the mountain, his body is that of a lizard and his face is human, with little twisted horns on his forehead. He is red and on windy evenings they see him in the red clouds. When someone dies the mourners grab their spears and boomerang-like throwing sticks to punish, or at least to threaten, the evil which is concentrated in the mountain *Djok*. Yet after a wait of one year—when there is sufficient durra beer once again for suitably mourning the deceased—it is the same wicked god that takes the soul of the deceased under the mountain.

However, the most important of the *Djok pomu*'s activities is connected with fertility. It is he who "holds back the rain". At such times one of the powerful *tidats*, the witch doctor, who belongs to one of the elephant orders, ascends the mountain, accompanied by the people to beg to the *Djok'n yal* and to dig out the stone or the bone which the mountain *Djok* hid in order to stop the rain. In cases of special difficulty even the chief

<sup>3</sup> For the past twenty years the suspicion has grown—on the basis of word lists consisting of a few words—that the language of the Hill Buruns is connected with the language of the Shilluk, Dinka, Luo and other Nilotic peoples, but lacking detailed knowledge African linguistic monographs have listed it rather uncertainly as "archaic Nilotic." A dictionary of about 2,000 words and the short grammar that I prepared of the dialect of the middle group of the Hill Buruns (Maiak, Mufwa) and completed with variants of the other two groups, may contribute to the clearing up of origins.

of the witch doctors, the *tidat'en dong* and even the *yoff*, the hereditary chief of ritual hunting, are employed. The latter can speak directly with the *Djok'n yal*.

It will take many months yet to process all the results gathered in only four months of field work among the Hill Burun tribes. The exceptionally fortunate research conditions provided me with a huge mass of information, though naturally four months is

a very short time to study the culture, society and ideas of a people in its details and its entirety. At any rate, ignoring all those who gave me a hand in preparing my journey I must thank my Maiak friends, who accepted me—even adopted me—who understood what I wanted, and in part even why I wanted it, and whose willingness to help me significantly contributed to the success of my work.

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NEVILLE MASTERMAN

## HENRIK MARCZALI, HISTORIAN

In a recent article in *The New Hungarian Quarterly*<sup>1</sup> the late György Lukács had some severe things to say about the Hungary of the Compromise era (1867–1918). It followed, he argued, “the Prussian way”, with “power-protected intimacy” as its leading characteristic. Yet the period started with some promise and, in spite of its faults, was one of peace in which a certain culture was developed and certain intellectual standards established. The career of Henrik Marczali (1856–1940), as described in his autobiography published between 1929 and 1931 in *Nyugat* (West), together with other information which I have collected about him, provides an illustration of the virtues and defects of this culture.<sup>2</sup>

Marczali was undoubtedly an honest and able man and was recognized as such by the European scholars of his day. Thus G. P. Gooch in his *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* wrote of him, “It was not . . . till the appearance of Marczali that Hungarian historiography broke the shackles of a narrow patriotism. His popular sketch of the development of the Hungarian people and his works on Hungary under Maria

Theresa and her sons represent the highest achievement of Magyar scholarship.”<sup>3</sup>

Even someone trained in the most rigorous accuracy, reminiscing about the past, is likely to allow his memory to be coloured by the knowledge of events which followed. But this, in Marczali's case, makes his 1929–31 reminiscences all the more remarkable. His views appear more tolerant and humane than they were when he was most influential. With his European culture and admiration for scholars of different nations, they run quite counter to the bitter reactionary attitudes which had developed during the Horthy régime. To a generation, growing up in 1929–31, the years of the economic crisis, they must have seemed the work of a creature of a different species who had lived in another world from the Europe that was then emerging. Nor is it surprising that they were not completed, but closed with the murder of Count István Tisza in 1918.

Henrik was born in 1856 in Marczali, a small town in the county of Somogy in the South of Hungary. Both his father and mother were the children of Jewish Rabbis. His father, Mihály Morgenstern, also a Rabbi,

was one of the first to use the Hungarian language in a synagogue. His son adopted the Magyar name of the town of his birth. His father seemed to be rather pleased than otherwise when his son declared that he did not wish to study the Talmud, but to learn Latin which he proceeded to do from the Vulgate. Latin had been the language used by the Hungarian Diet, even in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

The dawn of a pacific era was hardly apparent during his childhood. Napoleon III in 1859, allied to Kossuth and other Hungarian exiles, fought the Austrian armies in Italy. There were continual rumours that Garibaldi with some of these former rebels would land on the Dalmatian coast. Even the peaceful settlement of the Compromise (1867) was prompted by the battle of Sadowa (1866).

Marczali never appears to have felt much sympathy towards Kossuth and, though he later travelled widely, he never made the pilgrimage to the famous exile who until his death in 1894 lived at Turin. Marczali's family had admired Széchenyi and one of his first memories was his father giving an address in his synagogue at the time of the latter's suicide in 1860. He also sympathized with Széchenyi's Liberal Catholic successor, Ferenc Deák (1803–1876), the leader of the passive resistance against Habsburg autocracy after the failure of the 1848–49 revolution, and co-author of the 1867 Compromise.

In 1866, at the age of ten, he was taken by his father to Pest. There, in the Városliget, they came face to face with the "wise man of Hungary". The young ten-year-old boy was thrilled and rushed up and kissed the veteran statesman's hand. Deák turned and smiled, stroking the boy's hair. Like Deák, Marczali had a somewhat puritan bourgeois attitude towards the Compromise. The combination of aristocratic and military trappings with religious ceremonies employed to celebrate the Corpus Christi procession or the birthday of the Emperor offended him. He was present in Parliament in 1873 when

Deák delivered his last speech and was sorry to see the left-benches almost completely empty. Though his own researches into medieval history made him for a time popular with many Catholics, Marczali did not remain so when, as a supporter of the peasants, he demanded the break-up of the great estates, including those of the Church. During the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 most of his fellow students at the secondary school at Győr were ardently in favour of the Emperor Napoleon III. He considered Francophile feelings to be the result of newspaper propaganda: he was enthusiastic not for the French but for the English—ready even to fight with his school-mates, for his Anglomania.

Meanwhile, always at a precocious age, Marczali topped the list of his examinations. He came to know another Deákist, a Transylvanian Protestant in origin, Pál Gyulai (1826–1909), who was an excellent, if rather conservative, critic of integrity and who edited *Budapesti Szemle* (Budapest Review), a monthly which, in a country where chauvinism was reviving, maintained critical, scholarly standards and even, admittedly often in a rather muted voice, tried to examine social and political problems objectively. Gyulai had considerable influence on the young man, and so did Mór Kármán (1843–1915), one of the greatest Hungarian educators. It was probably through the latter's influence that Marczali received a scholarship to travel to Berlin, Paris and England, having obtained a doctorate on the rationalist theme, *A földrajzi viszonyok befolyása Magyarország történetére* (The Influence of Geography on Hungarian History). This was published in 1874.

Marczali travelled to Berlin in 1875. This was the great period of pioneering scientific history in Germany. Marczali found the Berlin university seminars immensely exciting. Never, he subsequently wrote, since the decline of Greece, was there such a Pleiade of historians as Ranke, Waitz, Nitzsch, Wattenbach, Droysen, Mommsen and

Treitschke. Only the last two, he maintained, were then chauvinistic. The young Hungarian was particularly impressed by the simplicity of the eighty-year-old Ranke, who delivered a lecture to him personally when he confessed how sorry he was not to have been his student.

He was fortunate, too, in his visit to Paris since he had a letter of introduction to Gabriel Monod, editor of the *Revue Historique*, through Monod's wife, Olga, the daughter of Alexander Herzen. Marczali had obtained this introduction from his friend, Károly Pulszky, the son of Ferenc Pulszky, Kossuth's representative in England, as Károly and Olga had played with one another as children. Marczali became a supporter of the Third Republic and, through Monod, met such figures as Renan, Taine and Gaston Paris. He also heard Russians from Russia argue with more Radical exiles. He found the French historians less interesting than the German. He worked very hard in collecting Hungarian source material from French archives.

One of his most important discoveries helped to date the so-called Anonymous chronicle which purports to be a contemporary description of the occupation of their country by the Magyars but is really of a much later date. Culture during the eighteen-seventies was very cosmopolitan and Marczali's paper on the chronicle was immediately translated into German and Russian. Under Wattenbach he studied the then recently discovered *Planctus Hungariae*, a lament over the thirteenth-century Tartar invasion of Hungary.

He was not so impressed by English historical methods after a visit to Oxford in 1877 where he found lectures rather than seminars. He had some interesting conversation with Bishop Stubbs whom he appreciated as a critical scholar and from whom he learnt very much, though he was said to be very orthodox in religion.<sup>4</sup> He collected some valuable material on Hungarian history from archives and from the British Museum.

At the latter he was told that they had never known anyone who had worked so hard. He must have surpassed Karl Marx himself in this respect.

Marczali returned to Hungary a dedicated scholar, without having encountered, as he put it, "either Eve or the serpent". He scarcely noticed the politics of the time though he deplored the decline of the Deákists and the coming to power of the autocratic Magyarizing Kálmán Tisza in 1875 who ruled Hungary until 1890. When in Paris Marczali had celebrated King Stephen's day with other subjects of the Hungarian kingdom. Some of these were in fact Slovak and he improved the occasion by telling them that King Stephen had claimed that a state containing many nationalities was better than one consisting of a single nation.

About this time, too, there was talk of co-operation between Rieger, the Czech leader, and the Hungarians. Károly Eötvös (1842-1916), the writer and lawyer (famous for his brave fight in Hungary's monstrous anti-semitic case of Tiszaeszlár, in 1883), had once declared that in seeking self-government for themselves, the Czechs were like an ordinary hound compared to the Hungarians who were like a trained greyhound. If you threw some sausage meat to the ordinary hound it would cease to pursue the hare, the greyhound would not be deflected from its course. Eötvös's judgement did not please Marczali. The Czechs might then have been contented with the sausage, he declared, they would not be later. Marczali declares that he supported the claims of the Czechs as a separate nationality and the historical basis of their constitution. This appears to show that, anyhow around 1930, he had come to doubt the wisdom of the Dualist structure. Like Deák, however, he would never approve of the federalization of the Magyar state nor does he appear to have appreciated how the growth of a Magyar-speaking bureaucracy and of a Magyar state education system would

inevitably come to be resented by the other nationalities.

Meanwhile he was building an academic reputation for himself. His *A magyar történet kútforrása az Árpádok korában* (Sources of Hungarian History from the Árpád Era, 1880) won him an important prize. This was followed by *Regesták a külföldi levéltárakból* (Documents [on Hungarian History] from Foreign Archives), published in 1882. In 1878 he was asked to give the European history course at Budapest University, having already obtained a post at one of the well-known Budapest *Gymnasia*. It was through the latter that he met his future wife. He was offered a present by the father of one of his pupils in appreciation of his work. With his high sense of integrity Marczali immediately saw this as a grave impropriety and refused to accept it. This did not prevent him, however, from coming into contact with the young man's family and he fell in love with and in 1883 married the young man's sister, Laura Schmidt, who was a very good pianist.

His historical interests had turned to the eighteenth century, to the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. This led to his examination of the archives of many of the distinguished aristocratic Magyar families, the Bánffys, the Apponyis, the Andrássys, etc. With his ability, learning and charm, particularly after having been made a university professor in 1895, he came to know their living heirs such as the counts Albert Apponyi and Gyula Andrássy, jr. These men were not so very unlike the aristocratic demagogues, Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Rosebery and Charles Stewart Parnell who emerged in England at the same time. They also used methods of parliamentary obstruction on what, in fact, were often very minor issues as they realized that big changes would cause their own eclipse. Nevertheless, they were interested in the intimate cultural and academic life of their country and befriended Marczali. He always insisted, however, that

he was an academic historian and not a politician.

His *Magyarország története II. József korában* (Hungary during the Reign of Joseph II, 3 vols., 1881-88) and *Mária Terézia* (Maria Theresa, 1891), aroused the interest of a young English historian, Harold Temperley, who in 1904 wrote an article on the Hungarian writer, Mór Jókai, his "favourite novelist", who died during that year, for *The Contemporary Review*.<sup>5</sup> Temperley thought that the German historians he had met "were tainted, most of them 'ruined', by politics". That is why he was so delighted by Marczali's detachment: "He seems a thoroughly honest man", "the most direct and straightforward . . . I have come across in Budapest", he declared. He felt that Marczali was doing for Hungarian history what Jókai has done for romance. Temperley admired Marczali's work on Joseph II all the more since "it showed how the Magyarization that had taken place in the past had been 'unconscious'"—quite a different process from the compulsory methods he now found being employed in Hungary. By 1909 Temperley had paid several visits to Hungary, travelling on one occasion with R. W. Seton-Watson (who never came to know Marczali). They both had become very critical at the treatment of the Slovaks and Temperley, though he never became so severe or specialist a critic of Hungary as *Scotus Viator*, thought that the country was in for a "smash", as a result of its Magyarization policy.

Besides, Temperley fell in love with Marczali's pretty daughter, Pauline. He wrote poetry to her during frequent visits to Austria where the family went on holiday and finally proposed to her. Her father was eager that she should accept. Partly for this reason she turned him down. Nevertheless Temperley was assisted by Marczali to write what he regarded as his favourite work, *Frederic the Great and Kaiser Joseph*, first published in 1915 and recently republished in 1968 with a preface by Professor Butterfield.<sup>6</sup> For his part, Temperley arranged that

part of Marczali's work on Joseph II should be translated into English. He himself wrote an introduction and it was published in 1910 with the title *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*.<sup>7</sup> It was probably through Temperley, too, that another work of Marczali's was published in English in 1911, *The Letters and Journal—1848-49—of Count Charles Leiningen-Westerburg*.<sup>8</sup> This could also be taken as a defence of the Deákist position, for Leiningen, a distant relative of Queen Victoria, had been drawn into the 1848-49 war with Austria against his will, because he felt the dilemma of rival loyalties, as he had given an oath of allegiance to the Emperor-King. Nevertheless he remained faithful to his Magyar comrades when Kossuth broke with the Habsburgs, though he had no use for Kossuth himself. As a result he had been executed with other generals at Arad. This book produced fury in Hungary, but it was very well received in England.

The comparatively placid period in Central Europe was now drawing to a close. During a visit to Turkey as early as 1896 to collect documents for his historical work, Marczali discussed with the French ambassador the approaching collapse of the Chinese Empire. Another Empire, nearer home, was due to collapse: the Austro-Hungarian, the ambassador informed him. "The blood froze in my veins," Marczali writes. In 1904 he had come to know Wickham Steed, then *The Times* correspondent in Vienna, who used to visit the tolerant Marczalis. Wickham Steed came to believe in the policy of ending dualism and giving autonomy to the Slav peoples at the expense of the Magyars. The two men argued furiously over this issue. Later, in 1911-12, Marczali visited Transylvania and was dismayed to see the growth of the Rumanian population who, like the Serb minority, felt no loyalty to the Magyar state. Hungarians, too, were growing turbulent. Led by some of Marczali's aristocratic *frondeur* friends, they began to demand separate treatment for Hungarian recruits, also within the K.u.K. army. In

1905 Francis Joseph proposed universal suffrage in Austria-Hungary which, in giving the vote to non-Magyar nationalities, would have threatened the unity of the Hungarian state. Like the aristocrats, Marczali was not then prepared to accept this and more and more turned to the authoritarian Calvinist, Count István Tisza, who was determined to maintain the Compromise, but who was a very different type from the patient, though stubborn, Ferenc Deák.

More politically Conservative, Marczali found himself out of touch with new trends in culture, including history. This fact is revealed when he found himself between two fires at a gathering of historians at a Free Education Congress held at Pécs in 1907. On the one side was the Roman Catholic Christian Socialist, Ottokár Prohászka; on the other were men like Zsigmond Kunfi, later to figure in the Government of the Hungarian Republic of Councils (1919). Marczali was severely criticized for advocating outdated ideas and for considering history as a mere record of individual deeds and ideas. "The true historian," Marczali replied, "must be a Conservative because he knows best how hard is the building and how easy the destruction. But he must be progressive as well, for change is the essence of history. Our task is to strive that better, rather than worse, conditions come into being," and to the Marxists he answered: "I consider historical materialism an idea, ...but *not* the *sole* key to the secrets of history."

In 1910, although he enjoyed a nationwide reputation, he found himself the victim of an attack on his academic integrity. A scurrilous anti-semitic Catholic paper, joined by one of the same type on the left, accused him of helping a Jewish student in obtaining his Ph.D.—one of the anti-semitic campaigns that swept over Europe at the turn of the century. Marczali had to fight a libel action. His students rallied round him and gave him, as a sign of their esteem, a silver plaque and many others, including some Roman

Catholics, also supported him. He won his case and congratulations came from scholars all over Europe. It was indeed difficult to have faith in progress and reason between anti-semitic reaction and raging radical nationalism, often anti-semitic as well.

One more success Marczali did have before the final storm broke. In 1913 the International Historical Congress took place in London. Marczali, who chaired several of the meetings, read a paper on *Count Széchenyi and England* which was published in *The Contemporary Review*.<sup>9</sup> Though the paper revealed a Conservative aristocratic attitude, Marczali was at pains to reveal the former daring Hussar captain's bourgeois attitude. Had not Széchenyi, as a young man, written an unpublished work on "How to unite Prudence in Life with Virtue"? In 1913 the second Balkan war had broken out and it seemed that at any moment Austria might become involved in war with Russia. As a Hungarian, Marczali tried to take the heat out of the atmosphere. He quoted Széchenyi's small power guile when he was seeking to make the Danube navigable which contrasted with the prevailing bellicosity among his fellow countrymen. "The Russians are on our side because they think it will hurt England; the English assist us, because they think it a means to hinder Russia. With some skill we shall succeed." Marczali concluded his paper, "...Hungary, for some years past, has deserted Széchenyi's traditions. History repeats itself. Half a century after St. Stephen's accession, Hungary was pagan again. It will return to the doctrines and ways of its great modern apostle of humanity..."

There was some discussion at the end of the Congress where it might next meet. Marczali proposed St. Petersburg and a tribute was paid to "the chivalrous Magyars" by the head of the Russian delegation, Count Bobrinsky.

According to his autobiography, in July 1914 Marczali concluded at first that the murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand

meant that war against Serbia was inevitable. He thought that complete acceptance of the Austrian ultimatum by the Serbs could alone avert war. He was relieved, however, that Tisza made pacific statements. He sent Tisza a letter from the famous French scholar on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Louis Eisenmann, advising the Magyars to remain neutral in—what he called—"a war between the Latins and Slavs on the one hand and the Germans on the other".

Marczali had travelled to Semmering (23 July) and became more and more disturbed at the worsening situation and ineffectually watched the movement towards world war develop. "Still there were birds and flowers," he recalled in his autobiography and one evening he went for a walk and saw a raven on a very high tree. If by throwing a stone he could cause it to fly away, all would be well, he argued. But in spite of fifty attempts the raven did not budge. Marczali recalled Poe's raven croaking "Never more". He thought he could see an end to the war in Europe if Britain did not come into it, but if she did come in he could see no end.

He confesses that the mood in the Dual Monarchy became as warlike as that of 1848 and a letter to Temperley, dated 31 July 1914, reveals that he himself was effected by the war against the Serbs. "I write now," he wrote, "in a historical moment. The enthusiasm for the war is general and genuine. Our situation has been quite unbearable and there was no other issue. Never, not even in the days of 'the Old Man of the Mountain' was there an organisation like the *Narodna Odbrana* and its Russian patrons."<sup>10</sup> Marczali rejoiced that "all Europe" agreed with Austria-Hungary. This of course was not the case. Temperley himself, who had by now married an English girl, had for some time developed a sympathy for the Serbs with whom he played a distinguished part during the war.

Once Marczali realized that a world war had broken out he did appreciate, in spite

of the early successes of the Central Powers, the mess into which Hungary had landed herself. His daughter, Pauline, who was in England brought back a message from Lord Robert Cecil saying that if Hungary remained neutral she might regain her long desired independence. Marczali regarded such a suggestion as dishonourable. Yet in September 1916 he prophesied to a still confident Tisza that America would join England and that Hungary as well as Austria would be broken up. He took down an account by Tisza of his early efforts to check the Austrian war party by at first only demanding an ultimatum which Serbia would be able to accept. This subsequent statement was used by Marczali for an article in *The American Historical Review* (1924) and in another on Tisza in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1926).<sup>11</sup> These articles, however, contain a little too much whitewash. In his 1929-31 autobiography Marczali is more critical. He quotes a remark by a visiting English professor, George Adams of All Souls, Oxford, just before the war—Marczali was to pay an exchange visit to England. They had evidently been talking about Ireland. "There goes your typical Ulsterman," Adams said of Tisza.

Marczali did however inform his English readers that before his assassination Tisza admitted the war was lost and—as he put it—"was even ready to accept Károlyi's leadership in order to save the country". In 1918 Count Pál Teleki persuaded first Andrásy then Károlyi to send Marczali to the West to try and help in obtaining a separate peace, but the plan came to nothing. He showed his Anglophile attitude once more by publishing an article in *Századok* (Centuries) on "The

Anglo-Hungarian Community of Interests in the Past".<sup>12</sup>

After the Counter-Revolution of 1919 he was gradually edged out of the university and granted a very small sum of money in lieu of a pension. Count Albert Apponyi who had been something of a chauvinist, but not an anti-semitic, did not desert him, however, and arranged that he should receive a small pension on the understanding that he would leave his valuable library to the state. Marczali had lost his wife after the war and though he lived until 1940, his writings were increasingly ignored or forgotten both in Hungary and elsewhere. This was due also to the fact that his views—those of a Liberal—became obviously outdated in the inter-war period. He also challenged the fury of Bálint Hóman, a power in the land as regards the writing of history, by launching an attack on the standards of historical scholarship in post-war Hungary, in a volume of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue Historique*, blaming the new régime for "the triumph of the reactionary spirit in this field as well".<sup>13</sup>

His death was unrecorded in the West, but the unveiling of his tombstone in 1943 was turned into a minor demonstration in Hungary by those who disapproved of the Nazis and their influence on Hungarian academic life. Since then, in an age of immense political changes, this Deákist historian was from time to time recognized to have left a legacy of some importance behind him. The changes that he dreaded have taken place, but, just because of this fact, a new generation can ignore his faults and appreciate his scholarly virtues and his not inconsiderable contribution to the study of his country's past.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> György Lukács: "Béla Bartók" (On the 25th Anniversary of His Death). *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, Vol. XII (1971), No. 41, pp. 42-43.

<sup>2</sup> This article is based primarily on the much-neglected autobiography of Henrik Marczali: *Emlékeim* (Recollections), published in *Nyugat* (West) in 16 parts (Vol. XXII [1929], I: pp. 569-576, 687-692, 719-726, 810-815; II: pp. 29-35, 96-112, 225-234, 295-302, 353-368, 417-424, 477-484, 537-545, 614-626, 709-721; Vol. XXIV [1931], II: pp. 223-229, 293-296). I do not see it as a work of learning but more as a token of appreciation. Perhaps it will lead historians to follow up this research. I do not therefore think that references are necessary for every single statement. For bibliographical data I consulted also Zoltán Tóth: "Marczali Henrik l. tag emlékezete" (The Memory of H. Marczali, Ass. Member of the Academy), in: *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia elhunyt tagjai fölött tartott emlékbeszédek* (Memorial Speeches over the Departed Members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), Vol. XXIV, No. 8, Budapest, 1947.—I must also thank Miss Pauline Marczali of 30, Ashchurch Grove, London W.12, for supplying material for this article.—For further reading see Gyula Szekfü: *Marczali Henrik* (Offprint from the Year-Book of IMIT for 1943, pp. 1-8) and the critical reappraisal by Emma Lederer: *Marczali Henrik helye a magyar polgári történettudományban* (H. Marczali's Place in Hungarian Bourgeois History-Writing), *Századok*, Vol. 96 (1962), No. 3-4, pp. 440-469.

<sup>3</sup> G. P. Gooch: *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*. (London, 1913), p. 434.

<sup>4</sup> Bishop (William) Stubbs' *Select Charters* was published in 1870, his *The Constitutional History of England between 1874 and 1878*.

<sup>5</sup> H. W. V. Temperley: "Maurus Jokai and the Historical Novel". *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. LXXXVI, July 1904, pp. 107-114.—Temperley with G. P. Gooch was responsible for editing *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir Herbert Butterfield's introduction to a second edition of Harold Temperley's *Frederic the Great and Kaiser Joseph*. (London, 1968), especially p. ix and pp. xiv-xix.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Marczali: *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*. Translated by Arthur B. Yolland. With

an introductory essay on the earlier history of Hungary by H. W. V. Temperley (Cambridge, 1910).

<sup>8</sup> *The Letters and Journal—1848-49—of Count Charles Leiningen-Westerburg*. Edited, with an introduction, by Henry Marczali. Translated by Arthur B. Yolland (London, 1911).

<sup>9</sup> Henry Marczali: "Count Széchenyi and England" *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. CIII (May 1913), pp. 659-667.

<sup>10</sup> I must thank Sir Herbert Butterfield for showing me this letter sent by Marczali to Temperley.—The *Narodna Odbrana* had in fact by 1914 become a purely cultural society and it was the *Black Hand* which trained assassins, but no Austrian official appeared to appreciate this. See A. J. P. Taylor: *War by Time-Table* (1969), pp. 54-55 and 61.

<sup>11</sup> "Papers of Count Tisza, 1914-1918" (Contributed by Henrik Marczali, published by Sidney B. Fay). *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XXIX, January 1924, pp. 301-315.—*The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 13th edition, 1926, Vol. 31 (The Three New Volumes III.) pp. 788-789.

<sup>12</sup> Henrik Marczali: "Az angol-magyar érdek-közösségről a múltban" (The Anglo-Hungarian Community of Interests in the Past). *Századok*, Vol. LIII (1919), No. 3-10, pp. 113-123.

<sup>13</sup> For Marczali's article (*Hongrie*. Par Henri Marczali) see *Bibliothèque de la Revue Historique*. 1: Histoire et Historiens depuis cinquante ans. Méthodes, organisation et résultats du travail historique de 1876 à 1926. Recueil publié à l'occasion du cinquantenaire de la "Revue Historique". Vol. 1: Paris, 1927, pp. 209-218. The article was vehemently criticized in 1929 by Bálint Hóman, cp. *Magyar Szemle* (Hungarian Review), Vol. V, February 1929, pp. 131-134; entitled "Hazai történetírásunk csődjé. Magyar referátum francia nyelven" (Failure of Our History-Writing. Hungarian Report in French). Reprinted in: Bálint Hóman: *Történetírás és forráskritika* (Historiography and Source Criticism). Budapest, 1938, pp. 537-542.

The author expresses his gratitude to Mr. Tibor Frank of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, for checking the data, the sources and the quotations in the text as well as for supplying material for most of the notes.

