NHQ

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VOLUME XIV * No. 50

SUMMER 1973

SURVEYS

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

ARTS

THEATRE

MUSICAL LIFE

NUMBER 50

The fiftieth number of a journal is never an event of indifference, especially in the case of a quarterly, and it is a rarer occurrence still if that journal appears in a language that is not its editors' native one. The editor may add, casting modesty aside on this jubilee occasion, that it is an even rarer phenomenon that a journal published in a foreign language finds its way into the hands and onto the bookshelves of those for whom it was intended. He speaks *pro domo sua*, of course, since this has been no small undertaking for Hungarians, and now I quote from the first number of the first volume of *The New Hungarian Quartely*, which appeared in September 1960: "It is quite an undertaking for Hungarians to edit and publish in Budapest an English-language periodical intended to be read in the English speaking world. In the audacity and difficulty of this task—and it is not only the linguistic difficulty we have in mind—there is something of what the Hungarian language denotes by the word *virtus*. This term is not identical with the Latin *virtus*, from which it derives, and is only a remote relative of the English *virtue*. *Virtus* is an undertaking which at first sight surpasses the strength of a person or of a group, but in itself or in its aims is too significant and attractive for its challenge to be resisted.

"Could a more attractive *task* be conceived of than to afford English-speaking readers, one of the world's largest language groups, an insight into the life and thinking of a small but much-talked-about, and so often misrepresented, nation? Moreover, what *aim* could be more significant than that of promoting mutual knowledge and deeper understanding among the nations?"

So run the first sentences of the introduction written twelve years ago. Has *The New Hungarian Quartely* succeeded in its aims? Was the *virtus*, which we were afraid would be greater than our strength, in vain? In his office, the editor, looking over the forty-nine issues published so far, representing the

last twelve years, more than a quarter of his adult life—the same is true of his friend and deputy, Zoltán Halász—feels that it is not for him to answer this question. If an answer can be found at all, it must be sought in the eleven thousand pages of these fifty numbers. This was done, without being asked and with friendly overstatement, by C. P. Snow, whom we asked for an article on a different topic—his visits to Hungary—for our fiftieth number. Yet he wrote of our journal, under the title "N.H.Q." Although the article can be found on page 36 of this number, how could one resist quoting here at least one of his opening sentences? "But there isn't a shadow of doubt the N.H.Q. has presented to educated English-speaking readers a view of Hungary in general and of Hungarian literature in particular much sharper and more interesting than we have been given of any other country. Which is simply to say that the N.H.Q. is the best journal of its kind and purpose in the world, so far as any of us know."

Nonetheless, even in a man's life, the round anniversaries and especially the magic and somewhat frightening number fifty, entice and almost oblige one to give an account. In the introduction to the first number I quoted a famous line by Endre Ady: "Show ourselves to all mankind, That they may look on us." Then, shamefacedly I had to explain to the as yet imaginary reader who that Ady was. Today, we believe, the subscribers, the regular readers, the young people who borrow *The New Hungarian Quarterly* from the libraries, know who Endre Ady was and perhaps this journal has also contributed to this. And while on the subject of poetry, in our first number we said that we would like to share our belief with our readers that Hungary has a few genuinely fine poets. We also maintained that our poetry can confidently be placed beside Bartók's music. In the past fifty numbers we published a great many poems, mainly by contemporary authors, but also by the great poets of the two classic periods of Hungarian literature, the middle of the last century and the early years of ours. If there is anything that we do boast about on this anniversary, it is that to the best of our knowledge this journal was the first to succeed in having Hungarian poets translated by English and American poets like Alan Dixon, Daniel Hoffman, Kenneth McRobbie, Edwin Morgan, William Jay Smith or W. D. Snodgrass, thus breaking through the language barrier that barred, and to some extent still bars, the way to becoming acquainted not only with Hungarian literature, but also with the Hungarian people. The lion's share of this work and of the credit belongs to our literary editor, Miklós Vajda.

Although we continue to remain convinced of what we wrote in our first number: "Literature and other spheres of culture provide, in our opinion,

the best medium for obtaining a picture of the Hungarian realities of today and for studying Hungary's past", our most important purpose and task has been to show or at least make perceptible *what* literature reflects: the life of the Hungarian people, Hungarian society and most of all the changes in both. In other words: socialism in Hungary. In a society as permeated with literature as the Hungarian this word is no stranger to poetry either, and this is not just the result of the political development and its effects of the last decades, but is also a tradition. At the beginning of the thirties Attila József wrote a poem: "Report to Ignotus on the State of Socialism." Fifty numbers ago it would have been necessary to explain to the reader who Attila József and Ignotus were. I can hardly believe today that among the readers of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* there are any who do not know that Attila József was one of the greatest European poets of the twentieth century. (We published studies on him, and translations, by Edwin Morgan, Ruth Sutter and Earl Byrnie in numbers 14 and 17.) We believe that the name and the art of Attila József is by now a part of the consciousness of our readers; but we also published an article on Ignotus, who was the first editor of the journal *Nyugat* and a prominent literary organiser of the first three decades of this century.

One might say that the fifty numbers of The N.H.Q., its twelve and a half volumes, are a continuous report on the state of socialism to the foreign reader. This report, just like József's poem, has not disguised the difficulties and has always shown achievements through the problems that had been overcome, nor has it maintained silence on the stresses that still remain or those that newly emerged. We therefore imagine that the journal has acquired a certain credit among the English-reading public from the East and West alike, both geographically and politically speaking. In the first few years of the journal's existence we considered that our most important task was to tear down the "media curtain" which screened Hungary from the Anglo-Saxon world and which was made up of lack of information and distorted information. Images generated in the period of dogmatism and the personality cult were impressed too deeply into the minds of the western European and American readers and it is only possible to do away with them by the work of many years and, naturally, only if this work of informing reflects a new and sound policy. That is why we have shown both by way of literature and studies and essays the spirit of debate and criticism which has developed in Hungary, and the way of socialist democracy, which is capable of giving a genuine, new meaning to human dignity and human rights.

In a different sense the "report on the state of socialism" has meant that

we have been trying to give a picture of the development of the new, socialist society and within it of man with a true sense of social values. We have tried to show what life is like in Hungarian society, how new features become linked to the great traditions of the national past, how the people live, work, think, love, and amuse themselves in the cities and in the villages, where the changes are most noticeable and least known. A new social mobility and new social ramifications have taken place and we have followed them up. We have endeavoured to express both by facts and figures and impressions the general rise in the standard of living, and the emphasis here is on the qualifier: general. In socialist societies the rising standard of living is accompanied by increased consumption and thus the phenomenon usually referred to as the consumer society. The question that in recent years has occupied Hungarian public opinion—therefore our paper as well—is how socialism enables the human community to avoid the pitfalls and aberrations of the consumer society.

These questions are, naturally, very closely connected with the economy. Anyone who links Hungary with the concept of economics has in recent years connected it with the new method of economic management, in short, with the economic reform. The N.H.Q. dealt especially thoroughly with the reform, partly because we had two such outstanding economists as József Bognár and the late Imre Vajda on our editorial board, both of whom were among the architects of the reform. We analysed at depth the reasons that made the reform necessary and even unavoidable. We reported on the large-scale, first professional and then popular debate concerning the reform and in this connection we pointed out the possibilities of the further development of socialist democracy, which are inconceivable in any other social system. The achievements of the reform and the new problems that go with them are analysed in this fiftieth number in two articles. János Fekete discusses them from the point of view of economics and Péter Rényi from the aspect of society and politics. Those interested in the national and international perspectives of the reform are reminded of the article by József Bognár, "Economic Reform, Development and Stability" in Number 46 of The N.H.Q.

A Hungarian journal appearing in a foreign language is bound by its very nature to keep the relationship of Hungary and the world under continuous review, to acquaint its readers with the moves and the direction of Hungarian foreign policy, and to analyse the relationships that have developed with the various countries. In this endeavour we were greatly helped by being able to publish, in connection with important international events, the articles and statements by János Péter, the Minister of

Foreign Affairs, especially concerning the great complex of questions of European unity, security and cooperation (in numbers 25, 39 and 45 of The N.H.Q.), particularly because the political reality which is beginning to take shape during these months in Helsinki started with the "Budapest appeal". The concept of European unity is inseparable from that of peaceful coexistence: the role of the latter in Hungarian politics and in international life in general was discussed by Frigyes Puja, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. (Number 42.)

In Hungarian the word Europe is not merely a geographic concept, but an intellectual and moral one as well. We hope it is unnecessary to explain this in greater detail to the reader of the fiftieth number since The N.H.Q. has regarded it as one of its most important tasks to acquaint its readers with the intellectual values of the Hungarian past and present within the context of European civilisation. Not in a temporal sequence, but linked to special occasions and interest abroad, we have presented those values which the isolation of the Hungarian language has kept from the Anglo-Saxon world, from Hungarian humanism whose great poet, Janus Pannonius, we had translated into English for the first time (Number 48), Imre Madách, the author of The Tragedy of Man (Number 16), to the greatest poet-revolutionary, Petőfi, whose name the reader has met in the previous number and will meet in this and in the next numbers again and again, because the Hungarian people are celebrating the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth in 1973. On this occasion The N.H.Q. attempted —to the best of our knowledge for the first time—to have Petőfi translated by an important modern poet: the reader can see for himself how splendidly Edwin Morgan dealt with the task.

We were complying with readers' interests when, as often as feasible, we published something on the two outstanding figures of Hungarian cultural life, Bartók and Lukács. We have shown them not as lonely peaks, because they were not that, but placed them in the soil from which they sprang: the culture of the Hungarian people and the revolutionary line of Hungarian intellectual life. As well as on Bartók, we naturally published articles on his friend and companion, Zoltán Kodály, and—just as naturally—on the new Hungarian music that followed them. We published several original works by György Lukács and devoted one of our latest numbers (Number 47) to Lukács's works and the papers he left behind.

An organic part of our endeavours is the presentation of contemporary Hungarian culture, literature and art, together with all their values, shortcomings and contradictions. Surveying these fifty numbers, I would risk saying that without doing so deliberately we have begun to edit the

Hungarian literary anthology of the second half of the twentieth century. This has not happened by taking a list of the poets, writers and dramatists and of their major works and publishing them in a systematic manner, but through our endeavour in the past twelve years to have the important, interesting and debated poems and short stories translated. We have given a taste of novels and plays, fitting them within the intellectual structure and social conditions of the year or season. At times we have reached back to some of the important works of an earlier literary generation. That is how we presented, taking those who died early or were killed during the war, Attila József, Miklós Radnóti, Antal Szerb, Károly Pap, Andor Endre Gelléri and two great authors who died recently: Áron Tamási and Péter Veres. Of the living sixty-seventy year olds we published Tibor Déry, Anna Hajnal, Endre Illés, Gyula Illyés, László Németh, István Örkény, István Vas, Sándor Weöres, of the younger ones Miklós Hubay, Ferenc Juhász, Iván Mándy, Lajos Mesterházi, László Nagy, Sándor Rákos, not forgetting those even younger and the youngest: István Csurka, István Eőrsi, Erzsébet Galgóczi, Gábor Garai, Mihály Ladányi, György Moldova, Ottó Orbán and others.

Translation is a particularly hard nut to crack, requiring precision of language and the rendering of fine nuances. Let me here pay tribute to our first language editor, Noel H. Field, who left us so soon. We have, however, managed to maintain his high standards—this is the general opinion of our readers, critics and correspondents—thanks to language editors of the competence of Bertha Gaster and Rudolf Fischer.

Any journal, as all editors know, would go to pieces without capable editorial assistance. That we have survived is largely due to the clockwork efficiency of Ágnes Széchy, our Editorial Assistant, and the devoted labours of Bori Liszka, our Editorial Secretary. They are, incidentally, at the service of any correspondent writing letters to the N.H.Q. with queries, praise or even more welcome, criticism. And if this journal has maintained a high standard of printing and reproduction, the credit must go to our printers, the Kossuth Press of Budapest.

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Standing before his bookcase, trying to give an account, the editor realises that he would like to mention all eleven thousand two hundred pages of the fifty numbers, at any rate every one of the important articles. At the same time he has feelings of regret and recollections of the highlights. We have not succeeded in dealing as we should have with Hungarian science,

especially the natural sciences. We could not always connect at the right level, and in time, with the great intellectual currents of our time, to contribute to the debates that occupied every country. We have not succeeded in making sure that the journal reaches all those who might be interested in it, primarily the young, the students. Yet such experiences belong to the highlights of the fifty numbers as, for example, when I saw a copy of The N.H.Q. in an American university library that had been read until it was almost in tatters. Or, at the time when the paper was started, more than ten years ago, in the Bodleian I saw a student's request card: having read about *The New Hungarian Quarterly* in *The Economist*, he wanted to know why it was not in the periodicals library. Or how could I forget that morning in the university in Mexico D.F. when I had to move my lecture first into a larger room and then into the Great Hall itself because a student with an N.H.Q. containing a Lukács study in his hand had fervently recruited his fellow students. And could one forget number 11, that U Thant contributed to? The moment he landed in Budapest he inquired about The N.H.Q. being, as he said, a regular reader. It also belongs to the list of tangible achievements that Ferenc Karinthy's play, "Steinway Grand," was performed by the BBC, and later also in the US, in a translation that had been published in The N.H.Q. (Number 27), and that István Örkény's "Catsplay" (translated by Mari Kuttna) was read by Vercors in the journal (Number 44), and from there he translated it into French.

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This present, fiftieth number whose implicit title is Hungary in a Changing World actually reflects all fifty numbers, with the addition that on the occasion of our jubilee János Kádár has written an article for The N.H.Q. Making the Europe of his and his generation's lifetime his starting point, he answers the question "Whither Europe". Hungary's place in the world, the state and direction of the international relations of Hungarian politics, are indicated and expressed by János Péter's article on page 22. Politics and the economic reform is—as already mentioned—the subject of the articles by János Fekete and Péter Rényi. Rényi points out that reform is an integral part of socialism and the Hungarian economic reform should also be seen in this light.

The "présence" of Petőfi in current Hungarian life and literature is discussed in three pieces. Sándor Lukácsy, a literary historian, explores the roots and essence of Petőfi as a revolutionary.

There is a varied and rich presentation of the intellectual values of the past and present in this anniversary number. We publish, for the first time in English, an unknown, beautiful and excitingly interesting interview with Béla Bartók, which he gave to the French language predecessor of The N.H.Q., the *Nouvelle Revue Hongroise* in 1932.

Of our foreign contributors I have already mentioned C. P. Snow, whose contribution is not the first to the journal. (Numbers 2 and 25). We have already published several articles by J. C. Trewin (Numbers 15, 25 and 37), this time he writes about Hungarian theatrical life showing the extreme goodwill of a friend. We ourselves are more critical of the position of the Hungarian drama and theatre, as our readers can see for themselves in every number, but we are delighted by the understanding shown by an English critic.

The literature of today is represented by István Örkény's one-minute stories, these grotesque pearls, if one may use such an odd metaphor, as well as by Erzsébet Galgóczi's story of an old woman on the border of two worlds, set in a village of today, and by the terse poems of János Pilinszky. The Nobel prize winning Hungarian biochemist, Albert Szent-Györgyi, who lives in the United States, has sent a few chapters from his latest work for our fiftieth number. This discusses one of the great questions of our age, as do two other articles: Béla Köpeczi's study "Fatherland and Nation in Central Europe," and a piece by János Hantos, whose title indicates its importance and timeliness: "Growth, Traffic, Pollution."

The articles and illustrations on art present the grand old man of Hungarian painting, Aurél Bernáth, on the occasion of his retrospective one man exhibition. An exhibition of the work of young artists was called Studio 72: a few reproductions give a taste of this.

In connection with this number the editor regrets that the study on the changes in the Hungarian village was not finished by the time we went to press—this can occur even in the case of a quarterly. It is a pity, because the article by István Márkus, a sociologist specializing in this question (Number 43 and 47) would have complemented well the piece by István Földes, who, on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, recalls the nationalisation of Hungarian large industry.

Since life consists not only of problems and their solutions or insolubility, but also of mediated beauty, we were delighted to give space in this number to a fine study on English gardens in Hungary by Anna Zádor, a member of our Editorial Board.

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The editor cannot put down his pen on this jubilee occasion without giving thanks to the Editorial Board for their constant support, the high and good humoured standard of the discussion at board meetings and the many ideas without which we might have run dry by now. And he bows his head in reverence to the memory of those who have departed. Of the fourteen members of the Editorial Board at the time of the first number, six have already left us. Erik Molnár, the historian was the first, Áron Tamási, the novelist, the second, László Bóka, the writer, poet, *littérateur*, teacher, one of the last Hungarian humanists, followed them. Imre Vajda was correcting one of his manuscripts for our journal right up to the last. Only last year one of the most significant personalities of the Hungarian intellectual and political life of the last few decades, Ferenc Erdei, the writer, sociologist, one of the inspirers and organisers of the modern transformation of Hungarian agriculture, died. This issue was already in print when Bence Szabolcsi died—it includes his obituary.

In our twenty-fifth number I wrote that when our first issue was published we were not sure whether there would be a second. Now I am looking forward with confidence to the next fifty numbers: The N.H.Q. is certain to live to see them and perhaps its editor will as well. It is for this that he asks the further support of readers, subscribers, Hungarian and foreign contributors, colleagues and friends.

THE EDITOR

WHITHER EUROPE?

by

JÁNOS KÁDÁR

I

The name Europe has been current for more than two thousand years. It is a geographical, political and cultural term, and yet much more than that: it is the home of more than thirty nations, their past, present and future. The fate and future of Europe is the personal fate and future of the generation living today as well, of several hundred million men and women, members of many nations.

The acceleration of events, of social progress and of scientific and technological development, led to the recognition that the fate of social classes and nations is not wholly decided within state frontiers; increasingly and to a larger extent it tends to depend on the international environment and on the way the international situation as such shapes. For this very reason far-sighted representatives of bourgeois ways, such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Byron, and more recently Thomas Mann and Bertrand Russell, were as preoccupied with the fate of humanity, and naturally also that of Europe, our continent, as those giants of the working class movement, Karl Marx and Lenin, and great Hungarians, such as Kossuth, Petőfi and Ady.

Everyone is concerned about the European question today. The nature of my own personal experience and what I went through naturally implies that I am most familiar with the way of thinking of the generation to which I belong, that is, of those who grew to manhood between the two world wars and who are still active today. I became familiar with the ideas of socialism early in the 1930s, as a member of the ironworkers' youth movement, and that was when my own determination to take part in political action matured. This of course determined a great deal, it determined the way I first came across the problems of Europe, and the way I see them today.

The cruel and oppressive political system which dominated the economically backward Hungary of the time, which was weighed down by semi-feudal remnants, is generally named after the fascist Miklós Horthy. It was the time of the Great Depression. Up on top financiers, landowners and the privileged led a Carnival life; exploitation, unemployment, starvation and misery, absence of human rights and police terror were the lot of the millions down below, of workers, peasants and intellectuals. That was what we

fought against, young Communists and Social Democrats, and progressive men and women of a different outlook, who worked for their living and longed for a better future. Concerned as we were with the crucial problems of the Hungarian working class and the people meant that we naturally had to look across the country's borders, towards Europe and the wide world. It is common knowledge that things were not going well then on our continent.

Today the situation in Europe is different. Within the life-time of a generation political and social conditions and the balance of power have radically changed. Forces have regrouped. The fascist powers were destroyed in the fire of the Second World War, the nations were freed from their yoke, and new socialist states came into being on our continent. The situation has changed and improved, but it is still a long way from being settled. It is only natural that hundreds of millions of inhabitants of this continent should be concerned, even more now than in the past, with the crucial question: whither Europe?

2

A fact which does not appear to be of any great magnitude but which is truly of the utmost importance indicates the changed and new situation and the favourable trend. Towards the end of last year—the occasion deserves giving the precise date, November, 1972—representatives of the countries of Europe as well as of the United States of America and Canada, which are directly interested parties, met in Helsinki, to discuss specific questions concerning the convening of the European Security Conference, and the hope that the conference itself will start its important work still in 1973, has now received a solid foundation.

What has helped to shape events in this way is a recognition that the Cold War is a dead end which leads nowhere, and which is always accompanied by the danger of a possible actual clash, the possibility of the outbreak of a real war. Given the present stage of historical development and the standards of technology in war, in this age of nuclear weapons, when the risks of war are unpredictable, that is actually most predictable indeed, the view that an appropriate mutual and joint arrangement, in accord with the interests of all states in Europe, of all those questions which still remain acute or open, and peaceful coexistence, are the only possible way in the relationship between states where different social systems prevail, is strengthening and gradually turning into a consensus.

The European Security Conference, and even more so the working out of a firmly based security system, naturally demands that numerous questions be dealt with. Many complex questions, demanding considerable effort are still open, partly for historical reasons, partly deriving from the differences between the social systems. This can be dealt with in a manner satisfactory to all parties, but only if everyone responsible for the fate of Europe and its nations soberly faces realities and is prepared to learn from at least the recent history of this continent. In this case it is particularly true that history is the schoolmaster of life.

3

What has until now acted as an obstacle in the way of collective security in Europe, why did it prove impossible to establish lasting peace in the past, and what kind of approach makes it possible today?

The "good old days" before the First World War remembered by the oldest Europeans now living were nowhere near as peaceful and idyllic as they imagine them to have been. The arms race, conflicts, the occupation and aggressive redistribution of spheres of influence and markets, were commonplace events. The First World War, and not some sort of peaceful Europe, was the inevitable and necessary consequence of this process. The First World War ended with the defeat of German Imperialism and its allies, who had been responsible for starting it. The United States of America, Great Britain, France and their allies were victorious, but capitalism, as a world system, suffered a blow from which there is no recovery. Tsarist Russia was destroyed, the imperialist chain was broken, and the first worker-peasant state of the world, the Soviet Union, was born.

Conflicts between the imperialists and the antagonism between the imperialist states as a whole and the Soviet Union largely determined the character of the international situation between the two wars. The capitalist states, competing with each other, still dominated the situation in a large part of the world, and defined the principal directions of development, but they already had to reckon with the Soviet Union as a major power on the world's political stage, a major power that was consistently anti-imperialist and peace-loving.

Between the two world wars Hungarian Communists and Hungarian progressives, as well as anti-fascists in all the countries of Europe, were filled with enthusiasm and hope by all news telling of the strengthening of the young Soviet State and the great political and economic success of the

socialist planned economy. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union aimed to help progressive forces, to dam the danger of fascism, and to put obstacles in the way of the threat of war. It fought for security and disarmament within the League of Nations as well.

Events started to take a faster turn around the middle of the Thirties. Germany, Italy and Japan, the leading fascist states, concluded the Anti-comintern Pact, and more and more openly proclaimed their plans of conquest, and began to put them into effect. The Soviet Union gave aid to the forces of the Spanish Republic against the fascists who attacked them, as well as suggesting an alliance and joint political and military action in defence of threatened Czechoslovakia, and later of Poland, to the governments at the time of the western powers. Those however, guided by their anti-communist and anti-Soviet attitude, chose Munich instead, appeasement instead of putting a brake on the aggressor and thus, willy-nilly, the further strengthening of fascism and the horrors of the Second World War, that could have been expected and did in fact occur.

The Munich Agreement did not satisfy the predatory fascists, it only heightened their appetite. The threatened nations and men who were wide awake saw more clearly than many a politician at the time, how much that, let us call it arrangement, meant. They prepared for the fight and the hard times ahead. The stronger and more open fascism became in Hungary, taking root in other countries as well, the larger grew the number of those, in Hungary and throughout the world, who were ready for action to throw off the yoke of fascism in order to prevent the threatening world catastrophe. In France, in Spain and in other countries in Europe, the best and finest took a stand against Hitler and the little Hitlers.

On the foreign policy level the position only changed radically in the course of the Second World War. The major western powers only changed their attitude to the Soviet Union when Nazi Fascism that had become a Great Power in Europe, launched an armed attack against them, and threatened their existence and power as well. The entry into the War of the Soviet Union brought the coalition of anti-fascist powers into being and turned the fight into a War of Liberation. The Soviet Union, the United States of America, France and Great Britain destroyed Hitler and his system as allies, with their united strength.

The end of this terrible war and the defeat of the fascist powers opened up a new stage in history and new prospects of development to the nations of Europe and the world. Not even three months were needed by the Allied Great Powers after Nazi Germany's unconditional surrender at Karlshorst to prepare the Potsdam Conference which was to determine the framework

of post-war life in Europe. They were able to agree, though there were major differences of opinion between them, the Socialist Soviet Union and the capitalist western powers entertained different notions indeed on the nature and character of the post-war world. The Potsdam Agreement could nevertheless be concluded since the participants at the conference did not leave the results of that war out of account which had produced the victory of the forces of social progress. They took their joint interests to be their starting point.

It is to be deplored, but events shortly afterwards took a new turn once again. The idea of European security seemed dead as it were on the morrow of the Potsdam Agreement. The chilling winds of the Cold War started to blow over Europe. The forces of reaction tried to turn the results of the Second World War to their own advantage and looked for the necessary instruments with feverish ardour. That is how the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization came into being, as did the boycott against the new socialist countries, subversion and all the other wellknown products of a policy of strength.

The reactionary circles of the capitalist world—leaving the lessons of the Second World War out of account—once again started off the anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda machinery, trying to frighten the men and women of Western Europe who were longing for progress, quiet, and peace with stories of an alleged desire to conquer the world on the part of the Soviet Union. The pseudo-philosophy and dark political machinations of McCarthy, Dulles, Adenauer and the like gained ground. Europe, which had hardly tasted peace and the possibility of cooperation was cut in two by times of mutual distrust, isolation, the Cold War and what was called the "Iron Curtain". The sword of Damocles of war, only this time that of nuclear war, was once again suspended above the head of mankind.

Fortunately for Europe and the nations the world had changed; in the "Cold War" period after the Second World War it was no longer what it had been at the time Hitler had come to power and when the Second World War had broken out. The Soviet Union had gathered strength with unprecedented speed and the new socialist states in Europe stabilized their position and made progress, the community of countries building socialism had taken shape, the class struggle had become more acute in the capitalist world and the colonial system built up by capitalism had begun to fall apart. A political, economic and military force was mobilized in defence of socialism, democracy and peace which condemned every attempt by the champions of the Cold War to failure and frightened off imperialism in Europe, so it did not dare to use armed force.

As time passed, following the bankruptcy of the notorious "liberation" plans, the 1953 Berlin and 1956 Poznan events, and the failure of the counter-revolution in Hungary, western strategists were forced to accept that an unbridgeable chasm yawned between the aims of the Cold War and the possibility of their implementation. By the early sixties it had become clear once and for all that the situation in Europe which arose following the Second World War could no longer be changed. At this time a whole series of new and realist initiatives taken by the socialist countries in the interests of cooperation furthered the recognition that there was only one rational way: to bring about peaceful cooperation among all the European states, to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence, and on this basis ensure peace and quiet for every European.

In the governing circles of the capitalist countries of Europe those politicians used to thinking soberly, public figures who realistically weighed up the situation, who had learnt from history, began to raise their voices, and those who neither learnt anything, nor forgot anything were forced into the background.

It was proved in the first place that anti-communism had become an irreal basis for government policy, it could not deal with the troubles of capitalist countries, nor could it hold up the progress of socialist countries. It was no longer an effective instrument for misleading the nations. The nations of Europe had paid a heavy price during the war and had discovered that anti-communism and anti-Soviet attitudes only produced suffering and anguish, however much demagogues might try to conceal the real objectives. They also discovered that warnings by men of goodwill are not enough to oppose the supporters of aggression that threatens the nations, nor will the courage and sense of duty of individual men suffice. The death of millions was the price of finding out that the only proper answer to the threat of aggression was a uniting of forces.

History also teaches that anti-communism is directed not only against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the Communist Parties, but against the freedom of every nation, every progressive movement and every friend of peace. The example of the wartime alliance and cooperation of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and France, and the widely based European anti-fascist movement proved that it was possible for states with opposed social systems, and for men of differing ideology and party to combine in the interests of a mutually recognized great purpose. This is the most important historical experience of the nations of Europe and of our generation, the most lasting memory and the most beautiful heritage to be passed on to future generations.

4

In the recent past the prospects for the consolidation of peace in Europe and for the creation of a collective security system have come to look more real. The Europe of our time—as it took shape after the Second World War—consists of countries that differ in their social system, size, geographic location and political interest. History decrees that they must live side by side, and no one can alter that.

In the present situation responsible statesmen and other influential personalities must bear the experience of history in mind, but not in order to share out past glories and allot the shame, not to demonstrate who, when and in what way acted rightly or was at fault; nor should one spend time on discovering who, and to what extent, is responsible for open questions still being open. The starting point must be realistic judgement of existing problems and the common interests of every country and nation in Europe, and then, in accordance with the above, and exploiting the present favourable opportunities, the firm foundations of a secure future can, and must be laid. There is no other way out acceptable to the nations. If we can do this concerning the European question, we shall serve the cause of humanity as a whole.

The member countries of the Warsaw Treaty suggested in the interests of making progress that, acting together, a European collective security system be created, in other words that firm foundations for a lasting peace be laid, and that this be done promptly. The countries of the Warsaw Treaty do not ask for any special advantage for themselves. What we want is that any possible use of force, or threat of the use of force, be excluded in Europe and that a system of obligations and duties be brought into being which offers guarantees against aggressive action to every country, and serves the good and prosperity of every nation.

The repeated appeals by the political advisory body of the Warsaw Treaty, and then the concrete proposals formulated in the "Budapest Appeal", clearly expressed our objectives. The member states of the Warsaw Treaty desire a Europe in which differences between social systems do not act as insurmountable obstacles to a many-sided improvement of contacts between states, based on the principle of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation. What we are trying to create is a Europe in which states no longer live in the poisonous atmosphere of the arms race, but in conditions of understanding and cooperation which accord with efforts directed towards the maintenance of international peace and security, and the furthering of friendship and cooperation between states.