# BOOKS AND AUTHORS

## "FOR A SOCIALIST HUNGARY"

*On the publication of János Kádár's book*

Collecting and publishing the addresses and articles of leading politicians is customary in most countries; the press then generally uses the opportunity to comment on the policies and activities of the author.

Commenting on the Hungarian edition of János Kádár's recent volume\* I think I ought first to outline János Kádár's political profile, instead of giving an account of the articles he wrote and the speeches he made between 1968 and 1972. To be more precise: I want to deal with the dilemma in the first place which keeps the western press in a state of uncertainty even today when writing about the First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. This could be particularly felt since János Kádár turned sixty on May 26th 1972; it was noted far and wide how modestly and without ceremony his birthday was celebrated, although it is well known that he is the most popular and highly respected politician socialist Hungary has produced, and that confidence in and attachment to János Kádár increases from year to year.

I do not intend to analyse the image of János Kádár in the western press. It is well known that this image underwent various "changes" (to speak politely) from the shocking head-lines of 1956 up to the present; today he is considered the sort of representative of the other side who cannot

be denied a certain respect. Not even the most objective bourgeois journals are, of course, willing to admit that they were wrong earlier, since this would mean that they would have to re-examine much about 1956 they still maintain today. If they should do so, however, the "Kádár mystery" would be solved and the western press would become aware that Kádár, the statesman and party leader, who headed the Party and all those who dealt with the armed rising more than sixteen years ago, is identical with that János Kádár who formulated Hungarian policy in 1961 saying that "he who is not against us is with us", that he is not only the same person but the representative of a political line which consistently fights on two fronts. This policy started to show itself in November and December 1956, it has grown stronger since, is dominant at present and will continue to maintain its preponderance also in the future.

The "clue" lies not in some peculiar sort of change but in a consistent and firm policy that is all of a piece, the policy of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and of János Kádár. What does not fit into a pattern of prejudices is that this policy is neither doctrinaire nor dogmatic and yet—or perhaps just because of this—it is a Communist policy true to principle, the aim of which is to build up a consistently socialist society. Misunderstandings and sheer incomprehension are due,

\* *A szocialista Magyarorszáért* (For a Socialist Hungary), Kossuth, Budapest, 1972.

if I may somewhat oversimplify the position, to a way of thinking according to which Communists can only have dogmatic ideas even on Socialism; if they are not dogmatic they are not Communists on the road to Socialism; in that case they are either Social Democrats who believe in a semi-planned economy or simply pragmatists who have given up all revolutionary objectives, and allow themselves to drift on the current of scientific and technological progress towards the fathomless sea of the consumer society.

This Kádár image is still obfuscated by guesses since the picture of a Communist politician, and of a Communist policy, whose criteria are a resolute and principled adherence to the line, class-consciousness and a consistent keeping in view of socialist objectives, on the one hand, and considerable patience with understanding for the differing views and demands of men, the endeavour to unite as wide a spectrum of national forces as possible, flexibility, tact and tactical acumen, as well as experimentation in implementation, on the other, cannot be squeezed into the above pattern. Some say that Hungarians are shrewd manipulators who cunningly work for dogmatic objectives; others that the Hungarians "sensibly" gave up utopian dreams such as the building of a completely socialist society. If people were ready to rid themselves of such stereotypes, it would be easier for them to understand a person who is not only the symbol of present Hungarian policy but the man chiefly responsible for shaping it.

It is true there are still imponderables, things which are not easy to analyse, as always in history when the fate of a people becomes intertwined with the personality of a leader: János Kádár no doubt has qualities which the life he led brought out and which connected him in a profound and deep way with the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian nation at a crucial stage of the nation's history. This was also mentioned in a brief toast proposed at the lunch given by the Central Committee of the Hungarian

Socialist Workers' Party when János Kádár's sixtieth birthday was celebrated in a modest and unpretentious way\* as well as in the letter of the Central Committee addressed to him on the occasion. In fact, it would be an overstatement if one were to say more than "it was mentioned"; the story of his life can only be told on the basis of brief entries in reference books and of an occasional personal remark of his.

János Kádár was born in Fiume (Rijeka, Yugoslavia) in 1912. It was part of Hungary at that time. He was brought up in the village of Kapoly in Somogy County, in an environment in which daily bread was a treasured gift and life was a drudgery from daybreak to nightfall. He spent his youth, the age when a young person's ideas mature, in Budapest in working class areas, which Attila József evoked with such imaginative force. Those poems fit the young Kádár since he, like the poet, was brought up by a hard-working mother.

In those rare moments when János Kádár recalls his youth in the light of today's experiences, he usually insists that it was always the needs of the movement that placed him in a responsible position. It was truly necessity that did it and not mere chance. Horthy's police arrested him soon after he was admitted to the illegal youth organization of the then illegal Communist Party. He was scarcely freed when he was told to take over a responsible post in a Party organization. A few months later he was a member of the Budapest secretariat. This meant a new mode of life: permanent nerve-racking illegal struggle, responsibility and danger; circumspection and strength of mind were required at all times.

Unemployment and persecution, prison and danger were his lot in the 'thirties. By the time he became a mature man, the Second World War broke out. He took part in organizing the resistance already as a member of the Central Committee of the

\* The text of the toast was published in No. 48 of *The New Hungarian Quarterly*.

Party. He was appointed secretary to the Central Committee in 1943. His particular task was to extend the basis of the fight for independence. 1944 followed, the last fatal act of the fascist drama. In the spring of that year he was detained by the Gestapo which, however, was not aware of the good catch they had made. He escaped and once more became the organizer of the resistance in the last months of the war.

After the liberation of the country he worked on the reorganization of the Budapest police; subsequently he was appointed First Secretary of the Budapest Party Committee and, during the struggle for power within the coalition, one of the Deputy First Secretaries of the Party. He was confirmed in this position by the First Congress of the Hungarian Workers' Party. Then he became Minister of the Interior; matters, however, took a different turn in the "year of change"; the personality cult years followed and János Kádár was arrested in 1951 and tried on trumped-up charges; although rehabilitated in 1954, his new duties were not in accord with his merits and ability. The time was not ripe for him yet. First he was appointed Secretary of the Party Committee of Angyalföld, a large working class area in Budapest and then First Secretary of the Party Committee of Pest County. He was co-opted by the Central Leadership of the Party as a member of the Political Committee and one of the Party's secretaries as late as July 1956.

He became the First Secretary of the Provisional Central Committee which confronted the Counter-Revolution and, at the same time, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. He became First Secretary of the new Central Committee, a post he still holds. He resigned from the post of Prime Minister in 1959. The influence and weight of his personality can be best appraised if one considers the political activity which has shaped the features of the country in the past sixteen years.

János Kádár and the Party not only

defeated the Counter-Revolution but also eliminated the great wrongs caused by sectarian and dogmatic policy. This was the period of consolidation, of the socialist transformation of agriculture, the time when the Hungarian people and working class laid down the foundations of a socialist society, cultural and ideological life recovered, the modernization of the economic system started, legality was restored and socialist democracy grew and developed apace. The Party, together with János Kádár, prepared itself to live up to the requirements of the social, scientific and technical revolution of our times.

A discussion of the interdependence between personality and historical development would go beyond the scope of this review. All I propose to do is to outline roughly certain features which might be of interest to readers abroad.

János Kádár is not only a politician true to principles, he is most sensitive to problems; he put his fingers on many a weak spot when it was present only in the bud.

To mention only a single example: the struggle the Party and the Central Committee wage against negative phenomena such as gross materialism, the selfishness of individuals and groups and the acquisition of goods that were not worked for. The interest of the public focussed on these problems towards the end of 1970, and yet Kádár had warned against this impending danger as early as February 1968, as shown by the first address the volume under review reprints. He employed the metaphor of horses pulling unequally and added: "A country and its people cannot go on living in such a way that four pull while the fifth which lets the traces swing loose, eats a double ration of oats. This is not fair and won't do." In this talk, speaking in the same easy manner so popular among his listeners, he took a stand in favour of socialist principles of distribution against egalitarians and abstract moralizers: "If a labourer earned by and large the same money whether he worked much or

little," he told the workers of the Ikarus factory, "he would have to be a Saint Paul at the very least to go on working flat out."

Since the first piece in this volume coincides with the introduction of the economic reform of 1968, it is understandable that a number of writings and talks deal with subjects touching on economic guidance. He already declared at the beginning of 1968: "The reform of economic guidance is primarily a planned economy with the difference though that it is more circumspect and turns possibilities to better account." "It is obvious that such far-reaching measures extending over the entire field of the economy can only be implemented gradually and that their introduction brings many problems in its train." "Measures must be taken—Kádár wrote—which further the more efficient implementation of the new system."

In April 1969 he drew attention to certain drawbacks deriving from group interests which manifest themselves in a "peculiar coupling of interests" and warned, in another address, against the intertwining of local interests which might lead to "crooked ways." The following is concerned with the same subject: "We do not sympathize with those who come forward with demands as if they were pros but only play the game as amateurs."

It is clear that Kádár reacts in time and sensitively to phenomena, both positive and negative, which come about in the course of social development. "One should always look at realities and not look for what one would like," he once declared and this refers to both exuberant optimism and to the deliberately malicious who find fault with everything. He wonders whether an eternal and boring repetition telling of the soundness of Party policy might endanger the persuasive power of this undoubtedly true fact. He points out again and again that social changes, results, deficiencies and initiatives must be considered and judged in the light of reality and in their historic context. He spoke to scientists but what he said

could have been addressed to everybody saying that "they should look ahead and project their ideas towards the sky, at the same time looking where they were going, for if they didn't they might stumble and wouldn't then get far either in space or here below."

The capacity to unite people of good will, the revolutionary elements of the working class in the first place, and to draw those into the sphere of socialist ideas who had hitherto kept aloof, enabling them to step beyond the limits of their earlier attitude and assume responsibility and commitment for the people and the new order, that is typical of both the efforts of the Party and of János Kádár's mental frame.

I quote Kádár once again to show that this is not an easy task: "It seldom occurs," he said, "that people who have once adopted the Marxist way of thinking should cease to be Marxists; it is, however, a great achievement to become Marxist-minded and to adopt socialist ideas and morals. It betokens an even greater effort to bring up the youth of a nation to be such men." Of course, Kádár was never doubtful as to the reality of this aim. He succinctly defined his belief in the following way: "Because I am a Communist I believe that people do change," meaning that Marxist-Leninist ideas act and shape the consciousness of people accordingly.

In his comments on the experiences of consolidation he reverts to the aforesaid. The kind of unity he seeks is a unity of principles, unity relying on socialist foundations; in his view it is a task of the very first importance to win over those whose place is on the inside, on the right side: "This is," he declared, "truly Communist work. We used force against those who employed force against Socialism. To ask questions, however, to argue, raise ideas, and carry on their true exchange, we certainly don't oppose that, that's what we want, that's what we demand, since determination, indispensable when it comes to action, is born of the meeting of minds."

He sadly speaks of "certain people, sometimes not only certain people" who represent the just cause of Socialism in such a way that they put off instead of attracting; he has often underlined the significance of conduct, tactics and emphasized that the Party should touch the right note.

Every article or address by Kádár is imbued with this spirit of "rapprochement." This is particularly striking when he directly addresses workers, his collaborators, or peasants: the great respect he has for the working people is also shown when he thanks them for what they have done for the common cause and for themselves; the heartiness with which he speaks to the old comrades from the movement, to Budapest proletarians or Somogy peasants among whom he was brought up, and who showed him the way to the movement, to the Party. Every comment he makes shows that the politician, leader and statesman has preserved the basic characteristics of a worker and knows where the shoe pinches the "pedestrian", as he is wont to say, what the man in the street accepts and what he rejects.

Kádár has never hunted after popularity and never courted public opinion; in his view outspokenness is a precondition for sharing responsibility with the Party and with the state for the present and future of the country. "Much is needed to develop this sense of responsibility," he told a member of the staff of *Unità*, "genuine confidence as well as a thorough discussion of deviating opinions. . . . If this materializes it means a much more thorough defence of the interests of the people than any kind of petty guardianship or pedantic administrative measure. . . . This apparent detour is, in fact, a shorter one, and far more rational." Precisely because he is the politician of unity, of a socialist unity led by the working class, he keeps a sharp eye on existing conflicts and their sources. To give an example, he told the Congress of the Patriotic People's Front that "temporary clashes of interest that can be dealt with can arise even between the

working\* classes because these classes are made up of individuals of different political maturity and world view."

Kádár never considered confrontation a kind of panacea, trusting to spontaneous recovery. He puts all his trust in the Party and in the active forces of society whose duty it is to integrate and reconcile justified interests and the right ideas, on the one hand, and to overcome sectional interests and prejudices, on the other. Lessons must be drawn from antagonisms which have come to the surface, as well as from conflicting opinions, the concrete truth must be established and what is considered a just solution must be sought for, it is this that paves the way to mutual understanding and unity. This is what the construction of accomplished Socialism, the primary interest of the working class, demands, and this is the essence of the leading role of the Party. This is why Kádár attaches such great importance to the unity of the Party: "The Central Committee, the middle-level cadres of the Party as well as the basic cells must work for the same aim on the basis of the identical interpretation of tasks and do so in perfect harmony and simultaneously."

The same logic and dialectics manifest themselves in Kádár's analyses of the unity of the Communist world movement and on questions concerning the joint front of anti-imperialistic forces. He has absolute faith in the Communist idea but, at the same time, he keeps a close watch on reality, his optimism is due to this. "In my view we have nothing to fear from anybody's questions, our truth is strong," he said. I would even say that it is natural for him to face complications. This could also be felt when he addressed the representatives of the Communist parties at an important consultative

\* Hungarian differentiates between *dolgozó* = those who work, and *munkás* = those doing manual work of an industrial nature. Here the Hungarian reads *dolgozó*, that is not merely the working class is meant, but both the working class, the peasants and the professionals. (*The transl.*)

conference: "Among the fraternal parties the effort to start from common interests, to put aside differences of opinion and to subordinate everything to interests of the fight against imperialism is getting stronger and stronger." He starts from the principle that the parties should listen to each other attentively and try to arrive at a better understanding of each other's situation in order to throw light on differences of opinion deriving from objective causes and from artificial antagonisms disseminated in the movement by dissidents, nationalists and right or left-wing deviationists.

"Socialism has," János Kádár said, "like every other social system, certain common basic laws as regards essentials." He has, on repeated occasions, established the place of Hungary in the world, and the side on which the Hungarian Communist Party stands in the argument. "History," he said, "has shown that the Soviet Union is the foremost

true and sincere friend of the Hungarian people which has embarked on the road to Socialism; Hungary is linked to the Soviet Union by indissoluble ties of friendship. Hungary is a member of the Warsaw Treaty and the building of Socialism in Hungary is supported by CMEA." János Kádár repeatedly emphasizes that the Hungarian Communist Party has always stood for internationalism, candidly and persistently, and that it holds firmly to this policy.

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I have quoted rather than analysed. This is right in this case since there is more to the argument than the book under review. The high degree of consistency, humanity, adherence to principles and—one might say—sober passion permeating this book are reflected by the present condition of the country.

PÉTER RÉNYI

## HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS,

1945-1948\*

The transport and telecommunications revolution, that is the shrinking of the world also, it seems, changed the dimensions of historical writing. The position of those who deal with the most recent period is particularly difficult. First class monographs dealing with the ancient and even the more recent past are available. They rely on exist-

ing sources and a new, technological methodology of research. Research into the most recent past, however, is made more difficult not only by an *embarras de richesse* of sources but at the same time by the absence of the most important ones. Few official documents concerning the Second World War and the quarter century that followed it have been published, they are still largely considered confidential. The Pentagon papers were a good recent example. Another problem is defining the limits of the material, not so

\* Péter Várkonyi: *Magyar-amerikai kapcsolatok 1945-1948* (Hungarian-American relations, 1945-1948) Kossuth Publishing House. Budapest, 1971, 264 pp.)

much the temporal ones but those of a particular subject. In this age of interdependence all that happens in one part of the world is more or less closely interrelated with what happens in every other. Every event these days, from South Africa to Iceland, and Alaska to Cape Horn is an event of world-wide importance. This is particularly true of a Europe crowded with the unsolved problems of the post-war world.

Péter Várkonyi's book deals with a most exciting period when contemporary Europe took shape, and the new political structure of the world, when the two peaks, the Soviet Union and the United States rose high above the community of nations, and the confronting systems of alliances were outlined. It is of great interest to get to know all one can about a historical period, that can be called closed, when American political efforts were directed towards preparing the Cold War. In the quarter of a century and more that has passed since a significant proportion of the tensions have been overcome, and the possible European *détente*, the Soviet-American negotiations and the mutual visits of statesmen have also given a new direction to Hungarian-American relations.

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When examining the period discussed by Várkonyi one must willy-nilly go back to the War, to an analysis of the convergent and divergent forces of the anti-fascist coalition, to the compromises of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam summit meetings which already carried the seeds of later conflicts. In this section of his work Várkonyi concentrates on those who endeavoured to establish their political position in the post-war period under the cover of agreements made in pursuit of the war, regardless of the role the chosen socio-political forces played in the Hitlerist alliance. The plan to restore the Hapsburg monarchy is a typical example. In Várkonyi's words: "According to available information the idea of restoring the Hapsburg monarchy

was discussed pretty seriously in America between 1941 and 1943. A role was no doubt played by the fact that President Roosevelt himself was far from hostile to the idea." Then Péter Várkonyi continues by quoting an American author: "President Roosevelt considered dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy one of the worst blunders of the peacemakers after the First World War. He planned a Danubian confederation with the idea of unifying the Danubian region. He was not interested in dynastic restoration, but certainly would not have objected to it if it had facilitated reconstruction. I have been told that both he and Mr Churchill had agreed before Russia entered the war that American troops should occupy the Balkans, Hungary and Austria. . . (J. F. Montgomery: *Hungary, the Unwilling Satellite*. New York, The Devin-Adair Company, 1947, p. 215.)

*Foreign Affairs* published an article by Dr Otto Habsburg in which he argued that a confederation of Catholic states ought to be established after the War. He proposed Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Croatia and perhaps Czechoslovakia as members. At that time the American authorities allowed him to organize an "Austrian Legion" as part of the American army, but there were no volunteers and the scheme fell through.

At the time of the Yalta conference an attempt was made by the United States to ensure the presence of American troops in Hungary. This could not, however, be justified from a military point of view, the expected results would not have been proportionate to the magnitude of the effort necessary. Nothing came of the idea but it appears that there were political intentions at the back of it.

Várkonyi rightly points out, writing about Hungary's liberation, that the Red Army, when entering the country's territory, crushed a social system which had been deeply suffused by the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda of a quarter century, a country where at the same time a part of

the ruling class entertained traditional Anglo-American and French contacts. These forces were only partially eliminated from political life when the old order collapsed, and as the great wartime alliance began to break up, they considered it only natural that they should look to the western powers, primarily the U.S., for support. The position in Hungary became more and more complex since the western powers suffered defeat after defeat in their efforts to obtain or maintain political and economic influence in Eastern European countries. The situation in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia did not shape according to their notions, they therefore attempted to keep Hungary as a base in East Central Europe at all costs.

In their view the autumn 1945 Hungarian parliamentary elections, in which the Independent Smallholders' Party obtained an absolute majority, created the appropriate basis for them. This election showed that all the supporters of the old order endeavoured to reobtain their privileges, and inhibit the carrying out of land reform and even of the demands of the bourgeois democratic revolution by working through the Smallholders' Party. A difficult situation arose within the Smallholders' Party itself. The left wing, which desired genuine good relations with the Soviet Union, and which really wished to cooperate with the coalition partners, lost ground and was subjected to increasing pressure by the right wing. Examining the position at the time, Várkonyi shows, by discussing successive steps taken by the Americans, that such distortions in the policy of the Smallholders' Party were partly due to the activities of the American mission in Budapest, which promised American support if the leaders of the Smallholders' Party abandoned the jointly agreed on policy of the coalition and instead helped to strengthen American political and economic influence.

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An interesting detail of U.S.-Hungarian

relations was the reestablishment, at the earliest possible date, of diplomatic relations between Hungary and the U.S. As Várkonyi points out the reason for this haste was obviously that the Soviet Union had decided to recognize the Hungarian government unconditionally. Discussions going on in London between Byrnes and Molotov on the Romanian and Bulgarian peace treaty played a role, as well as the American desire to confront Bulgaria and Rumania with Hungary. According to a note taken by Charles E. Bohlen, Byrnes said to Molotov at the September 19th confidential meeting between the American and the Soviet delegations, held in London, that the Americans were still continuing their examination of the character of the Hungarian government. Two days later, at the September 21st meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, Byrnes said in the course of a stormy debate on the recognition of the Romanian government that the U.S. had come to the conclusion that, though the government of Hungary was not a perfect one, improvements had been of such a kind that the United States instructed its representatives in Hungary that it was prepared to recognize the Hungarian government if free elections, as prescribed by the Yalta agreement, were held.\*

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Peculiar steps taken by those responsible for Hungary's foreign policy in the first half of 1946 included official trips to Moscow and Washington. Várkonyi says: "The western trip did as much damage to Hungary's international position as the Moscow trip helped to improve it. Ferenc Nagy and his colleagues endeavoured to show that Hungary's foreign policy was one of 'balance', and that they furthermore tried to ensure increased support for their aims on the part of the western powers, primarily the United States."

Ferenc Nagy describes the preliminaries

\* *Foreign Relations*, 1945, Vol. II, pp. 193.

of the Washington trip as follows:<sup>1</sup> "After our return from Moscow, I awaited only an opportune time for a government delegation to visit the western great powers. Both the American and the British minister, who considered our trip to Moscow as a success, encouraged a visit for personal discussion with the western statesmen of Hungary's situation. Independently of their suggestion, . . . I had thought this journey advisable, because the difference between the policy of the Hungarian government and other southeastern European countries would be emphasized by our establishing the first personal contact with the statesmen of the western powers."

"First" . . . and "difference", these were the key words of the Washington trip. Though the resolutions and statements issued by the Hungarian Communist Party correctly evaluated the dangers involved in this sort of political double game and fence-sitting, they—in my view in a most unfortunate manner—nevertheless gave their name to the trip, at one time they even attempted to justify it. The view expressed by Gyula Szekfű, a leading historian, is worthy of attention: "No one could maintain that the Soviet Union showed suspicion right at the start towards the party which obtained the majority of votes at the election or towards the coalition government led by it. On the contrary, the Hungarian government was invited to Moscow as the governments of the other ex-satellite countries had been before it, in this way expressing confidence and an intention to nurse good relations. Opposition between the Anglo-Americans and the Soviet Union had become apparent in various fields by then, therefore everyone unambiguously interpreted the fact that the then Hungarian government hurriedly flew to Washington and London after its Moscow journey. These two western visits had no positive aim or meaning, they were not even

properly prepared, more precisely they were prepared in a negative way. The British government sent a clear message that they did not consider a visit by the Hungarian government opportune at that time, and the view of the American government, though not so sharply expressed, was roughly the same. This meaningless and useless visit also necessarily had an effect on the other side by allowing them to recognize the fence-sitting character of Hungarian government activities."<sup>2</sup>

The western journey therefore did not clear up but further complicated Hungary's international position, furthermore distorting the attitude of the leaders of the Small-holders' Party to events at home. The differences between the Great Powers led them to conclude that the time had come to put an end to the coalition in Hungary. The stabilization of the country and of the currency, the introduction of the stable forint following the inflation, improved the standing of left-wing forces, at the same time, however, the opening of the agrarian scissors, and the compulsory deliveries of agricultural products created unrest amongst the peasantry. The right wing of the Small-holders tried to regain the influence it lost owing to stabilization by mobilizing the peasantry. Flagrant scandals were typical of their meetings in the provinces, and they organized a peasant block of parliamentary representatives within the House. The internal situation therefore became even more acute and the coalition crisis turned into a permanent feature. The apparent acceptance of some of the left-wing demands (the dissolution of trusts, greater rights for shop-steward committees and trade unions, state control of banks) produced a transitional *détente* only. As internal conflicts became more acute there was an organizational coming and going on the Right, and it carried out operations which proved to be increasingly incompatible with the interests

<sup>1</sup> Ferenc Nagy: *The Struggle Behind the Iron Curtain*, New York, The MacMillan Company, 1948, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Forradalom után* (After the Revolution). Cserépfalvi, Budapest, 1947, p. 176.

of the State. An anti-state conspiracy was revealed shortly before the signing of the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty.

The ensuing investigation seriously compromised part of the leadership of the Smallholders' Party. The American government hurriedly intervened. On March 5th 1947, General Weems, the American member of the Allied Control Commission handed a note to the Chairman of that Commission. In this note the American government recommended that the representatives of the three Great Powers and the Hungarian Prime Minister, as well as the Ministers of Defense, the Interior and Justice should together examine facts connected with the situation. A statement issued by the State Department on March 6th adopted a similar tone. The American statement no doubt served the purpose of emboldening right-wing forces, leading them to believe that the Anglo-American powers would offer support.

The resignation of Ferenc Nagy, the Prime Minister, while in Switzerland, led to new tensions between Hungary and the United States. In a note dated June 11th 1947, the government of the United States protested against developments in Hungary. Both the Soviet and the Hungarian government rejected the assertions made in this note.

The August 1947 parliamentary elections were the next important political event. The supporters of the cooperation within the coalition achieved a position of dominance within the Smallholders' Party, right-wing groups therefore left it and faced the electors as a separate party. The Right thus split, and the Left, the coalition of the two working class parties, the Peasant Party and the Smallholders' Party, which was a unified force after right-wing forces had left it, succeeded in obtaining a large majority, 271 seats, as against 142 for the opposition. This created a wide parliamentary base on which one could rely when leading the country forward on the road to socio-economic change,

a people's democracy and revolution. It goes without saying that such changes had an effect on Hungarian-American relations.

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Várkonyi's book also deals with American policy on the Hungarian peace treaty. The United States government considered the Hungarian peace treaty to be most essential since they hoped that Soviet forces would be withdrawn from Hungary following the signing of the treaty on February 10th 1947, making the field more suitable for the implementation of American ideas. Prior to the treaty the Hungarian government had attempted to obtain certain territorial adjustments on an ethnic basis. Várkonyi looked into the matter, trying to discover whether the United States supported it. He came to the conclusion that the allegation that some of the Anglo-Hungarian demands were supported by the Americans was only right-wing propaganda. It was precisely because they were interested in an early peace treaty that they declined to discuss Hungarian demands in practice, since such a discussion would have caused delays.

The book gives certain hitherto unpublished details regarding American demands for reparations payments. The United States insisted that the Allies and their nationals had to be fully compensated for all loss and damage which their Hungarian property and interests suffered as a result of the war, or that the Hungarian government return the property of the Allies and their nationals in keeping with its state on April 10th, 1941. Hungary was to renounce all claims on Germany, including reparation for damage done by the German forces in Hungary. The American government also demanded the internationalization of the Danube. Várkonyi argues that American attempts to organize control over the Danube served long-term political and economic objectives, since pre-war economic data in no way justified the emphasis given by the

American government to the use of this waterway leading into Eastern Europe. The Americans made similar demands connected with the right to use airspace.