The question which the countries of the Warsaw Treaty had placed on

the agenda by their proposal was one ripe for attention, a question which demanded urgent action. This was proved on the one hand by the fact that progressive social forces and the widest possible public opinion received it with approval, and supported it, on the other hand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and responsible public figures in just about every state on the continent accepted it. The recognition is gaining ground that a well worked out and firmly based European security system, growing economic, scientific, technological and cultural relations, and extended travel abroad are in everyone's interest. It is understandable, therefore, that over and above the socialist countries an increasing number of governments, parliaments, parties, politicians and public figures should feel responsibility for the peaceful future of present and coming generations. These forces move in the same direction as the socialist countries, and with increasing determination, to ensure that Europe should turn into the continent of fruitful cooperation between nations enjoying equal rights.

What is important above all on this road leading towards security is that we should get to the next station, to the European Security Conference. The reason why we attach great hopes to this Conference is because we are convinced that, if the conference succeeds in turning the principles of peace and security, and the therein expressed high aims and objectives, into the basis of relations between the states of Europe, it will come to great decisions of major historical importance.

Our expectations are realistic ones; this is shown by the growth in the forces in Europe which support a security system and the convening of a conference to bring it about. These forces have succeeded in getting the states of Europe to see the principal problems of the European situation in a more realistic way. This has largely happened as an effect of the clear and unambiguous policy of the socialist countries, and the whole series of diplomatic initiatives they undertook. They also succeeded in following up the favourable change in attitude by starting the practical implementation of mutually acceptable principles. One might mention in this connection, as being both of great importance and at the same time an example of a possible way of dealing with such problems, the signing and ratification of agreements between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, and the latter and Poland, the Four Power Agreement on West Berlin, the basic agreement between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, and the fact that the NATO countries, one after the other, recognised the German Democratic Republic. A multilateral examination of a possible reduction of armed forces and armaments confronting each other in Europe today started in Vienna, and is in progress.

It can be said without exaggeration that statesmen, politicians, professional diplomatists and the well-qualified heads of various mass organizations throughout Europe are these days preoccupied day by day with the problems of European security and of the security conference, both in their work at home and at various international occasions. Public opinion in the countries of this continent follows their activities with close attention, giving them their active support. The justified hope of the nations of this part of the world is increasing that our continent which, for centuries, has been the scene and starting point of so many wars, and so much destruction and misery, should now be on the way to peace, security and cooperation, and that it should reach this desired objective.

The realism of our expectations derives in the first place from the fact that the nations of Europe do not want war. Men of differing ideology and party have, in significant numbers, and to an increasing extent, fought for a lasting peace as against a policy of war for a quarter of a century now. This is proved concretely in our days by the mass movements which have come out in support of a policy of European peace and security.

The nations of the world, and of Europe as part of it, have reached the crossroads. That is a historic reality. There are, basically, only two real alternatives: either an escalation of the arms race and a new nuclear world war, or else the exclusion of force from international relations, a solution of contentious questions at the conference table, and the peaceful coexistence of existing states belonging to differing social systems. It is clear that the people everywhere is interested in the development of mutually advantageous economic contacts between countries belonging to differing social systems, in the exchange of cultural values, and a many-sided development of peace and friendship between the nations. That is the way of the people.

These historical realities necessarily lead to a point where the idea of peaceful coexistence and the policy of peace and security are increasingly becoming historical realities themselves. That is why we are facing the future of Europe with optimism. Our confidence is, however, not a blind one. We know that forces interested in keeping up tension are still at work in Europe. Their presence does not surprise anybody, it would after all be an illusion to imagine that the forces of reaction would voluntarily surrender their positions. At the same time we are all convinced that, given the present power situation, the subversive work of the enemies of *détente* can be defeated, if we are united and consistent in our efforts to consolidate peace.

Right from the start the Hungarian People's Republic, both as a directly interested party, and as a member state of the Warsaw Treaty organization, has actively participated in furthering European peace and security, which

it supports and fights for out of conviction. The Hungarian government making the basic interest of the Hungarian nation its starting point, in harmony with the interests of every other nation, and bearing in mind the security of our continent, does all in its power in the interests of *détente* and cooperation in Europe.

The Hungarian nation which is now building a socialist society, has great and wonderful plans in mind which will allow its country, the Hungarian People's Republic, to flourish. The peace and quiet of creative work are needed to make them come true. We protect our national independence and freedom against all imperialist threats, and if necessary are ready to defend them, but we do not want war. In close unity with the other socialist countries our aim is friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation with every nation and country prepared to engage in it on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Our fate cannot be separated from that of the nations of Europe and of the whole world. This thought guides us in the steps we take as part of our independent foreign policy in establishing bilateral relations with other nations, and also when the representatives of the Hungarian government actively participate in multilateral meetings connected with European security, or when public figures, delegated by Hungarian society, raise their voices at useful international conferences that express European public opinion.

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We are only at the start of bringing about a European security system, but the atmosphere has already changed and the nations look to developments in the European situation with renewed hope. Europe has already taken a significant step on the road leading to peace and security. The preparation of the European conference continues, and the nations have every right to hope that all obstacles that stand in the way of the conference being convened already this summer will be removed. The forces that threaten the peace of the continent have had to retreat, and those that give us all good hope have grown mighty. I say it with conviction: every necessary condition is given to ensure that Europe should move in the direction of peace, security, and cooperation.

Kádár János

Budapest, 1973 II. 16

FOREIGN POLICY "VARIATIONS" ON THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL STITUAION

by

JÁNOS PÉTER

The fiftieth issue of The New Hungarian Quarterly *aims to give a general picture of the changes that occured in Hungary, Europe, and the world in general in the twelve years this periodical has been in existence.*

Great changes have occured in international relations, changes that have accelerated in recent months. The foreign policy notes printed below serve to illuminate the way in which Hungarian foreign policy has reacted to these changes. Selections from a report to the Hungarian Parliament given in the Summer of 1972 by János Péter, the Foreign Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, as well as from an address by him to the General Assembly of the United Nations given in the Autumn of 1972, a further report to the Hungarian Parliament in the Winter of 1972, an article in Népszabadság, *the Budapest daily, which appeared in February 1973, and an address by him given at the Paris International Vietnam Conference (Feb. 26th–March 2nd 1973) together with an explanatory running commentary, reflect the interconnections between Hungarian foreign policy and changes in the international situation.*

(THE EDITOR)

I.

THE SIGNS OF CHANGE

From a foreign policy report given to the Hungarian Parliament on June 22nd, 1972.

In order to bring out the real importance of international events I shall first deal with basic problems, and only afterwards, and in their light, with the various important events, and then, in connection with each, with the time, place, manner and intention of Hungarian participation.

The Main Foreign Policy Problem

May this year has been a particularly memorable month on the international scene. It was the month of the ratification of the agreements between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, and the latter and Poland, when negotiations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany showed real progress, when President Nixon visited Moscow after his trip to Peking, the month of

Soviet–American agreements. Those will best understand the condensed events of this period, which are naturally the results of the efforts of decades, who are able to see the mushroom of Hiroshima and Nagasaki behind them, and the dreadful possiblity of a nuclear cataclysm. That is the proper context in which personal meetings and compromises, and the concurrent escalation of military activity in Vietnam, must be understood.

Lately we rarely speak of the continuing danger of thermonuclear war that faces us, nor do we read about it so often. It is true that the agreements concluded so far are important indeed, covering the partial nuclear test ban, the depths of the ocean and outer space, bacteriological warfare, and more recently, and of more importance, those dealing with strategic weapons and anti-ballistic missiles, but the 1960 programme of Communist and Workers' Parties is still valid: the principal aim of every democratic and peace-loving force must be the averting of the danger of nuclear war.

There is an objective reason why we speak less of this than before. In the course of the past twenty years the Soviet Union has become a nuclear major power. A nuclear power could no longer engage in aggression anywhere at all without taking on itself the dreadful risk of retribution.

This fact has a role in relations with the Soviet Union. We Hungarians are linked to the Soviet Union by many and varied ties of friendship. We recognise it as the basis of a flowering of human society, of the socialist world, and of a humanely human world, of the liberation of humanity from modern barbarism, fascism, the defense against the colonizers of nations shaking off the yoke of colonialism, the power that saved Hungary from the consequences of the cataclysm of the Second World War. And more important than that, we must recognize the importance of the Soviet Union as the major factor averting the danger of thermonuclear war. We consider this fact to be an essential theme not only in our relationship to the Soviet Union, as regards the relationship of other countries of Hungary, we also bear in mind their relationship to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet–American Negotiations

We look on the most recent Soviet–American negotiations in this context. We should like to see the improvement in Soviet–American relations as an essential guarantee of the peaceful future of humanity.

The averting of the danger of thermonuclear war is truly the most important task of every man of goodwill acting on the international stage, and an improvement in Soviet–American relations is therefore in the common interest of all of us.

Bearing in mind the significant effect of Soviet–American relations over the whole field of international relations, both in a favourable and an unfavourable sense, one can expect the Moscow meeting to have favourable effects in every area of international life.

Vietnam

That is the light in which we look at the likely effects of the Moscow Soviet–American negotiations on the future of the Vietnam war.

There is hope, and not an unfounded one, that the United States, in the course of its latest negotiations and other international contacts, has come to recognise better than heretofore what kind of proposals they must make to put an end to the armed struggle, and in the interests of a political arrangement, proposals that will prove acceptable to the Vietnamese negotiating parties and also that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnamese Liberation Front bore in mind every decisive point of view when formulating proposals designed to produce a solution.

Middle East

The Middle East is a long way from the theatre of war in Vietnam, but looking at the crisis there in a historial context one can see many threads linking up one with the other.

A solution of the Middle East crisis is most urgent. It may, for a time, appear to the government of Israel that time is on their side, that the nations of the world would get used to territories taken by aggression remaining occupied, and to two million Israelis being able to defeat Arab countries with a many times larger population.

In the long run however time is working against Israel's aggressive attitude. This is true in the first place in respect to international law. Israel remains an aggressor according to international law as long as she does not return the occupied territories.

Europe

Though there is no certainty as yet of progress all along the international line, it is important in terms of the world situation as such, and for every burning international problem, that the chances for a new European security system are improving all the time.

European questions are at present those that are really ripe for a solution.

It is the achievement of progressive forces throughout the world that numerous agreements were reached and treaties were signed: between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, the latter and Poland, an agreement between the four powers relating to West Berlin as such, one between the Federal Republic of Germany, the West-Berlin Senate and the German Democratic Republic covering traffic and communications, as well as an agreement on the limitation of the arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States which affects European affairs as well.

This made it possible to arrange the international and bilateral relationship between the two Germanies.

The *Ostpolitik* of the Federal Republic of Germany is best assisted by those of its allies who are doing something about a diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic. The *Ostpolitik* of the present Bonn government enjoys the public support it does since the international standing of the German Democratic Republic made it clear to many in Western Germany as well that Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* is the only possible *Realpolitik* when it comes to arranging the international affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Hungary and the Federal Republic of Germany

Hungary's relations with the Federal Republic of Germany are good. I do not think that, at the bottom of things, either they or us are particularily inconvenienced by the absence of diplomatic relations. Towards the end of 1966 and early in 1967 we had to decide whether we would first establish diplomatic relations, arranging our problems on that basis, or whether we should arrange them first and establish diplomatic relations afterwards. Certain things experienced in the international field prompted us to choose the latter way. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany has shown understanding in this respect, and is cooperating in improving relations between the two countries. The principle we have always maintained is that we shall establish diplomatic relations when this serves both the interests of the two countries and the cause of European peace and security, and representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany have generally shown understanding for our position.

The European Security Conference

It is well known that Hungary, as well as the other socialist countries, have for some time now been ready to convene a European Security

Conference. We were, however, forced to bear in mind the attitude of this one or that of the countries of Western Europe, we therefore had to wait until they as well felt ready. We are now close to a serious preparatory meeting.

We are convinced that proposals and negotiations aimed at working out a European Security System and the calling of a Conference on European Cooperation were of great importance in themselves. Without these preliminaries the Soviet–West German, the Polish–West German, the Four-Power West Berlin and the Moscow Soviet–American treaties and agreements as well as that between the two German states would have been much more difficult to conclude.

The Developing Countries

The Hungarian People's Republic looks on the countries of the "Third World" with great respect. The kind of cooperation with them that Hungary looks for is designed to turn these countries into active participants in international economic cooperation, able to freely use their own national material resources and the results of their productive work. To the extent to which conflicts become settled and a brake is put on the arms race it will prove possible to increase cooperation with every country ready to do so, in order to help the developing countries to solve their problems.

The Neighbours

I am able to speak with great warmth about our relations to our immediate neighbours, and a favourable future can be predicted for them. I do not have to repeat what I have said of the Soviet Union. The signing of a Treaty of Friendship proved to be a favourable opportunity for nursing friendly relations with Rumania. Czechoslovakia offers excellent new opportunities for political, economic and cultural contacts. Relations with Yugoslavia and her constituent republics are progressing on a sound basis. Thinking of the many tragic events in our common history, it gives one great joy to say that there is no social force in either of our countries or on the international scene, that could now turn us against each other.

Relations between Hungary and Austria could truly serve as an example for relations between countries belonging to different social systems.

There is a reason why, in this report, I arrived at the Danube valley after starting with the future perspectives of the international situation. It is by arranging their affairs with their neighbours that countries can assist an extension of cooperation to mutual advantage between states and nations.

II.

"Good News and Bad News"

From an address to the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization given on October 11th, 1972.

What is characteristic of the present world situation is that there are very good news, and yet, concurrently, there are pretty bad news as well.

The latest very good news is that the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States, in a joint solemn meeting, declared the coming into effect of the agreement on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems.

It is very bad news however that B-52 bombers have carried out raids on a large scale against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Allow me to look at those areas of our common international fate where the relaxation of tension cannot yet be felt. The two Vietnamese groups taking part in the Paris Vietnam talks, the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, or Madame Binh and the others who represent the National Liberation Front do not feel, because they cannot feel, an improvement in the international situation. Even less so can this be felt by the victims in North and South Vietnam, drowned in blood and mud by blind and destructive bombing raids.

The improvement in the international situation as such did not show its effects in Vietnam in spite of the fact that the Vietnamese showed a real sense of realism when outlining their notions concerning the end of the war, the appropriate international agreements and the future of North and South Vietnam. Everyone can be certain that this is the road to the future, there is no other. The Tonkin Bay adventure in 1964 proved to be an unsound calculation, and so was the decision to start bombing North Vietnam in 1965. What was sound was the decision to suspend bombing in December 1965, and starting again in 1966 was once again a mistake. It was an unsound calculation to withdraw military forces and yet potentiate technological warfare, renewing the attacks on North Vietnam.

The representatives of the developing countries, who met in Georgetown this year, addressed a powerful appeal to the rest of the world asking it to help the developing countries solve their economic problems. We are here speaking of the improvement in the international situation, and are doing so with every justification, yet at the same time poverty and wretchedness are increasing in many of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The nations of the world must act together to help do away with the remnants of the colonial system, to liberate those nations that are still living under the colonial yoke, and to help those already liberated in dealing with their economic anxieties.

The settling of the problem of the representation of China was a significant event in the history of the United Nations. The government of the Hungarian People's Republic welcomed the news of the end of the international isolation of the People's Republic of China with great joy, news which meant that the People's Republic of China would actively participate in international affairs. This could of course have happened under more favourable circumstances as well. The decisive cause of the present unfavourable ones derive from the fact that for twenty-two years now there have been attempts within this organization to boycott the People's Republic of China. The Hungarian government is very pleased that this major question of the United Nations has now found a solution.

The clearest signs of an improvement in the international situation can now be discerned in Europe. I am aware that the name Europe has unpleasant overtones for the majority of member states of the UN. The cruel centuries of colonialism and the tragedies of two world wars are linked to the name of Europe. At this stage however, at the dawn of a new human age, when today's generation is coming to terms with living in the conditions of the atomic age, Europe is endeavouring to ensure the success of a policy of peaceful coexistence as against the cataclysm of thermonuclear war.

III.

New, Major Changes

From an address to the Hungarian Parliament given on December 13th, 1972

New major changes are afoot in the international field. They can, essentially, be summed up as follows:

What promises to be a lasting settlement by negotiation of the most burning international questions is now under way, and results achieved so far encourage one to believe that negotiations may produce a settlement in those fields where an armed struggle is still going on, and that they may extend to areas as well where war could otherwise be expected to break out at any moment.

We have, since the Second World War, lived amidst the ebb and flow

of tension and *détente*. There have been other periods as well of which the intensity of negotiations was more typical than the potentiation of conflicts. So far, however, relatively more relaxed periods of negotiations were always followed by a series of new conflicts. In the course of present negotiations, bearing past experiences in mind, we are endeavouring to reach lasting agreements.

A large part of these agreements concern parties which confront each other over basic issues that cannot be overcome. There is therefore a continuing danger that those opposed to the *détente* will create new tensions.

We take part in the present, new major changes in the international situation in the conviction that negotiations which are in progress and those that can be expected will truly lead to a lasting peace, to the consolidation of international security and the averting of the danger of nuclear war.

When, at its November meeting, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party examined the way the decisions of the 10th Party Congress were being carried out, it established that the foreign policy of the socialist countries, supported by progressive forces, was able to achieve much in improving the international situation.

The Hungarian People's Republic, in its own way and in keeping with its resources, played its part in the shaping of the present favourable international situation. We did so on the one hand as an organic part of the community of socialist countries—as a member state of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance—and on the other by settling our own problems, by pushing our international and national causes in harmony with each other, as one of a large number of countries belonging to differing social systems.

What I should like to do in the first place is to discuss the preparation of the European Security Conference, reporting on work done and on future plans. I am dealing with this matter not only because we are directly concerned with European problems but also because the favourable effects of negotiations so far, designed to prepare a European Security Conference, can be felt in connection with other international problems as well.

It took a great deal of work and effort to get as far as the present Helsinki preparatory talks. Much more will be needed before these preparatory talks get to the stage of an actual security conference.

Initiatives taken and pioneering negotiations have already had a beneficial effect on international affairs. It suffices to compare the present atmosphere with that preceding the Spring of 1969, the time of the Budapest Appeal. Innumerable bilateral talks have played a most important role in this.

It is the socialist countries that took the initiative as regards this con-

ference and at the start it was they, almost exclusively, that did something about implementing this plan. The representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic also did all in their power to further this work.

The preparatory meeting could however only start once the governments of all the interested countries recognised that the initiative taken by the socialist countries served all-European interests. The series of diplomatic negotiations which we witnessed between the issuing of the Budapest Appeal and the beginning of the Helsinki talks is unprecedented in the history of Europe. Hungarian representatives as well negotiated with every country in Europe, without exception, and with the United States and Canada as well. This multitude of talks was needed to get all the countries interested in the consolidation of European security to accept the plan of a Conference of Security and Cooperation as proposed by us. The series of talks in which the governments of Europe negotiated with each other helped to create the kind of atmosphere in which the Soviet–West German and the Polish–West German agreements, the Four Power Agreement on West Berlin and the Berlin–Bonn and Soviet–American SALT talks could become a reality.

A great deal of diplomatic work will still be needed in order to ensure the success of the preliminary meeting and the convening of the Conference. Its nature can be determined on the basis of the experience gained in the course of preparatory work.

What can be considered the principal task of the Conference? It is to consolidate the present relative European security by the cooperation of interested countries, and to institutionalize it, giving it the appropriate organizational form.

We are continuing to take part in further preparatory work, and will take part in the deliberations of the Conference itself in cooperation with all the other interested countries, bearing in mind experiences so far, as we have done heretofore, perhaps showing even greater circumspection, as well as elasticity in the treatment of all proposals made, and keeping a firm eye on the main objective.

It is well known that there were proposals to place the mutual, balanced reduction of armaments in Europe on the agenda of the Conference. Some of the smaller NATO countries seemed to be keen on this point. We considered this inappropriate.

The socialist countries, that is member states of the Warsaw Treaty, have for years now, both by corporate resolution and separately, each one singly, taking the initiative, proposed various methods of general or partical arms limitation and disarmament. We do not consider a Conference of

Security and Cooperation to be the right place for the discussion of such a question. The fact is that the problem of the reduction of armed forces needs careful consideration indeed. There is relative security in Europe at the moment. This position of relative security might well be upset if any sort of conference were to touch on the European arms situation without a proper examination and a carefully prepared proposal. In accordance with our original principle and many earlier proposals we are ready to talk about a reduction of forces in Central Europe with the proviso that such talks and their results should strengthen and not weaken the security position in Europe.

The improvement in the international atmosphere in Europe is progressing parallel with the increased chances of a negotiated settlement of the war in South East Asia, of the aggression directed against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the intervention in South Vietnam.

The eventual result of the war in Vietnam is obvious to everyone. Present armed actions by the United States and the Saigon regime cannot alter an iota of this. Further thousands are being cruelly and inhumanely destroyed in bloody support of some sort of obscure diplomatic manoeuvre.

We have to feel confident that, just as it proved impossible to escalate the war infinitely, so the murder carried on parallel with the negotiations cannot last very much longer, and a cease-fire agreement based on certain principles that have now taken shape, will be concluded.

IV.

Hungarian-Soviet Relations and Present International Changes

From an article which appeared in Népszabadság, *the Budapest daily and central organ of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on Feb. 18th 1973 on the occasion of the 25th, anniversary of the signing of the Hungarian–Soviet Treaty of Friendship.*

Around the middle of February 1948, the carrying train the Hungarian governmental delegation travelled from Budapest to Moscow amidst the tragic ruins left by the Second World War. On the "Kiev" Station representatives of the government of the Soviet Union welcomed the delegates of a Hungary in process of reconstruction who had come to the capital of the

Soviet Union to conclude the negotiations and sign a Hungarian–Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. I shall always treasure the memory of having been one of the Hungarian delegates. February 18th, 1948 stood for the first major step Hungary took towards the possibility of participation in international affairs after the Second World War.

It was part of the background of this treaty that, at the time of its signing, the Cold War activities of the imperialist powers and international reaction were already under way in Western Europe and America, preparing the ground in a large part of European society for political, economic and military attacks against the countries that had embarked on the road of new social progress and advance, in Europe against the countries of Eastern Europe, in Asia against Korea, China, Vietnam and South-East Asia in general, and in every continent of the globe in the interests of the preservation of exploitation and colonial rule. Hungary's friendly agreement with the Soviet Union was born in the process of the historical changes that had been initiated to a large extent precisely by the consequences of the war.

Now, twenty-five years later, we remember the signing of the first Hungarian–Soviet Treaty of Friendship in the midst of new major changes in the international situation. These changes indicate the bankruptcy of the aggressive Cold War policy initiated twenty five years ago, to a certain extent even its liquidation. The Hungarian–Soviet Treaty of Friendship is an organic part of that complex system of factors, with the assistance of which we arrived at the present international situation, where successful attempts are being made to settle warlike situations by negotiation. The Hungarian–Soviet treaties have had a role in these favourable changes, the first one signed in Moscow twenty-five years ago, as well as the second which was signed on September 7th 1967 in Budapest. Major roles in these favourable changes are played by the socialist social system, the community of socialist countries, and socialist home and foreign policy. The political and economic system of the socialist countries, as well as their system of military defence and alliances, the Council of Mutual Economic Cooperation and the Warsaw Treaty all derive from this socialist and Marxist–Leninist policy. The same political basic principles, aims and objectives which led to the Hungarian–Soviet bilateral treaty and to multilateral agreements between the socialist countries, and to cooperation against imperialist aggression, now further their cooperation with countries liberated from the colonial yoke, and that with developed capitalist countries as well, based on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

In this sense there is a deep implied connection between the Hungarian–

Soviet Treaty of Friendship and preparatory consultations for a European Security Conference, the Vienna disarmament talks, the Soviet–American SALT negotiations and the Vietnam cease-fire.

The Soviet Union was guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence already between the two wars in its relations with the Hungary of the time. A large number of works of history and documentary novels, books, films and plays have lately appeared which endeavour to depict the human and national tragedy of Hungary at the time of the Second World War, of the effects of cooperation between the working class movement, the Communists and progressive forces, of the origins and consequences of leading hundreds of thousands in the country to destruction. These works competently express the genocidal crimes of the irresponsible and adventurous Hungarian leadership of the time. What are much less well known are the endeavours on the part of the Soviet Union to help Hungary to achieve a more favourable international position. These Soviet attempts were generally part of that Leninist policy which confronted the unavoidable approach of a World War with a desire to extend the "breathing space", and to create conditions more favourable for a victory of the Soviet Union and its likely allies against the imperialist aggressors.

In the present world situation the Soviet Union, and the Hungarian People's Republic as its ally, together with every democratic force throughout the world, consider the final elimination of the danger of thermonuclear war to be the principal aim and objective of activity on the international scene. Our treaty, concluded twenty-five years ago, and renewed in 1967 after the passing of twenty years helps us to participate effectively in the improvement of the international situation by a home and foreign policy which employs truly socialist methods.

V.

Hungary at the Paris International Vietnam Conference

From an address given at the February 26th 1973 meeting of the Conference.

The proposals which I intend to formulate in the name of my government are determined by the triple responsibility incumbent on us. First by our participation in the International Commission of Control and Supervision, secondly by our participation at this Conference, and thirdly by the general responsibility of all the governments of all the countries throughout the

world which must feel obliged to cooperate in diminishing the danger of a war which could well lead to thermonuclear destruction.

It is with this triple responsibility in mind that I wish to express our appreciation to the signatories of the Paris cease-fire agreement. In the course of tortuous negotiations for the benefit of South East Asia, and of all of us, they have surmounted enormous difficulties. Their agreement serves as the basis for our present meeting, it is this agreement that determines the character and objectives of our Conference. It is in this that the difference between the 1954 Geneva Conference and the present one becomes apparent. We have met in this place in order to lend our help to the signatories of the Paris agreement in the implementation of the measures which they agreed on. Our task can be clearly defined. This Conference has met, and the governments of the countries participating in this Conference have committed themselves to take note of the signed agreements and to guarantee the end of the war, and the maintenance of peace in Vietnam.

If we succeed in collaborating with the four signatories in order to guarantee the cease-fire and consolidate peace in Vietnam a new age may well come into being for mutual understanding and international collaboration. Just as the war in Vietnam led to the deterioration of the world situation from various points of view, the end of the Vietnam War, acting in the reverse direction, could well improve the situation in general, and gradually throughout the world.

The Hungarian delegation is taking part in the work of the International Commission of Control and Supervision, seeking to collaborate with the other members, in full sympathy and solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

It is in terms of such a feeling of solidarity that we study present problems the solution of which is indispensable for the restoration of peace in Vietnam and in South East Asia as such, including Laos and Cambodia.

There are political and military problems which must be dealt with on the basis of the measures decided on by the agreement of the four, here in Paris, on the 27th of January this year.

Deciding on what is to be done could well be facilitated if we bear in mind the experience of the events which followed on the 1954 Geneva Conference.

The present Paris agreement provides for direct negotiations between the two governments of South Vietnam. It is encouraging that the two ministers of foreign affairs will begin their consultation next week. Much of what went wrong and many of the prejudices caused by events after the Geneva 1954 meeting were due to the fact that the political personages

of the North and the South did not meet. Another kind of posterior evolution, one that is much more favourable, is expected by the whole world as a result of the agreement of the four.

This Paris agreement makes provision for the establishment of a National Committee of Peace and Reconciliation that is designed to organize national elections. Many of the tragic problems which we witnessed after the 1954 Geneva agreement were due to the fact that the elections provided for by the Geneva documents never took place.

There are other questions of course, some of them of a military nature, which await a concrete solution.

It is indispensable that the Four Power Mixed Military Commission established by the signatories of the Paris agreement should function in an atmosphere of mutual trust. It is therefore indispensable that favourable conditions for cooperation amongst the members in a climate of mutual confidence be created if the Control Commission is to do efficient work. It is also necessary that serious, sincere and regular contact be maintained between the members of the two commissions.

Certain actions might well help to reinforce this mutual confidence. The liberation of political prisoners in South Vietnam in the same manner as the freeing of prisoners of war by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam could well contribute to increasing a spirit of mutual confidence.

My government has every hope that the results of this Conference—the Document which we are in process of elaborating—will in a logical way ensure the continuity of the Paris agreement and contribute to the consolidation of peace in Vietnam and in South East Asia.

The new conditions created in Vietnam could well open the gates to material contributions to the reconstruction of peaceful life in the North as well as the South. The Hungarian nation felt solidarity with the people of Vietnam at the time of its terrible suffering. It will also, and in the same way, feel this solidarity during reconstruction, at the time of building a new life.

N H Q

by

C. P. SNOW

This morning, before I began to write the N.H.Q. a thank-you note, I opened the current Times Literary Supplement. In it there was a short, elegant poem in honour of Petőfi. Well, that might have happened anyhow, whether the N.H.Q. existed or not. But there isn't a shadow of doubt that the N.H.Q. has presented to educated English-speaking readers a view of Hungary in general and of Hungarian literature in particular much sharper and more interesting than we have been given of any other country. Which is simply to say that the N.H.Q. is the best journal of its kind and purpose in the world, so far as any of us know.

We should have heard of Petőfi in any case, as I began by suggesting. I very much doubt whether most of us, without the N.H.Q., would have had any idea of Ady's calibre. Among immediate contemporaries the same is true of Illyés. Also of Németh. And, a point to which I wish to return, we should find Lukács appreciably more incomprehensible than we now do. He was a great man, but that is saying something.

Often I have wondered what makes the N.H.Q. so good. Obviously no journal, whatever its excellence, can represent the whole complexity of a country's culture, certainly not a country as variegated as Hungary—and I would guess that the impression a foreigner gets from the N.H.Q. is sometimes different (or less densely associated) from that of anyone living in the society. This couldn't be otherwise. But noone could accuse Hungarians of being (a) specially easily satisfied with their own productions, (b) over-enthusiastic about giving each other the benefit of the doubt. Despite those incisive qualities, a foreigner finds a general Hungarian admission that the N.H.Q. is doing a good job. To any of us outside, that seems the understatement of the year. The question remains, what makes the journal so good?

It goes without saying that the English is impeccable. In the millions of words printed in the numbers up to now, I have noticed perhaps half a dozen passages which struck me as off-English—not exactly incorrect, but not quite in tune with present-day use. That is a remarkable record, for English, though as simple as Chinese in grammatical structure, is as difficult as any other language to get precisely right. A dear old professor of Spanish at Cambridge used to say: the little English words defeat all foreigners. just as the little English ships defeated the Armada.

We all read the N.H.Q. as though it were issued in London, not in Budapest, and forget that its contributors have another mother-tongue. Nevertheless, I don't believe that is the secret. For me, the core of the whole enterprise is an unremitting, obsessive, critical and reflective intelligence. That is a joy to meet. There is not only much wickedness in the world, but also much stupidity. Not in these pages (there is sometimes a little too much modishness for my taste, see later).

Their level of intelligence seems to reflect what to an outsider appears the very high level in Hungary itself. This is a mystery to most of us. Why a country of ten million people should throw up so many bright minds has us all perplexed. Tell us the recipe some time. Meanwhile, we read the N.H.Q. for the benefit of being in first-class intellectual company. There is nothing like enough of that in contemporary literary discussion.

A good example of the journal at its intellectual best was the recent Lukács number. Many English-speaking persons are prepared to take it, more or less on trust, that Lukács is the most powerful mind that has devoted part of its energies to literary criticism. He does, however, present formidable difficulties to us: and it is here that the N.H.Q. gave major help, not by clearing away the difficulties, because that is impossible, but by bringing us closer to the bones of his thought.

To English-speaking literary people, the difficulties in Lukács are at least two. The first, and most serious, is that his philosophical idiom is entirely alien to us. Most of us have had neither training nor interest in this kind of abstract thought. Those who have, right from the days of *Principia Mathematica* over sixty years ago, have seen no meaning in nineteenth-century Teutonic abstractions and have turned away in the direction which led to linguistic analysis (which is still the prevailing Anglo-Saxon fashion). None of these habits makes Lukács accessible. Second, and less significant, his theory of the novel, which is a marvellous piece of literary thinking, and one which many of us find sympathetic in principle, doesn't engage us totally because his points of reference aren't the ones we are most familiar with, or should choose. His insight into the realistic novel is splendid: but it would have been exemplified more completely through Russian, English, French novels than through Thomas Mann, who was an ambiguous subject, not at all well-adapted for Lukács's treatment.

The N.H.Q. number explained a great deal about these oddities and did more than anything available in English to reveal Lukács in his full stature—without pretending that he is as easy to read as Agatha Christie.

Another of its great contributions to the Western World is its elucidation of the contemporary social-economic scene in Hungary. By contem-

porary here I mean immediately contemporary, what is happening last month, last week. Most Westerners, certainly most Englishmen, always tend to lag some years behind the events. Information doesn't reach us easily, and if it were not for the N. H. Q. I for one would have very little idea of the new developments in economic policy, and the present direction of Hungarian socialism. There is, of course, no substitute for seeing such developments in concrete terms, as I was able to do in 1971: but I shouldn't have understood what I saw at a vinicultural collective unless I had been prepared by the Quarterly's economic articles.

Grumbles about the N.H.Q.? No, not a grumble, but very occasionally it tends, as I have already hinted, to fall into artistic modishness. Maybe I am over-suspicious of modishness, but I have an apprehensive feeling that international literary fashion has almost never done any good to literature, and in our time has done recognizable harm. The deep currents of literary sensibility should, of course, flow from country to country, as in the nineteenth century they flowed from Dickens to Dostoevsky, and back again to Proust. But that is a profound phenomenon, entirely different from the exchange of literary influence on the surface, almost as lightweight as gossip. This latter efflorescence seems to be particularly true of the theatre, and sometimes true of what you make of ours.

The theatre isn't, and never has been, as significant in English life as it is in Hungary. On the other hand, it is devoutly practised and followed by a theatrical community, directors (very influential here), actors, part-time writers, administrators, critics, who often, to other English intellectuals, listening to this community from the outside, seem to be speaking a language known only to themselves. It is something of a shock to find this language, and the entire stock-in-trade of the theatrical community's assumptions, transported lock, stock and barrel to Budapest as though the theatrical international transcended all barriers more totally than any other international. I have yet to see any good results from this extreme of modishness.

Now, not a grumble, but a request. A lot of us would like to know more about how Hungarian literature has developed. We have a vague idea that somehow the Hungarians in the eighteenth century clung on to, and presumably enriched, their language, at a time when other small nationalities, e.g. the Irish, were losing theirs. Is that true? If so, how did this process happen? What were the differences, if any, in Hungarian, between, say, 1700 and the time of Petőfi? The journal is continuing to give us a vivid sense of the contemporary Hungarian society and its culture. It suddenly occurs to us that we know disgracefully little about the history behind it.

Isn't this a gap which the N.H.Q. could rapidly fill?

REFORM IN SOCIALISM

by

PÉTER RÉNYI

Whether the task which I undertake with this discussion is easy or difficult will only become apparent at the end, since what is involved is the question of how one can explain to the interested western reader who is not familiar with the subject the position of the Hungarian economic reform, with special reference to the important resolution made at the November 1972 session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. More is involved, however, than just a resolution. I wish to speak of the process which is indicated by the reforms of Hungarian society.

There is a great variety of approaches employed by those in the West for viewing the reforms carried out in socialist society. One thing, however, is certain: it is impossible to evaluate the reactions on the basis of whether in general they approve of the principle of reform, because there are many ways of approving or rejecting it. What are we to do with the type of "approval" which sees in the reforms some sort of self-dismemberment of the socialist social order, of the socialist planned economy and of the leading role of the Party, and which "supports" the reforms just for that reason? This is the point of view held by those who think they have discovered in the socialism which constantly reforms itself a socialism moving nearer to capitalism, in other words a confession by socialism of its own failure. It is understandable that in Hungary this "support" is seen as nothing other than an attack, an intention to oppose socialism, to loosen its fabric and destroy it. It is almost the same circle which holds that last November signalled the "failure" of the reform policy in Hungary: that it became manifest that socialist society cannot overcome its rigid limitations.

A related point of view is that held by the advocates of the so-called convergency theories. According to these, the process of "convergence" is a dual one: capitalism is moving nearer to socialism and socialism to

capitalism. There are, of course, divergences within this mode of thought. On the one hand there are those bourgeois reformers, among them many social democrats, who in their own countries are fighting for certain reforms, but who believe in the old reformist illusion that reformed capitalism equals socialism. They wish to see a parallel process here: socialism moving towards some sort of reformed capitalism. *Ideologically* this differs in no way from the "pure" convergency theory which is put over—in ever greater volume—by the propaganda organs of the bourgeois states. The difference lies in the fact that the former make efforts in their own countries to bring about certain social changes, while the latter pretend that these changes have already come about or that they are unnecessary.

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The difference between those who urge the reform of capitalism and the representatives of a self-satisfied capitalism which regards itself as already reformed, is not at all unimportant. Attitudes in Hungary are far from neutral between these camps as regards the internal development of the countries in question, but from the point of view of the subject under discussion it is not so much these differences but the identical aspects which are decisive. That is so because even the active bourgeois reformers are prejudiced in their evaluation of the reforms carried out by socialism. At times they are more passionate than the others, especially when it becomes manifest that the reforms in socialism are not moving in the direction in which they thought. When this happens they feel that the socialist countries are "leaving them in the lurch", do not "connive" with them, that is, with their endeavours for convergence. Since that is so, this is a perfectly logical reaction and the only way of dealing with it would be to demolish the illusion of convergence. They must be made to accept that the internal reforms of capitalism, which are not born of the intention to bring about the revolutionary transformation of society, do not change the essence of the capitalist system, even if they serve the immediate interests of one or other group of workers. (That is why the bourgeoisie, even if only reluctantly, is nonetheless willing to accept reforms: it realises that this is the way of prolonging its social and political role.) The reforms of socialism, on the other hand, aim at the development, the faster progress, of socialist society—on its own foundations. This in no way adds up to convergence, since it does not change the political and economic natures of the two social orders.

True convergence—which affects the foundations of the system—can come about in only two ways: by modifications affecting the fundamentals

of the system, such as those suggested in the Western countries by the communist parties and, in reverse: those which the anticommunist forces would like to see in the socialist countries.

We know, of course, that the illusion of convergence is fed by genuinely existing similarities in today's industrially developed societies. These similarities, however, are in no instance the criteria for the social-political system. Convergence between the systems is, one might say, an inopportune idea. Today there is nothing else that we can understand by a timely, real and quickly realisable convergence but the desire of the West to introduce capitalism, drastically or by stealth, in our countries. Just as in reverse, in the West the impression is created that the socialist countries want to export revolution into the capitalist countries. It is these facts, and the normalisation of international relations, that make us react so sensitively against these theories. If one confuses the closer approach of the two systems to each other (in the sense of peaceful coexistence) with a moving closer to each other of the nature of the two systems (in the sense of convergence), then one mistakes fire for water.

It is a precondition for the correct interpretation of Hungarian politics to be clear about this. The western reaction to the latest session of the Central Committee has once again strengthened us in this belief; because he who believes that socialism in Hungary converges with the western systems, and that the economic reform is some sort of concession to capitalist economics, will also see the major events of Hungarian political life in this light. The question he will ask, therefore, is whether Hungary has progressed along the road of convergence or faltered or has been kept back by others. From this viewpoint the only matter for evaluation as regards the session of the Central Committee is whether the reform policy has "won" or has "lost". This is no mere speculation, but a fact proved by a great number of published commentaries. Let us not be mistaken: the commentaries were far from unanimous. Some tipped "win", others "lose". The fact that the resolution speaks of the reform as an evident fact that cannot even be questioned, apparently played no part in the evaluations of either side. The representatives of both views noticeably read between the lines.

Frankly speaking, I do not quite understand where the conclusions were derived from. The concrete material of the resolution strongly resists the illusory use of illusory scales. The decisions cannot be put together in a way as to indicate structural tendency. The raising of the price of milk, milk products and a few other consumer goods might suggest that the emphasis has been on the aim of the economic reform which wants to shift prices

nearer to actual costs. (Which, incidentally, was an important consideration only in the case of milk prices.) Bringing prices and costs of production nearer to each other is, however, closely linked with the principle that the ability of enterprises to increase the wages of their workers must be in line with the profits made by the goods they produce. The other measure of great significance contained in the resolution nonetheless contradicts this principle. This measure increases the wages of workers and foremen by 6–8 per cent in the whole of the state sector, in industry and in the building industry, out of central funds, and independently of the results of the enterprises, thus encroaching on the principle of local interest in profits. (Let us not be mistaken: this wage increase is not to counterbalance the 2–3 per cent annual price which is dealt with by the yearly 4–5 per cent wage development.) On the basis of the logic characterised above the central raising of wages would be called a type of *dirigeant* interventionism, which acts against one of our goals, that is, the realisation of economic laws. One could regard in the same light the decision which makes the position of a whole score of large industrial enterprises the subject of a special study and calls on the administrative organs to bring, where necessary, special measures, using central funds, to ensure the conditions needed for successful economic functioning.

One could demonstrate, by going through the resolution, such divergences almost point by point. The emphasis changes from question to question. Anyone giving the text some attention must realise that it is impossible to find one's way in this complex material on the basis of a "for reform" and "against reform" extrapolation. This is by no means mere chance, it follows from the essence of the question, namely that *reform is the natural form of existence of socialist construction.* I refer, of course, to that reform which does not eliminate but, on the contrary, strengthens the permanent foundations of socialism.

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The working class, having seized state power by revolution, takes the basic means of production into social ownership and achieves the socialist society by way of reforms. By reforms which, each and every one, are intended to help the achievement of those goals which the revolution has been aiming at. The socialist reorganisation of agriculture, socialist industrialisation, the cultural revolution, the modernisation of economic management and the development of socialist democracy, in other words the building of the socialist foundations and the construction of full socialism, are

a series of reforms. They differ in their natures and aims, but they are all wide-ranging social reforms.

This is not how bourgeois society developed: its economic and cultural foundations were laid in the age of feudalism and the bourgeois revolution merely crowned the process by seizing state power. Capitalism only begins to think of reforms when its internal contradictions, the resistance of the masses, compel it to do so. Its reforms are thus defensive steps inspired by the endeavour of the bourgeoisie to dull the edge of the class struggle by compromises. Socialist reform derives from the programme of socialism; each reform is a step in the fulfilment of the socialist revolution: the *building* of socialism consists not least of this, of reforms which open the way to new requirements, new possibilities and tasks. The leading role of the party also becomes manifest in how far it can foresee what has to be changed, how the processes working out in the depth of society can be guided, how the positive endeavours can be aided and the negative ones curtailed—always on the offensive, leading events, and not defensively following them. This contradictory nature of reforms is often not understood in the West.

Most western journalists of goodwill as well think that the reforms of socialism can somehow be identified with the corrections of the errors committed during the time of the personality cult. From this faulty premise follows the deduction that these are changes which the Party had to be pressed to make and that the Party—in order to safeguard its prestige—shows no willingness to admit the earlier mistakes. The next link in this logical chain is that the reforms are willed by the masses, and are not truly wanted by the Party, which carries them out only reluctantly and creates obstacles wherever it can. The reference to the long buried cult of personality is, of course, only a "diffident" form of the ideology which holds that socialism is a system in which there is a coercive, dictatorial minority and a suppressed majority which fights its "freedom fight" against the "new class" of Party functionaries and official bureaucrats. (It also follows from this that they are continuously searching in the reality of the socialist countries for sharp conflicts, desperate contradictions, and that they interpret marginal conflicts—such as a disturbance created by a small group, or a writer, artist or scientist turning against the political power—as central problems.) Yet the weight of truly important conflicts of social consequence is not smaller, but greater than the weight of those in the extreme opposition, who quickly become isolated. Only these conflicts are of a different nature: they do not affect the foundations of socialism, they are not between the regime and its political opposition,

but between the classes and strata which are integrated into our society, but differ from each other in many respects. The test of socialist democracy is how it can overcome these phenomena and the tensions they create, how it brings about an equilibrium, and how far it is able to carry forward *at the same time* the cause of socialist construction. It is primarily such problems that occupy today's advanced socialist societies.

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What is the model, so to speak, of these conflicts? Is it whether we should have reforms or not, in other words whether we should rigidify socialism at the level which it has just reached or even retreat to an earlier position? Certainly not. This is not wanted even by those who temporarily oppose certain reforms. One must visualise in the background of these conflicts the forces which might represent one or other point of view. It follows from the particularity of the interests and viewpoints of the different classes and areas that they urge the advancement of their own interests and expectations. If a specific reform advances their immediate interests, they will support it; if it affects them adversely, they naturally oppose it; if it does not affect them, their attitude will be neutral. The more comprehensive the programme in question, the greater the spread of the ayes and nays.

In this *everyday* sense, the reforms are—to some extent unavoidably—sources of conflicts. What should the Party, the socialist state, do to ensure that these conflicts should not become bitter? Naturally, there has to be selection among the demands, to screen out those which the socialist system cannot regard as legitimate, because, for instance, they are not backed by socially useful work. Even this is not always easy, but the more difficult aspect of the task is to find solutions which will meet with the understanding and approval of those strata of workers which are not *directly* interested in the specific planned measure in question. The more significant, the wider ranging the reform, the more complex and contradictory its effect on the structure of interests, the more views, prejudices and customs it has to overcome. The reform upsets the equilibrium that has developed.

A policy, however, which only focuses on the balancing of interests is unavoidably a policy of conservation. The source of reforms under socialist conditions is revolutionary ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Their realisation requires a truly revolutionary will. For years we fought for the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. At first this "disturbed" the accustomed way of life of the peasantry. The working class masses with a revolutionary

consciousness took an active part in the work of collectivisation, having recognised in it their class and social interests. Yet the development of socialist agriculture into largescale production units put great financial burdens on the workers' state: an increasing proportion of the workers became dissatisfied, as they had expected quicker and more direct benefits. The Party, the revolutionary forces, had to struggle in defence of their principles. It is inconceivable that all this could have taken place if the Party, the firmest followers of the regime, had not possessed an *ideological* commitment and revolutionary will.

This is what ought to be accepted at last by those who like to depict conditions in Hungary as if certain strata, such as the "intellectuals", the "managers", or the "technocrats", were fighting for the reforms—against the Party, which they regard as the embodiment of conservatism. Or those who imagine that the principle of reform, as a realistic principle, is contrary to the revolutionary principle represented by the Party (by which, of course, they mean the voluntarism of earlier days.)

There are also genuine misunderstandings in this sphere: those bourgeois reformers who fight for the reform of capitalism naturally feel that the "establishment", anywhere and everywhere, always opposes change, thus it has to be so in the socialist countries as well. But if they see their own reforming activity and ours as parallel processes, then it is only one step to the next mistaken judgment: namely that the reforms of capitalism and socialism are similar in their nature, in other words that the reforms of the socialist countries are also bourgeois reforms. It logically follows from this that the communist party, the revolutionary party, which is not reformist, opposes these.

It is precisely when reading the November resolution, which sets the course for Hungarian politics, that it is worth while to think about these differences. After all, it appears from the resolution in a more than formal sense that the Party regards the reforms as its own, that it stands up for them. What is more important is that this resolution allows one to perceive a great deal of the *struggle* which in Hungary is fought primarily by the Party, the state and the leadership—on the one hand against the particular interests and, on the other hand, leaning on the particular forces and thus smoothing the way—in practice and in the consciousness—for bringing together the general interest and particular interests. It is plain for everyone that this cannot be an idyllic process; certain collisions are unavoidable, what is more, not only those which arise from subjective errors.

It also has to be realised, of course, that the field of these collisions is not boundless, since—as was pointed out earlier—the reforms are not born of

the spontaneous movement of particular forces, but as part of the programme of conscious socialist construction. Naturally, social investigations, scientific research, polls, debates and a parliamentary process precede the introduction of any reform, yet the inspiration behind them is primarily revolutionary ideology. Ideological concepts are involved, which the party develops by the scientific-critical analysis of social movements, with the tools of scientific foresight. That is why they provide security against extreme, unexpected processes. The tensions which are created by the reform come about not in an instinctively developed sphere of motion, but can by and large be foreseen and measured and it is possible to prepare the ways of overcoming them.

This "artificial" character of the social processes, this "directedness" cannot be compared to anything that is called reform in capitalism. Is it conceivable under conditions of private ownership that, let us say, the regime decides to bring the standard of life of the peasantry nearer to that of the working class and in the interests of this goal it raises the standard of living of the workers more slowly for a while, accepting all the drawbacks that derive from this, and then—when the desired level has been reached—it once more accelerates progress on the side of the working class? This is what happened here following the resolution of the Central Committee, culminating in the 6–8 per cent rise in the wage level of workers and foremen.

What is the inner content of this system of priorities? In other words, what is it that enables the socialist system to plan in this way? The interaction of mere particular interests would never form such a conception; there the weight of the forces would decide the preferences: in a country as industrialised as Hungary, where the directing force is the Party of the working class in power, it would necessarily be the *immediate* interests of the workers that would dominate. Our programme can only be carried out with a working class which has a long term view of the building of socialism and —as a result of its political consciousness and ideological orientation—feels itself responsible for the development of society as a whole, and whose sense of justice accepts the argument that the peasantry must be raised out of its retarded position. This working class naturally also knows that in the final analysis the whole of society will benefit and within it primarily the working class which forms the bulk of it. But, of course, this also has its natural limits: it is obvious that the less conscious individuals, those further from socialism, are not pleased with this policy. It may be possible to fight the battle with them, at least as long as the bulk of the working class shows understanding, but patience and sacrifice cannot be endlessly expected from them either. The political leadership must sense very

accurately when it is necessary and possible to change the priorities. In the meantime those economic bases must be created—for example, in the will to produce by the co-operative peasantry—which are necessary for further progress.

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I know that it is not easy for our western critics, who are familiar only with the practice of fighting in defense of particular interests, to accept all this. For them the only natural method is the one which brings about the "equalization" of interests "from below", and not on the basis of central power, by what in their view is the necessarily subjective activity of a single ruling party, threatened by the dangers of bureaucracy and voluntarism. The "natural fight" of the trade unions, of industrial interests and peasant federations is free of such features—or so they say—and such errors cannot occur there. Well, even if we debate this point of view, and we believe that in the capitalist system the particular *power relations* ultimately decide the order of things, we nonetheless accept this reproach.

It is perfectly true that the socialist state, the communist party, does not entrust the realisation of the programme of socialism to such a "natural" struggle and even less "plays on" the raw confrontation of interests: on the contrary, its endeavours are concentrated on the avoidance of bitter confrontation. Naturally, the question may be posed: socialism on the one hand has created, and today energetically develops, the representation of particular interests, it provides a great deal of autonomy for these organisations and encourages their activity; but, on the other hand, it determines and carries through reforms which, in the final analysis, act as "condensers", they channel off the electricity that has been accumulated during the confrontation. So what is the purpose of all this? If the goals are in any case set from the beginning, then why play this complicated game?

At least two arguments must be mentioned in this respect. One is that socialism is the society of workers, where the collision of interests is not between the capitalists and the masses, therefore all collisions affect the working people. It would completely contradict every expectation regarding socialism if the Party and the state, the political leadership of the regime, were not endeavouring to iron out conflicts. The second argument is that no foresight can *precisely* determine the *optimal* manner of adjusting interests: real confrontation is the best basis for this. But perhaps the third argument is even more important. This holds that it is only possible to convince the masses of the rightness of the socialist goals if they are led

to realise their own interests: if they go the whole length of the road which leads from the particular, narrow view of interests to that other view in which the personal and group interests become almost one with the interests of the whole of society. That is nothing other than socialism.

A vanguard of high consciousness and ideological fervour was able to realise this in Hungary even under the conditions of capitalism. Hundreds of thousands were inspired by the marvellous rise of the country after the fascist destruction, by the movements of industrialisation and collectivisation. The majority, however, have only become committed to the socialist system as it has been proved to them that the social interest is indivisible of their own interest and vice versa. The series of conflicts characterised above is the process through which people recognise this more and more. In this dynamic the stresses and relaxations do not neutralise each other but create an ascending progress in which the individual and society attain an ever higher level of consciousness. In other words, the final result of the reform, which is accused of pragmatism, is to deepen socialist consciousness.

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The way in which social systems relate to each other depends also on how well they know each other, how long and how deeply they have studied each other: how far their political ideology has succeeded in grasping and analysing the other side's peculiarities, the laws of its conduct and development. There is no question that in this respect the socialist side is somewhat ahead, if for no other reason that because historically the younger system's ideological precursors began the analysis of capitalist economics and of the bourgeois political order a hundred and twenty-five years ago—I am, of course, referring to the Communist Manifesto, whose 125th anniversary was celebrated this year.

Beyond the time factor, a role is played by the fact that socialism—Marxist socialism—entered the stage of history not merely to represent the subjective interests of the working class or to proclaim those social ideals which the proletariat wishes to realise against the bourgeoisie, but as a political movement serving an objective historical process and which derives its justification from the fact that the capitalist development necessarily creates the preconditions for the socialist future. In other words, the fight for socialism had to be started with a scientific, analytic critique of capitalism.

It can hardly be explained by any laws, but it has certainly become a factor in history that it was someone of such a mind as Marx who undertook this task. His *Das Kapital*, however much the world has changed, has

remained to this day a fundamentally valid guide to the understanding of the capitalist system. Which theoretical work among the products of the opposing side could be compared to it as a critical guide to the interpretation of socialism? Obviously none. The bourgeois ideologists are creating hundreds of theories of socialism, one replacing the other, but not even those who are most prejudiced against us could select from these a theory which they could regard as a comprehensive theoretical foundation. The frequent turnover of conceptions is in this instance not a sign of intellectual ferment, but rather proof that in this case the theory is a factor of changing political requirements. Frankly stated: it is not a theory, because the criteria of a theory always include the requirement of perceptions which delineate the laws, valid for a *long time*, of processes moving from the past into the future.

It is true that there is such a wide area of contact with the West today that an increasingly large proportion of the people, at least at times, gains genuine partial information about Hungarian society and can thus critically evaluate these conceptions. Occasionally objective and accurate analyses are published, which give a comprehensive picture of ever larger areas. These, however, mostly deal with those questions where the Western *business* world has a strict and immediate interest in accurate information. (This is the reason for that peculiar feature of the bourgeois press in several Western countries that it is usually those newspapers which are nearest to the great financial circles, those that inform the capitalist class, that publish the most objective reports on the economic life—and at times even on the social questions—of the socialist countries.) This tendency is to be welcomed, however obvious its limitations: but it will hardly achieve a theoretical grasp of today's socialist system. The fact that our more important resolutions evoke so much misunderstanding and misrepresentation is in no small part due to the fact that theoretical thinking still moves largely along the old grooves. If this could be changed even to a very small extent, these few thoughts would not be in vain.

FROM CRAZY APE TO MAN KING

by

ALBERT SZENT-GYÖRGYI

"Nature answers intelligent questions intelligently," says Dr. Albert Szent-Györgyi. "Research starts with asking intelligent questions. Then we call on all our resources to find the answers, keeping our eyes open, observing the smallest discrepancies, following them through trial and error." This philosophy has led Dr. Szent-Györgyi through successes and failures to the isolation of ascorbic acid and the discovery of the fundamental catalytic function of dicarboxylic acids with four carbon atoms, which is the foundation of the 'Szent-Györgyi–Krebs cycle'. For these two discoveries he was awarded the Nobel prize in 1937.*

After these discoveries Dr. Szent-Györgyi shifted his attention to the study of muscles. He isolated, in collaboration with Dr. Ilona Banga, the contractile complex, built of a hitherto unknown protein, actin and myosin. The two together form a complex, actomyosin, which contracts under the influence of adenosine triphosphate outside as well as inside the body. Besides myosin, actin was an important component of actomyosin which was studied in detail by Dr. F. B. Straub. These reactions are still the foundation on which muscle physiology is built.

In recent years his thoughts have turned toward the phenomena of cell division. He was led into this field by the accidental observation of two substances in normal tissues, one inhibiting and the other promoting cell division. He thought that the behaviour of the cell might be dominated by the balance of these two substances and that an imbalance might be involved in the genesis of cancer. In his laboratory tests, retine injected into mice inhibited cancer growth and promine promoted tumor growth. He is working, with his collaborator Dr. László Együd, on the isolation of these two substances.

Living matter, Dr. Szent-Györgyi observes, tends to grow and multiply, so that in monocellular organisms the only limitation to growth is usually the amount of food available. In multicellular organisms, the tendency to divide has to be suppressed: a brake has to be applied in the interest of the whole organism. It is possible, he says, that retine is responsible for the braking action. At present he is isolating retine and promine in an attempt to learn their structures and to produce them synthetically. He hopes these substances will provide the means to control normal or pathological growth. Such control, he feels, is more likely to be achieved "by looking into nature's cooking pot than by just blindly trying substances on the chemist's shelf".

Born in 1893, the son of a Hungarian landowner, Dr. Szent-Györgyi received his M.D. degree in 1917 from the University of Budapest. He claims he was a bad student, interested in research only. Because he found physiology too complicated, he says, he turned to pharmacology, hoping that drugs, being simple substances, would make the problems simpler. They did not, and he became a bacteriologist. Finding even bacteria too complex, he turned to molecules, becoming a chemist. The next step, when he found that molecules were also too complex, was electrons. Recently he returned to the more complex

tissues, "hoping to understand, someday, the cellular level of organization." Despite his statement about seeking simpler fields, the complexity of research has never deterred Dr. Szent-Györgyi. He was still a young man when he studied biological oxidation, working with plants and observing the reaction of the enzyme peroxidase. This work culminated, years later, in the isolation of ascorbic acid.

During the First World War Dr. Szent-Györgyi served in the Hungarian army. Then he spent twelve years in Germany, the Netherlands, England and the United States. He received his Ph.D. at Cambridge in 1927. In 1932 he returned to Hungary, as professor of chemistry at Szeged. With Nazism on the rise in Hungary, Dr. Szent-Györgyi soon earned a place on Hitler's extermination list by speaking out against book burnings and the indignities which his Jewish friends suffered. Politics had entered the life of the university. When the German Nazis arrived, he worked actively in the anti-Hitler underground.

Today he is deeply concerned that all the accomplishments of science will be useless until the results are used to build up life and not to destroy it. "The road to peace," he insists, "does not lead over bombs and dead bodies."

If we want to stay alive and do not want to join the Dinosaur, we have to reshape all our institutions, political, social and ecological thinking. To understand we must look at our problems from a wide historical perspective.

Man being small and nature being big, man's life depends on his relation to nature, on the measure at which he understands nature and can use her forces to his advantage. From this point of view human history can be divided into three major periods. In the first man used his primitive daily experience to shape primitive tools or weapons. With Lewis Mumford we can call this period the age of "paleotechnics".

In the sixteenth century, during the renaissance, man found a new way to approach nature by measuring, calculating, asking questions from her, that is doing experiments. Galileo, one of the first to use this approach, was soon followed by a rapidly increasing number of others, now called *scientists*. This new approach led in the eighteenth century to the construction of more complicated instruments, machines which could ease man's toil. Machines led to the Industrial Revolution, which greatly improved the quality of man's life. We can call this period (again, with Lewis Mumford) the age of "neotechnics". The science of this period reached its peak with Newton, Darwin, Mendel and Pasteur. It brought no new factors into our world but clarified many of its internal relations. Apples fell also before Newton; what we did not know was that our globe circles around the sun for the same reason as apples fall. We knew before Darwin that there were many species; what we did not know was that these were all interrelated and developed from one another.

The third and last major period started twenty-five years ago. The earlier

periods needed centuries to take shape. This last one started on August 6th 1945 at 8 : 14 A.M. It started with a bang, the burning bang of the bomb at Hiroshima, the first atomic bomb used to destroy man's life and creation. In the matter of a few seconds it wiped out a big city, one that was built over many centuries, and wiped out about 100,000 human lives. This event announced to man that life would never be as it was before. This last period had its roots in discoveries made at the turn of the century, which showed that the ultimate units of our world were not rocks, caves, trees, bears and the like, as man has thought before, but quanta, atoms, atomic nuclei, radioactivity, electrons and electromagnetic radiation. These are the units out of which the cosmos is built. This new knowledge made the man the master of cosmic forces, and at the same time made our terrestrial rules obsolete. No longer was man able to live simply according to earthy rules that had developed through centuries of trial and error. He was now made conscious of, and required to live with the cosmic rules and forces.