The book deals in detail with changes in American aid and credit policy as reflected by Hungarian-American relations. As regards Marshall Aid Várkonyi shows that, at the start, the Hungarian position, supported also by the Hungarian Communist Party, was favourable. "Hungary gladly accepts, assuring an honest profit to foreign capital, provided there are no political conditions involved." (*Szabad Nép*, June 26, 1947.) When, however, the British-French-Soviet meeting held in Paris in June 1947 did not achieve any results, the Hungarian government argued that "Hungary could not take part in negotiations concerning questions over which the Great Powers are not agreed and in which they do not all take part." (*Szabad Nép*, July 11, 1947.)

The book also deals with the struggle for the return of the Hungarian gold reserves that had been removed, as well as with the case of the Crown of St. Stephen and the Crown Jewels. He shows that Ferenc Nagy, who was Prime Minister at the time, asked the American authorities in August 1946 not to return the Crown Jewels as yet. As is well known, the Hungarian Crown has been in the United States ever since.

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Várkonyi establishes in his conclusion that the policy of the government of the United States towards Hungary between 1945 and 1949, can be divided into three periods. In 1944-45 official American policy was that of the victorious powers. From the autumn of 1945 to the beginning of 1947 there was a separate American political line showing itself in certain moves which differed from what the Allied powers had jointly agreed on. Then, following the summer of 1947, the United States adopted a hostile line, both as regards its official policy and in the diplo-

matic and economic field, and the American government froze political and economic relations, besides taking measures of various other kinds.

The Hungarian-American relationship deteriorated because of the absence of endeavours to build and maintain normal, mutually advantageous relations.

The point at which Péter Várkonyi closes his account of Hungarian-American relations was truly a watershed in the political history of the post-war world. From time to time, between 1945 and 1948, it looked as if the victorious anti-fascist coalition would continue its collaboration in changed circumstances in accordance with the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. The Council of Foreign ministers existed and operated and it was its business to work out the principles of a lasting agreement for post-war Europe. One ought not forget, however, that the nuclear monopoly of the United States still largely continued at this time and put its stamp on the foreign policy of the Truman administration. The proclamation of the Truman doctrine, developments in Germany, the Marshall Plan and finally the establishment of NATO on the one hand created new sources of conflict, on the other it magnified the old ones instead of diminishing them. Europe broke into two opposing camps. It took more than twenty years for the nations and governments of Europe to once again let themselves be guided by the idea of security and cooperation.

Várkonyi's book shows differing views *in statu nascendi*, differing views which grew into confrontations, friction that turned into the clash of interests. The historian casts a cold eye on chances that were there and were missed, chances to establish the relationship of the two countries on a correct basis. He comes to the conclusion that, in the period in question, the foreign policy of the United States lacked a sense of reality essential for the proper evaluation of developments and the balance of forces in Eastern Europe, and that it acted contrary to its own

true interests when basing its policy on forces and groups in Hungary whose defeat was unavoidable. The politico-historical essay, by bringing out the laws of development, the logic of events, and by an analysis of relations and intentions, not only arranges past facts in a comprehensive whole, but helps one to find one's way in the future,

helping us to learn what can be learnt from the mistakes of the past. Sound developments have taken place in Hungarian-American relations in recent years, and this is largely due to the fact that the principle of peaceful cooperation is increasingly coming to the fore in the contact between the two countries.

TIBOR PETHŐ

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## THE ALLIANCE OF WRITERS AND LIBRARIANS

As President of the Hungarian Writers' Association and also as a simple writer, I should like to welcome the librarians of the world\* with all the appreciation and sympathy one feels for colleagues and allies. Please, do not take this as merely a gesture or polite formula, for we are allies, indeed. I could even say we are comrades in arms, accomplices in a noble conspiracy. If there ever was, or is now, an alliance in the world which is based on universal human interests rather than vested power interests, or group interests, then it is our alliance, the alliance of writers and librarians. We have joined forces to make available the largest possible amount of information, the largest possible quantity of genuine ideas and thoughts, all the hues of beauty, to the maximum number of people.

Reading—reading with understanding,

\* Address delivered at the Budapest Conference of the International Federation of Librarians' Associations. August, 1972.

that is—is not merely passive absorption, but a thinking process shared with the author. It involves further thought on the thoughts presented, a transformation and enrichment of the emotions evoked. If this is so—and it must be—it is also true that librarianship is creative work; the librarian is not just a broker between writer and reader. This holds good not merely for librarians who are scholars, who raise library work to the level of scholarship. It is true for everyone, on every level of library work.

The subject of this conference is "Books and Reading in a Changing World". Allow me to contribute a few personal remarks.

I am prejudiced in favour of books, in favour of reading. This is only natural. I am prejudiced and optimistic. I do not believe that in this age of the scientific and technological revolution, this age of the mass media, the role played by books and reading is likely

to be dangerously curtailed. I do not believe those who predict the death of books. Let us recall how many similar prophecies we have heard in our lifetime. When the radio reached the masses, the prophets at the time predicted the demise of newspapers. The truth is that since then the press has increased rather than lost its influence. When films and especially sound films became generally available, the end of the theatre was predicted, but the theatre is still going strong. There are many other predictions I could list about the death of literature, the arts, of poetry, or of the novel, none of which have come true.

What is true, however, is that the new inventions have led to certain changes in various areas of culture and will produce more in the future. The information explosion and the greater role of the media is changing the relationship between books, reading and men, changes that have also affected literature. The story, plot, action and what have you are on the way out, and so are detailed descriptions, to be replaced by the discussion of ideas, concentration and documentary accuracy.

In my view the relationship of man and books is altering in the direction of greater intensity. Time has accelerated and a mass of information bombards the human mind: the spirit and the intellect therefore cry out for order and integration—and this is something only books, and absorption in reading, can give. That is why I believe—if you will allow me to join the army of prophets—that the function of books and reading will not diminish, but, on the contrary, increase in the life of man.

It is of course possible that my optimism is due to the situation which prevails in Hungary. The fact is that in Hungary the number of books published is steadily increasing and the number of copies and of readers per copy are also growing. Let me quote figures in support: 3,444 books were published in 1961 in about 40 million copies, in 1971 already 5,536 books in about

54 million copies. *Kortárs* (Contemporary), the official monthly of the Hungarian Writers' Association, appears in 15,000 copies—not a small circulation in a country of ten million! There is a monthly, *Nagyvilág* (Wide World), devoted to the contemporary literature in translation, which is published in 25,000 copies. Today when poetry is allegedly dying, volumes of verse by contemporary poets appear in 6,000 copies on the average.

But I would not like to be guilty of boasting, for what I have said here is only one side of the picture, the more successful one. What is on the other side is that even now only about half of the adult population are readers—25 per cent read regularly and 25 per cent occasionally—and fifty per cent still live without books. These percentages are no worse than those in the other culturally advanced European countries, but we are, nonetheless, dissatisfied with these figures.

That is why two years ago a national movement was started on the initiative of the Hungarian Writers' Association, known as "For a People of Readers". The national cultural institutions, the schools, the press, radio and a wide variety of social organizations are active in it. It is not a spectacular campaign, but planned and persevering work is expected to go on for many long years and even decades, work in which research on the sociology and psychology of reading, and the examination and improvement of the teaching of literature in schools will all play a part—just as the work of the libraries will. Need I say that the librarians are the most enthusiastic workers in this movement?

Those responsible are neither naive, nor Utopians. We do not believe that a few decades can turn all adults into thinking and devoted readers of great literature. But we do think that with consistent effort we can win over additional hundreds of thousands of people—and perhaps millions—and make them see the joys of reading.

I am a writer, and for this very reason I hardly overestimate what literature can do. All the same I believe that letters can do a great deal to serve the cause of human integration and understanding in this divided

world. This is a worthwhile cause that justifies linking up efforts on the part of those who believe in the future of books and of culture. I am confident that this conference is also a contribution to this end.

JÓZSEF DARVAS

## THE SECRET PAPERS OF ISTVÁN BETHLEN

The name of Count István Bethlen first became known to the world of international politics and diplomacy in the spring of 1919. From this time on, he was often mentioned as the most able Hungarian politician in the reports of the Entente missions in Vienna, led by Sir Thomas Cuninghame and Henry Allizé. At that time the politicians at the Paris peace conference were preoccupied with ways of overthrowing the young Soviet-Russian state or at least isolating it from a troubled Central-Eastern Europe replete with national animosities. István Bethlen shared this aspiration, naturally primarily in relation to Hungary.

In the autumn of 1918, the central powers suffered military defeat and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed. Hungary became an independent state and, like Czechoslovakia and Austria, Hungary too embarked on the road of democratic transformation.

But Hungarian bourgeois democracy and its leading figure, Count Mihály Károlyi, had to face considerable internal opposition, including that of the aristocracy, the big landowners, and the well-to-do middle class. They considered Károlyi's programme too democratic, too left-wing. When Károlyi failed to receive support from the entente

powers, and internal social tensions led to a new revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, various counter-revolutionary groups did everything to overthrow the power of the workers and to speed up restoration.

The characteristic feature of the Hungarian counter-revolution, that defines its twenty-five years' rule, was that it turned not only against the proletarian dictatorship but also against bourgeois democracy.

The result was that the very essence of the restoration was a *donné* as far as internal politics was concerned. Nevertheless, important differences surfaced in the distribution of power and in the methods of governing, and two main trends took shape. One included the aristocrats, the big landowners and the spokesmen of industry and high finance, that is generally those who had been in power before 1918. They gathered round Count István Bethlen, for his programme of restoration contained a return to the old power structure and included new political and governmental elements only to ensure holding on to the restored power. The other was a group of more dynamic and aggressive elements: descendants of the gentry, civil servants, army officers, who considered the restoration a new distribution of power.

They wanted to receive a larger share than hitherto, both in the economy and in politics. Their programme included a certain opposition to the power of capital, anti-semitism, and the "self-defence of the Hungarian race". Some years later they called themselves the defenders of the race. They were in favour of dictatorship and a well-organized and centralized society; they opposed "old-fashioned" institutions such as the multi-party parliamentary system; they also wanted to abolish the trade unions and stop the Social Democratic Party exercising influence over working-class people.

In the summer of 1919 these elements formed what were called officers' detachments, an "army" of well-armed groups with Miklós Horthy, the future regent of the country, as their leader. Horthy's closest collaborator was Gyula Gömbös, who later became the head of the racists, also a future prime minister. Such extreme right-wing groups established reactionary organizations, both secret and open, such as the Union of Awakening Hungarians, or the Hungarian National Union of Defensive Alliance. Their role and activities are vividly described in C. A. Macartney's *October Fifteenth and History of Hungary*.

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The Hungarian counter-revolution was too weak to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship alone. It needed the help of the entente powers to establish law and order on its own terms. This help came primarily from the U.K. and Sir George Clark, the High Commissioner of the Allied and Associated Powers in Hungary. Following the political chaos of the autumn of 1919, the first Hungarian government acceptable as a partner at the peace conference was formed with the assistance of Sir George. It was he who smoothed the way that led to Miklós Horthy's regency.

The peace conference and Sir George Clark designed and determined the frame-

work of the counter-revolutionary system. They insisted on a multi-party parliamentary system, on universal suffrage and a secret ballot, on the rights of the working class movement and the Social Democratic Party to organize. Nevertheless, after establishing the framework, they left it up to the Hungarian internal political forces to give it meaning. This practically meant that they gave the conservative right-wing a free hand over the remaining powers of democracy in an extremely critical situation.

The counter-revolutionary take-over and the actual consolidation of the system were separated by three years. During this period an unrestrained and tragic White Terror attracted the attention of Europe. The road to consolidation was cleared by the officers' detachments and by the extreme right. István Bethlen generally stayed in the background at this time. He entered the scene only when it seemed that political chaos and power struggles endangered the very existence of the counter-revolutionary system. The situation became critical in foreign policy also, when Charles IV, the former king and emperor made two attempts to return to Hungary in 1921.

István Bethlen formed a government in 1921 and remained prime minister till August 1931. The establishment of his government gave an impetus to the process of internal consolidation and the stabilization of the economic life of the country; it was he who made the Horthy regime acceptable internationally. In ten years as prime minister he laid the foundations of a policy which was only altered in the second half of the thirties by a swing to the right, and could only be put an end to by the German occupation of the country in 1944.

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Bethlen created the conditions for consolidation by extreme tactical flexibility, by not being fastidious in choosing methods and means; he forced back the extreme right,

disarmed the legitimists\* politically, managed to make the peasantry negligible as a political force, and came to terms with the working class, which suffered most under the White Terror, and its legal party, the Social Democrats. But the fact that the extreme right was pushed into the background did not mean that they were excluded from power, or that dictatorial, anti-democratic political methods were done away with. But the revolutions of 1918-1919 and the defeat of the Hungarian ruling classes could not be wiped out of history. Restoration demanded from the very beginning the build-up of a certain security system, a guarantee that would prevent any similar attempt from the left. Nevertheless, a special situation developed where, contrasted with the extreme right represented by Gömbös, Bethlen's consolidation policy stood for a relatively more "liberal" solution.

Bethlen made the counter-revolutionary regime acceptable internationally not only by these means but also by recognizing the Trianon peace treaty and trying to comply with the demands of the great powers. Although he never gave up the idea of territorial restoration, he believed—in contrast with the ultras—that premature sabre-rattling could be harmful and that a revisionist programme must wait for the most suitable moment.

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The personality, political line and governmental activity of Bethlen, the structure and characteristics of the counter-revolutionary regime, are far from being questions of merely Hungarian interest. They are closely connected with the problems of the Danube Basin, of Central Europe, and with a group of questions concerning what were called the succession states.

They can be separated neither from the history of the Little-Entente nor from a scholarly study of the political systems of

\* Monarchist supporters of the Hapsburg king. (Ed.)

these countries, the similarities and differences they showed when compared with Italian fascism, German nazism, and each other.

This volume\*, which gives rise to all these questions, is to be welcomed, since no monograph has so far been published on the Bethlen government, nor has a political biography of Bethlen appeared. This is the first time that systematically edited Bethlen documents have been made available.

Miklós Színai's and László Szűcs's earlier publication of sources, *The Confidential Papers of Admiral Horthy*, has had success both at home and abroad and reached a fourth edition in 1972.

The Bethlen documents are kept in the National Archives in Budapest; of these documents the editors selected a number of what are called semi-official ones for publication. But even within this group they could not attempt completeness; they had to be content with the ten most important years, the period of Bethlen's prime-ministership. More than 200 documents in seven subject units cover many questions and permit us to obtain an insight into the whole of the period.

Many of these documents are letters and notes of a personal character: that is, documents that reveal the attitude of the writer much more clearly than official documents often do. Naturally they can provide information only on fragments or parts of certain events, since the basic documents are kept in other archives. The documents of the 1922 elections, for instance, or the records of the investigation of the franc counterfeit scandal.

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A review can naturally cover only a small fraction of the political intrigues and manipulations.

\* *Bethlen István titkos iratai* (The Secret Papers of István Bethlen). Edited by Miklós Színai and László Szűcs, with introduction and special notes. Hungarian National Archives — Kossuth Publishing House. Budapest, 1972, 492 pp.; 12 illustrations.

A parliamentary election, for instance, the first held by the Bethlen government, took place in 1922. A letter dated July 26th 1922, written by Zoltán Forster, the Lord-Lieutenant of Tolna County to Gyula Gömbös, vice-chairman of the government party, throws some light on this election. To quote: "...following the unsuccessful basic poll we can hope for victory if we can obtain the support of György Szulimán, who ran third, and his camp, in Örfly's interest. The party leadership made contact with Szulimán who showed himself favourably disposed to support Örfly if he can escape by a pardon from a punishment for profiteering which is already beyond appeal... The Minister of Justice, recognizing the seriousness of the situation, had already postponed execution to July 31st before the bye-election."

The following fragment describes the attitude of the administration well (Gyula Balogh, candidate of the Opposition, to István Bethlen, dated June 12th 1922): "...the hostile attitude of the *szolgabíró* (senior official of a *járás*, the subdivision of a county) was proved by the fact that two small-holders from Kocsola presented themselves to him asking for the official papers necessary for a trip to America. The *szolgabíró* checked whom they had voted for and asked whom they had voted for, and when they said Gyula Balogh he showed them the door saying, 'If you're going to vote for Gyula Balogh, there's no certificate'." The purpose of this election was to ensure an absolute parliamentary majority for the government party by disregarding universal suffrage and the secret ballot forced on the government by the Entente, in 1920. The political manoeuvre which restored the method of open ballots, the only country in Europe to do so, is also linked with Bethlen. Only Budapest and some bigger country towns had secret ballots. This fact, from the very beginning, abolished all chances of expressing political opinions freely. The introduction of this book emphasizes the importance of this extraordinary circumstance and points out

that placing public administration completely under the government and the central state power, and the gradual abolishing of county autonomous rights, were important means of political and public manipulation.

During the consolidation of Bethlen's time the parliamentary multi-party system practically turned into the private dominion of the government party. The opposition simply had no means of dealing with the absolute majority of the government party or of changing the government by parliamentary means.

The establishing of such a construction was carried out step by step, in several phases, and in various fields. The documents connected with the preparation of the elections reveal deals made with the hierarchy, the big landowners and the bankers, as well as the methods used against the opposition and the left.

Telephone-tapping was quite common, as was the harrasing of those electioneering and the arrest of candidates. It must also be remembered that not even the essential political constitutional rights were guaranteed and that Act III of 1921 forced the Communist Party underground.

The passing of the Act of 1920, which established the discrimination between citizens on the basis of religion, was typical, especially the infamous "numerus clausus" Act which restricted university and other academic admission, discriminating against Jews. This Act was in force throughout the whole period in spite of the fact that it violated those articles of the peace treaty which guaranteed the rights of the minorities, as well as the basic principles of the League of Nations. The correspondence between Bethlen and his colleagues in the middle twenties leaves no doubt that they knew perfectly well that these discriminatory laws were indefensible in international law, still they made an attempt "to save the essence of the institution by means of certain", possibly inevitable, "rational softening" (p. 257). They managed to do so without having to amend the Act.

One of the darkest phases of the Bethlen government was the drive to eliminate the Smallholders' Party and its leader from political life, a party that made demands and fought for agrarian reform. An agrarian reform was really essential since the system of large estates was a dominating factor, and not only in the economic life of the country. Big landowners possessed powers which had certain feudal features even in the twentieth century. Finance-capitalists held economic power, nevertheless official political life was dominated by the big landowners and the aristocracy. The Smallholders, who had expected an agrarian reform in the revolution of 1918-1919, did not renounce this after the success of the counter-revolution. The Smallholders Party was the strongest party with the widest social base in the first parliament elected in 1920.

The consolidation programme of the regime and the joint interests of the traditional ruling classes (big landowners and the finance-capitalists) destroyed any possible chance of an agrarian reform and excluded the peasantry from systematic political activity. The realization of this programme is illustrated in a very exciting way by the published documents (e.g. the chapter on the Eskütt scandal) and by the introductory study. Bethlen was ready to use promises (passing an agrarian reform act, but sabotaging the implementation), blackmail, compromises and other means. The Prime Minister, posing as the champion of the purity of public life, started a campaign against the leader of the Smallholders' Party, István Nagyatádi-Szabó, and his secretary, Lajos Eskütt, relying on an alleged export scandal, compromising both the leader and his party.

Not only did the Prime Minister perjure himself in court, but—as the book brings out brilliantly—he went as far as to remove documents implicating him personally from the records of the court. He managed to do so by taking over the Department of Justice, the Minister having resigned, for three weeks in 1924 during the retrial.

The Social-Democrats and Liberals in Parliament, the bourgeois opposition, rightly accused Bethlen from the very beginning of politically persecuting the Smallholders. When, in October 1924, the opposition wanted to show up Bethlen's perjury, and the fact that he had had certain documents removed from the court, the opposition representatives were taken out of the House by ushers and were prohibited from attending the sessions. This parliamentary scandal resulted in a boycott of Parliament by the Social-Democrats and the Liberals, which lasted six months. The structure of the Hungarian political system ensured that this action was as unsuccessful as a similar walk-out in Mussolini's Italy.

But this was only an aftermath of the fact that the Smallholders' Party had already given up its independence and had merged with the government party created by Bethlen. At the time when in countries adjoining Hungary (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania) peasant parties played important political roles, the Hungarian peasantry lost its political representation for ten years (the new party of smallholders was founded in 1930, in different circumstances). The Eskütt-case was closed—with the approval of István Bethlen—with a decision declaring Lajos Eskütt to be insane. Eskütt was confined in a mental hospital and only freed in 1938 (pp. 157-158.).

A similarly spectacular scandal broke out which led to an international reaction, when the French franc was counterfeited in Hungary, and attempts were made to take counterfeited notes abroad for "patriotic" reasons, with the full cooperation of important Hungarian public figures, the Prime Minister also being aware of what was going on. Soon after the scandal broke out, Bethlen received detailed information about foreign attitudes from Sir William Goode, with whom he had long and close ties. "The best thing for the future would be to say promptly", Bethlen suggested to Sir William, "that any publicity of this kind

is ill-founded." (p. 193.) Britain, which had supported Bethlen and Horthy in 1919-1920, and also in the talks concerning a League of Nations loan, now also played an important role in reducing French and in general foreign indignation. The star witness of the case suddenly died while detained on remand, and any attempt by the left-wing opposition to use the scandal in the interests of liberalization or democratization failed. Documents tell us of various aspects of contemporary British-Hungarian relations, particularly economic ones. When the Hungarian government asked for loans to stabilize the economy, Britain supported the request against the opposition of France and the Little-Entente. Bethlen's letter of March 10, 1924 to Sir John Bradbury expresses his gratitude for this support, and many other documents show Sir William Goode's intermediary role in negotiations with French and American banks.

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Lord Rothermere's role is a special chapter both in the history of Hungarian revisionism and of monarchism. There was talk of his becoming king. A retired Hungarian diplomat tried to persuade Bethlen to take more and more determined action, saying: "it is in our interest to have good relationships with Lord Rothermere, regardless of the British government..." since in his opinion Rothermere was "as strong a power in England as Mussolini is in Italy." (p. 336.) Bethlen's letter to Rothermere sensibly points out the adventurousness of such plans, without breaking off ties with him.

Even a non-expert can easily find his way both in the documentary material and in

their interpretation. The notes are of sufficient quantity, and precise. What is more, the introductory study could justifiably be called an independent dissertation on the characteristics of the counter-revolutionary system under Bethlen's government. Although the study examines mainly the aspects of internal politics, leaving the international ones in the background, it is still an important contribution clearing up controversial points. The introductory study emphasizes that during the period of great changes in Central Europe following the First World War, a right-wing, conservative system was strengthened in Hungary as a counterbalance to revolutions, ensuring a place to the most reactionary elements of the earlier Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Another, not less important characteristic feature of the system remained preserved as well: right-wing conservatism that pushed the extreme right and its methods into the background. From the very beginning, an extremist, aggressive group existed which considered the government not sufficiently right-wing, and which regarded Mussolini and later Hitler as its ideal. During Bethlen's time, and even after it, this extreme right was forced into opposition. This peculiar situation made it possible for the government to justify its policy, to look more liberal than it really was, and to limit the parliamentary left in its oppositional activity, since this left was afraid, already in the twenties, that the fall of the Bethlen government would not result in liberalization and democratization, but would very likely lead to a break-through of the extreme-right with Gyula Gömbös as Prime Minister—as indeed happened, in 1932, as a Hungarian political consequence of the Great Depression.

ZSUZSA NAGY

## A MASTER CAMERAMAN'S INSIGHT INTO A PERSONAL BUDAPEST

THEME AND VARIATIONS, by János Reismann (photography) and István Csurka (text), Corvina Press, Budapest, 136 pp.

The sensitive lens of a master cameraman lovingly explores the shape of a hurrying woman through the sharpest opening; and the commentator goes on about lady huntresses after "some especially stylish, especially becoming and especially desirable article of clothing, like the latest thing in shoes or bags. To be sure the pursuit takes all the perseverance and know-how they have, for this is a jungle—with a great variety of merchandise..." and so on. But do not be put off by the words.

Corvina has brought out a photographic essay on Budapest, bound in real leather, with the pictures taken by the internationally renowned photographer János Reismann and the text in English and French by that otherwise very good writer and playwright István Csurka (a short story of whose recently appeared in No. 45 of this journal). The work is obviously intended to expose the veiled loves and bitternesses and turmoils and achievements of the living capital which the hurried visitor could never comprehend without the guidance of the artist from the fleeting window of the sightseeing bus.

The subject is well worth the effort as the city, caught up in a period of painful transition, is currently experimenting with new ways of coping with the mounting urban pressures to which all the major centres of the industrialised world are subject. The mayors of some thirty European capitals recently travelled to Budapest to study the Hungarian experiments first hand at a unique conference. *Theme and Variations* depicts, in terms of human faces, situation pictures and birds-eye-view photography, the content of the town planners' reports, architects' abstracts and sociologists' statis-

tics; and it does so with the infinite love, sometimes difficult to comprehend by the natives of other towns, with which many Budapesters are attached to their city on the Danube.

Reismann is also a lover of and virtuoso in the use of contrast, often giving equal pictorial value to shadow and light. His basic search for the clashing dissimilar aspects of the whole shows through the work. His portraits of the apparently complacent, closed Edwardian faces, displaying at a second look a yearning for the recognition of their assumed social status, along the terraces of the city's most expensive restaurants, are essentially linked with another photograph a few pages further on of a graceful young mother in an industrial outer district, absorbed in the simple task of crossing a street laden with heavy traffic. The businesslike tourists in search of the perfect Budapest souvenir are contrasted against a very young couple who seem to have found everything in each other under an arch. Reismann's Budapest is a city of immense council estates and expanding factories and shipyards in almost brutally hard tones—and of elegant buildings and bridges and groups of children lost in the joys of the snow of the Central European winter composed in such soft tones and with so much life affirmation that one is reminded of black-and-white Breughel reproductions.

In his early days, Reismann might well have fulfilled a lucky picture editor's dream of a quick and shrewd photo reporter on some evening newspaper, with his candid camera technique snatching the expression one would wish one hadn't made; with his reportage of a traffic accident in sequence, pitilessly recording the morbid curiosity of crowds; with his ability of capturing an instant as a dog crosses a street—and with it capturing also the warm breeze of an autumn

afternoon as the shadows grow across the sunny capital. But the mature Reismann does much more than that. He shares through these pages his own fascination with the bursting, modern, industrial city some of whose suburbs are still reminiscent of ancient villages, his sympathy with the odd human remnant of the past hopelessly left behind by the change and his fury with motorists failing to appreciate the power of the vehicles under their control.

Thus the book lends the visitor and native alike the trained eyes of the photographer with an insight into the expressions, figures, structures and drama of the city in revealing and coherent detail before they are merged by memory into an exhausting mass of visual stimuli occasionally throwing up an irrelevant, random glitter of recollection. And the Budapest of poetry and the Budapest of revolution and the Budapest of history—only hundred years old this year yet erected upon Celtic bones of two millenia ago—thus comes alive. To be sure, it is Reismann's intimate, personal Budapest exposed by the camera: that rare, manageably small great city greeting the visitor with magnificent sights, a cheap and efficient public transportation system and sophistication merged with a luxuriant, leisurely way of life, yet suffering from an intolerable shortage of accomodation as indeed do all the communities of Central-Europe. The concerned photographer explores the crumbling old buildings as well as the new ones and suggests by implication that the 19th century style coffee house society way of life

may have survived so long in that part of the world simply because people are reluctant to return to their overcrowded flats.

The commentary is another matter. The original text was written, I imagine, in the sparkling style of Hungarian "humourists" but it comes through in translation as cheap champagne English. Corvina commissioned a writer of fine repute to produce the text of the book, but Csurka is apparently going through a bad patch. Yet Csurka clearly has his own, personal Budapest worth sharing, and he has described aspects of it with moving and objective precision in his short story, *Nothing Simple* (N.H.Q., No. 45.) But when he takes his readers for a tip-toe excursion in my native Újpest district, his effusive commentary ("...we have brought you here... because we are confident that your doubtless well-developed aesthetic sense will respond to the peculiar poetry of this grey world...") reads as a flat joke.

After a series of original and successful plays (*The Braggart*, *The Ravages of Time*, *Fall Guy for Tonight*, and *Duds*,) Csurka's *Chair, Bed, Sauna* had its premiere last year at Budapest's Thália Theatre. "It has got everything characteristic of Csurka," one critic commented, "satire, irony and tremendous spirit, but this time Csurka surprises us with a relatively poor play. One poor play, however, does not affect Csurka's significance as a playwright..." One can only wish this writer well and assume that he will not preserve copies of *Theme and Variations* to show his grandchildren. But you might.

THOMAS LAND

## A NEW ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF WORLD LITERATURE

*Világirodalmi Lexikon* (Encyclopaedia of World Literature). Vol. I, A-Cal. Akadémia Publishing House, 1970. 1248 pages. Chief Editor: István Király. Editor: István Szerdahelyi.

The History of European Literature, a book which has proved of enduring value by Mihály Babits, one of the most eminent Hungarian poets and essayists of this century, first appeared in 1935. Babits, who translated many foreign poets into Hungarian, from Sophocles to Wilde, from Theocritus to Meredith, alongside Latin hymn-writers of the Middle Ages, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe and Baudelaire—revealed in this literary history something of his own personal attitudes as well, his wide and extensive reading and his intellectual development; but his work remained on the whole a true image of his generation's view of world literature. Though Babits gave the title History of European Literature to his book, he meant in fact world literature, "that has been a unified, coherent stream, a gigantic circulation of the blood. When Goethe first realized and gave this a name, it had already been in existence long since, being far older than national literatures." According to Babits it consisted of the two classical literatures and those of England and France, and certain periods of the Italian, Spanish, German, Russian, Scandinavian and Hungarian literatures. Essentially the same viewpoint was expressed by Antal Szerb, who published his three-volume History of World Literature—still a very useful book—less than ten years later, though he made mention of the Old Testament and Arab and Persian literature as well, and included lesser European literatures in the appendix. Babits, like Curtius, claimed that there had been a world literature in the beginning and out of it the

various national literatures had later developed and taken shape.

The new Encyclopaedia of World Literature—the first volume of which appeared in 1970—is the fourth Hungarian enterprise of its kind in this century. The first three more or less reflected the Babits point of view, though all of them gave a cursory account of Asian, African, and Latin-American literature as well but without any real appraisal of their development and intrinsic value. Each of the three was a useful undertaking of its kind and time, and will remain so until such time as the last of the other five volumes of the new encyclopaedia appear. The first of them, edited by Marcell Benedek, deserves special attention for its freshness, original approach, and the defects which in fact stemmed from these qualities. Mihály Babits was one of the contributors. This encyclopaedia of Hungarian and world literature, published in 1927, mentioned Aragon and Breton, but not Éluard; Kafka, but not Musil, though Hungarian critics had been aware of the latter writer ten years earlier; it referred to Lawrence, Hemingway and Joyce, but not Pound or T. S. Eliot.

In contrast to the Babits-Curtius approach there is another based on Voltaire, (*Essai sur la poésie étiqne*) and Marx (*Communist Manifesto*). This approach conceived world literature as developing through the intertwining and eventual unification of certain national or local literatures. The new Encyclopaedia of World Literature embodies this concept. It takes every—or very nearly every—literature into account, regardless of the number of people speaking the particular language, and in so doing radically ends the prevailing Euro-centric viewpoint. And without assessing the comparative worth of the various literatures—or even attempting to—it draws attention to the lesser-known

literatures, overshadowed by those more privileged and better-known.

If the earlier encyclopaedias rather crystallized an existing body of knowledge and the general culture as it more or less existed at that time (though even a highly educated man's knowledge cannot compete with the information available in an encyclopaedia), this new publication is a sort of challenge, since it is a store of knowledge still to be acquired and as yet unpossessed. For the first time the Hungarian reader can now enjoy in Hungarian scores of literatures and thousands of writers previously unavailable. "The dictates of the time and place of our undertaking", wrote Professor István Király, who was in charge of the work, "enforced on us a certain guiding principle, for this encyclopaedia is being edited now, in the second half of this century, and here, in Hungary. We are admitting this century's authors in the relatively greatest number, bearing in mind that every encyclopaedia should in the first place reflect its own time and be an encyclopaedic summary of it; it must also be up-to-date. And we obey the requirements of the global, even planetary thinking of the twentieth century when we abandon the Euro-centric exclusivity of earlier Hungarian publications of a similar kind (in so far as the present state of literary research permits), and attempt to present the literatures of more distant lands, especially those of the "Third World", of Asian, African and Latin-American nations, at their just value." Not long ago István Király published the first two volumes of his monumental study of Endre Ady, the great Hungarian poet of the present century, in which sociological and psychological problems are happily blended with questions of style and theme, viewed from a comparative standpoint. The editor of this encyclopaedia is István Szerdahelyi, poet and essayist, who published a translation of the *Mahabharata*, of some 12,000 lines, in 1965.

The earlier literary encyclopaedias did not in fact confine themselves exclusively to

writers, though the individual entries rarely dealt with aesthetic or poetic definitions, literary theories or literary history. The new publication, however, makes a great effort to present, describe or define new ideas related, however remotely, to aesthetics, literary scholarship or literature as a whole, from the technical terms of Afghan metrical forms to the Ingarden theory of literature.

Though the entry "literature" will only appear in a later volume, the literary concept guiding the editors can already be recognized with some assurance. They are not attempting to force a new literary concept on an old one, or a European upon non-European concepts, and in this they are following an old Hungarian—though not exclusively Hungarian—tradition. In this encyclopaedia, as we advance from the past to the present, we can clearly trace where and when the historical disciplines of science, politics, theology, philosophy and sociology separated from literature. A few anomalies emerge in the process: Edward Benes, the former President of Czechoslovakia is mentioned, but Raymond Aron and Lord Acton are missing. There is no reason why Besterman, one of the leading eighteenth-century literary historians, and Anna Balakian, one of the best experts on Surrealism are omitted, while many other arguably less important contemporary literary historians are included.

The encyclopaedia itself, for wealth of material and variety of topics, and the fine essays which go to make up many of the entries, is not only useful, but provides exciting reading. In many cases the contributors communicate the results of their latest researches: György Rónay for instance, himself an eminent poet and well-qualified to pass judgement on the techniques of poetry, rightly emphasizes that some of Boileau's critical dicta are simply dictated by the needs of rhyme. The liveliness and clarity of the encyclopaedia are greatly aided by the fact that questions of metre are always accompanied by illustrative examples: consequently many Asian, African and Latin-

American texts appearing here in Hungarian for the first time are presented in a translation true to the original form, even if only in two or three lines.

The form of the entries is in essence the same, even though the scheme laid down could not always be preserved in its entirety on account of the nature of the material. The aesthetic, literary and theoretical entries as well as those on style and prosody begin with a short definition, followed by an historical survey of the subject of the entry in question. In certain cases—especially in relation to aesthetic and literary theory—it is followed by an explanation of the theoretical and historic problems involved in the definition. Entries under the authors' names begin with information on nationality, place and times of birth and death. The biographical material is treated in conjunction with a study of the main characteristics of the writer's works or the whole *œuvre*, presented in essay form and followed by reference to other, still undiscussed, works of importance or interest. Both these types of entry include specifically Hungarian applications, such as the adoption of a given literary form in Hungarian literature or Hungarian reaction to a poet's works.

Both types of entry conclude with a bibliography. The choice of books or essays included occasionally appears to be somewhat arbitrary, though there is probably no selection of bibliographies that could not be queried. This encyclopaedia carefully in-

cludes the Hungarian translation of the works of an author found not only in separate publications, but also in periodicals, newspapers or anthologies, as well as the translator's name and the date of the publication.

It is always interesting to note the amount of space given to any particular author in an encyclopaedia. It more or less indicates the contemporary critical or literary historical estimate of their value. I use the words advisedly because the number of Hungarian translations of any given writer may prove misleading. Brecht, for instance, occupies nearly five pages, Aristotle and Balzac four each, Byron and Blok three, Baudelaire and Apollinaire a few more, Auden, Alfieri and Bergson one and half, Jane Austen, Ahmatova, Bourget and Beckett one, Albee only half. Are these proportions correct? The question can hardly be decided: but on all counts Brecht's privileged position—at least on the basis of the first volume—is strange. It looks as if the editors of the encyclopaedia were determined to bridge the hitherto unbridgeable gap between György Lukács and Bertolt Brecht.

Illustrations in the way of portraits, photographs, cartoons, and manuscript facsimili enliven the volume. The pictures are varied, but numbers are missing, and the reproduction leaves much to be desired.

Some 450 Hungarian and foreign experts have contributed to the new Encyclopaedia of World Literature. From 1973 onwards two volumes are to appear yearly.

LÁSZLÓ FERENCZI

## NEW FICTION

ISTVÁN CSURKA: *Kint az életben* (In the Thick of Life) Magvető, Budapest 1972, 264 pp.

The details which a writer selects from any given situation are always characteristic of him. *A Jegyzér* (The Ticket Tout), the opening story in István Csurka's new volume (see his short story entitled *Nothing Simple* in No. 45 of *The NHQ*), focuses on a scene in the foyer of a cinema. Csurka has chosen to depict not the swarming, bustling, pushing crowd, however fruitful that subject might have been, but rather the moment when the foyer is almost, but not quite, deserted. Csurka's writings seem to be most effective in just such situations, where attention can be focused on a few characters. There he can give a precise, painted description; "The vacuum is not absolute: there are always one or two hesitant figures remaining. One gazes out into the street, seeking her partner, who is late; another, unaware of the scene about him, drools over the photo of stars on the wall. The third, simply leans against a wall or pillar, not waiting, not moving, taking no notice whatever of the world". The mood thus developed is a spring-board to the expression of an idea that extends beyond any single scene or event: "At such times one succumbs to the feeling of being left out, and that is a painful pleasure. One may be a loser, but one is free. Inside, the multitude are trapped, their thoughts and feelings controlled by the film; outside the imagination soars as it will, observing the shapeless, undramatized film of life."

Most of the short stories in the volume are devoid of plot, but the characterizations are richly shaded. The various pieces differ widely in form and content, the short story *Félperc* (Half a Minute) is particularly outstanding. This brief story shows that writing is often creation in the truest sense. Almost from nothing—the passage of a few seconds—

it shapes an independent world. An inspector enters a compartment and checks the tickets of the two couples seated inside. Superficially there is nothing more, and it would seem that the writer could hardly have hit upon a more colourless, and trivial event. Csurka describes another sequence, just as realistic though not visible: he describes what takes place in the inspector's mind from the moment he enters the compartment until he leaves. And how much those brief moments contain! The inspector is making his rounds. In the meantime, without putting his thoughts into words, he takes careful note of everything he sees. How many are there. First of all, in this particular compartment?—how much work does he have to do? Then he begins to be interested in the passengers, who suddenly become people. One of the couples is rather unsympathetic—the woman's hair is platinum-blond, and her husband insists of flashing his gold cuff-links. Why are they so unlikable? Perhaps because the provocative way they display their wealth (to the inspector, the gold cuff-links are a status symbol), perhaps because they hand him a thick wad of tickets purchased in advance—although the only "real", the only "fitting" way to buy tickets, the inspector feels, is to queue up. These fleeting thoughts lead him to thoughts of his own life. He has a comfortable job, modest but secure; his life is balanced, an unassuming grey. As it happens, he himself does not think of it as grey, he does not regard it so but rather as pure and white, just as the cuffs of his Sunday shirt—without the gold cuff-links, of course—are white and white he associates with the quiet and tranquillity of church, the place where a clean white shirt belongs. But if the first couple are unpleasant to look at, the second couple are a delight. Young, more modestly dressed, they have purchased three tickets in proper fashion, by queuing up. The woman's beauty

brings to the inspector's mind his own wife as she was in her youth; the inspector is growing old, and to him beauty and youth are synonymous. But this chain of personal associations, of emotions rather than thoughts, separates him from the passengers, in particular because he performs his job so well. They see in him a man doing precisely what he is supposed to do. And since, as it happens, the tickets are in order, we are left with the impression, as the story closes, that the inspector has merely crossed the passengers' field of vision, leaving no impression whatever behind. But not quite. The reader's imagination has been touched: put into motion. One begins to wonder—is it certain that the passengers' minds remained completely blank when the inspector entered their compartment? What if their imagination, too, had been stimulated? Perhaps, then, their apparently realistic role, the part they play in eliciting certain emotions from the inspector, is in fact illusory, just as they themselves have an illusory image of the inspector. This is an instance of Csurka's ability to stimulate thought, to encourage associations, which is evident in nearly everything he writes, and is one of his major virtues.

The most unified part of the volume is the group of five short stories, at the end, which form a sequence. The characters, who come into the foreground alternately, are four first-year students at a school of drama, each of whom hopes to become a playwright. The story is set in the early 1950's, those times of illegal arrests and intimidations characterized by the disillusioning conflict between high-sounding political slogans and desperate reality. The four young men share a dormitory room. When they moved in, they were total opposites. Lovas is a doltish, overgrown fellow, whose only success has been in sports and who hardly knows what he is doing in college; Robert, on the other hand, is an emaciated-looking boy, a Jew, whose family was exterminated in a concentration camp, and who regards the whole

world as guilty—or, at the least, suspicious. The third room-mate, Purgacsics, is an unprincipled opportunist whose only pleasure lies in shoving the others into the background; whereas the fourth, Miklya, is attending college only because college is free, and wants nothing more than to skim through. But a few months of communal life, although it cannot touch their individual parts, moulds these four young men into the same pattern: their true thoughts and feelings and the facade they present to the outer world become two different things. They have to assimilate, to adapt, to adjust to circumstances, to regard the world through the eyes of their superiors. Their compulsive efforts to conceal their true selves contaminate everything they do and say.

Csurka is interested, first of all, in the nature of this sad transformation, but at the same time he is able to suggest the reasons and conditions which compelled it. He has hit upon the chief characteristic of the age he is dealing with—hypocrisy. Even hardship and deprivation can be borne if something can be done about them, but they become unbearable when, for fear of retaliation, everyone closes his eyes as though the problem did not exist. The rules of the social lie come into play—one must keep smiling and alert, lest someone shout that the emperor is wearing no clothes.

In the end, of these four young men whose lives have become linked, Purgacsics and Robert identify completely with the rules of the game, while the other two, behind their façades, continue to hope for freedom, the opportunity to escape to a place "where things that happen occur as a matter of course, and where gestures are what they seem to be."

Precise characterization, the boldness to write concisely, even if his theme tempts him to be loquacious; the features which have shown themselves to be Csurka's strong points as a writer are especially evident in these last five short stories.

VILMOS CSAPLÁR: *Két nap, amikor összevesztünk, vagyis a történetírás nehézségei* (Two Days When We Quarrelled, or The Difficulties of Writing History). Magvető, Budapest, 1972. 152 pp.

With a few short stories written with exceptionally mature technique and a volume of short novels behind him, Vilmos Csaplár—who only recently was still a student—has already published his first full-length novel. The first pages are a surprise—Csaplár has written a fluent, witty and unselfconscious introduction, in which he introduces himself and explains his choice of theme. He is able simultaneously to write in the serious essay style of a treatise, and to caricature the erudite writer. The transition into the novel is marked by the title of the first chapter, but not by a change in style. Csaplár's hero—who speaks in the first person—is argumentative. Argument, in fact, is his way of life. He appears in all sorts of company, though usually among young people of his own age and wherever he is, he is always ready to express a counter-opinion. Rather, he is forever *preparing* a counter-opinion, which will be accurately formulated and irresistible: the trouble is that by the time he utters it, it can be misconstrued, and may not even represent precisely what he is thinking. Yet he has a good reason to represent the opposition, since his companions are idle souls who hardly know what to do with themselves, but are forever wrapped up in their plan to save the world. But it does him no good to know what he wants and what he wishes to say—precise expression constantly escapes him. The tormenting desire for self-expression not only keeps him talking, but gets him into impossible situations, because he cannot do without an audience: as long as there are people around he may possibly, just once, be able to communicate the essence of things. A chance meeting offers the most unequivocal example of his dependence on

others. In an underpass he happens to meet an acquaintance, who is with a friend, a young man he has never met. He wants to keep going, having just decided not to socialize for a while, in order to sort out his thoughts. But in order to explain why he won't join them, he has to explain to the young men why he is in such a rush to get home. They listen as if they understand, and he cannot stop. He speaks rapidly, erratically, and the result is the same as always—his words fall utterly short of the mark. Suddenly he gets angry; they stopped him, he would rather have walked on, and that was why his thoughts became confused. "But the moment I figured this out, I realized I was completely wrong; I had been certain I didn't want to go, that I ought to rush home; I suddenly realized that all along, I had been talking only because I didn't dare stop. If I did they would leave, and I wanted to go, to go with them, anywhere." The hero's is the sort of life in which frankness and individuality are at the very centre: he argues to express his "point of view", wants to be frank and seeks for the truth, but in these futile discussions he loses sight of himself, of the personality he has built up but has never managed to express. He struggles against the absurdity of words, against the fact that despite all his attempts at accurate description, the vagueness remains or even increases; if he settles for a single formulation, he is likely to be misinterpreted with precision. But the more he struggles to describe a person, a thing, an event, the more complex and tangled the description becomes. And gradually it becomes apparent that the real subject of the novel is not the young man himself, with his everlasting arguments and explanations but description and self-effusion itself. We are dealing here with an essay-novel, in which many passages have deliberately been given multiple meanings—but by the time we reach the end, we are rather more certain which type of novel the author has *not* written, than of the one he actually has.

Because obvious as Csaplár's talent is, at the moment his touch is more certain with regard to what he leaves out rather than what he includes in his approach to structuring a novel. This apparently negative characteristic is, however, an important measure of value. Csaplár not only rejects mannered sentimentality and deliberately "beautiful" descriptions in general, he is also able to keep them out of his own writing. It is not only that in his introduction he attacks "arbitrary combinations of words"; he himself can produce writing which is all the more thought-provoking because of its conciseness.

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ISTVÁN CSÁSZÁR: *Fejfgyratás* (Headgyrating) Szépirodalmi Publishing House. Budapest 197. 385 pp.

A significant part of the world's literature is the sort which opens up an avenue of escape to readers dissatisfied with their own lives, and scores of sociological analyses have appeared on the "elements of escapism" inherent in art. But it sometimes happens that a literary work comes into being because the writer is unable to live as he would like to, and so shapes in his writing the character he would like to be. This is creative escapism. István Császár published his first volume *Fejfgyratás* (Headgyrating) at the age of 35, having left behind him about a dozen jobs; he has been a boiler-maker, an operating-room assistant, a shoveller, and even an inspector of fire extinguishers. Sixteen short stories appear in this volume, and the characters clearly reflect the varied experiences of their creator. Most of them are restless, always ready to take off on some new kind of "adventure": their common trait is that each seeks to find himself in his work, and each dislikes formal regulations because he wants to bring genuine order into his life. The young heroes of these short stories continually contrast the world they know from experience with

the ideals society sets before them; and they are not impressed by the comparison. Everywhere they see the domination of selfishness and private interests. Some of the short stories seem to be definitely autobiographical, and the motif of writing as escapism emerges repeatedly.

One of Császár's alter-egos formulates this in the following words: "The pretty stories are written by scoundrels, who just toss them off. What makes life bearable is that others can be written in their place." A different character explains the desire for self-expression in different terms: "I'm a fragile sort. Sometimes I pick up the fragments and try to put myself together again. Some of the shards always become lost, and I am forced to make new pieces to replace them. As a result, there is little left in me of the original man who was broken." (*Én voltam az*—I was the One) The wish to be different also plays a part in Császár's work, the desire to create something which never was, just as the title story, *Headgyrating*, indicates with a non-existent word the discovery by a small child of "the world's greatest and most difficult fact". Originality is not, however, merely a matter of decision, of will; it requires talent and the proper conditions of life. Talent and potential are gifts which Császár's character either have, in which case he wastes few words on them, preferring to treat the results of their gifts, or lack, in which case their longing for something original is hopeless from the beginning. The force of circumstances, on the other hand, definitely does interest the writer. In fact *Circumstances* (*Körülmények*) is the title of one of his stories.

A young man doing his compulsory service in the Army is summoned to court in a paternity case. The young unmarried mother has named him as the father of her child. Everything seems to add up: his name, address and occupation—except that he has never seen the girl. His innocence, he feels, must be so obvious, that apart from plain denial he refuses to defend himself. The

court declares him the father of the child. There is nothing to be done: the only way he can hope to have the decision reversed is to accept the falsified results of a blood-test provided by a crooked physician. Everything turned out favourably on the whole. Nonetheless, the young man's life was changed: justice obtained through deceit turned him against his fiancée, and even himself. A favourable outcome is not enough—the entire process must be fair. Obviously, if he fails to fight against what Császár is saying is that circumstances, obviously with the proper weapons or remains passive in their face can make a man's swerve from his chosen path; but in order for this to happen, the man must refuse to fight with the neces-

sary weapon, or remain completely passive, as the hero of the story does.

This story is a fine example of Császár's literary method. His writings are based on realistic situations which proceed gradually toward abstraction, so the general meaning or message becomes more essential than the individual case. The better the author's technique, the less noticeable the transition. Sometimes, however, Császár is not satisfied with the intellectual and emotional message contained in the story itself, and speaks parenthetically, directly, in his own voice. These lucubrations are generally no more than philosophical ornaments. It speaks well for the volume that the majority of the stories do not require this sort of literary crutch.

LÁSZLÓ VARGA

## Erratum

In an article on Alexander Lenard by György G. Kardos (No. 48 of the *NHQ*) the title of Lenard's *The Valley of The Latin Bear* was erroneously given as *Valley at the End of the World*. The *NHQ* regrets the error.

# MUSICAL LIFE

## HUNGARIAN RELEASES OF OLD AND MODERN MUSIC

JOSQUIN DESPREZ *Missa sexti toni* ("L'homme armé") for Mixed Choir (S, A, T, B) a capella. Edited by Gábor Darvas. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1970. 51 pp.

JACOB OBRECHT *Missa "L'homme armé"* for Mixed Choir (S, A, T, B) a capella. Edited by Gábor Darvas. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1972. 43 pp.

In 1972, Editio Musica began publication of a series entitled "Missae super L'homme armé". The title pertains, generally speaking, to that large body of music known to musicians and lovers of Renaissance music alike which is based on a "cantus firmus", and specifically to that group of masses based on the French folk-song *L'homme armé* ("The armed man").

The composition of masses based on secular tunes became general practice in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Many variations of these songs were arranged for sacred music; the secular tunes were generally sung by the tenor part, while the three other voices joined the tenor as accompaniment. The *chanson*, which was generally of French origin was of course stripped of its original text and sung to the text of the "Kyrie" or the "Sanctus", according to the prescribed order of the mass. At a farther stage of development the *chanson* began to influence, as it were, the other parts; frequently, at the beginning of a movement, all four parts sang the main motif. Later the

tune was often completely changed: the order of intervals was transposed, and the melody, starting with the last note, was sometimes written in retrograde. In spite of this, the mass itself was always named after the *chanson*. The *chanson* "L'homme armé" was the most popular of all, and during Palestrina's time, i.e. the second half of the sixteenth century, more scores bear this title than any other. Editio Musica is now publishing these masses in sequence.

A scholarly edition of the greater number of the works of Jacob Obrecht (c. 1450–1505) was published in the second decade of the century; a complete edition of Josquin Desprez was begun in 1921, but is not yet complete. Even if these scholarly publications were available, which they are not, they would be impossibly expensive, and reprints are simply not to be had in the quantities necessary for performance. On the one hand, the public is becoming more and more interested in Renaissance music; on the other, there is the continuing lack of scores—a situation equally embarrassing to musicians and to that section of the musical public which is able to read music. The aim of the series now being edited by Gábor Darvas is to meet this need.

The two scores published thus far, in addition to being accurate textual reproductions in a historical sense—endeavour to satisfy the requirements of practical performance. The editor has transposed the

mass by Obrecht a quarter tone higher, which, as one knows, does not affect the authenticity of the score. He has also inserted bar lines in order to facilitate performance. The score eschews of any sort of romantic annotation in regard to performance and may be recommended without reservation to musicologists and choruses alike. The latter will find it ideal for performance purposes.

The preface to both scores offers information in English and Hungarian concerning certain questions of technical detail.

JOSEPH HAYDN *Messe in B (Theresien-Messe)* Edited by Olivér Nagy. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1971, 134 pp.

Although Haydn is not best known for his sacred music, two of his masses are masterpieces: the famous Nelson Mass and the Mass in B, also known as the Theresien Mass.

The Theresien Mass was composed for four-part chorus and a quartet of soloists. The orchestration departs from the classical Viennese orchestration insofar as the woodwinds are represented only by two clarinets—the flute, oboe and bassoon being absent; in addition to the usual strings there are only two trumpets and a pair of kettle drums. The Mass is a mature work, having been composed in 1799, late in Haydn's life.

The modern format of these scores will come as a pleasant surprise to those unacquainted with Hungarian score typography: the well spaced, clear and easily readable notes are a Hungarian speciality, the result of a special Hungarian printing technique. The scores are of medium size (27 × 19 cm) somewhere between a miniature pocket score and the previous larger scores; they are equally suitable for studying and performing.

The stylistic basis of the Mass is, of course, the chordal homophony so characteristic of the classical Viennese school.

However, the brilliant fugue of the "Kyrie" reveals the connection between Haydn's later style and Handel's fugual compositions: it is well-known that Haydn became familiar with the contrapuntal art of his great predecessor when he visited London at the beginning of the 1790's.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA GAMBARO (1785–1828) *Tre Quartetti per flauto, clarinetto, corno e fagotto* I. Quartetto in Fa maggiore II. Quartetto in re minore III. Quartetto in Sol maggiore (Parti) A cura di György Balassa. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1972.