It is interesting to reflect, for a moment, why this new period broke in on us so suddenly. Basic discoveries always have a certain latency period before they begin to transform our life. The discoveries made at the turn of the century needed about three decades to leave their mark on human life, but just when they matured to fruition mankind had an intellectual black-out, being involved in a gigantic struggle, the war against fascism. So we did not notice the change. All the same cosmotechnics already had a decisive role in this war with one of its instruments, the radar. Had the war lasted a year longer the cosmotechnics would have taken over altogether. The American bomb was a late-comer in the war and it was dropped when Japan already caved in...

The age of cosmotechnics dawned so suddenly that it tore mankind into two: into those born and brought up in the pre-cosmic period, and those born and raised after. It tore families in two, creating the "generation gap", parents belonging to the pre-cosmic, their children to the cosmic age. The political and social turmoils of our day are due to a great extent to the fact that nearly all our leaders come from the earlier pre-cosmic period. Their minds have frozen up with rules, and feelings of a past age. Their ways may have worked well in their own period but are disastrous in ours...

In *The Crazy Ape*, I quoted a few numbers from J. Platt to illustrate the change from "neotechnics" to "cosmotechnics", and I would like to reflect here for an instant on the meaning of these numbers; but before doing so I must explain two words often used in science: "qualitative" and "quantitative". When I say that two things are different quantitatively, then I mean that they are different in size only, while by qualitatively I mean that the

two things are different in kind. A rat and rabbit are different not only in size, but also in kind: they are different animals, different qualitatively. If I would make a rat as big as a rabbit, it would still be a rat. However, in extreme cases, quantitative differences become qualitative. If I were to make my rat a million times bigger, make it weigh 500 tons instead of 500 grams, then it would be a terrifying new monster, something entirely new, different qualitatively.

One of the most important factors in modern life is communications. The speed of communications has increased in today's world ten-millionfold. I can watch, sitting at home in slippers, not only how a man walks on the moon; I can even hear him talk. What does this mean? It means that the world of today is qualitatively different from the world of just a few years ago. The globe has, by virtue of communications, become fused into one single unit; the result is that we now live in a world in which a virus born in Hong-Kong can within days ravage New York, in which killing in Vietnam makes my street unsafe, and the bombing in Vietnam makes bombs go off at home. In earlier periods our planet was cut up into small, isolated, national units which could quarrel amongst themselves without any dire consequences for the rest of the world. This, of course, is no longer the case; in today's world any local quarrel can eventually lead to the extinction of us all.

The most modest number I noted in *The Crazy Ape* was the speed of travel, which increased only a hundredfold. What does this number mean? Distance, in itself, has no meaning for us; the question is how fast we can cover it. A mile for a snail is a longer distance than a trip to the moon for an astronaut. So if the speed of travel increased a hundredfold, this means that distance has shrunk to $^{1}/_{100}$ of what it was before. We did see this happen before our eyes. Lest dealing in such figures seem too abstract, here is an example that many of us have witnessed: the Atlantic, which thirty years ago protected America with its endless expanse, has today shrunk to a ditch across which we can travel in a few hours, and over which, in a matter of minutes, aimed missiles can soar. Similarly, our globe has shrunk to a little ball.

What makes this situation so dangerous is that while the world was contracting the destructive power of our weapons increased a millionfold, and we find ourselves standing on our shrunken little spaceship with weapons in our hands a millionfold more powerful than ever before, powerful enough to exterminate us all at a moment's notice. Here we stand, with these weapons in our hands and with our petty national hatreds, jealousies, distrusts and lust for domination in our hearts. If we want to stay alive

we have to throw away not only these weapons, but also our petty nationalism and all the things this represents, replacing them with a wider human solidarity, replacing force with decency and equity. Our leaders, inherited from the old world, from the old way of thinking and the old way of problem-solving, cannot see this. They still think they are twice as safe and strong with twice as many bombs, whereas the fact is that they are merely twice as close to the brink.

Science and society

Science is the dominating factor of our age. It is rapidly changing the face of human life. It has led us into the cosmotechnic age. It is the greatest contribution to and the leitmotif of the twentieth century. History will be made henceforth more in laboratories than in capitols. The fact that politicians can strangle science by with-holding funds only proves their ignorance, not their superiority.

The aim of science is to create new knowledge. New knowledge elevates life. Most often it leads to practical application; almost all the amenities and comforts of our daily life we owe to scientific discoveries. But even if knowledge finds no practical application, it elevates life. For most purposes it is quite irrevelant whether it is the earth which turns around the sun or the other way around. All the same, the acquisition of the knowledge that it is the earth which turns around the sun meant one of the greatest forward steps in human history.

What makes the importance of science sometimes hazy is the fact that science progresses by "basic discoveries", studies which throw light on the foundations of nature and which need varying lengths of time to bear practical fruit. It is also difficult, sometimes, to pinpoint the discovery which led to a practical development; it may have been the result of a long series of discoveries and improvements.

Science produces tools, and any tool can be used both for construction and destruction. The more powerful a tool, the greater the destruction it can cause. Cosmotechnics have created enormously powerful tools which enable man either to build a new world with undreamt of wealth and dignity or to altogether wipe himself off the surface of the earth. So long as we spend more and more on the conversion of the results of science into instruments of murder and destruction, considerably more, than on science itself, so long as mankind prefers to support this conversion rather than support science and knowledge itself, we must remain a death-oriented society,

one which will, eventually, get what it wants: death. The choice is ours.

Science has not only doubled the span of human life, it is the watchdog of human welfare. It has probably saved mankind from one of the gravest calamities that was waiting for it with the exhaustion of the fossil sources of energy—oil, gas and coal. A significant part of the energy generated today is already produced by atomic power, and if we learn to control fusion, unlimited amounts will be available.

FATHERLAND AND NATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE— AN IDEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

by

BÉLA KÖPECZI

"Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc.—real, active men, as they are conditioned by a definite development of their productive forces and of the intercourse corresponding to these, up to its furthest forms. Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life-process. If in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside-down as in a *camera obscura*, this phenomenon arises just as much from their historical life-process as the inversion of objects on the retina does from their physical life-process."[1]

This is how *The German Ideology* defined the relations between existence and consciousness.

The historic notion, which forms part of the social consciousness, is determined by historiography, by the teaching of history, by literature inspired by history, by scientific vulgarization, as well as by ancient views and sentiments which the family, the group and the class have transplanted into everyday consciousness.

In Hungary, in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the ruling class disseminated, through all the means at its disposal, a nationalist view of history, many elements of which survive in everyday consciousness, although several decades have now passed since the fall of the capitalist system.

Marxist historiography[2] achieved sound results before and, mainly, after the Liberation in the critique of nationalism and in the propagation of a new view of history. József Révai[3] and others conducted an efficient struggle

[1] Marx–Engels: *Die Deutsche Ideologie*, Berlin 1953 Dietz Verlag, p. 22. (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Selected Works in three volumes. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969. Volume 1, p. 25. See: Marx/Engels/Werke. Band 3. p. 26. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1958.)

[2] See Zs. P. Pach: *L'historiographie hongroise au cours du dernier quart de siècle*. Nouvelles Études Hongroises, 1972, pp. 110–130.

[3] See *"Études historiques" (Historic Studies)*, Budapest, 1955. Akadémiai Kiadó, p. 168.

against the nationalist policies and historiography of the Horthy regime. It was their great merit to introduce the concept of the class struggle into Hungarian historiography without separating it from the fight for independence.

This sound view was denied by a dogmatist and arbitrary policy which had a strong effect on Hungarian historiography. The latter policy simplified the contradictions of the Hungarian past, neglected to analyse the social conflicts in the wars of independence, and was not able to present the struggles of the Hungarian working class—and notably the Republic of Councils—in their true light. In its fight against these oversimplifications, revisionism proclaimed a false national unity of the past and of the present, and led to the resuscitation of reformist trends in the working-class movement.

After 1956, debates centred on topics such as nation, fatherland, patriotism, independence, progress and internationalism, contributed to a large extent to the condemnation of these deformations and helped to throw light on the fundamental problems of Hungarian history.[4]

These discussions have shown that it is wrong to generalize and to extend the idea of the bourgeois nation to the whole of the history of the Hungarians as well as the impossibility of simplifying relations between the struggles for independence and social progress, since—in the given case—independence and social progress may be in agreement but also in opposition to each other. They indicated the need of examining more carefully the relations that exist between the history of Hungarians and that of neighbouring nations.

As far as the working-class movement is concerned, they proved the importance of analysing relations between the class struggle and the national problem and of a detailed evaluation of the policies of the working-class parties.

That these discussions took place and that they achieved the results mentioned, is due first of all to the late Erik Molnár, to his impassioned desire to see clearly, to his tenacity in the search for the truth, and to his great and international experience.[5]

While recognizing the great value of what was done, it has to be admitted that, concerning certain points, the argument reached a state of polarization

4 See: Nouvelles études historiques *(New Historic Studies)*. Vol. 1–2. Budapest, 1965. Akadémiai Kiadó.

5 A number of Erik Molnár's works were published in languages other than Hungarian: *Les fondements économiques et sociaux de l'absolutisme*. Budapest, 1965. Akadémiai Kiadó. — *Das Problem des Zusammenhanges zwischen nationaler Unabhängigkeit und gesellschaftlichem Fortschritt*. Budapest, 1961. Akadémiai Kiadó. — "Le rôle historique de la République Hongroise des Conseils." *Acta Historica* (1959), T. VII, No. 1–2. — *La politique d'alliances du marxisme* (1848–1889). Budapest, 1967. Akadémiai Kiadó, p. 440.

which is not very convincing from the scholarly point of view. It was clearly recognized that the objective of these discussions was to analyse the consequences of the huge nationalist wave which rolled over the country in 1956, and the work of clarification was greeted with a certain satisfaction. Nevertheless, certain doubts arose in the case of Marxists and non-Marxists alike concerning the soundness of the foundation of certain theses concerning the problems of the coming into being of the nation and the role of nationalism. These differences of opinion received further emphasis in consequence of those that arose in the international working-class movement concerning the problems of the nation, of independence and of sovereignty.

A certain "plebeian" view of history, which derives from "populism", refuses to accept conclusions which reduce the importance of the wars of independence and of phenomena which are attached to the idea of an "eternal nation". On the other hand, the supporters of "desideologizing" forged their arguments from "hyper-critical" judgements passed on the Hungarian past to prop up a certain cosmopolitanism of poor quality.

The Marxists ask themselves questions like the following: what is the relation between the class struggle and national evolution? Did popular patriotism really exist? What was the importance of the struggles for independence from the point of view of social progress?

Let us examine some of the problems which have been raised and which, in my view, are of importance not only for Hungarian historiography and ways of thinking, but also for international discussions of ideological questions.

Popular Patriotism

Erik Molnár opened the debate on the question of the development of the nation in 1960 by asserting that Hungarian Marxist historiography had made concessions to bourgeois views by extending the notion of "fatherland" and "nation" to all social formations. On the other hand, this historiography had simplified the history of the wars of independence by confronting the manifold treasons committed by the nobility with the patriotism of the serfs. According to him, the notions of fatherland and of nation are products of capitalist evolution, and a particular "patriotism" of the serfs did not exist; if something like that occurred, this must be explained as the influence of the ideology of the ruling class.

Molnár was right as far as the formation of the nation was concerned; as regards fatherland and patriotism one may well question his argument.

Lenin's view that the ideology of the ruling class is the ruling ideology of the given period is known. This does not, however, mean in the least that other ideologies do not exist as well. The exploited class also develops its own ideology which reflects its situation and serves its interests, even if it contains elements of the ruling ideology. This argument is in agreement with Lenin's views on the two cultures.

The characteristics of popular patriotism are: attachment to the place where one lives, to where one was born and the defence of working and living conditions, efforts to improve these conditions within the given geographic, linguistic and cultural framework.[6]

Let me add that the ideology of the oppressed could be made conscious primarily by intellectuals of noble, bourgeois or peasant origin, first of all by priests and ministers of religion, by schoolmasters, by teachers and students who were more or less close to the exploited class. These intellectuals, while in most cases disseminating the ideology of the ruling class, were also able, in critical times, to express the demands and the needs of the oppressed. The Hungarian protestant ministers of the second half of the seventeenth century, for instance, or the students participating in Ferenc Rákóczi II's War of Independence (1703–1711) were not spokesmen for the nobility only, but also representatives of the popular movement of the *Kuruc* (a word derived from *Cruciatus*, "Crusader").[7] The Hungarian Jacobins[8] did not only represent Josephinism as the ideology of enlightened absolutism, but they also recognized the importance of the liberation of the serfs. Petőfi and the plebeian democrats of 1848 certainly supported Kossuth's programme of national independence, but they were also intransigent partisans of social reform in the interest of all nations that lived in Hungary.[9]

6 Zs. P. Pach drew attention to this point early on in the debate: "In any event, this notion of 'fatherland' always includes and implies the idea of the place of birth and of the native land, and therefore reflects a genuine relationship. I believe that I am not wrong in my conviction that this real element plays a great role in the beginning and later as well, and that its importance is much greater when it concerns 'fatherland' ideas of the oppressed, as against that of the lords. It reflects the conditions of work and of the real existence of the serfs—miserable as they may be—and the attachment of the serf and of the peasant to the land on which he works, to his small fortune, to his working tools." *Századok*, 1962. p. 396. (In Hungarian)

7 See Ágnes Várkonyi: *Hapsburg Absolutism and Serfdom* in Hungary at the Turn of the XVII and XVIII Centuries. Budapest, 1965. Akadémiai Kiadó. (In English) — Béla Köpeczi: *La France et la Hongrie au début du XVIII^e siècle*. Étude d'histoire des relations diplomatiques et d'histoire des idées. Budapest, 1971. Akadémiai Kiadó, 624 pp.

8 K. Benda: *Probleme des Josephinismus und des Jakobinertums in der Habsburgischen Monarchie*. Munich, 1966. Oldenbourg.

9 J. Révai: *Le contradizzioni interne della rivoluzione ungherese del 1848/49*. Rome, 1948. — P. Hanák: *The Nationalities of the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Revolution of 1848/49*. Budapest, 1953. Akadémiai Kiadó p. 80. (In Russian) — I. Z. Tóth: *Kossuth and the National Question in 1848–1849*. Budapest, 1954. Akadémiai Kiadó p. 122. (In Russian)

It is important to underline that there is a continuity in the ideology representing the interests of the oppressed. It is the national ideal of the ministers of religion, of the Jacobins, of the plebeian democrats of the Reform Period and of the War of Independence which led to the poet Ady and to the radicals of the beginning of the twentieth century, and also to the patriotism, at first democratic then socialist, of the working class.

When Lenin spoke of the national pride of the Great Russians, he drew the revolutionary line which in Russia led right up to the Bolsheviks, a chain of which Raditchev, the Dekabrists, the Rasnotchinetz revolutionaries of the 70s and the workers of the 1905 revolution were the links. The fact that, in Russia, the "social" tendencies were more homogeneous while in Hungary the national and social movements were intertwined, is explained by the developmental characteristics of the two countries. When considering this aspect one has to bear in mind a factor peculiar to those countries which achieved their unity and national independence only late in their history.

It is here that the question of national unity arises. In every class society there are oppressed and oppressors, exploiters and exploited, whose situation is basically characterized by class differences. But economic, political and cultural links are formed between these classes, and these characterize the entire community. This does not in the least mean that one may suppose a total identity of interests between the classes in all historic situations, but this identity may play a role in certain critical periods and may serve as a basis for temporary collaboration.

As far as the relationship between the Hungarian nobility and the Hungarian peasantry is concerned, it is obvious that it is characterized by the feudal form of the class struggle. Nevertheless, at times of war against foreign invaders it was not rare to find an, always contradictory, co-operation, which corresponded to the interests of the two classes at one point: the defence of the country against the foreign conqueror.

The question is not therefore to paint an idyllic picture of "the lord and the peasant in the unity of Hungarian life", but to represent, in conformity with historic truth, the relationship—and its ideological reflection—between the ruling class and the oppressed. This common struggle could obviously contribute to the acceptance by the serfs of certain elements of the ruling ideology, and popular literature bears this out, but this does not mean that popular patriotism was purely and simply an emanation of this ideology.

Classes and Nations

How should one judge the relationship which existed between the class struggle and the fight for independence in the feudal era and in the era of capitalism?

Concerning the struggles for independence in the feudal era, it is necessary to ask whether an independent feudal state, liberated both from the Turks and from the Hapsburgs, was a postulate of progress in Hungary. Generally speaking one can say yes. This is valid especially about the wars against the Hapsburgs in the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in which Hungarians and non-Hungarians alike participated, with the aim of re-establishing the fifteenth-century state of Matthias Corvinus. According to the political ideology of the times this state would have permitted an organic evolution without the intervention of the great powers. It is certain that in such a state the social and national conflicts would have appeared in a much clearer form and would have led to more rapid development from every possible point of view.[10]

The situation is more complex concerning the War of Independence of 1848–49 when—at a higher level of social and national development—the demands of the serfs and of the national minorities were only partially satisfied by the Hungarian ruling class, which on its part wanted to achieve national independence then demanded by historic evolution. This real contradiction does not mean that opposition to the Hapsburgs should be condemned, it proves only that the nationality policies of the Hungarian government were wrong and that the leaders of the national minorities were not aware that they had become the toys of the Viennese Court,[11] i.e. of reaction.

The national and social problem appeared in another light in 1919. The Hungarian Republic of Councils fought both for the cause of the nations and for the interests of the exploited classes. The intervention of the imperialists and reaction at home, but the bourgeois solution of the national question by the ruling classes of the non-Hungarian nationalities as well were responsible for its fall. Could it be said that the socialist revolution reached this part of Europe too soon?[12]

[10] See Béla Köpeczi, op. cit.

[11] E. Andics: *Das Bündnis Habsburg–Romanow*. Vorgeschichte der zaristischen Intervention in Ungarn im Jahre 1849. Budapest, 1963. Akadémiai Kiadó, 202 pp.

[12] Béla Kun declared at the June 1919 Congress of the Party: "Incidentally, as partisans of a federal republic, we are striving to bring about the system of federated council republics, by assuring them the highest degree of national and cultural autonomy, self-government and independence." *Selected Documents of the History of the Hungarian Working Movement*. Vol. 6/b, Budapest, 1955. Szikra, p. 18. (In Hungarian). See: Béla Kirschner: "Société et nation au temps de la République Hongroise des Conseils." *Nouvelles Études Hongroises*, Vol. 4–5. 1969–1970. pp. 69–96.

The question of the role of the Hungarian ruling class—especially until the revolution of 1848–49—also arises here. In the struggles for independence, certain sections of the nobility were able to exercise a positive function and also—due to the particularities of development in Hungary and in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe—to achieve, even if in a very contradictory way, part of the objectives of the bourgeois revolution. The history of the struggles for independence and of the entire Hungarian past will be much easier to understand if we rid ourselves of a primitive Manicheism which opposes the evil nobleman to the good people.

All this does not mean that we should forget the fundamental antagonism of class societies or that we should idealize the role of the nobility, but a just appreciation of its position may lead to a better understanding of the complex links between the social and the national struggle.

Progress, Society, Nation

It is also necessary to give a concrete meaning to progress, which is often treated too abstractly. Progress serves, in the last resort, the bringing about of a classless society and the liberation of man, and every period does no more than offer its own contribution to the achievement of this final goal.

As far as Hungarian history is concerned, the abstract notion of progress implies that Hapsburg centralism was more progressive than the Estates system clamoured for by the Hungarian nobility. But in what guise did this centralism appear in the Hapsburg Empire until the end of the seventeenth century? It was rather weak even in the hereditary provinces and in 150 years it did not succeed in gathering forces sufficient to drive the Turks out of Hungary. And what did it produce later? It led, especially in the eighteenth century, to a certain economic and cultural development, but it maintained the framework of the ancient feudal society, including serfdom, and forced a semi-colonial system on Hungary. In the national question it applied the slogan *divide et impera* which was to contribute to the birth of embittered nationalist movements in Eastern and Central Europe.[13]

The greatest confusion rules historic consciousness as regards the relationship between independence and progress following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise *(Ausgleich)* of 1867. Some historians consider that this union between the Austrian and the Hungarian ruling classes completely satisfied the national demands of the Hungarian nation and that it assured

[13] J. Bérenger: *Les fondements théoriques de l'absolutisme dans la Hongrie du XVIII[e] siècle.* Mélanges offerts à Aurélien Sauvageot. Paris, 1971. pp. 23–28.

economic and social progress to the monarchy. The fact that a part of the Hungarian ruling class (the Party of Independence) supported an anti-Hapsburg policy which was wrong does not mean that demanding independence for Hungary was anti-progressive.[14]

The achievement of true national independence was the objective of democrats and socialists in Hungary in 1918–19.

When, on May 1, 1919, People's Commissar Jenő Landler appealed for the defence of proletarian Hungary, he was justified in proclaiming: "Today Europe watches us; today the cause of the European workers is in the hands of the proletariat of Budapest."[15] The emphasis on the international aspect of the struggle did not mean that, in 1919, Hungarian proletarians "did not defend the fatherland", at a time that is, when the representatives of the Hungarian ruling class conducted negotiations with the Entente Powers and their stooges, the Royal Rumanian Army.[16]

In the years following the defeat of the revolution, Admiral Horthy, in spite of his nationalistic propaganda, could not hide the evidence that he had linked the fate of the country to the policies of the fascist governments of Italy and Germany.[17]

In this period the only fighters for independence were the workers and the anti-fascist intellectuals who rose against the chauvinistic policies of the Hungarian ruling class and demanded social reforms, including the land reform.[18]

After 1945 those were right who—opposing the political forces which relied on the Western Powers—defended, with the support of the Soviet Union, the independence of the country and thus made socialist changes possible. Numerous examples proved that, in every country where the armed forces of the Western powers were present, the bourgeoisie prevented the satisfaction of even the most justified social demands.

There are some in the socialist countries as well who oppose proletarian

14 See The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. Material (reports and discussion) of the International Conference held in Bratislava, August 28–September 1, 1967. Bratislava, 1971. Slovak Academy of Sciences (Communications and interventions in French, Italian, Russian, etc.), particularly papers by P. Hanák and E. Kovács.

15 Jenő Landler: *Selected Speeches and Writings*. Budapest, 1960. p. 307. (In Hungarian)

16 See the documents published in "La Politique extérieure de la République Hongroise des Conseils." by Zs. L. Nagy, on the intention of People's Commissar Béla Kun to negotiate with the Four on territorial questions, extracts from the deliberations of the Council of the Four, etc. *Nouvelles Études Hongroises*, Vol. 4–5, 1969–1970. pp. 97–114.

17 See M. Ádám, Gy. Juhász, L. Kerekes: *Allianz Hitler–Horthy–Mussolini*. Dokumente zur ungarischen Aussenpolitik (1933–1944). Budapest, 1966. Akadémiai Kiadó, 409 pp. — *The Confidential Papers of Admiral Horthy*. (Prepared for publication and introduced by M. Szinai and L. Szűcs). Budapest, 1965. Corvina Press. XXII., 439 pp.

18 See Iván Boldizsár: *"L'autre Hongrie"*. Histoire du mouvement de résistance hongroise. Budapest, 1946. Új Magyarország, 76 pp.

or socialist internationalism to national sovereignty, and independence to autonomy, and this attitude holds out the promise of some success to them since, in the past, the relations between socialist countries did not always develop on an equal footing. However, what was true in the past applies today as well: the question of national independence is inseparable from the cause of social progress. In the second half of the twentieth century only the direct co-operation between socialist countries and progressive forces can assure the independence of various countries.

The Nations in Central and Eastern Europe

A just appreciation of the relationship between Hungarians and other nations is, as far as nation, independence and progress are concerned, an essential problem of historiography and of historic consciousness. These relations take on particular importance in the case of the neighbouring nations, the history of which was deformed by the nationalist notions of past Hungarian historiography. In the course of these past twenty-five years efforts have been made to rid Hungarian historiography and public thinking of their nationalist character.

However, the elimination of this way of looking at things does not depend on Hungarians alone, since Hungarian nationalism is also fed by the nationalism of others. There are two themes in the writings of some historians of neighbouring countries which are wrong in my opinion: on the one hand that the Hungarians prevented the establishment of national states at the proper time, on the other that they exploited other nations. Marxist historiography cannot defend policies of exploitation and—starting with the end of the eighteenth century—the oppressive nationalist policies of the Hungarian ruling classes. One must recognize the right of other nations to independence and to autonomous statehood. But it would be unjust and contrary to the spirit of history to try to inspire a sort of "consciousness of collective guilt", seeing that in this multinational country it was the dominance of the Hungarian exploiting class and not that of Hungarians as such, that prevailed, a supremacy shared, incidentally, by the Austrian ruling class. Further, as far as the class struggle is concerned, it is not possible to argue that the Hungarian ruling class in any way differentiated between Hungarian and other serfs or workers.

It is true that in the past, that is from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when a bourgeois national consciousness was being formed, conflicts arose between Hungarians and the national minorities and that one

of the causes of these conflicts was the nationalist and chauvinist attitude of the Hungarian ruling class. This, however, does not entitle anyone to disregard the class nature of the policies of all ruling classes in this part of Europe.

If one examines political developments that took place after the First World War, one has to bear in mind that nationalism manifested itself in Hungary as well as in the other countries of South-Eastern Europe, and that none deserves to be called more "progressive" than the others.[19] Marxist historiography has to fight firmly all manifestations of the nationalism of the Horthy regime, but it also has to adopt a firm position towards the nationalist tendencies which were then present in the other countries. This is indispensable if one desires to progress in scholarship and in the shaping of public opinion.

Co-operation between the historians of the socialist countries—which has already achieved appreciable results—will make possible the elaboration of a detailed history of the relations between the nations of the Danube basin, this being a necessary condition for the transformation of the national images which live in the everyday consciousness.

The modern—that is Marxist—view of history can reinforce the consciousness of a socialist patriotism which is, in the principles, internationalist, but which relies on the traditions and on the specific qualities of each nation.

19 See some Hungarian works concerning the history of the neighbouring nations: I. Z. Tóth: *Hungarians and Rumanians*. Budapest, 1966.; D. Csatári: *Hungarian–Rumanian Relations*. Budapest, 1958.; E. Arató: *Fifty Years of Hungarian–Czechoslovak Relations*. Budapest, 1969. (In Hungarian)

THE FIVE YEARS OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM—THE MAIN FOREIGN EXCHANGE INTERCONNECTIONS

by

JÁNOS FEKETE

When the comprehensive reform of economic management was introduced in Hungary on January 1, 1968, it was based on the one hand on the *general* laws of building socialism, valid for all countries, and, on the other hand, on the *concrete* experiences of economic development in Hungary. In the course of the working out and implementation of the reform these two elements have been fully integrated.

Almost five years have passed since the reform came into operation. This is, naturally, a rather short period for changing the economic structure to any larger extent. It is also quite natural, however, that on the basis of the experiences gathered in the past five years we should draw our conclusions on a fairly comprehensive scale. Analysing all the experiences of the reform up to now would mean a lengthy study, given the complexity of the subject. Because of the limitations on space I can only aim at the introduction of the main tendencies. In analysing the experiences of the last five years from the point of view of economic development, it was naturally impossible to distinguish, as in a laboratory experiment, between the impacts of propensities, remnants inherited from the system of direct management, and of circumstances created by the new system. This makes it more difficult to give a precise picture of the real achievements of the reform.

Main features of transition

It was in the middle of the Third Five Year Plan (1966–70) that the regulators of the new management system were introduced. The years 1966 and 1967 were the last in which the system of directive planning operated, while the years from 1968–70 were the first under the new system.

Based on a lecture delivered at Uppsala University, October 27, 1972.

The change in the methods of economic management, however, despite certain anxieties that were felt at the time, not only have not hindered Hungary's economic progress but, on the contrary, the reform has strengthened the development according to plan, and with the successful conclusion of the Third Five Year Plan it created better than expected conditions for further economic growth. The Hungarian economy not only fulfilled but in all important sectors overfulfilled the Third Five Year Plan (1966–70) and thus this has so far been the most successful Hungarian five-year plan. The plan called for a 19–21 per cent growth in the national income as compared with the preceding five-year period. However, the actual growth achieved was 31 per cent. Per capita real income of the population grew by 34 per cent instead of 14–16 per cent as had originally been forecast. Employment increased, while the stability of prices was maintained. The external equilibrium of the national economy improved considerably. The main proportions of Hungary's external trade have not changed in the five years since the introduction of the reform and have shown the same tendencies as the foreign trade of the other socialist countries. The share of certain socialist countries (e.g. China) in Hungarian foreign trade decreased, while the share of the Soviet Union in 1966–70 was approximately 35 per cent.

Rate of economic growth

The average annual rate of growth of the national income increased during the years 1968–72 by 6–6.5 per cent, as against an average growth of 5.3 per cent during 1961–67. In the past three years economic growth has entirely been the result of increased productivity. Thus, for example, the production index per employed person in industry increased by a yearly average of approximately 5.5 per cent in 1968–72.

The acceleration in economic growth has placed the economic stability of the country on wider foundations. In this respect certain factors deserve special attention in evaluating this process.

(a) The faster rate of growth has been accompanied by the gradual modernization of the *economic structure*, especially in three spheres:

— Within *industry* increasingly the modern sectors, those which are also more appropriate to the country's resources (e.g. chemical industry, the production of transport vehicles, telecommunications and precision instruments), have become the main bearers of dynamism; their weight has grown within the total of industrial production while, for example, the produc-

tion of coal mining or textile production, which lacks a suitable raw material base within the country, has stagnated and their shares decreased. Besides this main trend of industrial restructuring—and also in accordance with market demands—there has been a further tendency to increase the production of co-operative industry which is able to adjust more quickly to the changes in demand. This, incidentally, coincides with government policy which gives great importance, besides the structure-forming large investments, to promoting the flexible and competitive small and middle-size firms, primarily for the better satisfaction of consumer demand.