Three of the many compositions for wind instruments by Giovanni Battista Gambaro, who was a clarinetist in the Paris Opera, have been published for the first time. For the moment only the scores for single instruments are available; the complete score exists only in manuscript. Even in this form, however, the quartets convey a favourable impression of the composer.

Gambaro is not a genius, nor for that matter, even significant, but he is, undeniably, a skilled musician. The model for the three quartets is evidently Rossini. Gambaro's musical sense is steeped in Italian opera: the movements either soar in bravura style or sink into lovesick melancholy, as if the composer had been waiting for an operatic hero. The idiomatic utilization of the instruments is especially good, however, and the music is, on the whole, so bright and elegant that one need not be at all familiar with Gambaro to enjoy it. In this respect, too, he is like Rossini, whose similar pieces for wind instruments are hardly profound, but stop at the level of first-class entertainment.

Audience interest in chamber music for winds has increased considerably during the last few decades; on the other hand, the chamber music literature for quartets consisting of flute, clarinet, bassoon and horn is rather limited. It may thus be expected

that Gambaro's three quartets will in time become a standard repertory piece for wind-players interested in chamber music.

It should be noted, however, that Gambaro's quartets require a high standard of virtuosity: amateurs will have to content themselves with slower tempi.

BÉLA BARTÓK: *Duos* for two violins from choral works arranged by Endre Szervánszky. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1971, 16 pp.

BÉLA BARTÓK: *Trios* for three violins from choral works arranged by Endre Szervánszky. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1971, Score 29 pp. + parts

"Béla Bartók planned in 1939 to arrange his choral works for two violins and three violins. He was prevented from doing this by his early death. At the request of the Editio Musica, Endre Szervánszky has now undertaken this task. His arrangements, which we are bringing out in two volumes, offer valuable material both to violin teaching and group music-making."

This is the preface to the recent Editio Musica edition of the duos and trios for violin. The duos have been published only in single scores, since two violinists can easily play from the same score: the trios, however, have been published in both partial and complete scores.

Bartók's pieces for male or female choruses inevitably enchant with their vir-

tuosity and exquisite humour. It is interesting to note that these particular pieces emanate a genuinely Hungarian spirit, though none is an arrangement of a folk-song; each theme as it happens is Bartók's own invention. On the other hand, the Hungarian folk song was at least an indirect influence on almost all of Bartók's music.

The problem of what sort of musical material is best suited to make modern music popular with young instrumentalists at the outset is a recurring one. The problem is serious, because children who have been brought up exclusively on classical music will find it difficult—if, indeed, they make the attempt at all—to familiarize themselves with the music of the twentieth century. On the other hand, modern compositions are difficult to play, and music books for practise are not always adequate. Bartók himself was particularly interested in making it possible for young instrumentalists to take up modern music at a relatively early stage: the well-known "*Mikrokosmos*", a collection of pieces for piano, was composed for this purpose, so were the 44 duos for violin. Obviously, as the preface to the Editio Musica edition indicates, Bartók had the same idea in mind when he decided to rearrange these choral works for violin.

Endre Szervánszky, an outstanding composer of the post-Bartók school, has arranged Bartók's choral works with due respect for the master, making alterations only where alteration was absolutely necessary.

ANDRÁS PERNYE

# ARTS

## THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HUNGARIAN ART NOUVEAU

Talking of the art of the turn of the century, *Art Nouveau*, or *Jugendstil*, one can hardly ignore the intellectual schizophrenia and stylistic fragmentation or even eclecticism which created a crisis in the fine arts. At one time this crisis was interpreted in such an extreme way that the very existence of the *Jugendstil* was questioned in painting and sculpture, and the style was recognized only in architecture and the applied arts. Though this extremist position soon proved untenable, it was clear that *Jugendstil* painting did not cohere into an integrated stylistic period; it remained heterogeneous both in approach and expression. There was room in it for a narrow-minded interpretation of realism, just as it did not shrink from mingling naturalism with stylizing, or mixing academic portrayal with decorative two-dimensional notions.

Despite its variety and the times it got off the rails, there was something that defined this painting—at least in its message—and that was its striving for symbolism. This ambition was of course in itself quite ambiguous under the circumstances: on the one hand to suggest definite and concrete meanings, and on the other, to express yearnings and mystic secrets with the clarity and banality of a poster. Nonetheless, this ambition naturally derived from the atmosphere of the times. *Art Nouveau* not only used and repeated the traditional, several-thousand-year-old symbols, but in fact

embedded them in new types of representation which in this way became pervaded with the symbolic meaning prompted by the times.

These symbols became documents of the *fin de siècle*, and at the same time they exemplified an attitude to life, a witness to the decadence of *Art Nouveau* painting rather than any reviving pictorial power. One could say with some exaggeration that these symbols merely provided a description of the end of the nineteenth century, in contrast with French symbolism, which managed to grow into an integrated style. While Gauguin and his group created the symbols of life, the artists of the *Jugendstil* reached only psychological symbolism—generalizations stuck in details, which had also been present in the eclectic amalgam of conventional forms. This explains the paradoxical situation that, when one takes stock of the symbolical types of representation of the *Art Nouveau*, one has to exclude the French, the genuine symbolism of the times which, owing to its formative power, was detached from the essence of the *Jugendstil*.

*Art Nouveau* painting focussed its interest on two groups of problems—to be sure, these two overlap to such an extent that in actual works they often seem one. One of these is the position of man in the world, or rather the negative assessment of this position as insecurity, anxiety, the feeling of being a plaything of fate, and a theatrically accen-

tuated incomprehension in the face of the mystery of life and death. The other source of its empathy is the relationship between man and woman, or rather the puzzle which entered this earlier apparently unproblematic relationship, and which had its origin in the puzzlingly hostile relationship between the sexes and their feelings of defencelessness.

### *Existence and eroticism*

When *Art Nouveau* painting created its characteristic female type, it expressed both these experiences and both these doubts. It is obviously not a matter of mere chance that it involuntarily profaned the essence of life, practically finding pleasure in equating existence with eroticism.

Hans Hofstatter, the German authority on the *Jugendstil*, describes this female figure with its multitude of meanings in the following term: "Big dark eyes filled with vague desire look expectantly from the real world—in which no desire finds fulfilment—into nothingness. The nervous, trembling fingers of pale graceful hands hold a flower or a precious receptacle which suggests the other world. Emaciated beauty becomes a principal motif embodying passion and mortality." This sentimental type "inherited" from the Pre-Raphaelites, which gained such poetic formulation in the art of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Burne-Jones, lived on in the *Jugendstil*. Big dark eyes, spots of brightness in a sullenly pale face further accentuated by the sensuous mouth and curling hair symbolize the mystery of life in the art of the Belgian painter Khnopff and the Dutch painter Toorop. As Muther, an eminent scholar of the period, wrote: "Hearing Khnopff's name, everyone thinks of quiet girls with sad smiles, and of sphynx-like heads which glare coldly and soullessly into the infinite, or dream of unheard delight; of eyes which glow deeply with unquenchable light, and of pallid lips which thirst for blood."

This sensuous and at the same time unembodied woman figure became to a certain extent simplified in Germany and Austria. It presented less of the problem of existence, in order to personify passionate love more openly. The symbol of the *femme fatale* took shape, a symbol of sin at the same time. Here, however, sin was not a moral category but unpunished sensuality; through it the mystic power of evil was discovered, as represented in the sphynxes, and Judith, Salome, Messalina and Cleopatra. Although this society and at the same time mythological type found representation in the works of Beardsley first, it became the principal motif chiefly of the Munich and Vienna schools, of the art of Stuck, Stratmann and Klimt.

These female bodies embraced by the attribute of the snake, or Medusa heads, stand for the *femme fatale* who is possessed by "the consciousness of sin, of the kind of sin that finds expression only in beauty".

Although the erotic and mondaine woman figure of the turn of the century evoked in itself an association of sexuality and love-making, *Jugendstil* art included the kiss and the embrace. In Munch's case this theme expressed the desperate recognition of loneliness and alienation, of the feeling that man and woman remain alone even in love. The majority of the *Jugendstil* masters, however, impressed their empathy concerning the relationship between the sexes with a feeling of defencelessness rather than loneliness, and with the perverse pleasure deriving from defencelessness rather than anxiety. The vampire, the sphynx which clasps its victim in a deadly embrace, the scenes of abduction, Susannah and the Elders are all topics inspired by these more or less morbid experiences.

It is still this experience that is involved when the painters of the *fin de siècle* treat mythological (Orpheus, Daphnis and Chloe) or biblical (Adam and Eve) topics or, creating a new iconography, turn springs into the symbol of the renewal of life, love, or possibly of art. It is almost impossible to

sort out these clichés of representation, for the woman with a snake stands for sin and the temptation of Eve, and mythological scenes and Arcadian landscapes—sometimes populated with centaurs and nymphs—express the paradisiac state, but already with a tension auguring the tragedy of temptation.

All that this period represents and raises into symbolic significance is generally unrealistic in its pictorial form as if whatever is shown would be like this only in the imagination, much too fantastic to be convincing in its exaggerated sensuousness and too powerless to achieve an ideational level. Even when it is depicting things naturalistically, *Jugendstil* painting is so artistic in its gestures and composition that it is only indirectly related to nature. Trees and leaves become transformed into scenic design, and the nudes painted with photographic candour are also merely decorative elements in the fastidiously conceived, decorative pictorial surface. The symbolism of *Art Nouveau* assumes its real character with this imaginary, sometimes fairytale-like and sometimes fantastic or grotesque formulation, in other words with the kind of representation where the meaning of the symbol can be equated with the meaning of the artistic design in which it appears.

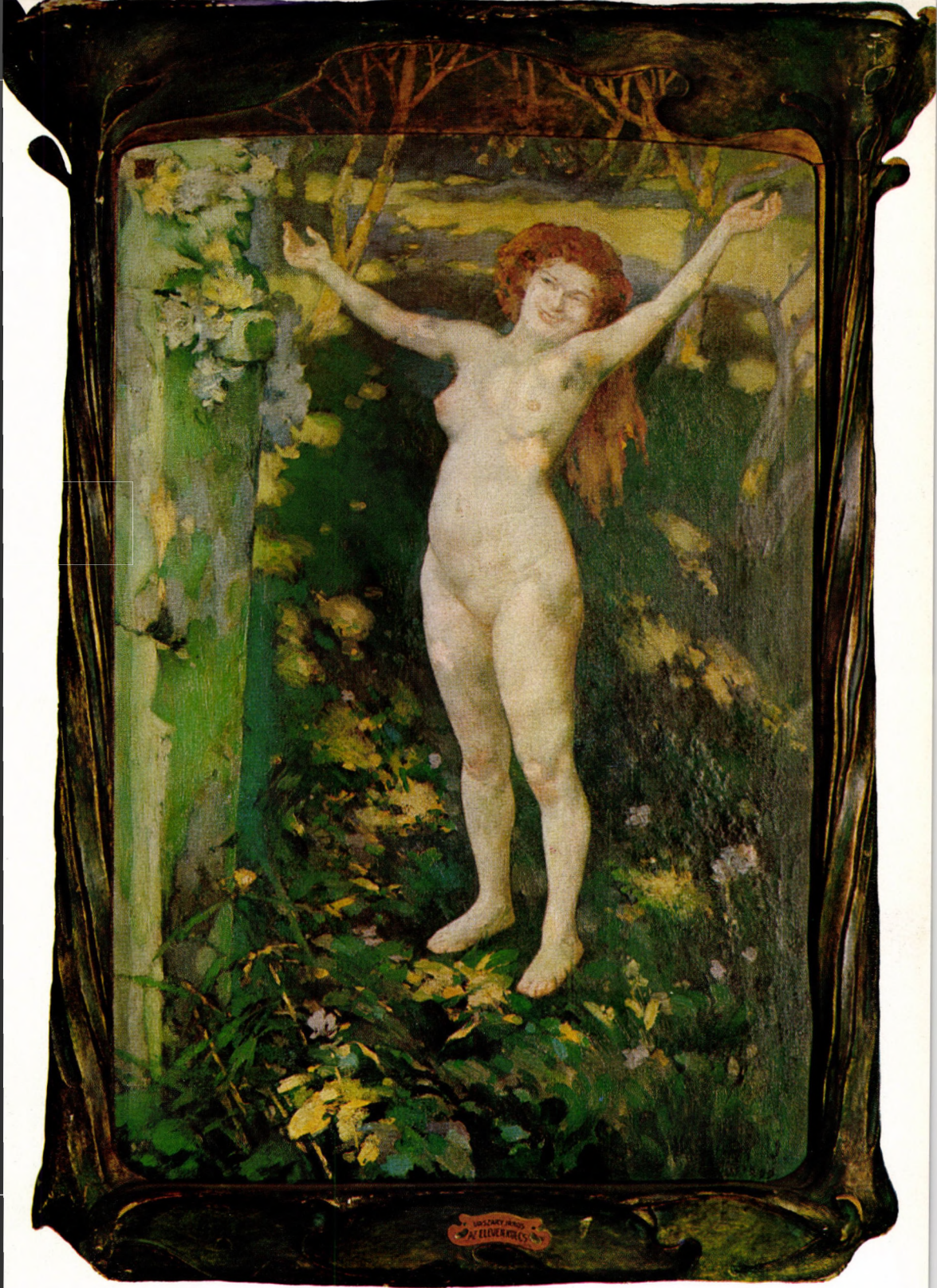
It is a most interesting fact that the principal types of representation of Western European *Art Nouveau* invaded Hungarian painting although in Hungarian art *Jugendstil* did not become either an independent movement or a revolt against the academy, and did not even form an integrated trend to the extent of determining the entire œuvre of any single artist. Moreover, these types of representation did not appear as those of epigones, they sprang from the logic of individual artistic careers despite the fact that the dominant Hungarian trend of the turn of the century, the Nagybánya school of *plein air* painting, showed nature in a manner far removed from the decorative, stylistic and symbolical tendencies of the *Jugendstil*.

### *The fin de siècle in Hungary*

Nonetheless the themes and approach of *Art Nouveau* in Hungary did not emerge from any conscious opposition to the Nagybánya school, nor did it grow sufficiently to become its counterpole. It got along in fact so well with impressionistic naturalism that the draughtsmanship of Károly Ferenczy (1862–1917), the leading master of the Nagybánya school, blended as a matter of course into the flat representation of *Art Nouveau*, and the poster advertising the group's exhibition—contrary to the style of painting practised by the school—was done entirely in the *Jugendstil* manner.

The time-lag of Hungarian painting and its coping with the problems of Impressionism therefore apparently pushed *Art Nouveau* out onto the fringes of painting. For this reason the new style did not lead to any kind of stylistic conflict. It seemed as if Hungarian *Art Nouveau* only had the strength to be a tasteful and fashionable concomitant—or up-to-date publicity—for painting following different ways. *Art Nouveau* types of representations which nonetheless infiltrated Hungarian painting, however, suggest a more complicated story. It was as if the Nagybánya school itself had recognized the anachronism of its own style while it was in fact laying the foundations for Hungarian painting. This was not a conscious recognition, but it instinctively inspired the creation of some kind of a synthesis. The biblical compositions Károly Ferenczy painted in the first years of the century hinted at this both in their theme and in their decorative design, and Béla Iványi-Grünwald's (1867–1940) break with nature-oriented painting in favour of a new decorative style was indicative of the same thing.

After all, Nagybánya was, notwithstanding its leading role and impressive rank and prestige, only a provincial town. The capital city was receiving new impulses which stimulated metropolitan painting in an entirely different direction, a more



JÁNOS VASZARY: RED HAIRED NUDE (OIL, CARTOON, 50×91 CMS)

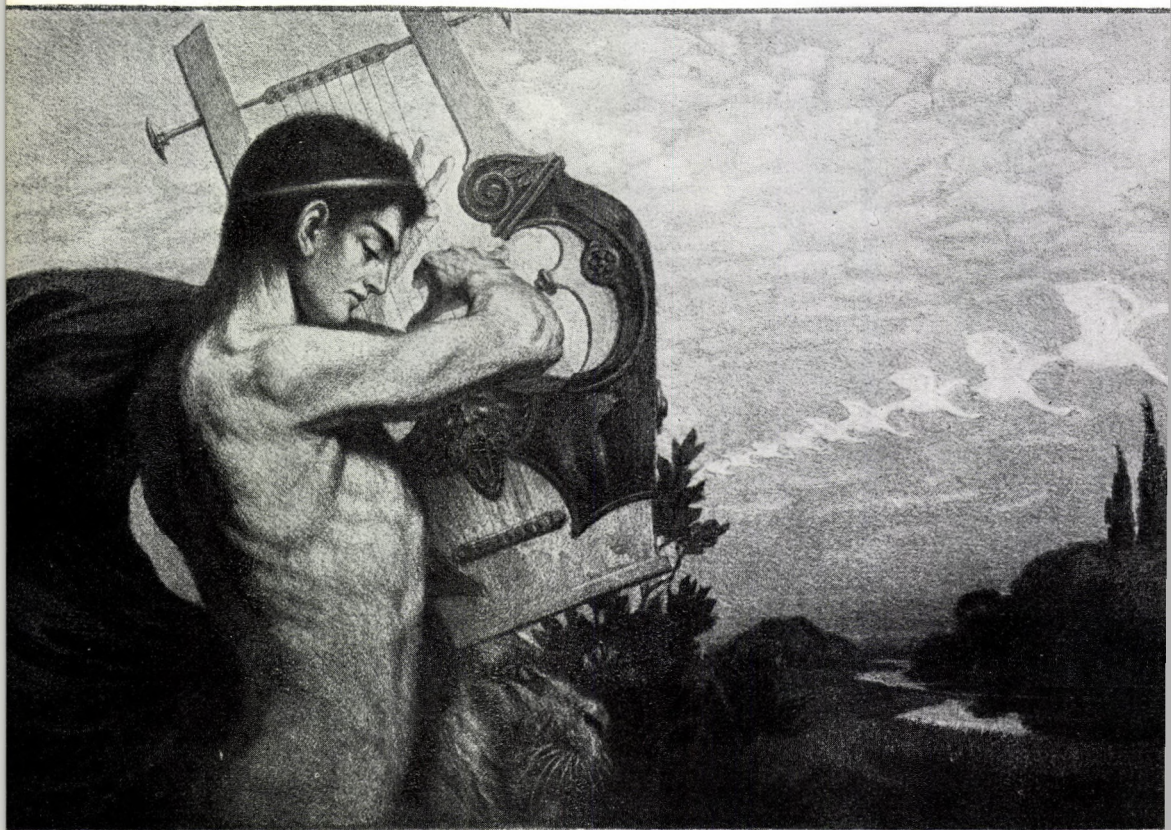
Photo: Károly Szélényi



a



b



a JÓZSEF EGRY:

GOLDEN AGE (OIL), 1910

*Photo: Károly Szélényi*

b SÁNDOR NAGY: ADAM AND EVE

(CARTOON FOR STAINED GLASS WINDOW)

*Photo: Károly Szélényi*

c FERENC HELBING:

ORPHEUS (LITHOGRAPH)

*Photo: István Petrás*

GYULA TICHY: WOMAN WITH FLOWER

(WOODCUT, 30 × 100 CMS)

*Photo: István Petrás*

SÁNDOR NAGY: SPRING (PEN AND WASH)

*Photo: Károly Szélényi*





JÓZSEF RIPPL-RÓNAI: WOMAN IN A HAT WITH OSTRICH FEATHERS

(CHARCOAL, 47×38 CMS)

*Photo: Károly Szélnyi*

LAJOS GULÁCSY: SONG OF THE ROSE (OIL ON CANVAS, 84×49,5 CMS, 1904) ►

*Photo: István Petráš*





JÁNOS VASZARY: GOLDEN AGE (OIL ON CANVAS, 92 × 155 CMS, 1898)

speculative, more bourgeois painting which proved more receptive to the spirit and forms of the *Jugendstil*. True enough, there was no clear group even in Budapest, a group which adopted the new forms as their own exclusive style, but there were a few painters just beginning their careers who were attracted to this approach while they were trying to find themselves.

The cityscape, social life and entire milieu of Budapest at the time had a typical *fin-de-siècle* atmosphere, a mood which was equally influenced by bourgeois consciousness and the vacillation of this self-assurance, both by the festive lights of the millenary celebrations and their hangover.

At the same time Budapest probably experienced these contradictions of bourgeois consciousness and way of life with less awareness than nearby large cities, and it gave expression to them with a kind of provincial *Gemütlichkeit*. Here the profoundly shattering discoveries of the period became topics for shallow drawing-room conversation, and the phantoms of unrest received admission to the best parlours as mere ghosts which stimulated the imagination but caused no trouble. When Gábor Halász sketched the countenance of the "bourgeois rococo", that is, the Hungarian features of *Art Nouveau* in his *Magyar Századvég* (The Hungarian *fin de siècle*) published in 1945, he described this aura in a manner that was very much to the point. "The image of woman entangled in the web of problems spun around her did not leave the bourgeois spirit quiet for a second. On one hand Woman was approached with the renewed reverence of the Age of Chivalry, and on the other hand curious Peeping-Tom eyes probed into the 'problems' and 'secrets' of her emotional and instinctual life, shudderingly explored the 'corruption' and 'fatality' emanating from her; and she was dressed, in accordance with this suppressed and over-stimulated imagery, in veils, furs, and feathers, muffs and gowns with sweeping trains, she was made to hide her face behind

fans and parasols, the boudoir was invented to be her hiding place, and she was made to drown in the suffocating trifles of her parlour, her glass show-cases and dressing-tables as the changing but unceasing currents of her sighs, faints, moods and whims swept her off her feet."

In the final analysis this art that in its atmosphere and themes slid to the border-zones of *Art Nouveau*, did not cross the limits of the social conventions; it was too middle-class, too adaptable, and too sentimental to go beyond Biedermeier affectation or to give whole-hog expression to the crude eroticism, "immodest" interpretation of love, and passionate and at once morbid imagery of *Art Nouveau*. It did not venture beyond thematic "daring" and novelty. In this way a succession of pictures depicting the female body, love, or the passions or certain emotions were painted (Zoltán Veress: *Amor in Mourning*; Lajos Ébner: *Awakening, Dream*; Lajos Márk: *Compunction*; Imre Knopp: *Bungling Fawn*, etc.) without being more than academically executed variations on fashionable topics, perhaps titillatingly piquant, but after all innocent and indifferent as the bric-à-brac of eclectic parlours.

Nonetheless, this social art of the *fin de siècle* cannot be regarded as just commonplace parlour painting. If nothing else, at least its thematic licentiousness bit into a beauty ideal stiffened by petty-bourgeois morality, leading to more exuberant thinking and making minds more receptive to the new art. At the winter show and the verinissage held at the Budapest *Műcsarnok*, the more and more frequently exhibited foreign pictures—which after 1895 included some of Franz von Stuck's paintings, Jan Toorop's famous *Three Brides*, and even the large-scale Walter Crane show and the Finnish painter Gallen Kallela and, later, works by Gauguin and Puvis de Chavannes in 1907, and a Swiss *Jugendstil* exhibition in 1909—were all received without a feeling that something strange and unheard was in the offing.

It was not a matter of chance that the

artists—István Csók (1865–1961), János Vaszary (1867–1939), Lajos Gulácsy (1882–1932), and József Egry (1883–1951) for instance—who began to exhibit around the turn of the century could not escape the *Art Nouveau* forms which seemed to embody their own problems. But, as I mentioned earlier, the impressionist and decorative approach lived in a bizarre symbiosis in the paintings of Károly Ferenczy; and József Rippl-Rónai (1861–1927), who had been a colleague and friend of the Nabis in Paris, brought home a mature *Art Nouveau* style on his return from Paris.

In addition to all these scattered or isolated initiatives, there was a community of artists whose views on life and artistic programme were in fact rooted in *Art Nouveau*. This group, which was becoming organized in about 1901 in Gödöllő, and which was led by Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch (1863–1920) and Sándor Nagy (1868–1950), was opposed to the idea of *l'art pour l'art*, and wanted to create an art that was intended to be educating and moralistic. Symbolism offered itself as the most obvious means to this end.

Even this rough outline should suggest that *Art Nouveau* grew in Hungarian painting from very different external and internal roots. Not even the urge to follow foreign examples was similar. Vaszary and Csók studied at first in Munich and later in Paris, Gulácsy travelled to Italy year after year, he adored the Pre-Raphaelites, and remained indifferent to Paris all his life; whereas Rippl-Rónai spent fifteen years in France during which period his painting became an integral part of French art; and finally Sándor Nagy and his Gödöllő group were inspired by the principles of William Morris.

The different artistic beginnings and the greatly varied ambitions of the painters brought to life a stylistically heterogeneous art. The common lot, a mystical empathy with identical experiences, formed common links only in the themes, in what I called types of representation.

The characteristic female type of the period appeared perhaps in Lajos Gulácsy's art in its most typical form. This is the fragile, pallid-complexioned, melancholy female figure, who is a creature of Northern art and expresses in the most complex and most indirect way the anxious and burdensome secretive aura of the period, the nostalgic longing to get away from the banality and ruthlessness of the commonplace, the greedy yearning for unknown pleasures, the melancholy of mortality and the sweet titillation of dreams. Lajos Gulácsy, who himself was a stranger to his times and, roaming among the cypresses of Italian cemeteries, wore the "gently green Watteau jacket, the fine ivory stockings and the silver-buckled high-heeled slippers, shepherd waistcoats, and fine Venetian lace cuffs" with the same naturalness as if he had appeared in the fashions of his times, found in these pre-Raphaelite-type women an expression of his own exclusion and of his splendid dreams. Although in the later period of his career he no longer followed any model when he painted *Vestal Virgin* and *Song about the Rose* (1904), his artistic ideals still attracted him to the Pre-Raphaelites whose works he studied with sincere enthusiasm. Nonetheless, the respect of a pupil did not turn his art into epigonism, not even in early youth. Though the heroines of his pictures, these shadowy-eyed, sensuous-lipped creatures with cascading hair, are related to Rossetti's women, and here and there a flower is entwined between their thin fingers, the sensitive pictorial quality of the compositions and the arbitrary modelling of the figures reveal these works as different from the draughtsmanship and sometimes dry style of the Pre-Raphaelites, and from the neo-classical character of their pictures.

The accent on the physical traits which rendered Gulácsy's female figures into embodiments of passion and mortality, were in Rippl-Rónai's painting merely the labels of the worldly woman.

Rippl-Rónai who, like Vuillard and

Bonnard, was a painter of eyes and whose cheerful good spirits abhorred extremes and mysticism, painted the female figure in the resplendent clothes of contemporaneous fashions, regarding her much more as a spectacle, as a pictorial phenomenon than as a force creating symbols. Contrary to the impressionists, he did not, however, record what he saw in its accidental momentariness and in its momentary richness of detail, he stylized it. By more or less excluding contingency from his pictures, he involuntarily generalized; his decorative forms, delimited by definite lines, suggested permanence with their declarative tranquillity. Although Rippl-Rónai painted a number of female portraits, they remained mostly dark-eyed, accented-lipped, pale female faces whose models are unknown or indifferent, or whose model is the worldly female type of the turn of the century. Thus, *The Primadonna*, *The Black-Veiled Woman*, or *Woman in Black Ostrich-Plumed Hat* became symbols of the period even if they did not embody vague desires or crude eroticism, but rather a balanced and middle-class mixture of the two.

In Rippl-Rónai's pictures the sensuous undulation of the hair is generally hidden by the no less sensuous "masks" of extravagant hats and suggestive veils; genuine flowers with their petals burst open are pinned in the hair or decorate the hat, and the titillating ruffles of the dress, the heavy strings of pearls, or the velvet ribbon ornamenting the neck act as substitutes for the missing eroticism of the nude.

Gyula Tichy, who was chiefly a draughtsman, also specialized in women of the world. His woodcuts are an example of the way a symbolic form can lose its significance and become merely a mannerism, or how a symbol-creating intention becomes an instinctive reflex stimulated by the spirit of the times. Here the Pre-Raphaelite woman, holding the familiar flower in her hand, is already deprived of her puzzling mysticism—which was able to suggest so much meaning earlier—and she becomes an ordinary

Budapest woman, untouched by the doubts and desires of the period, a woman in whose case the relationship between her face and the flower is exhausted in a frivolously affected gesture.

István Csók's ebullient love of life and sensuous nature made him a very different painter from Gulácsy, nonetheless, in his first pictures he was not able to escape the influence of the Northern ideal of beauty. In his *Portrait of a Woman*, painted in 1895, the young girl made to sit in a backdrop-like environment is painted with the same wide-open eyes and "blood-thirsty mouth" as Knopff's white-complexioned quiet female figures. Later, when he abandoned his inhibitions and his trip to Paris also helped to liberate him both as a man and painter, his erotic female figures—by now divested of their clothes—became symbols of sin as in German painting. The theme of *Vampires* engaged his attention from 1901, and he completed the painting by that title in 1904. Although the picture as a whole emanates healthy bourgeois eroticism rather than the morbidity which can so often be sensed in German art, the individual figures—especially the lascivious profile of the woman with the thick tresses—recall Stuck's *femmes fatales* with their self-assured corruption.

János Vaszary's nude *Red Haired Women* also symbolizes demoniac woman, or in other words the powerful temptation of sin. Just as Csók, Vaszary left out the tangles of ornamental decoration around the bodies of his nudes, and thus these nudes, painted in a more or less impressionist or realist manner, seem to "breathe" in what appears to be a commonplace environment, but they never become as unreal, phantastic or pathological as the creatures of non-Hungarian *Art Nouveau* painting. It is likewise striking that Csók did not stylize at all, his figures remained three-dimensional; and Vaszary did not reduce his compositions to two dimensions either. Nonetheless, in Vaszary's canvas of the *Red Haired Women* pictorial unity is achieved despite the coloured reflexes

and the excited brushwork. The forms become simplified, closed and sharply contoured masses, sometimes concise plains, and the gleaming body and the dark background form decorative contrasts, whereas the arabesques of the elongated arms and the arched body gain ornamental value just as do the colourful flowers dotting the hair, or the dark emerald gleam of the eyes.

This fantastically exaggerated demon, whose head is like a Medusa, seems, despite all its contrived theatrical and at the same time decorative arrangement, to have sprung with easy spontaneity from Vaszary's imagination.

On the other hand, Sándor Nagy's *Desire*, drawn with the tortuous care of an academic study, is a more typical but at the same time a much more anaemic representation of the problems of the period. The moralist artist, who sympathized with Tolstoy, seems to have illustrated the theme rather than to have had genuine insight into it. Notwithstanding, he composed the drawing, in which the body bent backwards in an affected pose, the trunk of the bent tree and the snake winding about the tree undulate in a sophisticated symmetry all together, with real *Art Nouveau* ingenuity.

What Gulácsy and Rippl-Rónai entrusted to the expression of the face, and István Csók and János Vaszary to the "character" of the static body, Sándor Nagy preferred to express through movement, through a whimsical, playful and fastidious movement, which—probably contrary to Sándor Nagy's intentions—made Eve's temptation and fall thrillingly attractive.

#### *Expired myths*

This Eve stretching her limbs in the Garden of Eden—like the daemons of Csók and Vaszary—suggests already one of the central problems of *Art Nouveau* painting: the representation of love, or more precisely, sexuality. Nonetheless, in Hungarian paint-

ing we would look in vain for the openly drastic and sometimes perverse representation of the relations between the sexes which was characteristic of Munich and Vienna *Art Nouveau*, or for the analytical, even psycho-analytical and philosophical depths which Northern art, and especially Munch, attained. Though the problematology penetrated Hungarian *Art Nouveau* painting, it never received an uninhibitedly radical or excitingly mystic interpretation, but remained merely an artistic element sometimes assuming the mask of poetry and sometimes the disguise of mythology, thus subjecting itself to the demands of well-mannered good conduct which constrained even imagination to stay within the barriers of convention.

István Csók's *Vampires*—and I do not mean the final painting which is quite well-bred in its total effect, but the original sketch of 1902—can be interpreted only as the atypical exception. István Csók, whose full-blooded eroticism never, in all his long life, went beyond what was permitted by the haute-bourgeoisie's liking for piquancy, at first handled the subject with scandalous daring. The small sketch under discussion reminds one of the conciseness of Munch's drawings where the clean arc of the lines and the closed mass of forms fill the moment of the embrace—shown in a close-up—with tremendous tension.

It is interesting and at the same time moving that Lajos Gulácsy, probably the most innocent and poetic master of Hungarian painting, devoted a highly intensive and meaningful series to the topic of love. Nonetheless, it would be difficult to put this irregular series on record as a typical manifestation of *Art Nouveau*. This should not be done, partly because the series bears no resemblance, either in approach or style, to any models or to the work of any contemporaries, and partly because, with Gulácsy, the relations between theme and content developed in ways that differed from *Art Nouveau*. The *Art Nouveau* masters depicted the kiss, the traffic of the sexes and the

embracing sphynxes because the kiss, the traffic of the sexes and the embracing sphynxes interested them, Gulácsy, however, expressed his own fate in his embracing couples, and life itself rather than mere sexuality. In his finest pictures depicting lovers, the man and woman are equal parties and their mutual love sometimes becomes sublimated into pure poetry (*The Wizard's Garden*), grows into a vision of giddy passion (*Extasis*), or becomes a representation of Gulácsy's nostalgia for the past (*The Mulatto and the Alabaster Woman*). Of course, even in these paintings of a most original spirit there are a few signs—for instance, the period costumes and the inclination towards the exotic—which betray the presence of some *Art Nouveau* influence. Even more evident is the operation of the *Art Nouveau* approach in the pictures in which love becomes transposed into a scene of temptation: the man becomes satanic and the nude woman sensuous, and one of the two assumes the role of the tempter and the other the tempted (*Idyll, Don Juan's Garden*).

This popular theme of the period appears even in the works of Tivadar Csontváry Kosztka (1853–1919), whose art can be subsummed under the heading of a single style even less so than Gulácsy's. His *Lovers*, painted around 1902, is a grotesque vision in which the sad captives of passion are shown in exaggerated proportions. The man, in a theatrical costume, and his paramour seem to be full of misgivings and melancholy as they hover over the dark plane of the canvas in each other's arms as if dream-drugged.

While the visionary painters depicted in love the grave drama and at the same time the mystery of the life of the instincts, the rationalist artists handled the theme in a much more conservative manner. This was so not only and predominantly because they resorted to ready-made mythological or biblical clichés for their representations, but chiefly because their approach was cool to the point of indifference—one could in fact

call it academic—for they revived the “eternal theme” as a commonplace, without any kind of modern re-interpretation or tension.

János Vaszary painted his *Adam and Eve* in a neo-classical naturalistic style in 1900. The picture is so objective and passionless that neither the splendid nudes—which have the effect of mere studies of the naked body—nor the backdrop-like environment suggest the tragedy of the temptation, or of the fall. Unquestionably, the stage effect of the landscape recalls the affectation of *Art Nouveau*, its artificial penchant for romanticism coupled with the fantastic.

József Egry's *Adam and Eve* was painted in 1910, but it was merely the subject and style that linked it to *Art Nouveau*. What the picture depicts is entirely indifferent; a paradisiac landscape glowing in crimson with blatant green accents, merely an exercise in colour composition and in the relation of forms. The forms accented with thick contours and the delicate balance of dark and light patches make for an attractively arranged decorative surface.

Sándor Nagy, who was regarded as the most devoted representative of *Art Nouveau* in Hungary, contributed a glass-window composition to the sequence of Adam and Eve representations. He made several plans for the design, and his first ideas have been preserved in a finely drawn cartoon. As in the case of *Desire*, here too a typically *Art Nouveau* way of looking at things is apparent. The huge snake entwines the joined bodies of the couple locked in an embrace in a fine serpentine line, virtually as a decorative element, at the same time the branches of the apple-tree gently encircle them or bend down in the form of a graceful garland. This drawing does not show anything of the conflict and battle of the sexes; on the contrary, the picture is full of harmony and so decorative that even the bodies blend indifferently into the ornamental order.

It should be obvious from the foregoing examples that the portrayal of love, stylized to the point of decorativeness, constituted

the form of art through which the cardinal problems of the times infiltrated Hungarian painting. It derived from this fundamentally neo-classical stand and the passivity of the creators that, in a period which strongly inspired Symbolism, Hungarian painting was most receptive to myths already too familiar; to exhausted myths, and instead of creating original symbols, merely cited the popular themes of ancient mythology. Ferenc Helbing's (1870-1958) *Orpheus*, Imre Knopp's (1867-1945) painting of Arcadian landscape entitled *Poppy*, Károly Ferenczy's intimate composition *Daphnis and Chloe*; or *Golden Age*, the most exotic Hungarian painting of the turn of the century, painted in 1898 by János Vaszary, were all conceived in this spirit.

Ferenc Helbing, who was a graphic artist, and not exceptional even as such, showed more receptivity for fashionable forms than his more original contemporaries. His *Orpheus* of Apollonic proportions, painted with naturalist candour in a wind-blown cloak and with theatrical gestures, the ornamental arabesques of Orpheus's harp, and the birds flying overhead in garland formation make for a textbook exercise in *Art Nouveau* representation which is well-nigh comical and certainly gaudy. Imre Knopp was also one of the lesser masters, nonetheless, his pictures are pervaded by a gentle lyricism: the arbitrarily magnified female figure in the foreground calls to mind the typical woman of *Art Nouveau*: her far-looking eyes are full of longing and melancholy, a flower trembles in her hand, and in the background female figures wrapped in antique folds walk in a sunlit Arcadian landscape.

Under János Vaszary's brush, on the other hand, mythology is transposed into painting. His *Golden Age* is unique and unrepeated in his art, although this work of Vaszary's, carefully balanced on a fence beyond which lies gush, but done with a sure taste, indicates a mature conception and no vague, accidental experiment. Although

some neo-classical and romantic features mingle in his work, Vaszary managed to avoid eclecticism, one of the main stumbling-blocks of *Art Nouveau* artists. The neo-classical nudes, the romantically profuse garden and the frame worked into one with the canvas, with its lush gold ornamentation, constitute an organic whole where the pictorial content and the atmosphere suggested are completely integrated. An opalescent green tone is cast over the entire surface of the painting, and the coolly gleaming nudes, these lovers frozen into timeless happiness, are flashes of alabaster light, being massive and unimpassioned like the thousand-year-old antique statuary ornamenting the garden.

There is no trace of the classical tranquillity and at the same time romantic exaltation in Károly Ferenczy's small paper picture depicting *Daphnis and Chloe*. This scene painted with impressionist directness in which mythology appears with an everyday simplicity without any symbolic overtones has a vitality and intimacy all its own.

Whereas the strongly sensuous strain of Hungarian painting displayed a certain indifference for thinking in symbols, it showed a more or less pathetic-moralist tendency which drove it in the direction of symbolic expression. Although this was not a major trend, it is interesting nonetheless that the same Hungarian painting which fell into epigonism, routine solutions, or at best a conventional approach, when it attempted the modern formulation of love with its symbolic force, liked to depict life in general—the continuity of life or the relationship of life and death—in symbols. This view is in evidence as much in the woodcuts of Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch (*Man in the Wake of Death*, *Death in the Wake of Man*) as in Sándor Nagy's symbolic water-colour *Common Lot*, or his series of drawings entitled *Further*, which depicted human life as a pilgrimage. The source was a similar life symbol in the paintings of János Vaszary and Béla Iványi-Grünwald as well as in the works of the two

Gödöllő masters. The source in this way became a typical theme as a symbol of the renewal of life, but it was a theme which remained changeable and immature. In Kőrösfői-Kriesch's fresco for the Academy of Music, painted in 1907, the "praise of the source" develops into a ritual crowd scene, symbolizing not so much life as art. In János Vaszary's 1896 painting, a nude girl drinking spring water amidst a profusion of flowers represents the touching image of youth, whereas Sándor Nagy called to mind the pure idyll of happy family life through his nude figures haunting a woodland spring.

The examples listed and discussed go to show that in the first decade of the twentieth-century Hungarian painting too was pervaded and shaped by *Art Nouveau*. It is likewise evident that the realization of the *Art Nouveau* approach and style was somewhat accidental: although the motifs of *Art Nouveau* infiltrated the storehouses of Hungarian painting, they became integrated with the art of individual painters in a rather haphazard manner—sometimes with an impressionistic, sometimes with a naturalist and sometimes with a decorative effect. Or what is even more striking: the *Art Nouveau* taste and approach appeared in the work of different artists only as an episode, in isolation, without continuation and especially evolution, as something of passing interest which sometimes only had the significance of documenting the period.

Examining its aesthetic value and results one can hardly arrive at any generalization, pointing to the fact that *Art Nouveau* did not become a tailor-made exclusive style for any individual in Hungarian painting, but remained a temporary, elastic guise that was easy to discard without any pain. More precisely it was not so much a matter of artists soon discarding it as the fact that *Art Nouveau* could become a beneficial inspirational force lacking any rigidity or predetermination, something which carried in itself many possibilities for abandoning it in favour of something else.

This liberalizing and mobilizing force of *Art Nouveau* was confirmed by the careers of János Vaszary and István Csók, in which later on the very opposite of the stylizing, decorative and summing-up tendency of *Art Nouveau* came to the fore.

József Egry, for instance, passed the *Art Nouveau* stage quite in accordance with the "laws" of European painting, very much as the Germans and chiefly Kandinsky got over it. His quietly decorative stylization turned into the broken lines and fragmented forms of expressionism.

What was after all the general aesthetic value of *Art Nouveau*, with influence over the art of the future, must be sought in the field of expression, of form. It must have been *Art Nouveau* which produced the ability and demand for decorative composition, a striving which was evident—independent of the theme, that is, of any psychological or philosophical problem of the turn of the century—even in the most banal pictures. The Eight, a group of artists who appeared on the scene together in 1908, inherited the pictorial assets of *Art Nouveau* through a direct line of descent as it were. The decorative compositions of Béla Czóbel, Lajos Tihanyi, Dezső Orbán and Róbert Berény stand witness to this heritage, and so do the flat paintings depending on homogeneous patches of colour and a definite network of contours painted in this period by some artists only loosely connected with the group, such as Sándor Ziffer, Vilmos Perlrott-Csaba and Anna Lesznai.

Somewhat oversimplifying the events of the history of early twentieth-century Hungarian painting, one can say that The Eight created one of the soundest, and most modern-spirited trends in Hungarian art, a trend aesthetically fine enough to become a tradition, a trend that was a continuation of *Art Nouveau* to a certain extent in approach, and chiefly in its manner of expression, concretely gathering the interest earned by it.

JUDIT SZABADI

# THEATRE AND FILM

## MIXED BLESSINGS

*Tshusingura*; George Tabori: *Pinkville*; Dezső Szomory: *King Louis II*; Chekhov: *Three Sisters*; Gyula Illyés: *The Brothers*.

The summer season in the Hungarian theatre continues to provide culinary delights. Light summer sweets, from musical comedy chocolate snowballs to farces like tarty fruit-cups, spectacular pageants, operas and historical tragedies are purveyed by the open-air stages. New courses have put in an appearance lately. Summer, not weighed down by traditions, tempts certain artists to engage in the kind of intellectual affair for which there is scant scope in the winter routine of brick and mortar theatre.

Károly Kazimir of the Thalia Theatre in Budapest has a date each summer with one distant culture or another, a date that always has a surprise in store for the public. His affairs so far—*Divina Commedia*, *Paradise Lost*, *Kalevala*, *Ramayana*—have been adaptations of epic poems. It is true that *Tshusingura*, the work he challenged in the City Park Theatre in the Round in the summer of 1972 was originally written for the stage, being the best known Japanese Kabuki play, however, for the Hungarian public its world is as the Finland of folk sagas, the India of mythology and the hell of medieval imagination.

The enterprise appeared all the more daring since Hungary has so far been off the track of Japanese companies touring Europe. It is true, however, and was borne out by the way the foreign press received the touring Kabuki company in 1972, that Japanese acting has little more than an exotic experience to offer to a European public. The strange and beautiful quickly captivates but soon becomes fatiguing. Adaptations for home use, however, necessarily mean major

changes that are fundamental in certain respects. Hungarian actors cannot, in a Kabuki play, offer what a Hungarian audience would not understand. They offer something different in two senses: it differs from the Japanese original, and also from what the Hungarian public is used to.

What Kazimir did to the tragedy of the loyalty unto death of the forty-seven was to produce a distillate at white heat of the great human passions: loyalty, friendship, love, hatred, pride, and grief, that is apparent both in the text and the production, and dramatic in the European sense of the term as well. Concentrating effects in this way does not mean that the exotic is excluded, but it becomes just as acceptable as in the equally strange world of Attic tragedy or *King Lear*. Kazimir used much from the Kabuki store, particularly as regards scenery, costumes and masks, as well as the acting, the latter particularly enriching the often criticized movement of his actors. He succeeded in avoiding cheap Oriental effects, nor did he overemphasize Japanese stylistic means. What is even more important: he knew precisely what the limits of the *Japonnerie* of his actors should be, that what they conveyed from the stage had to be human and universal. A Japanese public used to the real Kabuki would surely feel annoyed or smile in condescension. But then how would a Hungarian public react to the real Kabuki? This interesting and enjoyable production does as much as can be done to bring the two cultures closer to each other in the theatre.

Contemporary American reality is much

better known than feudal Japan, nevertheless, or perhaps just because of that, another summer affair proved less successful. Hungarian reaction to an American protest play was nowhere near as great as to the Japanese Kabuki one. George Tabori, the author of *Pinkville*, which was inspired by the Vietnam tragedy, is of Hungarian birth. The National Theatre performed it in the recently excavated, magnificent Gothic basement of the Royal Palace at Buda. Getting there was in itself a task worthy of the theatre of cruelty. The play was unable to trump the effect of the setting. In its place of origin *Pinkville* no doubt had a powerful educating and illuminating effect. In Hungary it was not able to say any more than the message the media repeat day after day. The play, in its artistic form, did not permit the public to experience the known facts at a higher temperature of emotional identification. This was probably intentional, conforming to a rigorously ascetic interpretation of the laws of protest literature. *Pinkville* was unable to hold its ground against a well-informed audience that was convinced of the justness of the writer's cause from the start. It seems that in the case of this type of work an identity of attitude is not a favourable ground on which a writer and his public can meet, and not even the devoted and ambitious performance by the National company was able to do much about this fact.

The 1972/73 season in its first weeks already offered three important first productions. The first, Dezső Szomory's *King Louis II*, brought a fringe figure of Hungarian literature, but one who possesses a particular charm, into the spotlight. It was also distinguished by a beautiful and moving performance. The second, Chekhov's *Three Sisters*, heralded the appearance of the long missed "director's theatre" on a Hungarian stage. The third, Gyula Illyés's *Brothers*, gave proof of the youthful artistic vigour of the 70 year old dramatist.

Art nouveau is fashionable once again

and there is a trend of widening the mainstream of tradition and of reviving neglected authors. Both these favour Dezső Szomory. He had escaped into bizarre, beautiful poses, living in an exotically furnished room in a tower, hiding in dark cloaks, covering up his inexorable loneliness, from his own eyes as well, by an apparent narcissism. His death was the logical outcome: he perished of hunger in 1944, a persecuted Jew living in loneliness and misery. He said that his historical dramas were as close to history as the *Moonlight Sonata* was to the light of the moon. What excited him were the great lonely Royal figures he identified with. Writing of them he sublimated his own painful isolation in the tragedy of kings, suffocating in the rare atmosphere of the throne. Louis II was a likely choice, the last of the Jaghiellonians on the throne of Hungary, a boy king who, at the age of 20, accepted his role in the tragedy of an alien country that considered him a stranger. In 1526 both he and medieval Hungary died at the Battle of Mohács, the prelude to one hundred and fifty years of Turkish occupation of most of the country. Hungarian history is, of course, also present in the tragedy, and not merely as a background, but in acute *aperçus*, and with an authentic flavour. The forces are shown which by struggling against each other weakened the country, so that it was bled white before it even got to the butcher's block. The essence is nonetheless the loneliness of the unhappy couple, Louis and his child bride Maria of Hapsburg occupying the shabby throne of the defenceless royal palace. Their position is made majestic by their love which becomes conscious in tragedy, the farewell which promptly follows and their heroic acceptance of senseless destruction.

This central image turns the already moving piece into an essentially lyrical profession of faith. Szomory's often cursed and often praised, unfortunately just about untranslatable language is beautifully in evidence, the rapture of images and words, the flood

of inimitably orchestrated and counterpointed verbal arias, duets, tercets, quartets and choruses. It would be possible, of course, to modernize the play by the use of irony and the alienation effect, but only at the price of losing its *raison d'être*, that is, the purity of the pregnant central image and the heat of the self-confession. Ottó Ádám's musical, poetic direction shows that he is fully aware of this but he could not have succeeded without Péter Huszti, the most talented of the younger actors at the Madách Theatre. Huszti lives the tragedy of Louis II as a modern hero, that of Dezső Szomory at a deeper level and, at an even greater depth, that of every lonely chaser of dreams who recognizes that his dreams are unreal and has the strength to draw the ultimate consequences. This Louis accepts and lives his life, though he knows that the task he undertakes, here and now, as the king of a country in peril, is superfluous and condemned to failure. He could escape, thus saving his young life and his consummated love. He could enjoy the bloom of spring, the light of the moon and happiness in more peaceful lands, but he condemns himself to death. He, who could not be a good Hungarian king alive, consciously takes himself to the slaughterhouse at Mohács. He is a peculiar hero, not one to serve as an example, but a hero all the same. The same is true of Szomory himself, condemned to live outside society, yet not fleeing disaster, even though he apprehended, already in 1922, the tragedy that was to overtake him twenty-two years later.

The performance of Chekhov's *Three Sisters* at the Vígcszínház gave its audience a surprise. Not even Beckett has ever been performed in Hungary in as hard and raw a style. István Horvai's direction has given rise to the sharpest critical arguments, discussions and disagreements in years. Some considered it to be sacrilege, a senselessly brutal offence against their favoured Chekhov image. The sets, in keeping with the direction, were designed by David Borovsky, who works with Yuri Lubimov in Moscow.

A space like a sheep-fold, surrounded by white birch board walls, with mixed-up furnishings, to depict the house, all its premises, and the garden. The actors struggled in this enclosed, limited space, not only in the euphemistic sense of the term, expressing their worries in sighs and looks, mournful laments and interrupted, discrete gestures, but in a paroxysm potentiated by the enclosure. Irina, longing for Moscow, bangs the walls of the cage with her fists, Solyonin makes declarations of love while throwing fits on the floor and Tuzenbach screams his fare-well, "Irina!" with the despair of a wounded beast at bay. Her sisters have to drag the half-faint Masha off Versinin by force. And finally the conclusion: instead of the usual resigned tableau of three refinedly declining ladies fit for a medallion, three fallen angels in black, doing a screaming hysterical round-dance. This was unusual, contrary, at least in Hungary, to every existing tradition of performing Chekhov, and Chekhov himself would probably not have liked it. It expressed nevertheless most movingly Chekhov's message to a contemporary audience.

In Horvai's interpretation of Chekhov, full of shocks as it is, shocks are never an end in themselves. Unusual passions breaking out in an unusual way, though not dishonest, are nevertheless unambiguously pseudoactions. It is in them that the energy accumulated through the years in these young, vital people, who do not know how to live, explodes, since it is not able to find expression in any kind of rational action that is useful to them and their fellow men. A petty, greedy society sucks the life-blood from them. Horvai showed the representatives of this new world in much stronger colours than usual. Though he never appears on the stage we can always feel the presence of Protapopov, the lord of the town, Natasha's lover, right behind her iron will that subjects the entire Prozorov family to her evil moods. A defeat needs two sides. Natasha and Protapopov can come out on

top because they are faced by the incapable men of yesteryear, who only talk of work, initiative and changes. There is a struggle on stage in which the losers are also engaged in their own way, and they do not surrender with the passivity of falling leaves. Dramatic action, a Chechov full of fight and hard judgement, is what is new in this performance. There are debatable aspects but they are not of the essence; the production can only be met by an aye or a nay. "This is formalism, a mistaken experiment at the expense of meaning, a patent absurdity," as one of the critics put it. "The best Chekhov on the Hungarian stage for years," quoth another. I tend to agree with the latter.

The Pécs National Theatre was the first in Hungary to employ a resident playwright, a move that proved so successful in England. They turned to one of the major Hungarian poets, the seventy year old Gyula Illyés, who had long entertained a youthful passion for the stage. *The Brothers* is the third Illyés first performance in Pécs within a comparatively short time. György Dózsa, one of the two principal characters, was the leader of the 1514 Hungarian peasant rebellion; the 500th anniversary of his birth was celebrated in 1972. Dózsa has been a recurrent challenge to Illyés; he already made him the subject of a most successful play, *Dózsa*, written in 1956. The first attempt produced a spectacular monumental play, an "operatic" historical drama, to quote the self-critical author. Sixteen years later, calm wisdom, ripeness and puritan condensation fits organically into a youthful longing for adventure. *The Brothers* tells the story in a two-character discussion play, and there is more in it than in the historic pageant of yore. The confrontation of György Dózsa and his young brother Gergely goes beyond the 1514 rebellion and deals with the problem of revolution as such. György and Gergely are the Janus face of the revolutionary: György, the *condottiere*, the man of

action, of the sword of revolutionary violence and Gergely, the humanist student and man of contemplation, who is always considering the consequences, aware of the dangers of violence that becomes an end in itself. He stands for the necessary inner control of revolution. Illyés deals with this difficult problem not only as theory, but with the spontaneous immediacy of theatrical experience. The contradictory unity, the opposition of the two points of view personified by the two brothers, are shown in a way that produces neither a split, nor an undramatic, lying monotony. György and Gergely struggle against each other at various critical points in the rebellion, their fight bordering on violence. The attraction between brothers, so beautifully depicted by Illyés, only colours and deepens, but does not blunt their debate. At the end, on the eve of their execution, they nevertheless accept each other for what they are. Soliloquies crossing each other from neighbouring cells bear witness to their own and each other's truth. There may be differences in a revolution when it comes to individual situations: the two souls of the revolutionary can rarely be right simultaneously. But from the point of view of the ultimate aim, violence and the desire for peace, blood-letting and the demand for a rational human order supplement and presuppose each other.