— From the point of view of the stability of economic development one must emphasise as a further factor those changes which came about in Hungarian *agriculture*. In the last few years the advantages of socialist large-scale farming* have come to fruition. The significant improvement in the technical level of production, the increasing deployment of artificial fertilizers and insecticides, larger irrigation areas, etc. showed their favourable effects in the record harvest yields of 1971 and 1972 and the application of modern agrotechnics and technology decreased the overwhelming significance of weather conditions. The agricultural policy of the government has made an effective and quick contribution in recent years to the solution of certain specific problems. A good example of this is the quick success of the measures brought in to stimulate pig breeding, which made it possible to stabilize the stock of pigs at a high level sooner than was expected, leading to significant exports instead of the imports which were forecast in the original plans. There are also encouraging signs as regards the measures brought in in the fields of sugar-beet growing and cattle breeding.

— Another feature of the economic progress of the past few years has been the improvement in *services*, the further development of the shopping network, transport and telecommunications. The dynamic growth of tourism, which accelerated during the years of the reform, also deserves attention. The foreign earnings from this source, exceeding 130 million dollars this year, are not negligible from the point of view of the balance of payments either. The number of foreigners visiting Hungary increased by approximately 50 per cent in the past five years to over 6 million and by now the number of Hungarian tourists going abroad exceeds the yearly 1.3 million.

(b) The faster rate of growth also mirrors the fact that the *conditions for independent enterprise management have improved*. One of the principles and goals of the reform has been to ensure in a wide sphere the freedom of decision making for productive enterprises: as regards purchasing the raw materials,

* In Hungary 96 per cent of arable land belongs to the agricultural co-operatives and to the state farms which specialize in various branches of production.

semi-finished products, parts and machinery from the domestic market or through imports and, in the latter case, from which country. On the basis of this consideration the overwhelming portion of imports have been free from administrative conditions from the beginning. This policy has proved successful. The previous system of detailed allocations and quotas (primarily affecting raw materials and parts) created a "psychosis of shortages" which in general motivated firms to hoard excessive "safety" reserve stocks. In distinction the freer import economy and the fact that the firms have been made interested in rational management by domestic credit policy and other economic regulators resulted in the gradual reduction in the number of quotas as well as the diminishing of the field of direct state control.

Internal equilibrium of the national economy

The field in which the first five years of the reform period showed no uniformity is the equilibrium between the production and the expenditure of the national income and, consequently, in the residual balance of foreign trade. Let us look at the first of these more closely. By examining the years 1968–72 from this viewpoint we find the following:

(a) The national income, as indicated above, has grown dynamically, although this growth was not steady and its rate fluctuated. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the preconditions for equilibrium existed on the side of *production*.

(b) The same could not be said about the *expenditure* of the national income. In 1968–69 the total domestic expenditure was in equilibrium with production. In 1970, however, and especially in 1971, it considerably exceeded it: whereas production grew by 14 per cent, domestic expenditure rose by 24 per cent. The balance characterizing the early years of the reform was, however, re-established in 1972.

(c) An analysis of the excess allocations in 1970–71 shows that

— personal consumption grew at a rate somewhat higher than the production of the national income;

— half the annual growth in the national income in 1970–71 was, however, spent on increasing accumulation, though the customary proportions between consumption and accumulation have always been about 77 : 23–78 : 22 per cent. Within this accumulation stocks also increased but the main problem was caused by fixed capital investment. In two years investment increased by 27 per cent. As the investment activities exceeded the resources of the Hungarian economy, the completion of projects was

inevitably delayed, therefore the stock of incomplete investments—which also tied down imports—increased considerably. These tendencies increased public expenditure, leading to a budgetary deficit. The deficit, however, did not exceed 1–2 per cent of revenue.

(d) When the government analysed the economic situation in connection with the plan for 1972, the re-establishment of the equilibrium of the investment market was singled out as the most important task. In order to keep investment activity within its proper limits, investment credit policy has been tightened, an obligatory reserve of 20 per cent was introduced for newly started investments and certain investment projects have been postponed. Thus, in accordance with the principles of the reform, not even on this occasion were administrative measures employed, investment in progress cancelled, but indirect methods were used to create investment conditions that correspond to the real possibilities. Progress in the right direction is shown by the fact that the expected investment volume for the whole of 1972 is more or less similar to that of last year. Thus the strains of the investment market which emerged in 1970–71 have been greatly eased in 1972.

Balance of trade—balance of payments

One of the main aims of the reform was to bring about such changes in the development of the Hungarian economy which, in the long run, would create the conditions for maintaining a long-term equilibrium in our international payments. This cannot, of course, mean the preservation of a zero-balance position for each year. One year may yield a deficit while another shows a surplus. The point is that these should be balanced over a longer, say, five-year, period. A small country with a medium-level economy, like Hungary, cannot afford to tolerate a permanent deficit in its balance of payments. This would mean that domestic financial resources would prove to be permanently short and necessitate short-term borrowing from abroad. It is evident that any such possibilities would be exhausted sooner or later.

With the majority of countries the balance of foreign trade plays a decisive role in shaping the balance of international payments. It is characteristic of Hungary as well that traditions and geographic potentialities caused the country to increase foreign trade in the first place, but other external activities have already become useful complements to foreign trade and there is great scope for their extension. Therefore, under the new system

of economic management, the task of securing the stability of the balance of payments has been approached in two ways: on the one hand, comprehensive measures have been taken to increase the so-called non-commercial foreign exchange earnings from services (tourism, transport, etc.); by medium and long-term borrowing from abroad to speed up the development of those industries which produce for export and, on the other hand, a new system of foreign trade regulators was introduced which leads to an improvement in the balance of trade.

As a result of the intensified engagement in the international division of labour under the new system of regulators, those in charge of the Hungarian economy life expected the reform to:

— promote the continuous supply of materials and up-to-date equipment for industry and agriculture;

— effectively contribute to the smooth supply of goods to the population, at stable prices;

— promote the necessary competition in the domestic market;

— gradually improve our balance of trade by increasing profitable exports;

— secure long-term equilibrium in the balance of payments.

Most of these aims have been fulfilled. As mentioned above, the development of production has not been hindered by difficulties in the supply of materials. The dynamic growth in the import of machinery indicates the stricter governing role that technological needs play in this sphere. The steady supply of consumer goods has been secured, side by side with a considerably improved choice of products and under an annual 1–2 per cent increase of prices, despite the fact that demand has grown rapidly as a result of rising real incomes and the mounting number of foreign tourists. Full employment has been maintained and, indeed, a shortage of labour has presented some problems.

As regards the balance of foreign trade, good results have been achieved in the first two years of the reform period and in 1972. In 1968–69 and in 1972, when the production of the national income and global expenditures were more or less balanced, there were no significant problems as regards the balance of foreign trade either. Between these two periods, however, in 1970–71 the over-allocation of domestic resources was reflected in a temporary deterioration in the balance of foreign trade, as the excessive burdens of investment had to be covered in part by increased imports and in part by diverting goods meant for export to the home market in order to curb inflationary tendencies.

Nevertheless, the first five years of the reform have shown many remarkable achievements also from the point of view of external equilibrium:

— exports increased at an average annual rate of 13 per cent, imports at 11 per cent and the deficit on the external trade balance (freight payments included) was only 2–2.5 per cent of exports as a yearly average between 1968 and 1972. This latter rate was slightly under the yearly average for 1961–67, but from the point of view of the current account balance it meant an even lesser burden, since the years of the reform have been characterized by a significant increase of net foreign exchange earnings from invisibles, which therefore contributed to covering the deficit in the balance of trade to a greater extent than hitherto;

— this trend has been one of the factors responsible for the surplus in the basic balance for 1968–72. In this period, as a consequence, short-term foreign credits played no part in Hungary's international settlements. A significant contributing factor in this respect has been that—in line with the economic strength of the country— Hungary has not only been granting medium and long-term credits to other countries but has expanded the raising of such credits in a planned manner. These foreign credits and loans—raised from time to time partly for financing the import of machinery and partly for investment projects aiming at the development of exports—are regarded as a natural concomitant of economic development. The extension of these connections has been firmly founded by the favourable results of the reform up to now and by the stable solvency of the country.

Conclusions and prospects

The experiences of the reform up to the present time have proved that the indirect methods of economic management which were introduced five years ago have proved suitable for fulfilling our economic policy goals more rapidly. The most important of these aims is the dynamic and balanced development of the socialist planned economy. It is far from me to suggest that results are absolutely perfect or that Hungarian methods are the only correct ones. This could hardly be justified if only because though there are many positive achievements, there are still several larger or smaller problems which will have to be solved in the course of the continuous realization and further development of the reform in the next few years. In my view, one of the basic virtues of the Hungarian system of economic management is precisely that it discloses very rapidly the temporary disorders in economic development, making it possible to get quickly to

the roots of the problem. This is well shown by the speedy turnabout in the sphere of foreign trade in 1972, whereby a deficit, quite large for a country in Hungary's position, was eliminated within a single year, without resorting to administrative measures, merely by taking advantage of the possibilities offered by the existing regulators.

Nonetheless, the work of many years will be needed to realize—as we are determined to do—the full conception of the reform in every respect, in the spirit of the goals of the comprehensive programme of integration that has been accepted by the CMEA countries.

In speaking about the further development of the Hungarian system of economic management and of the aims of the complex programme of the CMEA countries the developments in the world economy as an integral whole and, within it, the main trends in East-West relations are also taken into consideration. Hungary, due to the ever increasing economic importance of foreign trade, has a well-known objective interest in the widening and harmonious development of international relations and wishes to play a part, consistent with her economic strength and potentialities, in the main lines of development of the world economy. In other words, Hungarian policy is in favour of the development of East-West relations, of discrimination-free foreign trade and of joining in the international division of labour on as wide a scale as possible. For that reason every effort and initiative that takes greater cognizance of realities than in the past is welcome.

We live in an age when the explosive development of science and technology leads to the constant diversification of demand and the constant leaps in technology result in an almost immeasurable growth in output.

The Western world, being aware of this process, and also taking into consideration the relaxation in the political atmosphere, must clearly see that to restrict the development of economic and trade relations to capitalist countries only is not the most profitable way of expanding markets. The present progress of technology is already revealing the limitations of Western integration and of the markets of the capitalist world, and if expansion is attempted only within this sphere, sooner or later this can only be done at the expense of competitors. This would lead to a deepening of economic contradictions and conflicts of interest and might well become a barrier to further progress. Economic policy aiming at full employment and balanced economic development can only be successful if—with full regard to the role of foreign trade, whose importance is growing in general—there are stable and constantly expanding markets. At the moment the socialist countries provide a market for goods amounting to approximately eleven

billion dollars each year. Considering only the dynamics of recent years (which is not the best basis) by the end of the seventies the socialist countries could provide a market for goods totalling approximately 25–30 billion dollars annually. And in that case there is not even a qualitative leap. The broadening of foreign trade relations between the United States and the socialist countries alone could produce highly dynamic changes in the course of this decade. And market potentials of such volume have a great significance from the point of view of the *economic development of the Western countries.*

In my opinion, as the sixties were characterized by the quantitative growth in East-West relations and the gradual diminution of discriminative barriers, the seventies will bring about a qualitative change in East-West relations, by which I mean not merely a growth in volume but also the development of various new ways of co-operation and the fastest progress ever in the field of the international division of labour on a world scale. Thus the quantitative progress of the sixties will turn into qualitative changes in the seventies.

The political conditions for this development—as a result of the well-known positive tendencies that have gathered strength in recent months—can more and more be regarded as given. These may even make it possible in the near future to realize economic realities which—in accordance with the mutual interests of partners in the East and West—have ripened over a long period. These are not less than a spectacular growth in the foreign trade between East and West, with a simultaneous expansion of forms of co-operation, the growing importance of financial relations and, in time, the placing of East-West monetary co-operation on a broader, institutionalized foundation.

MOTHER IS DRESSING

Short story

by

ERZSÉBET GALGÓCZI

The sparking clatter of the mail train, the cooing of the turtle doves in front of the window, the swinging street lights on the wall, joy coursing like blood in the head, under the ribs, around the belly—the old woman awakes to find herself still alive. She has twice already been brought back to life by the doctor's injections in bright daylight: clean night shirt, identity card, soap, cutlery, glasses, ambulance, hospital—oh my God, never again! On leaving hospital she had been told to move about a great deal, even if she had to force herself, because bed is death itself for someone of seventy-seven if she spends more time in it than on her feet.

She has been lying in bed since seven last evening—and not the other way round—yet it is she who is crumpled and not the bed. Her hands feel like sticks, in her waist the vertebrae are rusty and the blood falters along the channels of her varicose veins. The bed is pulling her back, it would have her float till the end of time. It is as if she were dragging a full sack of wheat, this half turn towards the reading lamp. By the light of the opalescent bulb the corner of the room comes to life: a tile stove, a wardrobe half covering a door leading to the adjoining room, a scarlet rug by the bed with a foot-stool and shoes on it. On the bedside table under the small circle of light a book with glasses in it and next to it a lute-legged mahogany pendulum clock that has to be wound every eight days, without its glass; it does not matter where the hands point, for her it is good enough to set it by the mail train which passes at three every morning. Her engineer daughter had bought it for their golden wedding—it is the clock that reminds her of her husband every morning. She is no longer irritated as she was while he was alive nor misses, as she did for one or two years after his death, the snoring, coughing, hurrumphing and catarrhal throat clearing from the other bed, to be followed immediately by the scraping of the match being struck and

the stench of his first cigar. Her husband had been older by seven years. She does not want to count the years but her grandchild, born on the very day of his death, skipping about from morning till night, is a constant reminder: she has so far outlived the deceased by six years.

She balances herself with her hands into a sitting position, drags out her swollen feet from under the eiderdown, lets them dangle and tries to draw the footstool nearer but only her big toe can reach it. She rakes her false teeth from under the pillow, removes the circular comb from her sparse knot and smoothes the scanty, knotted strands of hair. (After her second stroke she had called her daughter-in-law: "My teeth. . . ? The children. . . ? My money. . . ?") She had a bath yesterday evening and in the clean night shirt and with her skin refreshed she feels almost well now, if only she were not so heavy, like so much mud.

She was the youngest of three hundred pilgrims when she went on a pilgrimage to Maria Zell at the age of seventeen. They marched barefoot under the gold embroidered, deep fringed, shining banners and the crucifix; hymns welled up all along the long procession, undulating over the June meadows; the chant snaked to a different rhythm from that directed by the choir master, even the words were changed; it was neither the text nor the tune that evoked devotion, but the joy of forgetting oneself, singing as part of the multitude of people. On the carts which brought up the rear there were bundles containing provisions as well as the crippled, the epileptic, the aged and the footsore. She could still see the seven-spooled well; they camped there one afternoon, drank its water and washed their feet. When the gaping villagers spoke only German it was clear that they had left Hungary behind; it still belonged to the Monarchy then. An Austrian innkeeper and his plump, sad-eyed wife wanted to adopt the late August born girl, this chit of a young thing, a barefoot little cricket, whom they had only seen for an evening. They were charmed by her nimbleness as she came and went taking dinner to the weary-footed elderly. She often wondered when she was burdened with cares and one worry barked awake seven others at night, what would her life have been had she stayed with the innkeeper's family. If the mother of God embracing her child in the church rearing on the top of the terrifyingly high mountain, only the knee-bending gratitude, wonder, high clergy robed in rustling splendour, the dazzling vision of the church interior floating in incense and hallelujahs, like an enormous Christmas tree covered in a million candles warmed the memory and turned into an unsupressable wish to reach the true source, Jerusalem! The Holy Land!

The old woman has one room and a kitchen, the rest of the house being

occupied by her son and his family. It had been built with three rooms in the thirties—the largest in the street—her daughter-in-law, however, finding it small and impractically divided, had changed it beyond recognition as soon as she had felt sufficiently at home; had the old man come back to life he would not have been able to find his way home from the cemetery. For her a bathroom was also necessary and a pump costing twenty-five thousand forints because the village had no drainage. Now her daughter-in-law has taps in her kitchen, by the well and in the one-time stable where the coal and oil are stored and the ducks fattened—only her kitchen has no tap. "You can get your water from me, Mother," her daughter-in-law had said, after all both kitchens opened onto the same verandah. But what for? The tap in the yard or in winter the one in the stable are good enough for her. In any case she is alone all day and even though her daughter-in-law has pointed out many times where she keeps the keys she would never be able to bring herself to open a locked door. Why was the tap left out of her kitchen only? Of course, as soon as she dies they will be able to add this minute space to their room. It was only to her eldest daughter that she complained about this, who came to see her every week, laden with a bag packed with wine, pastry, smoked sausages and coconut chocolate; in one way or another her daughter-in-law had got wind of this but was quite brazenly lying to her face: "But Mother, it was you who would not let us install the tap there."

She sinks down on the footstool and with a lengthy effort manages to pull up the chosen fleecy lined pants over her varicose-swollen feet and well-fed hips which have preserved their man-teasing curve. Warming her back against the tiles she can forget herself on the footstool: it was only after her husband's death that she had the courage to speak aloud of the dream that she had nursed for fifty-three years, since Maria Zell: the Holy Land! Since they had joined the co-operative and her dominion had shrunk to the flower garden in front of the window she has taken up reading; her daughter-in-law, knowing of her longing for the world of the ancient Jews and early Christians, has kept supplying her with the Bible, the *Jewish War*, *Ben Hur*, *Quo Vadis?*, *Joseph and His Brethren*, half a dozen lives of Jesus by different authors, the *Catacombs of Rome*—so many emotional attacks brought to the surface an obsession which has turned into a goal.

And what happened? Her daughters, sons-in-law, sons, grown-up grandchildren and daughters-in-law betrayed no shock, they neither rebuked her, nor waved deprecatingly: Jerusalem? It is on the very doorstep and Ibusz would take care of everything. Mrs. Garam went by herself to Japan last

year to see her son; she flew via Moscow and Vladivostok, and for a change decided to come back by a route she had not travelled yet, namely India and Turkey; although she spoke only Hungarian and that with a pronounced Tósziget–Csilizköz accent, nothing had happened to her, except when she lost her way in Budapest trying to get from Ferihegy Airport to the Eastern Railway Station. Her engineer daughter would have gone with her, the twenty thousand forints in her mother's savings account would have covered the expenses. Yet she hesitated: her husband needed a gravestone. A new cemetery had been opened recently and although the first row had not yet been completed in the direction where the wood lies her eldest daughter and son, as heirs to the family prestige, succeeded in having a second started for their father's body. Her husband now lay at the head of the second row, directly in front of the mortuary, almost in a place of honour, where not just any monument would do. This was what she wanted to devote her twenty thousand to. And yet there were, just an arm's length away, the Mount Olive, Lake Genezareth, the Temple in Jerusalem where the twelve-year-old child had spoken to the learned, the tomb of the Virgin Mary... After many months' hesitation she still could not make up her mind until history did it for her: the Arab–Israeli war broke out.

The reading lamp lights up more of the room—has the darkness outside softened? Above the beds are two Munkácsy reproductions: *Christ before Pilate* and *Christ on Mount Olive*. She had bought them during the war for half a pig from a refugee lady from Transylvania; her son, a major, the very next day had been drowned in the industrial canal. Before moving in, her daughter-in-law had the two empty rooms whitewashed, without a frieze, so that she could decorate them with her own things when she moved in. Those two works of art were put back on the snow-white wall as a wedding present—she too had received from her mother-in-law a Virgin Mary, and a Head of Christ (the sunlight is eating away their colours in the loft); before the new bride had even changed her dress or the lorry completely unloaded, she had taken down those pictures and carried them into her room: "Don't be offended, Mother, but I would go mad if my child had to stare from his cot at a man being whipped and crucified. He'll have enough time for suffering, for other people's too, when he grows up."

And she hung the walls with fancy homespun, rugs, glazed plates, church etchings, gay calendars and Egyptian queens dangling on chains. She placed brick-red statuettes among the books. The shelves laden with pots of cacti and vases might crash down on the children's heads at any time. The old woman had thought that her daughter-in-law would forbid her to make the children kiss the blue-mantled Virgin Mary statue, and tell them the story

of Holy Christmas. The children's capacity for stories was like the appetite of a huge, bellied man who could consume one hundred and twenty plum dumplings at a sitting. The young woman complemented the stories their father remembered from his childhood with a collection from Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, Banat, Baranya County and Csallóköz from books. Their grandmother told them about the life, death and resurrection of Christ. "Go ahead, Mother," her daughter-in-law had said encouragingly. "I shan't be the one to deprive my children of the timeless values of culture. When magnificent creations such as Bach's *Passions*, Dante's *Commedia*, Leonardo's *Last Supper*, the churches of Lőcse and Bártfa or the *Confessions of Saint Augustine* call out to them, I don't want them to stare back blankly but to become their echoes, and meditate on them." "They banished the Munkácsys. They never go to church. Who can understand these young people?"

Groaning, the old woman struggles from the footstool and again rummages in the wardrobe. She puts on two warm petticoats and a shaggy white waistcoat over the yellow flannel night shirt. She ties the strings tightly round her waist. Then she totters to the window; the window of the house opposite is lit up, so it is already past four o'clock; Miska Süveges leaves by the five o'clock train for the wagon factory. Her gaze strays to the ground. From the spring to the early frost she has been digging, setting out, hoeing, weeding and watering; and since they do not keep animals any longer, when the herd passed by and no one was looking, she had often sneaked into the road to scoop up the cow dung and throw it over the fence—to pamper her little garden with stolen manure. She planted the pine fifteen years ago; there are evergreens for the edges and each season is hailed by a different kind of flower, from the March violet to the chrysanthemum. No garden is more ornate in the whole village except Bözsi Sós's plantation of roses, carnations and gladioli, but those go by the bundle to the market on the back seat of the Skoda.

Several coffins were removed from the old to the new cemetery together with their gravestones but none could be better than that of her husband: it was red marble, the finest work of the Pilis stone-mason, a cross resting on a squat foundation stone. On the smooth plate, under her husband's name, it is engraved: "and his wife Gizella Ráckevi 1895–".

There has been a singing in her ears for ten years, a kind of buzzing. Sometimes she cannot make out even what people shout straight at her. At Hallowmass, while she was arranging the wreaths on the grave, her engineer daughter had whispered to the elder one: "What a barbaric custom:

she's fit, has never been ill, knows influenza only by name and has her name with her date of birth engraved on her tombstone as if only the final numbers were needed for sealing her fate." "What do you mean, barbaric?" exclaimed her fifty-year-old daughter, herself a grandmother. "You and I and she will die like the sun sets. Look about: old women prepare for death just like they did for childbirth in their youth. Have you ever seen a young expectant mother who was not getting ready with swaddling clothes, nappies, little gowns and bonnets? Look around this graveyard: if the wife dies first, the husband's name is never carved on the cross. Only old women are pregnant with death, men never."

She squats once more on the footstool. The warm voice of a man penetrates the door hidden by the wardrobe. Although the words are not intelligible she knows that it is the radio. She hurries to extract her green and brown checked flannel dress from the pile on the sofa; by the time the ringing tread of studden boot heels reach her door and the sharp rapping her ears she is already smoothing the stiff, thick material around her waist.

"Good morning, mother dear!" and even the air resounds. "There was a frost last night."

At one time she also used to wake up the family with a weather report: "Every two froze into one during the night." In his right hand a small bottle holding about a third of a pint, in the other a glass hardly bigger than a thimble; he pours it full of spirits and offers it to his mother.

"Good morning," returns the old woman. She does not reach for the glass but arranges the dress over her hips and thighs. Her son places the bottle on the carpet and squats at her feet, with one hand pulling down the hitched-up skirt at the back. "It's November. Why shouldn't the nights be frosty?"

She wets her lips with the spirits and hands it back immediately. "Thank you." In hospital they had also ordered: no wine, no spirits.

Her son searches her face: no, it does not seem to be ready for the grave yet.

He drinks up what his mother left.

"Mother dear, would you feed my ducks? They have not digested yet." His voice is like a flute.

How did her son know? He had not even had time to step out of the house. Shining boots, grey breeches, light polo-neck sweater, that is not how one dresses if one intends to go near ducks splashing about in the dirty stable.

"Of course I'll feed them." Her face is serious and serene. And immediately she is looking for her shawl. Her son turns lightly. "Goodbye, mother dear!"—and she is pleased to be working. Her daughter-in-law also lets her get on with jobs that are not helter-skelter, but require skill and a great deal of trouble and can be done sitting down. She cracks the nuts for *rétes*, those paper-thin layers of pastry filled with fruit and baked; spends a week stoning the sour cherries for preserves, stirs the sugar and raspberries for two hours, plucks the slaughtered ducks, puts blue patches on the knees of children's red track suits and red ones on the blue, bones the chops with matchless skill, sorts the potatoes for sowing, prepares the maize for the squawking mob of chickens, throws the wormy plums and overripe apricots into the starting tub, picks peas for soup, banishes mud from ten pairs of shoes; sometimes does things on her own and with exasperating, disastrous results. Her daughter-in-law had scattered grass seed over the yard, to her it appeared to have become overgrown with weeds, and remembering the Hungarian curse: may God give you a weedy yard and a bad neighbour—she got a hoe and flung herself into the work. Her daughter-in-law recoiled at the sight: her crippled mother-in-law sweating profusely added nothing to her good humour. "But Mother, grass is no longer a sign of poverty. We are not poor, only no longer have animals to trample the grass." The old woman thought it over, went out to buy seed and after the first shower sowed it surreptitiously. The others thought the grass had escaped for want of physical strength and had simply recovered by itself.

With an apron over her warm clothes and a thick scarf on her head, she again goes to the window. She opens it to see if she needs any more clothes for the feeding. The turtle dove is cooing on top of the pine while its mate paces and searches among the dying flowers. "You little fool! You don't think worms are still there? The earth is frozen now." The bird listens attentively to his mighty patroness who to him is as much part of the yard as the well is. The patroness also knows that they are unmistakably hers no matter how many other birds raid the yard. Just as she could pick out her own broom, preserving pan, clothes line, handled basket or flower pot from among a hundred others; she is in touch with all organic and inorganic beings and things in the house, drawers, barn, yard, in the small and large garden. Her dauther-in-law even accused her: "Mother can tell her own rain-water from others."

One Sunday, as she was sitting here on the footstool, lacking courage to switch on the light so early, she could hear her engineer daughter's faltering voice from behind the half-hidden door: "I've been home for a week now and see that mother takes three whole hours to get dressed every morning.

I wonder if there has ever been a time in my life, whether at seventeen, thirty of forty when I would have put up with this three-hour torture every day, this self-resurrection each morning, and merely for the sake of keeping alive. Never! We are but shoddy copies of Mother, she is the original."

"Life is never merely," the old woman mutters; she puts on her greasy but back and waist-protecting fur-lined jacket, goes out, looks about her on the stairs and becomes at one with herself again. A tall acacia tree, higher than the draw-well, the chimney or the television aerial had been the focal point of her dominion, defining the space. Its vast crown gave ample shade to the yard the size of a football pitch. For fifty-eight years she had been able to forecast the weather from the trembling of its branches. The shock reverberates through her like a siren: the great acacia is gone! (Even fifty-eight years ago when she herself had come to live here, with her mother-in-law, it had been the great acacia and not just any tree in the back-yard.) Now she begins to remember: her son felled the half-dead tree last Sunday and the electric saw had been sawing it for two days and its logs took up half the barn. In three of its hollows they found birds' eggs, desiccated nuts, a small pair of rusty scissors, a copper curtain ring, and in the fork of the thigh-thick branches over the barn there was a pigeon's nest as big as a plate.

See, the homeless pair of birds now live there, and one can see they would spend the winter in the pine in the small garden, but what would they make their nest of?

Since the threshing of the corn has been done by combines the birds have not been able to find a single intact blade of straw either on the threshing floor or the road or even among the sweepings in the ditch. That is why they are complaining all the time. It looks though as if there were a few scraps of straw under the disused, decaying cart (which not even the co-operative would take over) in one corner of the barn. Her son does not overlook any rubbish, but luckily the handle of the besom does not reach there. Wearily she gets down on her knees, grovels under the cart, presses in further and further, and with her fingers rakes together a handful of long, shiny, crisp straw. She sneaks out into the flower garden, places the straw carefully under the whispering pine, moves back and lingers till one of the birds swoops down to pick up a straw.

Translated by Peter Szente

THE PRESENCE OF PETŐFI

by

GYULA ILLYÉS

There are times in the history of a given people when their genius bears miraculous fruit. Such, in Greece, were the fourteen years of Pericles, and in France twenty years of the reign of Louis XIV. Such also were the years which we call the Forties in Hungary. After centuries of silent preparation, the Hungarian nation creates a rich harvest of masterworks—the great deed, the historical event—pouring forth countless numbers of poets, writers, statesmen and heroes, any one of whom, in other times, might have served the needs of an entire generation. Astounded, Europe lifts up her head: she has forgotten the Hungarians and now, once more, the homeland is being conquered by a new generation of heroes and demigods. But just as she is recovering from her astonishment, and would look more closely at these giant figures sprung from the ground, the visions cease; a drum roll sounds; a pall drops and the years of greatness close with a huge cry of pain.

The man who prepared the way for this era, was Széchenyi; its helmsman was Kossuth; its soul, the beat of its heart, is Petőfi. Of the three, his is the most living presence.

*

Petőfi is kin to us all.

There is no native Hungarian in whose heart he has not established himself. Almost as if our relationship were one of blood.

The young think of him as a brighter, more courageous older brother who has gone on ahead, and whom they will one day be proud to resemble. To older generations he is like a kid brother, a dearly beloved son, a grandson for whom they can never mourn deeply enough.

Why does he exert this spell?

Text of an address delivered by the poet at the Budapest Petőfi-celebrations, December 1972.

Because he opened our single worlds, the door to consciousness, as a poet, but also stepped through that door to make known to us a man of extraordinary character.

This is no everyday phenomenon. There is no end of studies which discuss the greatness of Petőfi's verse. To the same extent one might also analyse the greatness of the man himself.

The combination of the two, again, is no common occurence.