The season seems to have started well, individual colours counterbalancing the unusually wide choice from abroad. Three foreign companies appeared in the course of the Budapest Festival between September 25th and October 26th, *Atelje 212* from Belgrade, *Divadlo Na Vinohradě* from Prague, and the Royal Shakespeare Company, that brought Peter Brook's unique *Midsummer Night's Dream*. It was a sensation in Budapest, just as Brook's *Lear* had been in 1964, and a good few people connected with the Budapest theatre could be seen at the *Vígszínház*, attending all three performances.

## THE VERITY OF PICTURES

Pál Zolnay: *Photography*

Antonioni's *The Blow-up* made the figure of the photographer fashionable. Since then it has appeared in several films, generally as a half-educated, show-off youth, the arrogant pirate of the information traffic of modern society. He always occupies an advantageous position, which indicates the key role played in our lives by photography, by pictures and the news media, journals, television and films linked to them. But that was a merely superficial effect. The true meaning of the figure of the photographer in *The Blow-up*, played by David Hemmings, was to question the verity of pictures in the reflection of reality. As the drama of the film unfolds the reality that should be behind the picture dissolves step by step and in the end in the silent tennis court scene the photographer is a prisoner of his illusions and his subjectivity. He resembles in this the great physicist in Eddington's parable who sets out in search of reality, but the tracks lead to the shore of an endless ocean, only to disappear there. Yet in *The Blow-up* at the beginning of the film the photographer wanted to reveal the raw reality of poverty, the night refuge.

Pál Zolnay's film does not narrow the question down to the picture itself. The director not only does not doubt the objectivity of pictures but makes the sharpest, rawest reflection of reality a norm, a moral imperative. His photographer is the ideal type of the only moral conduct in the relationship of man and reality. The drama, the questioning of subjectivism, is not played out inside him, as in the photographer of *The Blow-up*; he places doubt, the source of subjectivism, into the environment, the outer reality, and realises it as the conduct of the photographer's side-kick, the retoucher. Two contrary, mutually exclusive points of view and conducts are locked in battle throughout Zolnay's film.

The masks and colourful clown costumes appear here too: the stylising of reality; as they necessarily appear at the end of *The Blow-up*, in the tennis scene. But here they come at the beginning of the film because the photographer of *Photography* sets off in the opposite direction from the one in *The Blow-up*. It is New Year's Eve, a gay, masked crowd swirls at a crossroads. There are trumpets, noise, exhilaration, people embracing. And suddenly a rush: a fight. A fist strikes a mask: blood starts to flow from behind the mask. Then a bloody face emerges. The photographer's camera is raised, the retoucher turns away in horror.

That is really the sum of the story of the film. Even that was caught by the director in a genuine New Year's Eve street scene. The scene shows two possible relationships to the world, two types of person and a philosophic, rather than real, conflict between them. But the director does not evolve this conflict from within, with some artificial dramatic action: that would be lying, as all psychological dramas of that type, its dialogue would show emptiness instead of depth. And what could be the dramatic stake between two young men, photographer and his retoucher, who continuously roam the villages in search of business? It would be a ridiculously small stake for which they could fight each other in a dramatic action. The answer to the question raised can only come from the outside. The question is the truthfulness of the picture of reality—of which photography is the symbol in the film. The answer must come from the people: how do they relate to their own pictures; do they want the sometimes mercilessly sharp, often revealing pictures of themselves, showing the harsh reality, or do they demand the retoucher's brush?

It would be inconceivable to find this out

in a conventional film, however loosely composed. The fact that it was planned in advance would rob the answer of its credibility. Here the only scenes that could be considered are those which come about spontaneously in front of the camera, dialogues, self-revelations which emerge without preparation at the moment of filming. Therefore the director avoids the dramatic construction and moves the film unexpectedly towards the documentary, the spontaneous *cinéma directe*. The mixture of acting and of spontaneous reality gives a peculiar excitement to the film. The conflict between the photographer and the retoucher appears to submerge in the documentary material of reality: it is subordinated to haphazard events, characters coming from nowhere, the life stories, confessions and spontaneous self-portraits of people who are not part of the basic conflict. One might say that the film is a long series of happenings with different values, but in which the basic situation is the same: the drama element, the offer by the photographer and the retoucher, starts a real series of events: people anxiously lock themselves up, refuse the offer, or open up, letting the photographer—and with him the viewer—into intimacies in their lives which until now they have kept secret even from themselves. They think that they are only reacting to the pictures made by the photographer—usually with fear, animosity and temper—but in these moments they reveal much more of themselves and of their relation to reality than they intend. And it is precisely this relationship to reality that delineates in the spontaneous documentary material the behavioural conflict that is in the focus of the film. This is a delicate balance of imagined play and randomly created reality.

The meaning, weight and significance of the two types of conduct are continuously measured as they appear; at the same time the original conflict between the two friends—how to approach reality; what to accept as reality; is it its real or idealised

form that we spiritually need; what does this mean morally and does our desire for happiness entitle us to lie to ourselves?—without these unsettling and obstinately returning questions the documentary material of the film would not merely lose its connections, but also the depth and revelational strength which the director succeeded in preserving by mixing it with the drama element, as a secondary meaning. All this, however, does not make it easy for the audience to understand the film and the stream of newer and newer extraneous events may make the audience lose at times the unifying point of view which bridges the two elements.

This is especially true of the first half of the film in which as if Zolnay attempted on purpose to capture the viewer by the surprising turns, greater or smaller dramas of the documentary material—thus giving the two heroes, who carry the essence of the theme, a secondary role. Young and old alike tend to want the beautifying retouch, both in their memories, their self-knowledge, and in the photographs taken of them. There are even shocking cases: people with lined, worried faces, difficult lives, fearful of their image, demand fantastic retouching; old women recognise themselves in pictures which are so retouched that they resemble painted funfare queens, and they are convinced that this is also how others see them. And they are happy to hang their dream images on the walls of their shabby rooms.

What is it, then, that the photographer wants from raw reality, why does he regard it as his moral duty to confront it? How can he insist on this when it only causes suffering to others, when he is rejected because of it? What can he achieve with the objective truth of the picture? Zolnay unobtrusively sets a trap for the audience: they are drawn into a play situation, into the basic situation of an imagined play and then they are left with the worrying documentary material of reality. The dramatic thread disappears in this material and the viewer must regard

what he has seen as a question posed personally to him, he must take up a position in accordance with his instincts and inclinations. Which road will he choose, the photographer's, who justifies himself by higher principles and causes mostly suffering with his pictures, in the name of objective truth, and do these pictures express genuine reality? Or the practical retoucher's who, led by humanitarianism or selfish motives, lies and tells people what they want? And what awaits one on the roads leading to either of these goals?

At this point the basic conflict comes once more to the forefront, the two actors of the drama become more active. In the documentary material actors appear behind whom there are secrets long ago locked away in their memories, on whose linked life stories deep shadows are cast, one might guess that of a tragedy of which none of them wishes to speak. One day the photographer happens to knock on the door of a house standing on its own. An old woman, who appears somewhat demented, stands inside the fence. Like many others, she too refuses the picture, but it appears from her resigned manner that she refuses not because she is fearful of the sharp reality of the picture but because she does not believe that the picture, however sharp, can reflect everything that her memories and ugly-interesting features conceal. The picture cannot answer the question which the whole of her life cannot answer either. Naturally, the audience becomes aware of this not through abstract dialogues but, on the contrary, from words referring to simple facts, from gestures and facial expressions.

The photographer is seeking depth, he must get to know the model in order to grasp the essence. He obstinately questions, with flattery or even rude persistence. And the words slowly open up the thread of the past and reveal the memory of a family tragedy. The deaf, old husband of the woman is kept prisoner by its shadow: his first wife killed their two teenage daughters

and then attempted suicide, but she was saved. She spent years in prison. Then she married again. As the memory of the frightening drama merges with everyday affairs in the documentary material of the film—the repairing of a hearing aid, the feeding of the chickens, the picture of the shabby but clean house—it opens up strange depths of human existence. This is perhaps the limit of how far one can go, as every word opens up a new wound, awakens new hate, makes past tragedy present once more. Even the reality-searching photographer hesitates here for a moment. But only for a moment. He visits the murderess. She does not defend herself, but does not understand what they want from her: it is all over, she has suffered for it not just in prison but with the rest of her life. Why did she do it? Perhaps as an act of revenge, she wanted to commit suicide and did not wish to leave her daughters to her husband. But for some reason it happened differently from the way she had planned it.

The whole depth of these scenes opens up only in the moments in which the seemingly uninvolved, harsh documentary pictures show these people: their faces, gestures, the motions of their temper, their emotional reactions. The photographer gives no mercy because of their suffering, but he is not uninvolved either, he too is agonised while questioning them. But he is filled with a higher moral imperative. One might say with the imperative of artistic conduct: always have the strength to face reality. The retouch, the illusion, forgetting are all beautifying, they are the false tools of art.

That the artist causes pain with the truthfulness of the picture? But without pain, can one reach the other person? Is there art without suffering? The answer that Zolnay's film gives is unequivocal. It is less apparent in the spontaneous documentary material, with natural actors, than it would be in a pre-constructed, didactic tale, but it is more valid, too.

ZOLTÁN HEGEDŰS

# ECONOMIC LIFE

## INTERNATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES

Any attempt to assess the outlook for international corporations in the early seventies is bound to start with the examination of their status in the United States. According to a rough estimate, out of the two hundred biggest American companies, 40 per cent are now doing one fourth or more of their business in other countries. Eighty of the two hundred largest firms outside the United States are also doing 25 per cent or more of their business in foreign markets<sup>1</sup>, but they are dispersed between Britain, West Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Canada, France, Italy and other countries. The expansionist potential of international business is therefore largely determined by the dynamics of the American internationals.

As regards their image, American world corporations recently became the target of sharp criticism in their country of origin.

The trade unions were perhaps the most alarmed; their objections will be dealt with subsequently. But they were not the only ones by far to feel uneasy about what the internationals' overseas operations cost America. This is attested by views expressed by certain sectors of the administration, the business community and the academic world:

—"The American Challenge is more of a threat to America than to Europe. An in-

ternational monetary crisis can be defined as what happens when three US international corporations move funds from one country to another."<sup>2</sup> (This assertion is, of course, rather naive but, though an oversimplification, it reflects a prevailing mood.)

—"The rise of the international corporations had an adverse effect upon American output and employment. Because companies had found it profitable to build plants abroad, foreign production replaced exports. This meant fewer jobs and slower economic growth in the US. Much of their future probably hinges on whether the companies can learn to manage their affairs in a way showing that foreign investment is as demonstrably in accord with national economic interests as foreign trade."<sup>3</sup> (This approach reintroduces the issue of "home versus foreign investments" and reflects a conflict of interest between corporations with big foreign holdings and those oriented primarily towards the domestic market.)

—"The basic asymmetry between international corporations and national governments may be tolerable up to a certain point, but beyond that point there is a need to reestablish a balance... If this does not happen, some of the apocalyptic projections

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Congressional Record—Extension of Remarks, November 15, 1971, E 12199.

<sup>2</sup> Polonius: "Multinational Troubles." *Euro-money*, September 1970, p. 46, quoting Washington—including US Treasury—sources.

<sup>3</sup> *Business Week*, December 19, 1970, p. 62.

of the future of international corporations will grow more plausible."<sup>4</sup> (Here the sometimes troubled relationship between international corporations and the nation state is a bit overdone, as we shall see later from the reaction of the Nixon administration the plight of American world corporations.)

This malaise in the US became even worse as a result of the spread of offshore manufacturing and the materialization of some of its implications.

### *The era of worldwide sourcing*

One of the most significant developments in the activities of international corporations appears to be that their operations have entered into what we consider a new phase: that of worldwide sourcing. The guiding principles of internationals adopting it seems to be:

—Optimal international allocation of company resources, not as a goal projected into a more or less remote future, but as an ongoing process concentrating on production in areas where costs are lowest, and building up sales where the market is most lucrative. From this viewpoint lines of production that previously made cost sense in a national setting, lose their justification in a global setting, to be followed by the international shifting of production.

—This implies that international corporations are establishing, with growing frequency, subsidiaries abroad with the explicit purpose of supplying not the markets of the host country, or only to a limited extent, but exporting mainly or exclusively to third countries and to the country which the parent companies used to call their home.

Worldwide sourcing assumes various

forms: first of all, the gradual and partial, or total transfer of the manufacture of a number of labour-intensive products (textiles, garments, shoes, glassware, etc.) to low-labour cost countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore; or the setting up of in-bond industries combined with twin-plant arrangements, as on the Mexican-American border. Even more important is the emergence of a global system of vertical integration in manufacturing: labour-intensive spare parts, components and processes, now subcontracted to large firms in the industrial countries, are obvious candidates for being transferred to developing countries, the latter specializing in intermediate goods and middle-stage processing<sup>5</sup>, incorporating labour from many countries into an integrated worldwide corporate productive structure.<sup>6</sup> This modern migration encompasses also some fairly capital-intensive industries (including the automobile<sup>7</sup> and chemical industries<sup>8</sup>). The relevance of worldwide sourcing as a trend of great importance is

<sup>5</sup> G. K. Helleiner: *Manufactured Exports from Less Developed Countries and Multinational Firms*. March 1972. Mimeo.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Hymer: *The Internationalization of Capital*. December 1971. Mimeo.

<sup>7</sup> General Motors is stepping up its plans to build a low-priced car for the fast growing Asian market. Parts would be built in half a dozen Asian countries and exchanged between them under complementation agreements. Ford's Asian car program reportedly calls for production of engine blocks in Thailand, diesel engines in South Korea, axles and transmissions in Indonesia, electric motors and plastic components in Singapore, steering wheels and other assemblies in Malaysia. See *Business Week*, January 29, 1972, p. 32. Ford also plans a \$150m investment in Brazil. The new plant will produce 200,000 engines a year for Ford Maverick cars. The local subsidiary, Ford-Willys, will absorb a quarter of the engine output. The other three-quarters will be exported to other Ford subsidiaries in Europe and the United States. See *The Economist*, April 1, 1972, pp. 72 and 75.

<sup>8</sup> The chemical industry is making preparations to move to "pollution havens" in the Far East, Latin America and Africa.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond Vernon: *Sovereignty at Bay—The Multinational Spread of U.S. Enterprises*. Basic Books, New York-London, 1971, p. 284.

acknowledged and recognized to an increasing extent.<sup>9</sup>

It appears that just as the establishment of a production base abroad became in the 1960s an indispensable concomitant of monopolistic competition, worldwide sourcing is also becoming an organic part of the strategy of international corporations. Its full implications are still far from being realized, despite the fact that some recent developments in the United States are closely related to the leading role assumed by American international corporations in off-shore manufacturing.

#### *US Labour and neoprotectionism*

What I am arguing is that the implications of worldwide sourcing by US corporations played a substantial part in the emergence of a strong wave of neoprotectionism in America and was instrumental in mobilizing organized Labour against the internationals to the extent that it became a rallying point of the evolving fight against the strategy and methods of global corporate optimization.

<sup>9</sup> "There has been a quiet revolution taking place at such remote places as Nogales, Mexico; the Kaohsiung export processing zone in Taiwan; and most recently at Singapore, which may signal the beginning of a new era of international competition and economic development. See Y. S. Chang (Boston University): "The Transfer of Technology: Economics of Offshore Assembly—The Case of Semi-conductor Industry." UNITAR Research Report No. 11, 1971, p. 1 "...satellite plants represent an important new stage in the evolution of the multinational corporation... the satellite plant movement is an international trend... newly established satellite plants... are engaged not in the production of traditional staples familiar to the countries in which they are located but in the production of sophisticated products and components of advanced design and technology which meet the parent company's unique requirements... New trade patterns are emerging here which are not dependent on factor endowment or the size of domestic markets." See James Leontiades: "International Sourcing in the LDCs." *Columbia Journal of World Business*, November–December 1971, pp. 19 and 21.

A scanning of the statements of labour leaders demonstrates unmistakably that—rightly or wrongly—the decisive role in the past and present erosion of US employment is attributed by them not so much to foreign competition as to job-exporting American international corporations.

For example, an official of the IUF (International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers) thus stated the case of the electrical workers (this union has in the past always supported a free trade policy):<sup>10</sup>

"...But trade is changing. We are no longer competing against foreign companies. Our competitors are divisions of domestic corporations. Almost every major American manufacturer has opened plants abroad to take advantage of low wage rates."

*It is not foreign, it is not trade and surely it is not competition*

A coherent exposition of labour's views reads like an act of indictment against US international corporations:<sup>11</sup>

—"A large and growing part of US importing and exporting is now simply a closed system of transactions that take place within the international companies.

—...About 50 per cent of what is called American foreign trade... involves US international companies operating overseas for the maximum profit of the companies. Therefore a major part of the US' problems in international trade is directly related to the foreign investments and foreign sub-

<sup>10</sup> William Bywater, President of District 3 of the IUF appearing before the House Ways and Means Committee, quoted in Congressional Record—House, August 3, 1971, H 8084. A similar statement was made at the November 1971 Congress of the AFL-CIO by its President George Meany.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted from a statement by N. Goldfinger, Director of the Research Department of the AFL-CIO. See: *The Developing Crisis in International Trade*. Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 1970, pp. 11–12.

sidary operations of American companies.

—...How can American production compete with goods produced in US-owned foreign subsidiaries, having American machinery and know-how, and productivity levels close to those in American plants, when the wages and training benefits the workers in foreign subsidiaries are paid are as little as 15 cents per hour?

The result is the export of American jobs."

The indignation against American world corporations is not restricted to the unions: it was also expressed in Congress. Congressman Burke (Dem.) charged them with having no responsibility to the United States: they go from country to country with their plants, staying only so long as they can exploit the country's workers, thereafter they move until they have exploited every underdeveloped nation on earth.<sup>12</sup> Even some businessmen were incensed at those companies that have established plants overseas to export inexpensive products back to the US, calling them "bad for America".<sup>13</sup>

It was this atmosphere that led, in September 1971, to the introduction of the Hartke-Burke Bill that aims to put permanent restrictions on most imports, impose controls on the export of technology, tighter regulations on capital investments abroad, repeal tariff provisions advantageous to world corporations, eliminate duty-free re-import rules, require strict labeling on the origin of US-brandname products etc. Although it is probable that the bill will not become law, it is expected that unions and their allies in Congress will press to attach parts of it to other measures likely to pass.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to subject the propositions of the aforemen-

<sup>12</sup> AFL-CIO Conference on Jobs, July 12, 1971. Report of Discussion Groups. Mimeo., p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ely Callaway, the President of Burlington Industries: "Kayser-Roth is a company that is bad for America. And so is Bell and Howell." *Fortune*, August 1971, p. 110.

tioned bill to detailed critical analysis, particularly its penchant for protectionism and technological isolationism. It seems, however, to represent an alliance of the trade unions with some declining, unviable sectors of American industry. It is perhaps instructive to recall the views of the European Left: "...It is impossible to stand up against the ongoing process of international integration by backing autarchic positions, entrenched within national boundaries, this leading to rearward actions in the defense of backward economic and social interests."<sup>14</sup>

It appears, however, apposite to stress some points:

—The more "global" the operations of American international corporations become, the more conspicuous the contrast between their overseas expansion and the sagging US competitiveness in international trade, between the corporations' enhanced share of world trade and the decrease of that of their home country.

—The policies of corporations with "global" commitments, organizing their operations with as little regard for national boundaries as the realities of time and space permit, the claim to sacrifice whole sectors of American industry, the demand for maximal assistance from, and a minimum of control by the government are a breeding ground for permanent conflicts both with business interests which wish to supply foreign markets by way of exports, as well as with organized labour.

—If the evolving new division of labour (developed countries specializing on research and capital-intensive industries, on products with a high technological content, on "software" etc.) is carried out in a way evidenced in the United States with the world corporations as its main vectors but without any sort of national planning, without international coordination, it is bound to become a major disruptive force socially,

<sup>14</sup> Eugenio Peggio: *Le società multinazionali e la sinistra europea. Politica ed Economia*, June 1971 p. 32.

multiplying depressed areas and contributing to the increase of an already high rate of unemployment.

*The Nixon-package: brinkmanship, helping internationals defensively and offensively*

It is into this feverishly pitched atmosphere that the new economic policies of the Nixon administration exploded. They first created the impression of having taken into account the protests against the "runaway flooding" and the export of US jobs by imposing the 10 per cent surcharge and by an assortment of measures promoting both exports and domestic investment.

The import surcharge was seen as having been apparently directed both against foreign competitors and the growing tide of imports of products manufactured by the overseas plants of American world corporations. It was also believed that one of the main objectives was to make sure that US investors drop at least those projects which were aimed at establishing new runaway shops abroad. Indeed, as a highly placed government official stated, it was intended to influence sourcing decisions, to make it more attractive for American international corporations to produce their goods in Sheboygan or Pittsburgh or Alameda than in Marseilles, Kaiserslautern or Hong Kong.<sup>15</sup>

Accordingly, the import surcharge was supplemented by the "job development tax credit" which granted a tax deduction for the purchase of machinery and equipment made in the USA, as well as by the bill setting of DISCs (Domestic International Sales Corporations) allowing US companies to defer taxes indefinitely on 50 per cent of the profits from overseas sales if they are retained by the export subsidiary. It was supposed to change the very basis of cost calculations when a US parent company was to decide

whether a new plant should be established abroad or in the United States.

The new emphasis on exports was clearly a concession to the critics of foreign direct investment and worldwide sourcing. But the tax credit meant also the tacit recognition of the fact that in this age of globalism American corporations with big foreign interests had to be lured by all sorts of special favours to effect more home investments. As regards the import surcharge, it turned out on closer examination that many, if not most, international corporations that manufactured goods for consumption at home could absorb the impact without pain, the labour costs differences at most runaway sites being too big for the surcharge to make any difference. On the other hand the import surcharge proved to be a potent bargaining weapon—by dangling the threat of its institutionalization—for obtaining important trade concessions (such as, e.g. "voluntary restrictions" of imports) and currency realignments from the industrialized countries to bolster the competitiveness of US exports.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the Nixon administration showed considerable dexterity at brinkmanship. As *Business Week* put it: "...It was a damned close-run thing. At any time in the four months since President Nixon floated the dollar and slapped a 10 per cent surcharge on imports, the whole international system of trade could have collapsed as it did in the 1930s. A wrong move by any of the major trading nations, especially the US, could have plunged the world into the chaos of competitive currency devaluations and beggar-thy-neighbour trade policies."<sup>16</sup>

It should be added, however, that American international corporations did not get off quite unscathed. The devaluation of the dollar was one of the greatest shocks that they experienced in recent years. It enormously complicated their financial management in the short run, rendered the purchase

<sup>15</sup> John F. Petty, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs. Quoted in *Forbes*, September 1971, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Business Week*, December 25, 1971, p. 60.

of foreign assets less easy and threw their system of international compensation into disarray, as the US dollar ceased to be the standard "measuring stick". The fluctuations of its exchange rate, its exposure to international speculation, in one word: its "dethronement" affected strongly the worldwide transactions of global corporations.

It is contended, nevertheless, that *in the long run* the internationals are likely to remain firmly in control of their own destinies: because of their ability to transfer funds among subsidiaries, borrow money in many countries, and operate in the Eurodollar market, they are believed to have become less and less vulnerable to currency changes.<sup>17</sup>

As the dust settled, the "grand design" of the Nixon administration appeared to be able to eliminate (or at least to lessen substantially) the deficit of the balance of payments by a surplus on the trade balance, and not by curtailing the foreign operations of US corporations, by making room for US exports largely at the expense of other trading partners. The new currency line-up, which penalizes exports to the US and reduces the price of exports by the US, will anyway automatically take care of rechanneling *some* of the investment flow of big corporations as well as induce foreign investors to secure a stronger production base in America, anxious as they are to maintain, to extend or to establish a foothold in the US market.<sup>18</sup>

The chances of this rechanneling should not, however, be overrated. In the labour-intensive industries currency realignments

will not cut costs sufficiently to make a difference. As we have seen, Detroit car makers expect to continue their big build-up in foreign manufacturing. Ford alone proposes to put \$360 million or 45 per cent (!) of its capital outlay in foreign plants; ITT (International Telephone and Telegraph) plans to move \$600 million worth of assets overseas in the next three years.<sup>19</sup>

*Not everything is quiet on the home front*

Everything does not seem to be quite quiet on the "home front" of American international corporations all the same. The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions are gearing up for a major lobbying push behind the Hartke-Burke Bill and their targets are deeply concerned: "More and more the concept of multinational business is coming under attack... At the worst, it may lead to dismemberment of business through divestment, nationalization or expropriations..."—states the Center for Multinational Studies.<sup>20</sup> 1972 happens to be an election year and Labour is telling Congressmen up for reelection not to expect support if they do not back the Hartke-Burke Bill.

In this situation the Nixon administration chose to go out of its way to bring relief to the harassed internationals. An inter-agency task force which investigated the problems confronting the US in the changing world economy, *inter alia* dealt extensively with the impact of the international cor-

<sup>17</sup> *Business Week*, January 1, 1972, p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> It would be a misjudgement, however, to believe that the European corporations are in the United States faced by conditions as favourable as their American counterparts in the 1950s and 1960s in Western Europe: "The US market can be the most tempting in the world. And yet it can be also the most frustrating." See: Lawrence G. Franco: "Strategy + Structure = The Experiences of European Firms in America." *European Business*, Autumn 1971, p. 29. Also: "Investment in the US is not recommended for every European firm, in view of the significant differences in business traditions and the com-

petitive environment. Indeed, there are some disastrous examples of what can happen when these differences are not duly weighed." See: "European Business Strategies in the United States. Based on research by Lawrence G. Franco." *Business International Research Report* 71-2, September 1971, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> *Business Week*, January 1, 1972, p. 29.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in *The Wall Street Journal*, January 13, 1972. The Center for Multinational Studies is a business-backed group formed in Washington in mid-1971 to answer the criticism directed against international corporations.

porations on the economies of the United States and the world. The study<sup>21</sup> portrays them as entrepreneurial dynamos contributing positively to US employment, trade and balance of payments and even suggests the elimination or loosening of controls on corporate investment abroad as well as the easing of antitrust enforcement. It concludes that it would be a major step back to seriously restrict the activities of the internationals in their foreign operations.<sup>22</sup>

There are, however, deeper issues involved than merely thwarting and side-tracking the attacks on the internationals' global strategy. What seems also to be at stake is the viability of the whole concept of "global economy" in a world of nation states. Labour's contention that US jobs in many sectors are being lost as US corporations move abroad is irrefutable. Nor does it seem very convincing to call it—as some people do—a "short run trauma" to be disposed of simply by a more effective adjustment assistance programme of aid to workers who are left jobless. US Labour is pushed to the wall and engaged in a life and death struggle: its representation in the high-technology industries and services where major economic growth continues to take place is weak; the exodus of entire labour-intensive industries undermines its main organizational strongholds and the rank and file exerts a tremendous pressure on the leadership of the unions, vehemently refusing the suggestion "to accept the occupational and personal dislocations which must inevitably accompany rapid change".<sup>23</sup>

Nor should the resistance of the declining traditional industries be overlooked. They refuse to admit their lack of competitiveness and are not inclined to die a slow, agonizing death. Their political leverage is so

far more substantial than their overall economic significance.