A writer becomes great from the moment he assumes a permanent place in the national awareness; from the time he affects even those who are ignorant of his name, or who know little else, and his works become like tangible parts of a nation's wealth, like a bridge or a public building. With a difference, however. The city hall in Pest was torn down long ago: it has disappeared from the streets, and it will vanish from men's minds. But "At the End of September" cannot be destroyed or carted away like bricks from a nation's consciousness. There are works of the spirit which form an integral part of a country, and whose function is like that of a waterfall which drives a generator. A great novel both attracts and provides as much pleasure as a great height giving out over a splendid view.

It is in this sense that the works of Sándor Petőfi are a part of the life of the Hungarian nation. But we treasure not only his works; he left us something else as well. His life, too, has become a thing to be prized. Its turns, one might say, are themselves works of art. There too he made his impression, as he intended. According to his own words he cared little for posterity's judgement of him as a poet, but not a day passed that he did not jeopardize all he possessed in order that posterity might remember him as an honest man, faithful to his ideals.

This is what we are doing now, at the 150th anniversary of his birth. It is a double wreath which we Hungarians, as well as the rest of the world, place on his brow: one for his extraordinary spirit, the other for his extraordinary character.

Petőfi belongs to two kinds of reader. One is the man who reads poetry ignorant of the fact that he is reading verse; the other the man who, so to speak, has read all the poetry in the world. In other words, those who enjoy his works as they do a folk song, the author's name hardly entering their minds; and those who, astounded, discover in the folksong-like artlessness of his work the stamp of a mind of Shakespearean dimensions.

How his genius came into the world one cannot explain; nor is it necessary to consider here the way in which his genius worked. Let me begin with a seemingly modest observation. Petőfi has always had disgruntled readers, and no doubt he has them still. In the past there have been those

who resisted the gentle flow of the lyrics, and others who insulated themselves against the too violent rush of the political poetry. But to one thing even the disgruntled grant their assent: the descriptive verses are each and every one a masterful achievement, not only by Hungarian, but by world standards as well. It is agreed that in this genre, even at the beginning of his career, Petőfi created such works as raise him to the rank of one of those giants of poetry who can be counted on one's fingers.

He is, indeed, one of those giants. The assertion was made decades ago, that in his landscape and descriptive poetry Petőfi showed himself a predecessor of European realism on the level of Gogol, and even Flaubert. His method of animating a scene is the most fastidious, and at the same time the most successful. He looks down from a great height, so high that one seems to see both the Danube and the Tisza, but with an eagle's eye, surveying the whole but taking in minute details with the fidelity of a microscope. The well with its long sweep; the roadside inn, its windows papered over with pages from an almanac; the hired hand on the threshold of the stable, cutting his tobacco: all these are observed from a great distance, yet they appear only a hand's breadth away.

He compares with the great writers of his time also in this, that he does not stop with mere description, but goes on to become a pioner on the road toward contemporary realism. Looking back, he judges things as they are; looking ahead, he draws the implied conclusion. His sharp eye glances into the future and brings within reach what must be done. Surpassing many Western writers, Petőfi believed in action, which to him made perfect sense. As if obsessed, he demanded that men interfere, that they alter the course of fate.

And thus, in the revolution's darkest hour, he became the poet of hope.

The lamp which Petőfi took from his predecessors as his poetic inheritance was not without soot. Nor did it burn steadily. Often the flame would flutter and die; often it was blown out, so that one wondered how it would ever rise again. Hungarian poetry—that poetry, one might say, which best expresses national sentiments—has always predicted ill-fortune. It did so even in the flowering of the Reform Period (the eighteen thirties and forties), and with reason: from the very beginning Hungarian poetry has struggled with the question of ethnic survival. From generation to generation the anxiety grows, culminating in the nineteenth century trinity of Berzsenyi, Kölcsey and Vörösmarty. All three spoke in the same anxious voice, and although they wrote independently of one another, each answers and strengthens the other two.

In this respect Petőfi stands out, a complete contrast. From his very first

utterance he preached confidence, an end to despair, faith that destiny would take turn for the better, or at least the possibility of such a turn. Nonetheless, he too saw the future clearly, in all its wretched desolation. No Hungarian poet—not Berzsenyi, not Kölcsey, all the way to Endre Ady—has ever pounded the nation so hard as he:

> God, send to this helot people
> Thine Earth's most beastly tyrant

But although this voice rose to his lips again and again, he bit it off, choked it back. The reason was certainly not some kind of schoolmasterish discretion. Petőfi was a son of the people. In contrast to his predecessors, who addressed themselves to the nobility and the nobility's concerns, he spoke, as he himself said, not to the ruling class but to "the people who wear the *guba* and the *szűr*" (the heavy coats characteristic of shepherds, herdsmen and the like). And to them, he felt, he could only speak words of encouragement and hope.

That he did so is not explained only by the fact that most of his sensitive years were spent among these simple people. Rather, it is because he remained always with and among them, even when in his rise to prominence he stood out from their midst.

There is no more depressing spectacle for the observer of history than that process, repeated incessantly over the centuries, which one might call the spiritual rape of the socially oppressed. It is tragic, the number of talented men who are choked off in society's depths. From humanity's point of view, it is equally as tragic that those talented men who do manage, somehow, to climb from the depths abandon the lower world and straight away deny it, without so much as a backward glance or the least sign of recognition that their fate was once shared with others. One must cross centuries and many miles to find an exception. Even then, what one finds is almost always the dilemma of dividedness, a fatal tragedy.

Petőfi is just that kind of brilliant exception. He emerged from the people and, a shining example even now, he returned to them.

The reason lies in his education. He wandered from school to school, never finishing his studies; yet, in this avid dashing about from one end of the country to the other, he mastered the essentials—certainly from books, but also from direct experience. The essence of his being self-taught was that even when young, he learned to view his homeland with European eyes. He may, it is true, bump along in a wagon beside the common folk, but internally no judge speaks from a higher tribunal. As in his descriptive

verse he looks down from the heights, so with the same sharp eye he surveys all the phenomena of contemporary society.

Petőfi believed in the future of the Hungarian people because he believed in the future of his ideals. And these ideals promised equal freedom both to the downtrodden of society and to oppressed nations.

And this is the origin of his revolutionary stand.

He was the first in the Hungarian language to cry "world freedom"—he the most national of poets: but there is no contradiction in this. Although the two are apparently opposed, in fact they organically complete one another.

Petőfi believed in the cause of the Hungarian people for this reason: he trusted implicitly in a better future for humanity.

This is why, even today, he is still the poet of hope.

That is why we cannot celebrate him with mere words.

First of all we must examine ourselves.

"Where is the eye to look straight into his? / Who dares to see, who dares to conjure up / his true face?" Thus wrote the poet Mihály Babits, fifty years ago, on the one-hundredth anniversary of Petőfi's birth.

We too must look straight into his eyes.

A celebration sheds light not only on the celebrated, but also on those who celebrate. Every era puts its powers to the test in the way it makes use of the works of a great artist.

During the course of the celebration which has just begun, our own era will also undergo this test.

And how shall we stand up?

First, by clearing the dust from Petőfi's works, the dust which our carelessness has allowed to accumulate. Because of it, although we know him to be great, we sometimes do not feel quite strongly enough how great a poet he is.

There are countless books and articles which analyze Petőfi's poetry, and not only in Hungarian. By the turn of the century alone, there were translations in more than thirty languages of the poem which begins:

The bush quivers because
A bird on it did land.
My spirit quivers because
You came into my mind.*

* Translated by G. F. Cushing. From the English edition of *Petőfi*, by Gyula Illyés, to be published shortly by Corvina Press.

The studies which dissect only these four lines, in order to demonstrate the enormous power behind their airly lightness, would fill a book.

A good number of these analytical studies, on the other hand say nothing to us. They were the products of various eras, and our own times demand a different approch.

It was the poet Kosztolányi who exalted to the skies and discussed, in his own enthusiastic way, the poetic image packed into the following two lines:

In the dry forests of my dreams,
Leaves which once whispered, rustle.

It is true: these two lines would be at home in any symbolist poem.

In the same way, however, the surrealist would discover countless gems. Or the expressionist. Or that artistic school which is as yet unnamed: A swan rises in the sky above me / He it is who sings this song— / Oh slowly fly and never cease / My dying swan, sweet memory. (Prose translation)

A masterpiece is immortal because there is something concealed within which provides nourishment for succeeding generations. The nourishment is inexhaustible: provided one learns to appreciate the taste.

I have the feeling that in our times we do not sufficiently enjoy the flavour of Petőfi. And the poet himself, it seems, has something to do with this.

For Petőfi is not, contrary to popular opinion, an easy poet. He is difficult, and the reason he is difficult, the reason he demands more than the usual attention, is precisely this: he *looks* easy. A Petőfi poem, like a folk song, leads the unsuspecting, and especially the immodest, reader astray. One thinks there is nothing to it but what one gets at first reading or hearing; what shows on the surface. A Petőfi poem has many layers, like those wooden dolls which when opened reveal another doll inside, and so on. It conceals its great artistry in exactly the same way as those causally drawn sketches drawn which, although they say something by means of what they portray, also bear witness in their supreme simplicity and very casualness to the perfect master. *The Shepherd Travelling on his Mule* and *I Turned into the Kitchen* are two of the world's most unassuming poems. But try to imitate them, and you will soon come to realize the skill of the hand which, with one turn, conjured them into existence.

It is the same with *The Four-Ox Cart, John the Hero, Homer and Ossian*— their simplicity is of precisely this same sort.

In the same way, his deeds, the actions of his public and private life, are

also simple: their meaning lies far, far deeper than what would appear. Here, too, there is that certain sweep of the hand which reveals the inner force.

His deeds were approved by only a few of his contemporaries. "Rash" is what they called them. "Rash and hasty."

But it soon became obvious that "haste" was the wrong word: one ought to have spoken rather of a hastening forward. The poem "To Kings" heralds the dethronement of the Hapsburgs at Debrecen, and that from no great distance. The verse which begins "You great honoured lords. . .", with which even Count Széchenyi tried to rouse the reactionaries of his class, and the poem "Respect the Common Soldier", both look forward to that revolutionary phase whose actual arrival was witnessed only in the summer of 1849.

We do have things to look after, things to detect and set right if we wish to celebrate Petőfi in worthy fashion. Our celebration can have only one aim, however. When we have made his words and deeds as clear and understandable as we know how, they must be returned in their true spirit to those to whom he always belonged—the common people.

Let us strengthen with our understanding service the poet of hope. Let us make still more visible, and therefore more potent, this poet in whom, according to knowledgeable Hungarians and foreigners alike, the genius, the guardian spirit of the Hungarian people, is best realized. For this reason he is to this very day our most trustworthy advisor, the pathmaker of the small Hungarian community. We have great need of him.

The people of the earth not only do not make peace with one another, but even their hard-won freedom is put to other use. The chief curse of our century is that national impatience continues to grow more and more serious. The different linguistic communities, rather than seeking to understand each other's words, try to choke one another off. In this petty squabbling, which affects the entire world, the great national artists of various peoples have a strong peace-making role. It is they who speak across borders. As for us, our own delegate in this peace-making role has long since been Petőfi. He is our most fitting interpreter. For he believed, not only in the Hungarian future, but also, with the same ardency and to the last drop of blood, in the future of mankind. At the age of twenty-six he died on the battlefield at Segesvár, a martyr not merely for a small nation, but as the chosen son of all humanity, as one who precedes—a herald. In that sense his death was not in vain.

With this thought in mind we invite the peoples of the world—the legitimate heirs to world freedom—to join us in our celebrations.

POET AND REVOLUTIONARY

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

Celebrations in this country and throughout the world on the 150th anniversary of Sándor Petőfi's birth add new light to the lustre with which posterity has surrounded his name. Rays are reflected, and so it is true that the celebration throws light not only on the celebrated but also on those celebrating.

Some find the celebrations excessive, but it is not only individual man who loses his identity if he loses his memory; a nation that does not remember does so as well.

Many have already claimed to be the worthy heirs of Petőfi, insisting that it is they who are entitled to lay wreaths on the pediment of his statues. And a fair few of them have shown themselves, in the course of time, to have been unworthy, to have pushed themselves forward at Petőfi celebrations as a way of hiding their antidemocratic nation-destroying aims. In history all that is hidden will out.

After 1867 the compromising "false prophets" of the Kingdom of Hungary, hangmen of the War of Independence, when celebrating the poet of the revolutionary radicalism of "one has to keep struggling", declared, complacently quoting him "We can stop wandering because the Promised Land is here." They even managed to get the ageing Jókai to write later, at a celebration in honour of the poet of "Let the Kings Be Hanged!", speaking of Francis Joseph, the hangman of the War of Independence, of the thirteen martyrs of Arad, as follows: "There is still a king who is beloved by his nations and who loves his nations—he is the king of Hungary. Petőfi would be pleased if he could see this."

The story of a 1922 meeting of the Lower House is well-known, a meeting at which the Bethlen government wished to remember Petőfi by Act

Text of an address delivered by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at the Budapest Petőfi-celebrations, on the same occasion as the address by Gyula Illyés, p. 83 of this issue.

of Parliament but when a single left-wing member, let me put his name on record, he deserves it—it is József Cserti—interrupted shouting, "Long live the spirit of Petőfi! Long live the Hungarian People's Republic!" confusion and pandemonium ensued: along with the spirit of 1918 and 1919 Petőfi also was expelled from the legislature of gentry Hungary. The policy of the Horthy era tried to falsify Petőfi in the likeness of its own nationalism, and its own national hatreds, the Petőfi who had written the slogan "freedom for the whole world" on the red banner which he, the first in the history of Hungarian poetry, raised to the rank of a symbol, the banner under which all enslaved peoples would join battle for freedom.

In his "If Petőfi Were Alive" written in 1931 Zsigmond Móricz said: "The Petőfi Society owns a real Petőfi to whom it clings as to the Bible. Only it cannot cling to the whole, since the real Petőfi is still alive today, his daring youthful fire still scorches today... Petőfi Societies have never propagated Petőfi's ideas since it is easier to preserve the bed in the Petőfi House where Petőfi was born than to place oneself at the head of the masses in the spirit of 'The Apostle'."

Fifty years ago Gyula Juhász wrote about the two Petőfi's, the celebrated and the genuine one:

"They quote his name but not his spirit, / It is that which lives and sparks off hearts, unnoticed, / like a running fire in dead leaves, / Spreading in secret and growing unseen."

The true followers of the poet

Yes, Petőfi always had true followers who understood him rightly, who invoked not only his name but his inflammatory, animating spirit. This was the way he was invoked by the youthful Hungarian working class movement, and this tradition lived in the agrarian socialist movements. The Hungarian Council Republic was true to Petőfi. Between the two World Wars progressive movements in and outside Hungary drew strength and faith from him. The Communist party, persecuted and forced underground, and its allies, used Petőfi's profile as a reminder on the medal mobilizing support against fascism issued by the Historical Commemorative Committee and a Petőfi brigade flying the national colours and red banners fought against the Nazi hordes.

And time after time our great poets spoke out for the genuine Petőfi. His fire was kept ablaze by János Arany and János Vajda. Endre Ady castigated his own time with the principled inexorability of "Petőfi does

not bargain!" Mihály Babits, while not directly continuing along Petőfi's way, in his anger at a reactionary attempt to monopolize the centenary of 1923, ruffled the undeserved wreaths of counter-revolutionary Hungary. And Attila József lowered before him the flag of his own "joyless eighteen years," proclaiming: "The Ideal is lit up in the proud hearts of the oppressed to the tune of your eternal song."

Gyula Illyés removed the stilts of the spurious, rigid statue and took the revolutionary of the people back to the people. And since then the revolutionary forces, that is the best, in Hungarian literature rightly regard Petőfi's legacy as their very own.

The year of Liberation, 1945, made it possible to fulfil and pursue the aims of the 1848 revolution, and at the same time to carry out an authentic evaluation of Petőfi. Indeed, much was done to this end after Liberation, but not even recognition can weaken objectivity! In the fifties also there was a period in which the Petőfi image was distorted together with the political distortions. The qualifying slogan "Our banner is Petőfi!" projected to cultural life the then existing perversities of political life and served as a pretext for eliminating the great values.

In 1956 the name of the revolutionary Petőfi found itself on the flag of his historical enemies, the counter-revolutionaries, of those who burned Petőfi's red banner and toppled the statue of a faithful follower of his cause, Attila József, at Szárszó.

Of course, Petőfi's name is, and remains, on our banner, yet not in the qualifying, eliminative sense, but—indeed, together with Ady's name and Attila József's and certainly with Bartók's, with Kodály's, Derkovits's and the names of other great creative artists—in conformity with the universality of Petőfi's spirit: proclaiming acceptance of the entirety of our revolutionary heritage and our progressive, invaluable humane traditions.

During the past decade and a half the forces of Hungarian intellectual life, in the course of discussions and profound research, purified the Petőfi image from all distortions.

But there are still debts to be paid, not enough has been done yet to make the already properly recognized, new and ever more complete Petőfi reach the millions, to bring him to life in schools, making his presence general in education and everywhere else. There are still too few who read Petőfi's poems and his grand prose, there is still a snobbish reluctance connected with Petőfi, the conservative bastions of Petőfi interpretation have not fallen yet, not even youth can always find the genuine Petőfi who deserves to be their ideal.

But it fills one with gladness to see that the genuine forward looking

Petőfi-image steps beyond the bounds of literary scholarship: as the current Petőfi year bears witness.

The people in power worthily commemorates its great son by trying to realize the poet's dreams, for Petőfi's spirit demands that every aim attained become a new step toward a new, higher goal.

The whole of Petőfi is an ideal

And so to Mihály Babits's question, which was already referred to here, today: "Where is the eye to look straight into his? Who dares to see, who dares to conjure up his true face" we can reply with modest pride: We have no reason to cast down our eyes.

The real answer to Babits's question is provided by the Hungarian history of the past quarter century: Liberation, the end of the thousand-year-old test, the land reform, a nation with a straight back; the fact that the people dominate in both politics and poesy.

Self-complacency is alien to us. We do not claim in Petőfi's words that "Canaan is here", but if we strive with creative discontent to ensure that today, tomorrow and the day after all working people will lead a better life, then we are acting in Petőfi's spirit.

We cannot claim that we have already accomplished everything he was dreaming about. But we have laid and are laying the foundations of a social system which, in Lenin's words, will make it possible for all that which humanity's great creators and revolutionaries dreamt about in days of old to come true.

We do not claim that everything we say and do evokes Petőfi, but we deny not a single word of his, not a single part of his life's work; we need not carve up his "true face" or retouch it to meet demands of the moment, but we regard the complete Petőfi as our ideal, we acknowledge his heritage in its entirety as our own.

We are in Petőfi's spirit when we couple the love of our own country with the brotherhood of nations, when we profess that the policy of internationalism is the only just and proper national policy. Petőfi still complained: "The world is large and we have no brother in it, no one to share our troubles with."

Hungarians today know the first socialist state in the world, and all democratic, progressive movements, to be their allies. Petőfi's wishes materialized in the dreamt-of "bloody days" of the Great October which

created a new world on the ruins of the old. That is how, beyond the accidental proximity of the dates, the logic of history established a necessary relationship between the 150th anniversary of the poet's birth and the 50th anniversary of the first workers' state—the Soviet Union.

Petőfi was followed by Ady who heard the roaring on the same pitch of the Danube and the Olt, then by Attila József who proclaimed that "Turkish, Tartar, Slovak, Rumanian blood eddy in this heart." By cherishing this heritage we made fraternal understanding among the nations and a beautiful, peaceful future part of our programme.

We evoke Petőfi's spirit as well when we proclaim principled implacability toward others, but first of all toward ourselves. Petőfi did not give away over questions of principle, not even to respected older friends: "I have liked and respected Vörösmarty best of all those who have ever liked and respected him, but I love my principles more... Condemning Vörösmarty is a great sacrifice which my heart makes for the sake of my principles, but however great that sacrifice may be, I am ready and shall always be ready, to make much bigger ones for you, my saintly principles" he wrote in August 1848.

We follow Petőfi also when we emphasize that firmness of principle cannot be a blindness detached from reality and estranged from life. We follow him if we learn—having drawn a lesson from our own failures, our capers!—that it is not enough for us to live for the people, one can only fight successfully for the people if one fights together with the people—through fire and water.

Petőfi knew that a genuine revolutionary must never lose faith or trust in the masses, must know that an impatience detached from the people and from reality is not identical with a genuine principled attitude. A sense of vocation lived in him which faced up to realities: "Perhaps life will not pay for our labours" he said and he undertook to make the sacrifice, without the hope of living to see an early victory, or the sure hope of one in the future. This helps to explain why the communist movement has so often drawn strength from his example just in the most difficult times.

We follow Petőfi when we demand commitment. Was there anyone more committed than he? Was there anyone freer than he? Has anyone more convincingly refuted through his life and work, that devotion to a cause could impoverish the soul? Was there anyone richer than he? He knew Hungarian reality, and not from books, as Ady put it, "he lived to see a multitude of what was to be seen, he had to gallop at full stretch so as to become, at twenty-six, the most-lived Hungarian amid the opportunities the Hungarian, rural, mid-nineteenth century offered."

When he was reproached for his "restlessness", Petőfi rightly replied to the charge:

"... that there is jerkiness in me, alas! is true; but no wonder... Since the Middle Ages mankind has grown a great deal, and it still wears a medieval suit, though patched up and let out in places, but it nevertheless wants another, since this one is too tight, so tight on the chest that it can hardly breathe, and it is also ashamed of having to wear children's clothes, despite its adolescence. That is how mankind finds itself between shame and embarrassment, it is quiet outside, only a bit paler than usual, but all the more rumbling inside, like a volcano about to erupt. That's how the century is, how could I be different? I, the faithful child of my century!"

Poet of the people and humanity

The reason why we hold Petőfi's name so high is not that he, like a "prophet", an "apostle", a "seer" of some sort, had a foreknowledge of everything that is the anxiety and joy of our time.

The greatness of Petőfi means that he fulfilled the highest requirements under the conditions of his own time. He can be an example because he understood history and undertook to fight. If we look at Petőfi in this way, we can see ourselves better as well. Petőfi's example teaches us the correct self-recognition of the revolutionary movement.

Lunacharski said half a century ago that "Petőfi was a Bolshevik in his time." This symbolic expression does not mean that Petőfi was a Communist in the twentieth-century sense, but that Petőfi was a consistent revolutionary in the circumstances prevailing in the forties of the nineteenth century.

What matters is not whether he knew that at exactly the time when his poems and articles calling for revolution appeared, that is in February 1848, Marx and Engels published that Communist Manifesto which was to determine the subsequent history of mankind. What is essential here is that the poet felt and believed and proclaimed what the founders of scientific socialism knew: that the world had to be changed, "even if war should last till Judgement Day"—and that no movement would go under in vain in this struggle waged for the freedom of the people.

Engels wrote in 1893, in the preface to the Italian edition of the Communist Manifesto: "The 1848 revolution was not a socialist revolution, but it made straight the way and prepared the ground." Petőfi, who rose so high that he could point out that the goal of the improvement of the people, nation and mankind was universal human happiness and equality,

made straight the way for us who have already done much, and continue trying hard, to ensure that man may live a life worthy of man.

Petőfi was a poet, not an ideologist. His message to his time and to posterity is in verse. His timeliness is the timeliness of immortal poetry. He has to be interpreted as a poet, otherwise his message can be misunderstood. Whether he speaks of the people, the homeland, humanity, labour, railway, mining or rural life, parents, love or friendship; the poetic purport of the composition must ring in our ears.

The poet's affection for his parents cannot be rightly interpreted by one who can see nothing other than "family poems" suited to one's simplified moral philosophy in those superb verses, by someone unable to sense and perceive the intimate human world which Petőfi causes to shine in and from the circle of labourers as a new kind of morality integrating the people, the nation, humanity.

"Posterity," he wrote, "may say that I was a bad poet, but it will say that I was a man of strict morality. Which in one word means a republican, the republican's slogan is not 'down with the king!' but high moral standards."

Those who tried to separate Petőfi the love poet, the minstrel and the landscape poet from the political one were wrong, it was Ady who was right who saw in Petőfi a genius who had risen from the people both when he fought for the common good and when he fought for his Júlia. Such poetry is never an idyll withdrawn from the world, but the rich, mutually invigorating consummation of public concern and individual prosperity. One can understand this poetic world only if the poet of the *puszta* and his native land is seen as one and the same whole man who exalted in verse the "good old man", the most affectionate mother, and his brother István, as well as the Petőfi who fought for universal freedom and for the people's rights. The poet conjuring up the family intimacy of "Istók the Fool" made rulers tremble with "Let the Kings Be Hanged!".

He was a revolutionary also in his descriptive poems. Miklós Radnóti saw this accurately when he wrote: "The last three stanzas of Petőfi's well-known poem 'The Tisza' would have been left out if the poem had not been written by Petőfi, a revolutionary poet... It is interesting and understandable that certain interpreters find a structural break in the Tisza poem, where an inundation bursts into the description of the quiet river. And they impute this to Petőfi's extravagance. One could call it that. But organic, and indispensable, extravagance. Petőfi's Tisza poem can end only in this manner." To love with a single heart the Tisza river and the revolution, György Dózsa and Megyeri, the strolling player, the Hungarian tricolor and

the outlaw of the *puszta*, the red banner and the inn with the crooked chimney, and to turn them into a poetic programme with a single impetus, was possible only for him who was capable, humanly and poetically, of observing, living through and guarding all the ties that linked together birthplace and homeland, Hungary and Europe, people and humanity.

Petőfi created unity between the topics of the day and the big historic issues—which are said to be "eternal" of both the individual and humanity. And this creating of unity is also exemplary: if poetry becomes alienated from the events of the real world and looks only to "eternal human" and "ultimate" questions, it surely loses two things: the human and with it the eternal, since it loses its creative power, its action prompting effect. And if politics disregards individual man then, in the name of the loudly proclaimed interests of the "abstract people" it can hurt the real people living today.

The genuine, the complete Petőfi created an ideal unity between his principles and his deeds. When saying this, what I have in mind is the fact that he laid down his life for his principles. No less wonderful than death seeking the ideal is the way he complied, also in days of peace, every day of the week, with the self-formulated moral command "if you are a man, be a man!".

He was not an ascetic, he loved life but suffered as long as millions suffered. His severe, principled inexorability toward himself and—what is perhaps more difficult—toward his best friends, as well followed from his love of life, from being true to himself.

He was a revolutionary—that is why he was able to stand his ground in dramatic and even tragic situations; only a consistent revolutionary is able to face temporary failures. Petőfi could also take blows coming from his own camp. He did not idealize the people, he knew (as he wrote in "The Apostle"): ". . . it is still a child that can easily be led astray."

He never turned against the people, only against the demagogues who misled the people.

Severity of principle did not make Sándor Petőfi a cold man. Among those who liked him he was amiability itself, gay, selfless, loyal and devoted. His friendship with János Arany and his devotion to General Bem, both bear witness as does his love and family verse, the depth and warmth of which the practitioners and propagators of "alienated" poetry cannot even comprehend.

Petőfi was not obsessed, his wonderful character was truly human. He was human in his confidence as well as in his doubts. "Who knows me to be dispirited? Who accuses me of pusillanimity? But anxieties sometimes

engulf me as well," to quote his "Lost Battles." The pointlessness of existence, the *nihil* touched him as well, just as Attila József was touched by the "prowling nothing." But he felt only contempt for poseurs full of *Weltschmerz*, for the armchair pessimists.

Even Heine, who held Petőfi in so high esteem, and who understood him so thoroughly, believed mistakenly that Hamlet's question and doubt were unknown to Petőfi. How could it have been unknown to a poet who in a bitter mood brooded: "This is the question of questions, And not the 'to be or not to be'. Is he useful to the world who has sacrificed himself for it?"

There is no reason why one should not speak of the tortured and worried Petőfi on his birthday. On the contrary: the complete Petőfi image is only authentic if we know that he also had to fight himself for the sake of his faith. For the brave one is not he who is never afraid, but he who subdues his fear. The confident man is not he who is never troubled by doubt. Petőfi is the model of revolutionaries just because he was not to be deterred from the cause of revolution and progress either by the anxieties that engulfed him, coming up from his very soul, or by disappointment in the misled people, or by the orders of generals.

The harbinger of socialism

Petőfi the son of the people put reality into verse, he thought of the people's progress as a revolutionary democrat, he acted for the freedom of his country and of humanity as a people's revolutionary.

That is how he could become the harbinger of our social system.

Kinship between revolutionary aspirations manifesting themselves in different periods exists even if fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty years separate those periods from each other. The profound meaning of this kinship can be felt even though the historic tasks awaiting solution today are different from those of a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago.

The identity of nation and people was Petőfi's aim. Under changed conditions other times forged this union, such an identity has been created, by the Hungarian working people, the working class and their Party.

The work of Petőfi argues, from a historical distance, in favour of people's Hungary, the Communists and their allies. He is on our side with the immortal example of his life and his poetry.

This example belongs to everyone, but it lights up the path of youth in the first place. Petőfi died young and lives on young for ever. The youth of

our days can celebrate him best if they take down a Petőfi volume from their bookshelves. Not because it is compulsory reading, and not only because we now commemorate his birthday, but because they can find in it the poems meant for them. Petőfi's verse renders love more beautiful, friendship more profound, unselfish work for the people, for the community, more joyful, and thus life also becomes homelike, more beautiful and more honest. The reassuring answer to the exciting questions is given by the poetry of the restless Petőfi. We can follow his life's example only if we open our hearts and minds to his poems.

Pledging solidarity with the nations who have already won freedom and those who still struggle for it, and fighting in our everyday work for the well-being of the Hungarian nation, for the accomplishment and development of our socialist democracy, of our people's power, we are encouraged by Petőfi calling us to account.

On the anniversary of Sándor Petőfi's birth the country remembers the Hungarian nation's great immortal poet with respect and affection.

PETŐFI AND THE REVOLUTION

by

SÁNDOR LUKÁCSY

Petőfi's life, poetry and personality are full of puzzles, question-marks and contradictions.

The first breath he drew is a puzzle. Hungary is celebrating the 150th anniversary of his birth, yet we do not know for sure when he was born. Nor do we know the place of his birth. Seven Greek towns contended for Homer; three Hungarian ones for Petőfi. All that is certain is that he was born on the Great Hungarian Plain, the endless lowland that he so often raised to the heights in his verse; in real life he was an enthusiastic mountaineer, with a passion for the heights of the Carpathians. His family was Slav on both sides, and he a Hungarian of Hungarians among poets. He never hid his lowly origins, "owning" his butcher father who also sold drink, and his illiterate mother, and he married a demoiselle, the daughter of a proud noble family. He hated privilege, but one of his best friends was a count. He did not finish school, and yet he was one of the most educated writers of his age: he read Latin, German, French, English and Italian in the original. His popularity as a poet is unrivalled in Hungary to the present day, but no one has been attacked, criticized and cursed as much or as viciously as Petőfi. He is the easiest-to-understand of Hungarian poets and he has written verse of which one can't even say if it is sad or gay. He was a contemporary of Baudelaire and Walt Whitman, but his simplicity and peasant subjects apparently place him at an astronomical distance from them and all modernity and yet he digs as deep into the human soul as Baudelaire, and his blank verse is as daringly new as Whitman's. He is the poet of happy love, but during his honeymoon he wrote a poem of despair of the country of love that is peopled by suicides. He is the poet of patriotism, a proud Hungarian, but he heaps insults upon his country and his nation. He predicts the triumph of the revolution but at least as often the final and shameful disappearance of his nation. On March 15,

1848, he virtually triggered off the revolution in Pest; the whole country raised his name high; a few weeks later he would not have trusted his dog to the revolutionary government, and his name was more hated in the country than any other. He dreamt of a quiet life in the country, a happy family and living to a biblical age, but rushed into battle to be killed at the age of 26. The life he lived was as mysterious as his death: no one saw him die and one can only guess what piece of turf covers his bones.

Mysteries, question-marks, contradictions; Petőfi is the most secretive Hungarian poet and the most exciting.

The age in which he lived was also tense with contradictions and excitement.

In the first half of the nineteenth century German predominated in Pest and in most Hungarian towns, but the devotion of lonely writers led to the modernization, rebirth and propagation of the Hungarian language which soon triumphed again in poetry and then in public life. The writ of the alien Hapsburg dynasty and of its Vienna government ran in the country, the Hungarians wanted to run their own, and also to order about nations living alongside them that spoke other languages. The backwardness of the country was alarming: feudalism was still intact, putting a brake to all progress as mud does to that of a cartwheel. Low crop yields, outdated farming methods, roads in an abominable condition, injustice, weighed heavily on the serfs day after day, the insolence of office, the Metternich system of tale-bearing, the backwardness or absence of educational institutions and last but not least the lessons of the French Revolution called for change, for a bourgeois transformation, but who should place himself at the head of movements demanding change in a country with hardly any industry and, as a result, no powerful, progressive bourgeoisie?

It was most characteristic of Hungary in the first half of the last century that the duty of drawing up and then implementing a programme of bourgeois transformation fell on the nobility, and innumerable hesitations, inconsistencies and half-solutions were the result.

The nobility gradually came to recognize that the feudal order was a burden even for itself, it no longer paid, it wished to get rid of it, but making sure that their dominating position and material privileges remained intact. A double fear blighted the nobility's will; they feared a *jacquerie* and they feared the expected burdens of capitalism. It could be that people in Hungary never read as many socialist books as at that time. This is surprising but understandable since the Hungarian politicians of the age wanting to establish a bourgeois state and a capitalist economy had to reckon with those disadvantages of capitalism which socialist authors

pointed out to them. Reading such books they thought of their own future and felt anxious. Why urge a bourgeois transformation and develop industry, many argued, if they were bound to produce pauperization and, in the last resort, the danger of social revolution? It was most characteristic of the state of mind at the time that, in 1845, when "The condition of the working class in England" by the young Engels appeared, it created a great stir in Hungary. It was read and argued about, parts of it were translated and quoted in the Hungarian press. This book imbued with the revolutionary spirit became a cautionary tale used by the conservative opponents of capitalist progress.

Petőfi stepped on the stage in that hesitant, inconsistent and contradictory age.

His first poem appeared in 1842, when he was 19. He could look back to a troubled life. His father's enterprises had failed. Poverty and his own adventurous spirit made the future poet leave school. He saw practically the whole of Hungary, mostly on foot, first as a soldier and then as a strolling player. The years of roaming in time bore fruit, Petőfi had acquired a deeper knowledge of Hungary's landscape, people and social problems than any of his contemporaries. His vicissitudes and innumerable bitter personal experiences inspired his plebeian faith that distinguished even the early stages of his poetry from the patriotic and moralizing approach of his contemporaries, most of whom were members of the nobility.

His plebeian attitude determined, in the first place, his taste and style. After writing his first poems Petőfi broke away from the pathetic tone that was required by contemporary taste, for he felt it to be false and too artificial; he chose the clearer, simpler and more natural tone of folksongs instead. Folksongs as a model were no new thing at the time; a number of Hungarian poets inspired by Herder had tried their hand at writing folksong-like verse, but none of them as successfully as Petőfi who was backed by his exceptionally thorough knowledge of the people's life, joys, sorrows and desires.

Petőfi produced a series of masterpieces even in his first period including *A helység kalapácsa* ("The Village Hammer") (1844), a narrative poem, a humorous parody in which he challenged the still fashionable style of heroic epic poetry, and *János vitéz* ("John the Hero"), a narrative poem written the same year, a folk and fairy tale symbolically expressing the wish of the Hungarian people to rise in the world. Shorter poems of the time include some splendid drinking songs, folk genre pieces, delicate descriptions of landscapes and lyrical pieces of an overwhelming personal appeal.

Full development of his talent, above all his political poetic talent,

needed the university of books, the university of life did not suffice. This must be emphasized since it was customary for quite a time to look on Petőfi as an instinctive talent, and to describe him as "the wild flower of nature"—a phrase he had coined. In fact Petőfi was a poet of remarkable learning, a poet who knew his way about the literature of his own times and that of the past. He secretely read Horace on sentry duty, as a strolling player he became thoroughly familiar with the romantic drama. He wrote that he had put a volume of Goethe in his travelling bag on one of his journeys. He was enthusiastic about Shakespeare and, oddly, but understandably, enough, Béranger, translating both. Tacitus, Heine, Shelley, Victor Hugo, Dumas, Börne and other writers found their way to his desk and, whenever he could afford them, to his library. Unfortunately we do not know enough about his rich library which Petőfi auctioned in 1848, giving the proceeds to his country fighting for freedom.

Petőfi's talent matured on both his own experience of society and his reading, both persuading him that the society in which he lived was unjust and unworthy of man. At the end of 1845 this recognition produced a major change in his poetry which had until then been generally full of the joy of life. Around that time the tone of his verse suddenly turned gloomy, expressive of *Weltschmerz*. The depressive facts that were responsible for the fundamental change in his mood are enumerated in one of his poems, as nightmare images, such as a beggar who found his grave in the ditch along the road, a Gypsy suffering corporal punishment, a young man executed following a frame-up, a mother who went mad, dancing under the gallows with the dead body of her baby in her arms. In another poem Petőfi was tormented by visions of horrifying contradictions between sin triumphant and virtue trampled underfoot, wealth and abundance at one end and starvation on the other, tyranny laughing sarcastically and countries that have to wear its yoke. This is social experience translated into the language of romantic poetic images. The obvious simplicity inherent in folk poetry was no longer enough to express such experiences ending in depressions, *Weltschmerz* or even misanthropy. For a time Petőfi abandoned his well-tested style and developed a new, somewhat nervous and worried, one in its place, he used new rhythms reminiscent of free verse and tried his hand at prose. In doing so he carried out one of the major revolutions in Hungarian literary history.

This period was followed by another change that took place in the spring of 1846. The mood of despair was replaced by one of confidence and the wish to act for the common good. The gloomy negation of the world that created the image of exploding the world in *Az őrült* ("The Madman"),

one of the pieces written during the period of utter despair*, was transformed into the intention of saving the world; a few weeks after the most pessimistic poems Petőfi emerged as a revolutionary poet filled with optimism: "I do not hate, like before, the world, / Just angry with it, merely angry... / That it is so cowardly, does not scream / For its locked up, stolen happiness, that / It does not wreak vengeance on the thieves of its fortune, / For thousands of years of suffering. — / But I begin to believe that we shall soon see / The shining dawn of glorious days / When all the peoples are going to raise / Their heads from the dust into which it has been trodden, / And fill the whole world with their thunder: / 'From slaves let us become men again!' " (Prose translation.)

This sudden and fundamental change was brought about primarily by Petőfi's own development, his own meditations, but there is no doubt that this process was also helped by his reading. Prompted by the social injustice that he had experienced Petőfi tried to find ways of ending it by looking for advice in history, in particular history of revolutions. There is evidence to the effect that in the spring of 1846 he embarked on a thorough study of the history of the French Revolution which he subsequently described as his night and day reading, his virtual Bible. Étienne Cabet's *Histoire populaire de la Revolution française*, (1839–1840) from which he even took notes is of particular importance. These four volumes discussing the events of the French Revolution in a Jacobin spirit familiarized Petőfi with the social principles professed by Babeuf, Buonarroti and their followers. According to them the French Revolution had gone only half way, for it failed to provide full justice and equality to the poor; they therefore called for a new and final revolution that would build up a society of complete equality and happiness for all, since all private property would come under common ownership. Cabet, one of the propagators of this doctrine further developing it in a utopian manner, described this new type of society as communism.

Other books, especially Louis Blanc's *Histoire de dix ans*, acquainted Petőfi with other pre-Marxist socialist and communist ideas. His spirit imbued with a genuine feeling for justice was attracted by those ideas, but he became no unscrupulous follower of any of them. His revolutionary temperament rejected utopian illusions recommending the peaceful application of social formulae in the place of genuine revolutionary methods. He was, however, strongly influenced by the revolutionary school of the followers of Babeuf and Buonarroti. It was based on the idea of equality (professed by early communism) promising a society of happiness after the final revolution. Petőfi became convinced that that final revolution was

* The poem is printed on p. 108 of this issue.

around the corner, and it was this conviction that, by the spring of 1846, transformed his pessimism into the optimism of a revolutionary ready to act for his beliefs. His first revolutionary poem quoted above was followed by new revolutionary prophecies and calls to action, a magnificent line of development of Petőfi's political poetry distinguishing him not only from contemporary Hungarian poets who failed to go beyond advocating reforms leading to a bourgeois transformation but also from those of the rest of Europe since Petőfi's voice was the only one that expressed Babeuf's ideas in verse of quality.

This applies, above all, to *A XIX. század költői* ("The Poets of the 19th Century"), a poem written in January 1847, in which the final objective, that can only be achieved through revolution, is described as follows:

> When all men lift the horn of plenty
> in one happy equality,
> when all men have an equal station
> at the table of justice, and see
> the spiritual light break shining
> through the windows of every house;
> then we can say, no more wandering,
> Canaan is here, let us rejoice!*

The verse quoted above is the essence of Petőfi's political faith formulated in line with Babeuf's ideas. His objective is plenty (in other words general happiness) for everyone on an *equal* footing; the means to this end is: justice (that is, freedom) and the moral and cultural value of this objective is that in a society based on social justice the light emitted by the spirit is shared by everyone.

In the other poems there are only one or two words, expressions or symbols recalling Babeuf's ideas. In this respect *Egy gondolat bánt engemet* ("One Thought Keeps Tormenting Me") is of paramount importance, for it contains another of Petőfi's prophecies of a final revolution. In it the poet envisaged the final battle of nations taking up arms for universal liberty and fighting under red banners. Today, the red banner is recognized all over the world as the symbol of the struggle for social revolution. It is interesting to note that in the French Revolution it was the hateful symbol of bourgeois terror and anti-popular martial law. The red banner assumed its revolutionary meaning at a much later date: in the Paris republican

* Translated by Edwin Morgan. The whole poem appears on p. 112 of this issue.

uprising of June 5, 1832. That was the time after which it was referred to as the symbol of social revolution but only among the followers of Babeuf. Thanks to his reading Petőfi was aware of this change and that the new revolutionary symbol was confined to Babeuf's followers, and when, in the knowledge of all that, the poet rallied the nations engaged in the struggle for world liberty around the red banner, he gave clear-cut evidence of his affiliations with Babeuf's cause. The red banner came to be generally recognized as the revolutionary symbol of the proletariate after the Paris workers' uprising of June 1848 when Ferdinand Freiligrath wrote a poem on it. Petőfi's "One Thought Keeps Tormenting Me", however, dates from 1846, meaning that he was the first to write of it in verse.

Petőfi wrote down the words: liberty and world liberty on so many occasions that we have the right to call him the poet of liberty. His concept of liberty, however, is far from being identical with his contemporaries' liberal ideas which meant, above all, the freedom of private property and the belief that it is sacred, that is freedom for capital to exploit people. Petőfi formulated his own concept of liberty in Babeuf's spirit. Liberty, according to him the idea of liberty of the liberals that is, cannot be the goal of society; the objective is happiness for all through complete equality, and liberty is a means to this end. The major narrative poem *Az Apostol* (The Apostle), Petőfi's principal work dating from 1848, speaks in Babeuf's communistic doctrine practically word by word:

> What is the aim of the world?
> Happiness! And the means towards it? Freedom!
> I must fight for freedom, . . .*

This is the sense in which Petőfi was the poet of liberty and it was this particular interpretation of liberty for which he was prepared to sacrifice his life and love.

Love poems were written by Petőfi throughout his career and the most beautiful ones are those he wrote to his wife Júlia. She was the daughter of a rich land-agent and her parents were naturally opposed to her marriage with a poet of low origin and uncertain income. Petőfi literally had to wage what might be described as the lover's class struggle to marry Júlia. She turned out to be his equal partner; she was enthusiastic about her husband's ideas on freedom and gave full support to him in his struggles.

The period demanding open political and revolutionary action arrived

* Petőfi: *The Apostle.* A narrative poem. Translated by Victor Clement. Corvina Press, Budapest, 1961. 99 pp.

when their marriage was only a few months old. The wave of revolutions of 1848 spread to Hungary and, on March 15 of the same year, Petőfi supported by the youth of Pest fought for and obtained the freedom of the press, he helped establish a revolutionary commission and gave a decisive impetus to the liberation of serfs and the achievement of national independence. March 15, 1848 was described by his contemporaries as Petőfi's day. No blood was shed, no barricades had to be erected yet the risks taken were great and the venture was an extremely daring one, for nobody knew in advance whether or not those in power would resort to arms and military repression.

For a fortnight Petőfi was the most popular man in Hungary. But what followed was the poet's gradual political isolation. The representative of the dispossessed millions regarded March 15, 1848 as the first stage that had to be followed by the second one eliminating feudalism for ever, establishing an independent and democratic republic, the first step on the road to the social republic that would eventually achieve full independence and happiness, not limited by private property, for all. Such views were bound to create conflict between Petőfi and the honest liberal leaders of the Hungarian revolutionary government recruited from the nobility, people who were opposed to the second stage of the revolution and failed to take as consistent a position on the Hapsburg question as Petőfi proposed. The poet of the final revolution and a radical revolutionary line lacking mass support was bound to lose. Petőfi failed to win a seat in Parliament. He could only serve his country as a soldier and fought in the battles of the Hungarian War of Independence as an officer attached to General Bem, a Pole who was one of the outstanding military leaders of that war.

He died on the battlefield on July 31, 1849, leaving a wife and a boy child. He was only 26, as old as Saint-Just, a hero of the French Revolution and Petőfi's ideal, the person one of whose works he managed to obtain. This book has survived with "Sándor Petőfi's treasure" on the flyleaf, in the poet's handwriting.

It was his poverty that caused his early death. Everyone owning a horse managed to escape from the battle in which he lost his life at the hands of the pursuing Cossacks. Petőfi had been given a horse by General Bem but he had to sell it before the battle to be able to send money to his family. The poet fleeing on foot was cut down by the pursuers. His body must have been buried in a common grave and has never been recovered.

SÁNDOR PETŐFI

POEMS

TRANSLATED BY EDWIN MORGAN

THE MADMAN

Az őrült

—Why do you keep pestering me?
Can't you all leave me alone!
I've got work to do—a lot, and quick.
I'm plaiting the sun's rays into a whip, a flame-whip,
a whip I'll lash the world with!
What weeping and wailing there'll be for me to laugh at,
as the world laughed at my weeping and wailing!
Ha ha ha!
What else is life? You wail, you laugh.
Only death says: shh!
But you know I died once before.
Those who'd drunk my wine
mixed poison into my water.
And then what did my killers
do to conceal the crime?
I was no sooner laid out
than they threw themselves weeping on my body.
I'd have enjoyed jumping up
to snap off their noses, but
no, I thought, I won't: I'll
leave them their noses to appreciate
the rotting of my corpse, and choke on it.
Ha ha ha!
And where did they bury me? Africa.
Couldn't have better luck,
a hyena clawed me from my grave.
Who ever helped me more than that?
But I tricked even him.

He was ready to sink his fangs in my thigh
and I gave him my heart instead—
it was so bitter it killed him.
Ha ha ha!
Well, the one who does his neighbour
a good turn ends like this. What is man?
Some say: the root of a flower
that blooms in heaven.
But that's not true.
Man is a flower whose root
is down below in hell.
Or so a wise man told me,
wise idiot! for he starved to death.
Couldn't he steal? Couldn't he rob someone?
Ha ha ha!
But why laugh? Am I not a fool too?
Shouldn't I be crying instead,
crying for the world's badness?
God himself often does,
with his cloud-eyes, sorry he even created us;
but what use are tears in heaven?
They fall on the earth, on this wretched earth
where people tramp them down,
and what's left then?
what are heaven's tears but mud?
Ha ha ha!
Oh, sky, oh, sky, old soldier sky,
the sun's a medal on your chest
and the ragged clouds are your coat.
And that's how a veteran is discharged,
with medal and ragged clothes
and thanks for his long service.
Ha ha ha!
And do you know what it means in words
when the quail says: peep-beep?
It means you watch out for women!
A woman draws men into her
as the sea draws rivers.
And why? to engulf them.
The female animal is a beautiful animal,

beautiful and dangerous.
And love—I have drunk you!—
is a poisoned drink in a golden cup.
One dewdrop of you tastes sweeter
than a whole sea of honey,
yet a dewdrop of you is more fatal
than a whole sea of poison.
Have you seen the sea
ploughed in furrows by storm
for death to be sown?
Have you seen the storm,
that swarthy peasant
with his lightning-goad under his arm?
Ha ha ha!
When the fruit is ripe, it falls from the tree.
Earth, you are a ripe fruit ready to fall.
Well, I shall give it till tomorrow:
no Last Judgement then, I'll
burrow to the centre of this world
with gunpowder
and blow it all
to smithereens... ha ha ha!

Szalkszentmárton, January, 1846.

THIS SPECULATION...

Elmém ezen sokat gondolkodik ...

This speculation is often in my mind:
if ever
the cosmic axis should keel over,
stars would then fall blind
as our showers of rain and snow
and star-streams begin to flow.

Szalkszentmárton, before March 10, 1846.

'EVERY FLOWER...'

Minden virágnak ...

Every flower, each smallest blade of grass
feels the sun, even receives a ray.
Oh love, the sun of human hearts, will you
not send a single ray of light my way?
There is no girl who would give me her love,
there is no girl who would take me apart
and say: The world is cold, your soul is chilled,
come now, and warm yourself on my warm heart!

There is no girl who would say: You are tired,
here is my shoulder waiting for your head!
There is no girl who would wash off the blood
from this forehead which has been cut and stoned!...
Solitary as a wine-prop I stand,
deserted by the once green, withered vine;
no bird perches here, but above me my black
thoughts flap and troop like ravens all the time.

In this way I see youth and life recede,
this way recede and leave me lonely, alone,
I see only that my blood must freeze
when cold death has reclaimed me as his own.
And if I freeze and die: I see a cloth
quite dry of tears thrown over my dead face,
and no one will come near with flowers to plant
on the grave-mound that marks my resting-place.

There I shall crumble at a rotting grave-post,
a rotting grave-post, under a bare mound;
no one walks there, no one comes to see
my grave, and stubs of weeds grow all around.
But you, night-storm, will visit me there still,
and blow for me your loud wild brother's pain,
your loud wild brother's pain, for you alone
were brother to my soul's dark wind and rain.

Pest, March 10–April 10, 1846.

THE POETS OF THE 19TH CENTURY
A XIX. század költői

Let no one with a languid finger
dare to sweep the strings today!
The lyre that's lifted up is ready
to get a great work under way.
If you can sing of nothing better
than your own joy or broken heart,
the world can do without your singing:
keep out, where you can have no part!

We wander in the wilderness like
Moses and his ancient folk,
following the fiery pillar
God had sent to guide his flock.
In our days God has ordered poets
to be the fiery pillars and
so to lead the wandering people
into Canaan's promised land.

Onward then, let every poet
take men through the flames and flood!
A curse on anyone who scatters
the people's flag into the mud,
a curse on anyone who lingers
in laziness or cowardice
resting in the shade while others
work and sweat, aim and miss!

False are the prophets still abounding
who preach out of pure hate and fear
that this is where we can stop wandering
because the promised land is here.
It is the worst, the worst of falsehoods
as millions witness easily
in mere existence, hopeless, wretched,
hungry and thirsty at midday.

When all men lift the horn of plenty
in one happy equality,
when all men have an equal station
at the table of justice, and see
the spiritual light break shining
through the windows of every house;
then we can say, no more wandering,
Canaan is here, let us rejoice!

And till then? Till then is no resting,
till then the struggle has no end.
It may be life is unrewarding
for every fighting drop we spend,
but then death comes with gentle kisses
to close our eyes, and softly lowers
our bodies deep into the earth with
pillows of silk and cords of flowers.

Pest, January, 1847.

THE PUSZTA, IN WINTER

A puszta, télen

God, but the waste's been laid waste with a vengeance!
For a farmer, autumn's hopeless, downright careless,
whatever spring piles up
and summer loves to cap
he squanders with his wild improvidence,
and winter finds an empty treasure-chest.

No flocks of sheep out there, no lingering bells,
no shepherd boy's flute wailing their farewells,
and all the song-birds
have gone homewards,
even the rasping corncrake has left the grass
it's silent where the cricket's fiddle scratched.

Flat fields lie all around like a frozen sea,
the sun swoops low, he's a tired bird, or he
is so short-sighted now
with old age on his brow
that he must frown and bend to see the world at all...
in such a waste the count of sights is small.

The fisherman's hut and the field-guard's shack are empty;
the steadings are silent, the cattle munch their hay;
when they are led to the trough
at sundown, a sad calf
gives out a shaggy bellow now and then,
longing to drink from the pond and not the pen.

Now the farmhand's leaf-tobacco is stripped
from the summer tree, he lays it on the doorstep,
cuts it up thick, fills
the pipe he deftly pulls
from the leg of his boot, sucks it in slow content,
and keeps glancing at the feedbox: is it empty yet?

But even the scattered inns are all shuttered up,
the innkeeper and his wife can sleep and sleep,

they can throw away
their cellar key,
nobody turns a wagon-shaft to their door,
the roads are hidden by wind-driven snow.

Now it is the kingdom of the winds and the storms,
the one wheels around on his high airy horse,
the other gallops below
glittering with rage, the snow
glitters like flint, the third one has arrived
to meet them head-on, all three strain and strive.

When sunset comes their energies are drained,
white mists pitch their tents along the plain
and half hide the form
of the outlaw hurrying along
on a sneezing horse to his nocturnal retreat...
a raven haloes him, wolves follow his feet.

Like a king banished to the border of his land,
the sun looks back over the rim of the world,
he gives one last glance
from his angry face,
and as soon as his eye reaches the further horizon
the kingly head loses its bloody crown.

Pest, January, 1848.

AMONG THE HILLS
A hegyek közt

Down there, far in the depths below,
in misty depths far-off and blue,
there is the city... it seems no more
than something given by the soul,
or almost given, like the past
it loses in time's sombre waste.

Here I am out in nature's world,
high-flung hills are all around;
it is high here, here the cloud
rests from wandering about,
and here, if it was night-time, I
could call up to the starry sky.
Down in the valley, in the depths below,
in misty depths far-off and blue,
in the city's distant din I've left
worries of home and homeland, bereft
my heart of every anxiousness
that brooded over its distress
while I stood like a blank rock-face
held within its dark shadows.
Don't tell me I have lost my way
if I steal this one brief day
from a life I live for others:
let me have a day of pleasures!
All torments I have left down there,
I have brought nothing with me here
except what makes for happiness:
my lute, and the dear love I bless.
My dear love who is woman and child
in one person, is running wild
with joy, and chasing butterflies,
and making garlands out of flowers,
now vanishing and now returning,
now on the hilltops, wandering
like some bright thing in a dream,
like some spirit of the trees.
O Nature, I am swept away
gazing on your timeless beauty,
so dumbfounded that I stare
in silent but revering prayer.
Like little leaping hearts of joy
leaves flutter from their boughs to me,
and what a host of dear fine secrets
whisper in their dreamy speaking!
Everywhere the trees surround me,
the branches bend right down to me

as if a father laid his hand
in blessing on a loved son's head.
Lord, but I'm happy in this wood!
I'm almost crying, it's so good.

Zugliget, September 8, 1848.

THE BUSH TO THE STORM

A bokor a viharhoz

Go gently, brother storm, brother of angry spirits,
or your fury will break up my leafy shadow!
I am a sanctified place, this nest is my altar,
and within the altar my priest, the little nightingale.
Don't distress him, let him praise his god with his singing,
his god is nature, the sacred general mother.

Zugliget, September 8, 1848.

'RUINED GARDEN THERE...'

Elpusztuló kert ott a vár alatt...

Ruined garden there with the castle above,
ruined castle there with the garden below...
brooding greyly and sombrely over them
the autumn mists and autumn memories flow.

This place reminds me that a country's loss
may be something the private heart can gain:
that castle is the graveyard of dead heroes,
but in the garden love was born again.

Down here I rocked her in my lap, down here
I clasped my dove, my darling, to my breast.
Up there was once the haunt of eagles, up there
the haunt of Rákóczis now all at rest.

Glories of chivalry! and delight of love!
I cannot have enough of this great place.
Today I am here, tomorrow gone, maybe
never again to see it face to face.

Oh garden, will there still be someone walking
beneath those trees of yours with sweet content?
Oh castle, will there still be someone watching
your tower with his reverent wonderment?

Erdőd, November 30, 1848.

AT THE END OF THE YEAR
Az év végén

Go off then, finished year, it's time,
go... but wait, don't go alone,
the other world is dark, you'll need
to have a little lamp at least,
take my song when you are gone.

So let me strike you, my old lute,
let me strike your strings once more;
many years you have been with me,
you have been well played, let me see
if you have sounds yet in store.

If once your sound was beautiful,
now your song must have beauty;
keep the renown that's in your name
and make these solemn moments gain
even more solemnity.

And who knows, maybe this song is
doomed to be the very last;
to lay you down now is perhaps
to leave you lying silent, lapsed,
all voice, all life in the past.

For I have joined the God of War,
I am one of his great horde;
during a year my song's denied,
or if I write, I only write
poems with a bloodstained sword.

Sound out, then, my sweet lute, sound out,
resound with what is in you,
speak vehemently, speak calmly,
speak dazzlingly and speak darkly,
speak gravely, hopefully too.

Be a raging hurricane that
uproots the oldest oak-trees,
be a breeze that smiles to cradle
blades of grass deep in a meadow,
lullaby them into sleep.

Be a mirror that can send back
all and all my life to me,
fair as it is with these two flowers
of youth with its quick-passing hours,
love passing mortality.

Ring out, my lute, with every sound
you can summon at my call...
think how when the sun is setting
its rays so freely scattering
through earth and sky pour and fall.

And let it be strong words, my lute,
if this must be your last song;
let it not be cut off, and die!
Let centuries, the peaks of time,
throw its echo loud and long.

Debrecen, December, 1848.

MEMOIRS OF A PUDDLE

One-minute short stories

by

ISTVÁN ÖRKÉNY

THE DEATH OF MR HALLER

One Wednesday morning at six when the alarm sounded Frigyes Haller did not wake up.

Mrs. Haller went out to put on the coffee at the same time calling her husband, then she took it in, and leant over him, beginning to shout, shaking him. Haller still did not wake. Twenty minutes later the ambulance officer tactfully told her that Haller had died. The cause of death was heart-failure.

The woman just sat and sobbed, she did not even have the strength to call in the neighbours. At half past nine she pulled her black scarf over her head and went to see them at the factory. On the way, from a post office she wired her son who lived in Hamburg and her married daughter who lived in the country and was just expecting a baby. The text was identical: "Your father has suddenly died. His heart stopped beating."

His workmates—Mrs. Haller had gone straight to the machine room—found no words, they were so shocked. Had they not seen the red-eyed woman they might not have believed any of it. Frici dead? Impossible! Looking at him yesterday you could not have imagined such a thing. He was quiet as usual, smoked a lot as usual, went to the shower-room last since he liked to clean up on his own. No, this simply couldn't happen.

To make matters worse Mrs. Haller kept torturing herself with the thought that she had shouted and nagged when poor Frici did not wake up. The foreman who was completely confused, he had known Haller best and longest, made her a cup of coffee, he wanted to tell her not to worry about this since it could have made no possible difference to the poor man anyway, but the words stuck in his throat. He just sat holding the cup until he suddenly and violently thrust it into her hand.

That day hardly any work was done in the machine room. The men drifted about, going this way and that trying to work out why he died, why a heart

should stop in the first place. They talked of recent and not so recent incidents which didn't necessarily concern Haller, but they had all happened in that workshop where he had been with them the day before. And so the day wore on, the slowly passing hours bringing no relief. Uncomprehending and outraged they walked home gloomily staring ahead, and even at home could discuss nothing else.