The least that can be said is that the concern of America's international corporations regarding the immediate future is not quite unfounded.

*The impact of international corporations on other capital-exporting nations*

Are there any lessons to be derived from the American experience by other capital-exporting nations? In most of them worldwide sourcing is far from having reached American dimensions yet, but the compelling logic of monopolistic competition makes itself felt. An increasing number of West European and Japanese corporations are becoming actively engaged in the transfer of production plants to low-wage countries.

True, the employment situation in some of these countries (e.g. in West Germany and Japan, although not in Britain) is completely different from that prevailing in the US. In the latter worldwide sourcing takes place amidst a chronic, seemingly intractable unemployment of around 6 per cent, an increasing part of which appears to be structural, while in Western Europe (particularly in West Germany), and recently also in Japan, there is a manpower shortage in many areas.

Yet the American experience is far from irrelevant for Western Europe where unemployment has recently been very much on the rise, a substantial part of it being—as in the US—structural, 40 per cent in France, over 60 per cent in Belgium, nearly 70 per cent in Italy according to expert estimates. Much of new investment is in technological innovation which substitutes automatic processes for labour and ultimately reduces employment.<sup>24</sup> In view of the growing propensity of West European firms to

<sup>21</sup> Peter G. Peterson: *A Foreign Economic Perspective and the United States in the Changing World Economy*. GPO, Washington D.C., 1972.

<sup>22</sup> *Business International*, January 14, 1972, p. 11.

<sup>23</sup> C. Fred Bergsten: "Crisis in US Trade Policy." *Foreign Affairs*, July 1971, p. 622.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Levinson: *Capital, Inflation and the Multinationals*. Allen and Unwin, London 1971, pp. 53 and 56.

move increasingly to Asia it is quite conceivable that employment may get under the crossfire of both labour-saving new investment and the shift of production plants to the Far East.<sup>25</sup>

Recently the British Trades Union Congress voiced its concern about the fact that, in the United Kingdom also a number of major companies have run down or stopped investments, while simultaneously expanding production in, for example, Portugal, Spain, the Barbados, South Korea or Hong Kong.<sup>26</sup>

The emergence in Western Europe of problems similar to those which got so much into the foreground in the United States cannot be rejected out of hand as a remote possibility.

*International corporations in developing countries: A "new era of change and adaptation"?*

International corporations—both of US and West European origin—have to face a new situation in the developing countries. A list of their difficulties would include the concept of 100 per cent ownership being increasingly unacceptable to the Third World and that they have to operate more and more under conditions of partial or total nationalization, divestment and expropriation.

A survey of the field evidence, however, shows that the corporations have mastered, sometimes quite well, the art of meeting the challenge successfully by not infrequently adapting themselves with surprising speed to the altered circumstances.

Partial nationalization in the form of mixed enterprises with state participation is

<sup>25</sup> "... a European movement is also beginning towards the Far East... Thus European firms will be producing in Japan and exporting unemployment to Europe, just as American capital exports goods and unemployment from Japan to the US." Ibid p. 96.

<sup>26</sup> *Trades Union Congress Economic Review*, 1972, p. 40.

by no means always a bad bargain for international corporations.

Copper is a case in point.

A thorough analysis of the first stage of the "Chileanization" of the copper mines, as carried out by the Frei government—the predecessor of the Allende administration—has reached the following conclusions: The keystone of the "Chileanization"-programme was the partial nationalization of El Teniente, the largest copper mine in the world, exploited by the Braden Copper Company, a subsidiary of Kennecott. When the purchase of a 51 per cent controlling interest in the company took place, its assets were overvalued; Chile paid—depending on the procedure used—\$20.5–48.1 million too much. As to the planned expansion of production at El Teniente, Chile's participation involved absorbing three-fourth of the costs while allocating half the benefits to Kennecott. The agreement with Kennecott appeared to be a disaster from Chile's point of view.<sup>27</sup> (This, by the way, explains why the Allende government carried out the full nationalization of copper mining.)

In Zambia in April 1968 the wide-ranging Mulungushi reforms were announced, which included a request that twenty-four firms allow the government to acquire 51 per cent of their shares. Two corporate giants are at the heart of the Zambian economy: RST (Roan Selection Trust) and AAC (Anglo-American Corporation). Their taxes annually contributed over half of all government revenue. The settlement terms included—besides compensation pay—a management and sales contract between the RST's and the AAC's holding companies and the new, mixed mining companies. The implications were thus commented on by a Vice-President of the Chase Manhattan Bank: "Most successful projects have been achieved without hard and fast requirements for certain rigid percentages of stock ownership.

<sup>27</sup> Keith Griffin: *Underdevelopment in Spanish America*. Allen and Unwin, London, 1969, pp. 149–173.

The important element is that there be a meeting of minds at the beginning as to who does what—*who manages and controls*. Under these circumstances, *a minority shareholder can in fact functionally not only manage but control the enterprise.*"<sup>28</sup>

Management contracts are very much favoured by the companies, since (a) they are paid for on a commission basis based on a percentage of the revenue; (b) they leave effective operational control in the hands of the companies, thereby making it possible for them to utilize the operation as part of a worldwide system of corporate control.<sup>29</sup>

Another striking instance of "adaptation" refers to sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>30</sup> Here the Western firms dominating the sales of African produce no longer find it convenient or necessary to risk their actual investments in African agricultural production, as they did in the days of outright colonial rule. With their own governments' support, they encourage African governments and peasants to expand their investments to produce more export crops, taking advantage of the consequent competition to buy the produce at the lowest possible prices. As a consequence of this arrangement, the profits of the Western companies tended to rise. The shift of emphasis from actual overseas investment to marketing control appears to have been a factor contributing to these rising profit margins.

Some internationals thus proved that they manage to coexist quite comfortably with partial nationalization, using it even as a means of obtaining more profit, and that in certain cases marketing control is a good substitute for direct investment. Yet the fade-out formula of the Andean Group in

Latin-America—according to which foreign companies operating in the extractive and manufacturing industries must gradually relinquish equity and management control to national interests if they wish to enjoy the Andean Common Market's lowered tariffs—is hotly debated, at least and particularly in the United States.

A study in depth of mature capitalism would register some characteristic responses to the imperative of divestment:

1. Defensive-realistic ("adapt or quit"): "no one can roll back history"; internationals should reexamine their objectives, concepts and policy in the light of the absence of any other alternative for them than adaptation to the change in environment, or, if they find it inconvenient or impossible, to liquidate their holdings while they are able to do so voluntarily.<sup>31</sup>

2. Insistence on staying by all means: for reasons of self-interest, foreign corporations operating in Latin America must survive. It is not private capital that is on trial—as attested by the welcome extended to British, West German and Japanese business interests—but specifically American capital which must mend its ways.<sup>32</sup>

3. The variety of recommendations proffered to international corporations to alter their "behaviour" are in fact requests that an international corporation no longer be an international corporation at all. Proposals that they give up equity ownership and substitute management contracts or licensing arrangements are in effect proposals to establish a world without international corporations. And proposals to form joint ventures which will effectively reduce the ability of the parent to integrate affiliates, are also suggestions that the international corporations should "die a little" . . .

<sup>31</sup> The statement of the managing director of ADELA, quoted by *Business Latin America*, June 18, 1970, p. 194.

<sup>32</sup> Laurence Birns and Robert H. Lounsbury: "The Art of Survival in Latin America." *Columbia Journal of World Business*, July–August 1971, p. 36 and 38.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Semonin: "Nationalization and Management in Zambia." *New World Quarterly* (Jamaica), Vol. 5. No. 3, p. 7. We are drawing here on this study.

<sup>29</sup> Norman Girvan: "Bauxite—Why We Need to Nationalize." *New World Pamphlet* No. 6, March 1971, p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Ann Seidman: *Developing Countries and International Trade: Another Look*. Mimeo.

No American or European international corporation is going to integrate fully into its worldwide operations an affiliate in the Andean Group that must be divested within fifteen or twenty years. The probable response of the international corporation to the Andean initiative is to stay out.<sup>33</sup>

4. Open hostility and threats, involving actual attempts first to prevent the adoption, and thereafter to thwart the implementation of the set of regulations aimed at a common treatment of foreign capital in the Andean Group<sup>34</sup>, proclaiming fade-out joint ventures as an "unworkable and unrealistic proposal", since "foreign investors do not invest to go out of business."

5. European and Japanese investors are not conspicuous for demonstrating their solidarity with the more sanguine of their American counterparts.

Some empirical evidence exists that certain sectors of US business are inclined to a flexible approach. A recent survey on the attitudes of US investors showed that 70 per cent of the responding companies could possibly be candidates for fade-out arrangements.<sup>35</sup>

This would be consistent with the new pragmatism based perhaps on the insight that "*as tension builds, more Chiles and more Cubas could easily develop.*"<sup>36</sup>

The strategy and tactics underlying this new pragmatism have been exposed in remarkably clear terms:<sup>37</sup>

33 Jack N. Behrman: "Is There a Better Way for Latin America?" *Columbia Journal of World Business*, November-December 1971, p. 62-65.

34 Miguel S. Wionczek: *Inversión y tecnología extranjera en América Latina*. Joaquín Mortiz, México, 1971. See particularly Chapter 4 with references to the activities of the Council of the Americas, pp. 129-135.

35 Guy B. Meeker: "Fade-Out Joint Ventures: Can it Work for Latin America?" *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, Vol. 24, Spring 1971, No. 4, p. 40.

36 Raymond Vernon: "The Multinational Enterprise—Power Versus Sovereignty." *Foreign Affairs*, July 1971, p. 736.

37 Peter F. Gabriel: *The Multinational Corporation on the Defensive (If Not at Bay)* Fortune, January 1972, p. 120.

—Extractive companies, now that the traditional oil and mining concessions are no longer obtainable in developing countries, are competing for "service contracts", which they rejected outright until recently.

—Responding to host-country insistence on local sharing of ownership, manufacturing enterprises, banks and utility companies now actively seek local partners for joint ventures of a kind they previously shunned.

—"Nonequity" forms of collaboration between international companies and local enterprises (technical assistance agreements, management contracts, co-production contracts, international marketing arrangements and the like) are proliferating in countries where the traditional direct-investment approach is vehemently rejected.

One feature seen to be common to all of these arrangements is that they give primary place to the so-called "intangibles" instead of to equity capital. These intangibles include managerial, administrative, and technical resources. More significant, they include certain unique institutional powers characteristic of large corporations: the ability to attract and deploy high-calibre personnel, worldwide procurement facilities and marketing networks, a financial reputation that can be used to obtain large amounts of capital, and immediate access to the parent companies' accumulated and continually expanding store of research and development.

Another common feature of these arrangements is that they are not predicted on perpetual foreign ownership and control—the main objection host countries raise to conventional direct investment from abroad.

The rationale of this surprisingly compliant and accommodating attitude is based on the conviction (perhaps not yet quite general, but certainly gaining ground) that as regards the relationship of forces between international corporations and host governments, the balance of power, once overwhelmingly with the former, is shifting to the latter. In this context the example of the oil and mining companies is being men-

tioned: "They are learning how to live with these problems; *they have no choice.*"<sup>38</sup>

Even in advanced countries the bulk of reports on internationals made recently for, or by, government agencies raises the issue of a more stringent control of the "global giants". The Gray Report in Canada for example emphatically insists on the need for *direct* intervention by the government in respect of inflows of foreign direct investment.<sup>39</sup>

The United States itself is no exception. The report published by the US Department of Commerce on January 31, 1972,<sup>40</sup> stating that in a world of rising economic nationalism there is an inchoate uneasiness about the making of economic policy slipping into foreign hands and that something needs to be done to retrieve the levers of economic controls and to reassert political sovereignty."<sup>41</sup>

Professor Raymond Vernon, coordinator of Harvard University's large-scale Multinational Enterprise Project, expressed the belief that the corporations should be made accountable to a governing body multinational in scope,<sup>42</sup> although the suggestion to establish a type of "supranational" regulating authority is highly unpopular with global companies.

The expediency of making concessions is self-evidently in order to make the issue less acute and to prevent its cropping up again and again. This is all the more the case since the expansion of the operations of international corporations in the developing countries is coming very much to the fore.

Asia doubtlessly occupies a prominent place in the thinking of the strategists of in-

ternational business.<sup>43</sup> It is held that this continent could prove to be the international corporations' entrepreneurial frontier of the 1970s. Many—if not most—of them are willing to take local requirements in their stride. They hope that within most of Asia, the controversial issue of local versus foreign equity interest will stabilize, with 50-50 ownership becoming an accepted norm, *leaving the international corporation with nominal control of its technology and capital*, and permitting the consolidation of accounts on a global basis.

In the coming era of worldwide sourcing Asia is also attractive as an export base to the United States, Western Europe, Japan and other international markets.

Nor is Africa overlooked: developing this continent, as a marketing and investment target, is becoming an important factor in international business planning.<sup>44</sup> Opportunities are seen in the area of import substitution; a number of companies invest in order to get their foot in the door to forestall later exclusion from a growing and potentially lucrative market. Besides being a source of many different types of agricultural products for export, Africa is also considered as a place in which to manufacture for export. Many African countries have arrangements with the European Economic Community, which may provide access to the Common Market through special tariff preferences.

The "sweet reasonableness" pervading most of the analyses of business prospects in developing countries is, of course, no guarantee that the conflicts of the past will suddenly disappear, that henceforth peaceful coexistence and a mutually satisfactory cost-

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> The Herb Gray Report: "Domestic Control of the National Economic Environment—The Problems of Foreign Ownership and Control." *The Canadian Forum*, December 1971, p. 45.

<sup>40</sup> Policy Aspects of Foreign Investment by United States Multinational Corporations, 1972.

<sup>41</sup> Quoted in *The Times*, London, January 31, 1972, p. 17.

<sup>42</sup> Raymond Vernon: op. cit. p. 751.

<sup>43</sup> We are drawing here upon the article of J. Roy Galloway and Ashok Kapoor: "Asia: Problems and Prospects for the MNC." *Columbia Journal of World Business*, November-December 1971, pp. 33-40.

<sup>44</sup> "Prospects for Business in Developing Africa." *Business International Research Report* 70-1, August 1970, p. 3; see also Sheldon J. Gitelman: "A Manufacturing Base in Africa?" *Columbia Journal of World Business*, January-February 1971, pp. 79-84.

benefit ratio will prevail. Nor can it be taken for granted that a rate of profitsharing more favourable to the native bourgeoisie or local elite will *per se* contribute substantially to the solution of the problems of poverty and underdevelopment. The record—whether we survey it in Asia or in Africa, in the pre- or postwar period—is, to say the least, far from being convincing, and one should not be too impressed by the attempts of the corporations to make a virtue of necessity. Even worldwide sourcing, despite job expansion and export promotion, is held to be a mixed blessing from the viewpoint of the developing countries.<sup>45</sup>

Corporate analysts have recently paid increased attention to East European markets. In this context some distinctions are pertinent.

The Soviet Union—because of its size, enormous human and natural resources—is in a class by itself. The market potential is beyond doubt very big, the pre-condition of tapping it even partially is, however, a complete departure from the conventional direct investment approach. As far as the people's democracies are concerned, there are no legal impediments in some of them to the establishment of joint ventures with minority ownership of foreign investors but no such partnerships have been registered in any of them until the middle of 1972. Economic relations with the West encompass mostly licensing, turnkey contracts and cooperation-coproduction agreements.

Generally speaking, there is an interest in a more active involvement in the international division of labour in order to develop their export and hard currency-earning potential. On the other hand, East European authorities are well aware not only of the technological potential of the international corporations, but also of their accumulated international experience.

The European Security Conference would

<sup>45</sup> For a detailed examination of this problem see György Ádám: *Implications of Worldwide Sourcing in Developing Countries*. Mimeo.

certainly give a boost to the hammering out of mutually satisfactory solutions for the intensification of East-West economic relations in this area as well.

Summing up: are international corporations in the early 70s on the defensive or still on the offensive?

It seems that there is as yet no unequivocal, clear-cut answer. Their strongest battalions, the American corporations, are coming—as we have seen—under increasing scrutiny in their home country. Incisive criticism of them is not letting up, not unfrequently going to some lengths, alleging, for example, that their behaviour is becoming so unpatriotic as to border on the treacherous and that the pressure that toppled the dollar from its international currency throne stemmed primarily from hedging and short-selling activities by American companies' affiliates abroad.<sup>46</sup> Although relying on the support of the Nixon administration which, with an ever mounting deficit in the balance of payments, is very much interested in the uninterrupted inflow of their remittances from abroad, totalling about 10 billion dollars, and therefore adopts a more than benevolent attitude, the internationals doubtlessly feel the necessity to improve their image, as attested by a spate of papers published by organizations more or less closely identified with them.<sup>47</sup> Paradoxical as it may sound, it is difficult to resist the impression that as far as their home base is concerned, America's world corporations are on the defensive.

The main battlefield in the Third World appears to be Latin America at the moment, where US internationals are seen to stage, with the help of their government, a counter-offensive (Bolivia, Chile). There is some evidence, however, that they are shifting the scene of main expansion to other areas,

<sup>46</sup> C. Gordon Tether: *The Finger Points at U.S. Multinationals*. *The Financial Times*, February 2, 1972, p. 36.

<sup>47</sup> NAM, U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce etc.

particularly Asia.<sup>48</sup> The versatility of the internationals should therefore certainly not be underrated.

This survey would not be complete without mentioning that European trade unions (and perhaps even some sections of American Labour) have recently shown indications of being able to overcome the difficulties which so far blocked a closer understanding between trade unions belonging to different international federations, in order to stand up more united to the challenge of the international corporations.

<sup>48</sup> This may include the utilization of low-cost Indian labour for worldwide sourcing. See: "India Approves Transfer of U.K. industrial units." *The Financial Times*, March 7, 1972, p. 9.

<sup>49</sup> From an unpublished manuscript of Louis Turner (University of Salford, U.K.) entitled: *Multinationals and the Developing World*. Quoted with the kind permission of the author.

Finally I wish to insist on the importance of worldwide sourcing in determining the future of the internationals. Here again the question arises: does it offer a new avenue of further dynamic expansion or does it make them more vulnerable?

In this context let me quote the conclusion arrived at in a recent analysis of the implications of runaway industries:<sup>49</sup>

"...For the first time in world history our capitalists have both the physical and psychological ability to exploit the Third World's most basic resources—its cheap labour. Increasingly they will do so, partly through choice, but mostly out of necessity, and this development is a rope with which many a traditional American or European multinational will be hanged..."

This forecast gives food for thought and is worth while pondering on.

GYÖRGY ÁDÁM

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## SYMPOSIUM ON THE ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES OF A EUROPEAN SECURITY TREATY

The economic aspects of European security—that was the subject of the symposium jointly arranged in Budapest between June 15th and 17th 1972 by the Hungarian Scientific Council for World Economy and by the Vienna International Peace Institute. Fifty participants from eleven Western and eight Eastern countries took part. The subject was discussed from three points of view. The first approach was of a political character and looked into possibilities of expanding economic relations between the Eastern

and Western parts of Europe, taking into account that, in the opinion of some, the military, political and economic factors are "asymmetrical". The introductory lectures on this subject were given by Professor József Bognár, President of the Hungarian Scientific Council for World Economy, on behalf of the socialist countries and by Professor Jean Siotis (of Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale, Centre Européen) on behalf of the capitalist ones.

The symposium also looked into condi-

tions under which all-European economic collaboration could materialize. These conditions include the improvement of economic management of, and integration between, socialist countries, as well as more recent aspects of the West-European economy, such as the extension of the European Economic Community, inflation in Western Europe, and the instability of the international monetary system. These subjects were discussed on the second day and the introductory lectures were given by Josef Pajestka, Deputy-Chairman of the Polish Planning Office and by Ödön Kallós, President of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce.

Finally, those legal and institutional forms of economic and commercial policy, common investments and production co-operations were discussed which determine the further development of East-West economic relations on a governmental and industrial level, as well as on that of enterprises. This was discussed on the third day in lectures by Gunnar Adler-Karlson, an internationally acknowledged authority on East-West economic relations, on behalf of the Western countries and by A. Butov, member of the Socialist World Economic Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, on behalf of the Eastern countries.

The symposium was held at a time when the date of the European Security Conference was a subject of international negotiations. Professor Bognár rightly pointed out that developments in European and world politics have quickened, and are ahead of the economic cooperation that is made possible by political factors. However, without making use of economic opportunities to the largest possible extent, political rapprochement *per se* remains sterile and unstable. It would be a mistake to postpone a discussion on economic cooperation till after the Security Conference. Economic cooperation, which would immediately start to put into effect the economic opportunities created by the security conference, would allow one to realize potential economic advantages at a

faster rate and, in addition, to consolidate the security treaty by placing it in the fabric of interdependence. Security is also a question of equilibrium. The latter, however, is made up of a number of interdependent political and economic factors. To anyone aware of historic and political reality, it is inconceivable that general equilibrium be the aggregate of the separate equilibria of all factors. However, asymmetry balanced by various factors might become a kind of integrated equilibrium, supported by interdependence and mutual interests. In this situation it is the task of those concerned with applied economics and political science to work out recommendations for governments interested in European security, as well as for international institutions contributing to the maintenance of European security.\*

At the symposium the question of the adaptation of the systems was also raised. Certain contributions to the discussion allowed one to think that Western economists are not fully aware of the developments which have taken place in the functioning of the management system of socialist economies in recent years. In the view of certain Western economists autarchy, foreign trade enterprises in a monopolistic position, and inflexible bilateralism continue to be essential characteristics of the socialist economy. Due to this an inappropriate question arises: what conditions must socialist countries fulfil to do business with Western countries? This is a biased way of putting things since it does not rely on actual economic reality and cannot, therefore, be the basis of a fruitful dialogue. Western economists, according to whom the principles and demands of economic rationality are equally valid in both the capitalist and the socialist economic order, say that in seeking for ways and means of cooperation one should not compare theoretically abstract ideal types, but

\* See József Bognár: "Interdependence of International Politics and Economics", *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, No. 42.

try to find common elements existing in both systems, and promote the development of common ways of looking at things to a far greater extent. Businessmen have already spotted these common elements, as indicated by the fact that East-West trade almost trebled in the sixties. This shows that connections between countries operating under planned economy conditions and the ones where a market economy is the rule are not as restricted in mutual contacts as is generally thought.

There is no doubt that trade between the Eastern and Western parts of Europe at present has a different weight in the external economy of the two groups of countries. Socialist countries have pointed out that economic rationality seen from a distance demands that trade links with socialist countries should obtain greater importance in the external economy of Western countries. Professor Pajestka drew attention to a number of factors indicating that—in the long run—trade links with socialist countries will obtain greater importance in Western countries as well. The coupling of the transport network and energy grid, the rational utilization of manpower, and the all-European planning of raw material needs are questions which from the point of view of Western countries can only be solved in the long run in cooperation with the Socialist countries. On the other hand, Western economists pointed out that long-term rationality is not the only factor deciding this question, since short-term interests and profitability, that is, the possibility of investing capital fruitfully, are equally important from the point of view of the capitalist economic mechanism.

Both Western and Eastern participants in the symposium mentioned a number of cases showing that socialist and capitalist enterprises of different trades and industries establish common ventures, thus providing an opportunity for a fast mutual increase in profits. In both the West and the East enterprises are encouraged by their own interests

to solve important questions, such as accelerated technical development, capacity increase and the extension of markets through East-West cooperation. This is also shown by the fact that two hundred and thirty Hungarian enterprises have already reached production cooperation agreements with West-European enterprises; these have produced advantages within a short time, and the long-term prospects are even more promising.

All-European large-scale industrial and infrastructural projects, such as the development of joint energy systems and of a co-ordinated transport network, as mentioned above, are conditional on common connections established on a governmental level. In the case of all-European large-scale projects, as well as in that of cooperation between enterprises, the problem of financing emerges. European economic history illustrates that transcontinental capital flow is a *conditio sine qua non* for transcontinental economic relations. At present, however, nothing points to a transcontinental capital flow nor are there suitable channels for it. All participants at the symposium agreed that an all-European investment bank is needed, the obligation of which would be to take part in the financing of joint projects and to turn inter-firm cooperation into multilateral ventures. Loans granted and bonds issued in East-West monetary relations in recent years can be considered initial attempts of this kind. The prerequisite for capital flow, however, is a suitable framework allowing for development funds to be constituted on a large scale, as well as for the establishing of uninterrupted financial connections.

European East-West connections stand for, in part at least, the relationship between the Common Market and CMEA; this was so up to now and will hold good in the future to an even greater extent. These two groups rely on different organizational principles and the possibility of establishing connections requires mutual understanding on both sides, as well as rational organiza-

tional measures. These questions, however, are not difficulties that cannot be overcome; until more definitive arrangements will have been made, a number of projects ought to be put into effect on the present bilateral basis.

In this case, as in the case of other problems in the sphere of East-West relations, the question of institutions brings certain problems in its train. What kind of common framework can be developed—in addition to the already existing institutions—for establishing the legal, financial and organizational forms of cooperation? In the view of all participants, the European Economic Committee of the UN will have to play a considerable role in this respect. It appeared at the symposium that this UN organ has been far more active up to now than European economic executives are aware. It did not content itself with making analyses but has also produced concrete recommendations. Apart from its other activities, the European Economic

Committee might become an important institutional centre for European cooperation, merely on the basis of these recommendations. More many-sided economic relations of a larger volume between the Eastern and Western parts of Europe would impose further functions on the European Economic Committee, which would then require new organizational units to attend to these.

At the end of the symposium the participants passed a motion moved by Professor Bognár suggesting that there is need for a further refinement of what was said and agreed on at the symposium, in order to allow for as early as possible concerted action. Not only the socialist and capitalist states of Europe, but many countries which struggle with serious economic problems at present, could obtain new growth energies from that economic cooperation which would on the one hand further, and on the other follow on, the establishment of the European security system.

E. K.

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