Haller had worked in the factory for twenty-two years, and in the same shop throughout. Not on the same machine, of course, whenever more modern machines were installed one was sure to be given to him, he was so good at his work. In the morning the factory paper carried a black-bordered photograph, showing the deeply felt grief with which they took leave of "the unforgettable Frigyes Haller, one of the old stalwarts of our factory, Uncle Frici to so many of us" whose heart had suddenly stopped beating.

Not many people read these factory papers but someone somewhere noticed the photo and the obituary, the story of a trusted hand working for a distinguished enterprise who had simply failed to wake up one morning... M.T.I. the Hungarian Telegraph Agency, dropping the photo and abridging the biography somewhat, spread the news of Haller's death to the world. A national and a provincial paper carried the story in a still shorter version, what's more, entirely unexpectedly, the biggest Hamburg daily reported that F. Haller, a Budapest resident, whose heart had stopped beating, had passed away with tragic suddenness.

The Hamburg lot had got the news not through M.T.I. but straight from Frigyes Haller, jr. who was employed in the control tower of the city's airport. After receiving the wire he had translated the text to his mates who were no less shocked than he was. Haller jr., as an employee of the airline company, did not have to pay for his seat on the Budapest flight, the last by the way to take off from a German airport for some time. All the Lufthansa personnel went on a solidarity strike in protest against the heavy and irreparable blow suffered by one of their number.

We are now somewhat anticipating the sequence of events, but not as much as one might think. For it takes mankind some time before it can fully appreciate the impact of an event. In Budapest, for instance, on the night the news of this death appeared, all that could be observed—if there was anybody to observe it—was that fewer people than usual went to the pictures or the theatre, and the night-clubs were virtually deserted. It took another twenty-four hours for the people of Budapest, so sensitive at other times, to fully comprehend the enormity of what had happened. Very likely, they only became aware of what had happened when the miners

—first at Tatabánya, and then at other pits—had come up and refused to go down again. They said: who's to guarantee that what happened to Frigyes Haller could not happen to someone else? If they should resign themselves to what no one should resign himself to, it might become an everyday occurrence that hearts ceased to beat!

Tatabánya—and this is worth stressing—was linked in a direct way with the late Frigyes Haller whose son-in-law was a mining engineer in shaft 4. When the wire arrived emotions were unleashed, what with his wife expecting a baby any day, only waiting for the birth-pangs to start. It was not only what had happened, but rather that what had happened had happened to a mother-to-be's father, and this was something to which no decent, self-respecting miner could remain indifferent. Starting midday there was nothing but funeral music on Budapest radio, the street lamps were switched on throughout the city, the government ordered five days of national mourning. In Moscow students at the Lomonosov University went on a hunger strike, the British battle fleet returned to their bases, and the President of the United States announced his desire to take part in person at the last taking of leave from Frigyes Haller. From all corners of the earth professors of medicine left for Budapest to be present at the post-mortem examination which, many people expected, most of them scientists, would reveal dark secrets.

But not so the nations of the world! All the hundreds and thousands of millions knew that there had been someone somewhere whose heart had stopped one dawn. That was enough for them. They expected very little from the post-mortem; they were simply afraid to go to sleep at night, it was no longer all that certain that they and theirs would wake next morning.

THE RIGHT TO REMAIN STANDING

If the conductor, who has already looked me up and down a couple of times not showing any real interest, should happen to say, would passengers please move to the front of the bus, then—and you can bet your life on this—not a word would cross my lips but I would not budge either, I'd stay put, rooted to the spot. There are sound reasons why I must remain standing right here. To begin with, my brief-case is down on the floor, propped against my ankle, and in it five bottles of beer, ten pairs of frankfurters, mustard, bread, butter, cheese and a bottle of three-star brandy, weighing some 15 to 20 lb. between them, and I've got no intention whatever to move it, I am happy in fact the case is not upset either when

the driver puts the brakes on, or starts. All this has to be since there are unpredictable, impossible and hysterical people in this world, like my best friends, who have to let you know right at the last minute they are coming over to eat. I can't very well explain all that without looking a fool in front of all the other passengers; so I keep mum and stay unbudgeable right where I am.

Now if the conductor should choose to speak to me personally, and this possibility cannot be completely excluded, saying, would that gentleman there in the grey raincoat please allow passengers to get on the bus, then I should be forced to say, politely but firmly, my dear woman, I would advise you to keep your mouth shut.

If the conductor should happen to reply, and this possibility cannot be lightly dismissed, that she objected to such an offensive tone of voice, then I would say, still politely, or if not politely, then at least with calm restraint, my good woman, turn blue, go bald, and above all, go dumb! All you do is lecture, annoy and insult the passengers. If she should then answer, and this sort of thing has happened before, one more word from you, Sir, in that tone of voice and I'll call a policeman, I should come back telling her to call out the whole police force, the army, the fire service, call in armoured units if she liked, but I won't budge from this spot which I have as much right to occupy as any other passenger in the world.

Now then, if she dared call a policeman, and the policeman were able to scramble on to the crowded bus and had the nerve to call me to account, then I should tell him, without a trace of irritation, yet determined, my dear fellow, drop dead. Should he reply, which is not at all impossible, my dear Sir, if you use that language, I'll be forced to take you to the station, at this point, there being a limit to my patience as well, I would say, my dear fellow, you won't take me anywhere, if you don't stop I shall take you to a place where you won't like it at all. I'll jump up and down on your belly until I squeezed out your last breath and you lost any desire to make further threats.

After this—and this is not only conceivable but very likely too—the police inspector, in front of whom I'd meanwhile find myself, would read me the riot act, look, you seem to be such an educated, well-bred person, he'd say, your bearing and dress suggest a well-balanced mature man, how could you have said such a thing to a policeman who only did his duty when he came to the assistance of a working woman, who, in her turn, did nothing but carry out her duty, doing so with the utmost civility? I wouldn't even answer, disliking arguments as I do, but would step back, open my fly and piss on the carpet that had enough oil and ink stains on it anyway, and

having finished and buttoned up my fly, I might, at most, say, look Inspector, you can take this for an answer.

If after all this, which still lies well within the realm of possibility, the senior psychiatrist of the mental hospital should ask me with strained suavity to close my eyes, stretch my arms and start walking in an imaginary straight line towards him, I would not, to be sure, close my eyes or stretch my arms, but would be off in that imaginary straight line towards him all right, taking a kick right at his crotch that would send him summersaulting backwards behind his desk.

And this is not all. For if after all this the hefty male nurse, standing behind me, threw himself onto me trying to hold me down, I, whom luckily all this would not take by surprise, should kick him in the shin with such force that he'd fall flat on the floor and I'd be on top of him so that he couldn't move. Then I would gouge out his eyes, using my two thumbs on the corners, pressing them way into the sockets, which operation would make the two eyeballs jump from their holes with a soft popping sound. After this, to make doubly sure, I should dash out his brain for good measure, and the passage being free, I'd pick up my brief-case, go down to the street, hail a cab to get home in time, ready to receive my dear friends, hospitable as ever.

MEMOIRS OF A PUDDLE

It rained all day on March 22nd, 1972, and I collected myself in a very delectable place. I might as well give the exact location: in front of No. 7 Dráva Street, Budapest (the capital of Hungary), 13th district, where there is a pothole in the pavement.

I was living there, ticking over. Many a man stepped into me, then looking back they cursed me, swore at me, and used harsh words which I am loath to repeat. I was a puddle for two days, taking the insults lying down. It is common knowledge that the sun shone again on the 24th. Oh, the paradoxes of life! I dried up when the weather turned fine!

What else shall I say? Did I do all right? Did I make a fool of myself? Did I perhaps fall short of the expectations of the people at 7 Dráva Street? Not that it makes any difference, really, but all the same it would be nice to know, if only because after me puddles will go on collecting there. We live fast, our days are numbered, and while I was spending my days down there, a new generation sprang up, vigorous and ready for action, all of them ambitious potential puddles and they bothered me with importunate questions as to what they might expect in that promising pothole.

But all in all I "puddled" for a bare two days and all this allows me to say is that the tone of life is abusive; that Dráva Street is damned windy; and that the sun is forever shining when it has no business to, but at least you don't have to trickle down the drain pipe. Oh boys, what holes, what depressions! Burst pipes! Sagging roads! These are great things nowadays! All you young people, listen to me, forward to Dráva Street!

Translated by L. T. András

GROWTH, TRAFFIC, POLLUTION

Heads of European Capitals Discuss Common Problems in Budapest

by

JÁNOS HANTOS

On the occasion of the centenary of the unification of Buda, Pest and Óbuda, the mayors of the European capitals met in conference in Budapest at the end of September 1972. It is an established custom for cities to arrange festivals in commemoration of past events; when they are important ones it is common enough for guests from abroad to be invited.

Budapest, however, did not invite the heads of the capital cities of Europe to an occasion dominated by exchanges governed by protocol; current questions of city planning and administration were discussed. It was this that made the occasion unique. It is usual these days for heads of state, scientists, writers, students, sportsmen, members of the peace movement —and the list could be extended—to meet and discuss questions of mutual interest, doing so within the framework of international organizations or independently of them. Human co-operation in special fields extends the scope of peaceful co-existence.

A conference of politicians and experts is nothing unusual today. That is why it may appear strange that no conference of the heads of the capitals of Europe had earlier occurred. Budapest, celebrating the centenary of its unification, was the initiator, but the general acceptance of the invitation showed that the time was ripe.

This could be experienced already at the preparatory meetings. The Budapest initiative was received with approval and interest in the capitals of Europe. The Conference which took place between September 26–28, 1972, was attended by the official delegations of twenty-nine capitals, most of them headed by mayors or the chairmen of city councils.

The fact that so many delegations attended the Conference shows that the positive processes going on in Europe and an international atmosphere

permitting a *rapprochement* between the nations living in different social systems favourably influenced the Budapest meeting.

The Will to Co-operate

What made the Conference a major and exciting one was that the heads of the capital cities of Europe had been trying to cope with many identical or similar problems. In the course of preparatory meetings, the programme, the summary of lectures and the agenda were jointly worked out. The introductory address was delivered by Zoltán Szépvölgyi, President of the Budapest Municipal Council.* The representatives of the capitals present expressed their support and spoke of those problems which they, individually, considered to be most important. Since the majority had previously submitted their studies—which the Budapest authorities had forwarded to all others—the possibility for an exchange of experiences and working methods was present.**

The keynote of the Conference was struck by Zoltán Szépvölgyi, when he emphasized the importance of co-operation between the countries of Europe and of an exchange of their experiences. He said he looked on the Budapest Conference as an incentive in keeping with the interests of the populations represented as well as the desire for peace and security of the nations of Europe as a whole. He underscored that the will to co-operate and the possibility of co-operation would facilitate, in each city, the successful solution of specifically metropolitan problems.

These thoughts had wide repercussions at the Conference which, by unequivocally demonstrating the will to co-operate, expressed the strength of the links that connect all Europeans. A useful and diversified exchange of experiences took place in Budapest, one that reflected the individual features of the capitals as well, concerning modern ideas of city planning, the possibilities of developing historical cities, the protection of historical monuments and buildings, the avoidability of the breakdown in road traffic and, of course, questions of environmental protection. No matter what kind of municipal question was discussed, human care was always at the centre of interest. One can safely say that the heads of all the capitals were inspired by the endeavour to ensure their inhabitants better living standards then yesterday and higher ones tomorrow than today.

* See "The Possibilities of the Co-operation of the European Capitals". No. 49 of *The N.H.Q.*

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Ideas of City Planning and Development

Throughout the world an increasing number of people move to cities. Not a single European capital had reached a population of one million in 1800. By 1900 the population of London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg and Moscow exceeded that figure, by 1970 thirty-four capital cities in Europe already had a population in excess of a million. Fifty million people inhabit the capitals of Europe today. In 1920 scarcely 20 per cent of the population of the world lived in towns; by 1980, 40 per cent will very likely do so.

Growth—One of the Problems Large Cities Have to Cope with

The extent to which a city should grow has long been a subject for discussion. Nor can this question be answered in a way that is valid everywhere. The increase could mean the growth of the population within a certain area, or an increase in area, that is the incorporation of settlements near the city, or else the extension of the agglomeration. The character and duration of this growth is influenced by regional and geographical properties, by the role of a given city within the country, economic and cultural standards and, of course, by the far-sightedness of city planners. One can safely say that today's level of urban life makes spontaneous city growth impossible. The science of urbanism and city planning has reached a high level and demands planned activity. The Conference clearly reflected the fact that, in the capitals of Europe, city planning is implemented according to carefully worked out general plans of development. Those in charge of these capitals endeavour to acquaint those who live there with city planning programmes, asking them to express an opinion on these plans, and help their realization. The city planning and development programmes of various capitals differ. It is worth discussing three types of these programmes in brief, Moscow, Paris and Belgrade, as an example.

Moscow

A plan on the largest scale was reported on by V. F. Promislov, the President of the Moscow City Council. The area of the city is large (about 87,500 ha.) and is surrounded by a circular road. There is no need to go beyond these

limits in order to make essential changes in city structure. The general plan of development covers 25–30 years.

The traditional monocentric city structure is being abandoned and Moscow will be developed polycentrically. Eight complex planning zones will be developed to be connected by a system of town centres. A maximum of one million people will live in each of these zones, that is a 10 per cent increase in the present population of 7.3 million is reckoned with. It should be mentioned that the population will be doubled along the fringe. The basic principle of planning is that there should be a balance between the number of able-bodied inhabitants and employment opportunities, and that civilized living conditions be created in each zone. Since one million inhabitants are themselves the population of a big city, the planning zones are divided into planning districts—with 250,000 to 400,000 inhabitants in each—which again are subdivided into residential sections with an average population of 30,000 to 37,000. These sections are the supply units of the metropolis. They will be provided with cultural and social institutions, catering enterprises, sports grounds and parks. Since employment opportunities and housing will be assured for the inhabitants of each zone together with opportunities for cultural life entertainment, all this will no doubt decrease the burdens inflicted on traffic. The plan also envisages the development and modernization of the industrial potential of the Soviet capital. The factories so far scattered all over the city areas will now be linked up and transferred to the planned production zones. The factories and plants damaging to health will be moved, or else their methods will be changed.

A huge ring of parks and forests will be part of the suburban zones. This will ensure the pure air of the city. This park ring with architectural and aesthetical functions will connect the urban scene with the surrounding landscape.

Moscow's historically formed city centre is situated within the Sadovoye Boulevard. The city centre now extends beyond the old town core and connects all elements of the city's planning structure. The significance of the new structure is that the projects important for the whole city will be implemented outside the Sadovoye Boulevard. In this manner a large number of new work-places can be opened on areas that are closer to the newly planned housing zones, so that the population density of various sections of the city will now be more proportionate.

As part of the city planning project 550,000 apartments will be built between 1971–75 employing mechanized methods of construction. In view of the fact that the high blocks of flats built from prefabricated elements

lent a certain monotony to the cityscape, building methods will be radically changed. The factories will switch over to turning out elements prefabricated on the basis of a unified catalogue, ensuring variety in housing estates in various sections. On arterial roads and in other areas so important for city planning, individual building projects are carried out and harmonized with the townscape. The results of technical and economic research show that in Moscow, it is most expedient to build from nine to sixteen-storeyed buildings, though in certain sections twenty-five-storeyed or higher buildings may also be erected. An important point in planning is the increased exploitation of underground areas for servicing areas helping out the commercial, communal and production centres in the first place, and also projects of civil engineering and underground stations.

Paris

M. Roussille, who represented Paris, told of quite different notions of city planning. The principles of city planning are influenced here by the fact that the site of Paris is too small, no more than 100 square kilometres, and building and population density very high (2.6 million). The expansion of the city within its administrative boundaries is scarcely possible. The municipal authorities of Paris, therefore, keep three factors in view:

(a) the population density of inhabited areas,
(b) the height of buildings,
(c) the geographical distribution of housing and employment areas.

Owing to the extremely high population density the temptation is great to reduce, in practice, the number of inhabitants. This, however, would require "surgical" interventions of a kind that would not be countenanced by the population. On the other hand, a more proportionate distribution of population density through the modernization of fringe areas, new centres in the East, the reduction of overcrowding in historical districts, seem feasible. A reconstruction of the 15th District on the bank of the Seine, and on the Avenue des Italiens in the 13th District, is being planned, in which the large railway stations will be given a central role.

Maintaining population density is only possible if the height of buildings is increased, together with the simultaneous coping with overcrowding in certain areas. Since it is possible to achieve this only through the reconstruction of suburban districts, the municipal authorities are careful not to let a growing wall be built around Paris. They want to ensure the terraced

character of its geographical setting ensured by differing levels and the traditional, historical buildings and monuments. The following zones governing building heights have therefore been established:

25 metres in the centre of the city,
31 metres at fringe of the Centre,
37 metres in the suburbs,
45 metres on small, fringe areas where the skyline and view are of no importance.

New residential quarters and housing areas may be planned on condition that building heights are strictly observed and the various architectural and constructional elements are in harmony with the general view.

The municipal authorities of Paris see no possibility for the creation of new housing areas without places of work, or of working zones without blocks of flats. They have therefore chosen a system of mixed zones where a diversity of functions is permitted, in fact facilitated, provided that the predominant character (housing or working area) of the various districts is maintained. In the interest of general regrouping the opening of new offices is not allowed in certain housing areas (7th and 13th Districts) and in business areas where apartment-houses have practically disappeared (2nd and 8th Districts), the authorities give preference to the building of flats. The building of new offices is considered desirable in the immediate vicinity of the major railway stations because the time of travel from homes to places of employment can thus be reduced.

The municipal authorities also endeavour to maintain the conditions typical of the Parisian way of life, conserving, or restoring, the historical, aesthetic, cultural and emotional environment. It is planned that, by the end of the 20th century, employment opportunities in industry will be cut by 200,000 and openings in the servicing industry be increased by the same figure. The size of the population will be stabilized at around 2.6 million.

Belgrade

B. Pesic, the President of the Belgrade Municipal Council, said in his address that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the city of Belgrade developed unsystematically, without any plan. In this way extensive suburbs sprang up, without communal buildings, which were unnaturally cut off from the old city centre. It became necessary to draw up a general city plan, which was adopted in 1950. Belgrade then had 300,000 inhabitants.

Zemun continued to exist as a separate town. The two towns were separated by extensive, uninhabited, boggy marshland and were connected by just one bridge over the River Sava. Belgrade was situated between two big rivers, the Danube and the Sava, and for historical and other reasons the city had no structural connection with the banks of these rivers.

It was this situation that the general city planning programme wanted to change radically. Since then, New Belgrade has been erected on this earlier boggy area and merged with Zemun and Old Belgrade. It is a specific feature of the plan that it assigns the role of city centre to New Belgrade. Here, in addition to the housing area planned for 250,000 inhabitants, a considerable part of the most important public buildings of the capital will be built, establishing a close connection between the river banks and the capital. The plan has to be implemented by 1980. The size of the population was laid down as one million in the plan. Dynamic growth however speeded up the influx of the population into the capital, so that it already exceeds 1.2 million.

It was necessary to draw up another project, to be carried out by 2000. Its characteristic feature is a further increase in the area. Two million people will live on the vast site of Belgrade by the end of the century. This will include the area of fifteen villages. The increased area will enable the planners to allow for a very airy town structure. The built-in area will be four times as large and the population twice as large as earlier.

The basic purpose of the new city planning programme is "to create a healthy and favourable environment for everyday life". Housing and industrial areas will be strictly separated. New housing areas will be established on the hillsides, along the river banks, mainly in the areas that do not require major investment in the preparation of building operations. In the densely built-up Old Town, the number of inhabitants will be considerably reduced. As a result of these large-scale building operations, by the year 2000

70 per cent of the population will live in an area with a population density of 90–220 inhabitants per ha.,

15 per cent in an area with a density of 90 inhabitants per ha., or less,

15 per cent in an area with a density of 220 inhabitants per ha., or more.

Ind ustry will be decentralized to evenly divided, well-proportioned zones. Soil, air and water pollution will be carefully avoided. Industrial zones will be separated from the housing areas by protective wooded belts. All major roads will run in a "green corridor" which, depending on the character of the surrounding areas, are planned to be 400, 200, or 100 metres wide. The national and international network of motor-roads will by-pass the capital, merely touching it. International motorways and the major Belgrade

roads will be connected by city motor-roads which will touch the central sections, or form ringroads around them.

The Threat of Traffic Coming to a Standstill

This is a problem with which each and every metropolis has to cope. The fact that traffic problems in town centres remain unsolved poses another problem. The heads of a number of capital cities dealt with this subject. It appears that the "traffic explosion" demands radical measures. There is a general tendency towards transferring most of the traffic underground and the construction of underground railways as well as low fares that make public transport attractive to the public serve this purpose. Many big cities try to restrict motor traffic in the town centres. Those concerned are not agreed on whether to adjust the city to traffic demands, or traffic to the established rhythm of the city. There are examples for the skyline of a city being changed in the course of traffic modernization, but the desire to reduce traffic is gaining in popularity.

A number of cities in Europe have a well-developed system of underground railways and others such as Amsterdam, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Prague, Sofia and Warsaw are in process of developing one. Unfortunately, relieving congestion on the surface does not necessarily solve the problem.

W. Polak, the Deputy Mayor of Amsterdam, argued that not only an underground network, but a modern surface one is needed as well, where public transport has precedence over private traffic. As an experiment, trams were equipped with a light signal which automatically switches to green when the car approaches an intersection. What is more, motor traffic is prohibited in certain streets. In these streets public transport circulates freely, and therefore its use by the public has increased beyond expectation. Overcrowding is lessened by the reduction in whole-day parking places. An increase in parking areas is not envisaged. The Amsterdam municipal authorities endeavour to discourage people who wish to use private cars in the city centre, and to make the use of buses and trams more attractive.

In Stockholm—as Ewald Johannesson, President of the Municipal Council, said—traffic is being reorganized in certain residential areas. Several streets were closed to traffic, others were made one-way streets. The bulk of traffic was directed to major roads. Goods traffic avoids the residential quarters, and is banned from the Inner City at night. In order to avoid accidents, the Municipal Council of Stockholm plans to separate pedestrian traffic from vehicular

traffic. This solution is used in more and more capitals of Europe on thoroughfares where traffic is lively.

In Bucharest, which is developing apace, major attention is paid to the modernization of traffic. It could be gathered from the address given by Council Chairman Gheorghe Cioara that, within the system of avenues and boulevards, the number of major roads will be redoubled in a North-South, East-West direction. Rectangular traffic systems are planned in the area bordered by the Main Boulevard. The problem will be dealt with by a widening of existing streets and by reducing overcrowding in the old town core. The city is surrounded by an outer motorway which serves industrial transport, and tangential and transit traffic. This links up the motor-roads which converge on the capital. To speed up traffic and make it safer underground passages making it easier to get to surface and underground tram-stops and bus-stops will be constructed. Public transport will be improved primarily by increasing the bus network. The tramway network outside the central ring will be completely transformed and provided with modern noiseless cars.

The Historical Town Centre

I have already referred to the function of city centres. Since the capitals of Europe, almost without exception, look back on a long and rich historical past, a town core of historical importance evolved in them. This historical town core is, in many capitals, the city centre even today. The conservation of the century-old historical buildings and architectural monuments in these centres as well as problems connected with the development of town cores and their role in the life of the capital concerned, arise day after day.

Clelio Darida, the Mayor of Rome, dealt with this subject. More than a hundred years ago, when Rome became the capital of the new, unified Italy, it looked essentially as it had between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. After that, for seventy years, the objective was to adjust the historical town core to modern requirements. In the Mayor's view, irreparable damage was done to Rome. The disappearance of smaller buildings of architectural interest injured the extraordinary harmony of the Old Town. New Rome was in fact built on the site of Old Rome. This process had to be stopped. The problem is not only to conserve the historical town core but to ensure it a specific function. If it were permitted for the city centre to become a business area, or a centre of political and economic administration, this would be tantamount to a series of forced architectural interventions which would finally destroy the Old City. New administrative centres

will, therefore, be built in three different areas, diverting administrative organs from the Old Town. The old town centre would thus resume its old and homogeneous character. The authorities consider it important to keep the population here, lest the old city centre lose its original nature.

A noteworthy plan was discussed by Hervé Broubon, Deputy Mayor of Brussels, in connection with the replanning of the old section surrounding the Grand Place. The city plan prescribes the conservation and restoration of the old façades in the style marks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The only building permitted is what contributes to the unity of the cityscape. The owners, or tenants, may use only traditional building materials, that is stone, wood, brick, slate or tile. Street lamps are of traditional design. Trade-signs are strictly regulated. Inscriptions may not be placed higher than the first-floor level. In the case of spotlights, the light source must be hidden. Preference is given here to wrought-iron trade-signs of an artistic or decorative character, fixed on supporting pillars. The city supports house-owners in repair and restoration work by

(1) advising them, through its Building Operations Service, on the professional aspect, and by

(2) financial grants to cover up to 25 per cent façade and roof repair costs.

The President of the Budapest Municipal Council also spoke of historical town cores. As a result of the independent historical development of Buda and Pest, Budapest's historical town centre consists of two parts, one on each Danube bank. The Castle area in Buda was once the seat of the kings of Hungary. Its central, administrative character survived until the end of the Second World War. The Castle area suffered considerable damage during the war. Prior to restoration it had to be decided whether the old function of the Castle area should remain, or be modified. The pertinent decision radically changed the function of this section of Buda. The one-time Royal Palace will house museums, the National Gallery and one of Hungary's most important libraries. The Castle area will house scientific institutions, hotels, theatres and restaurants, at the same time maintaining its residential character. The restoration of the Castle area has been practically completed, with the exception of the Palace itself. Historical buildings have been rebuilt, restored and adapted to modern use in keeping with the Ancient Monuments Act.

The town centre of Pest is an area delimited by major roads; the northern part is dominated by governmental, the central one by commercial and catering, and the southern one by university buildings. There are, of course, residential buildings as well. This is one of the most crowded parts of

Budapest. Because of development in unbroken rows, there is scarcely a possibility of finding sites for new buildings. The function of this town centre will not change.

The town centre of Amsterdam, as the Deputy Mayor, W. Polak told the meeting, is the world's largest historical town core. Forty per cent of the buildings have been scheduled as protected. More than 100,000 people are living there even now, though in the second half of the fifties the population dropped by 28 per cent. The aim of the city planners is to maintain the original residential character of the town centre. The large houses built along the canals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are now occupied by commercial enterprises. The town centre is the shopping centre, and will remain that. The bigger of the two universities of Amsterdam will be able to keep its buildings in the eastern part of the town center. The present character of the town centre can, therefore, be conserved.

Environment Protection

Current tasks of environment protection were extensively discussed at the Conference together with the plans and measures destined to ensure a healthy environment and the right conditions for the population. It is a peculiar contradiction that man with his various activities destroys his environment. Engineering and science in the service of man often destroy that environment which, with its natural endowments, induced him to settle down. It is common knowledge that the pollution of the air has already produced tragic situations.

Sir Desmond Plummer, Leader of the Greater London Council, said that the worst smog in 1954 caused the death of 4,000 people in London. This circumstance led to government measures. As a result of the enforcement of the Acts of 1956 and 1968 the quantity of smoke, flue-dust and ashes ejected by chimneys has been considerably reduced. Fuller combustion or transformation of all kinds of fuel under constant control is being envisaged. Heating systems are improved and fuels producing the minimum amount of smoke are used. A compulsory chimney height is given for new buildings, so that residual gases (e.g. sulphur dioxide) may be dispersed over a large area and at higher altitudes. Furnaces are equipped with cinder and flue-dust removing installations to prevent their spread through the air. As a result of these measures, London smog is a thing of the past. The smoke content of the air, as compared with earlier years, fell to one-fifth, sulphur dioxide pollution to half the former quantity. It is planned that London

be smoke-free by 1980. It is worthy of note that the number of the sunny winter days in London is on the increase, flowers and plants are thriving in gardens and parks which earlier could not survive in the smoky air.

In 1961 injuries produced by noise were scientifically examined. It was established that 56 per cent of the population suffered from injuries caused by excessive noise. Traffic was the worst offender. Increasing traffic meant that noise is also increasing, it now reaches even formerly quiet streets. The quiet period at night has become shorter and the noise level over the week-end has increased. The pertinent investigation showed that heavy vehicles are a more important factor than other kind of traffic. That is why the City Council considers it important to reduce the noise level of the goods vehicles, banning them from residential areas, with the exception of local deliveries.

The noise made by air traffic poses another grave problem. London's biggest airport is not only close to the western suburbs, but because of the prevailing south-western winds, 70 per cent of all incoming planes fly low over that densely populated area. People who live there have to sound-proof their houses, 60 per cent of the costs being reimbursed.

Cleaning the Thames and its tributaries involved large-scale sewage-filtering projects. Absorbed oxygen was found to be completely missing in water tests taken in the summer of 1950, each containing nothing but sulphide. Oxygen dissolved in water is an important index of the quality of water. The treatment of sewage meant that only 3 per cent of the water tested in the summer of 1969 did not contain absorbed gaseous oxygen. At present the sewage in half of the London canals can be treated, and a new plan will ensure that all the sewage of Greater London will be filtered. This will ensure that the Thames, which is a tidal river, can in the future be used for recreation.

Ewald Johannesson, the President of the Stockholm Municipal Council, spoke of concrete measures and results. At the end of the sixties it was decided that houses must be liquid-fuel heated in future. The number of heating centres was cut. District heating centres were set up for heating the new residential areas and the general plan is that the heating of Stockholm's inner districts be also dealt with in this manner. In order to reduce the quantity of exhaust gases escaping from the exhaust-pipes of automobiles, the Municipal Council wants to restrict motor traffic in densely populated areas, to increase areas closed to traffic, and prohibit the idling of engines. Research work is being done on the best methods for filtering the exhaust fumes, or to have engines constructed which are less harmful to health than the present internal combustion engines. High lead petrol will be prohibited.

The President of the Sofia City Council, Ivan Panev, dealt, in quite a novel way, with the green belt problem. They want to exploit the natural setting of Sofia by creating an imposing system of parks. The vast green areas in the West and the South will connect the forests of the Vitosha and Lyulin Mountains with the green belt of the capital. Other public parks will be established as well. The connection between the system of public parks and sports as well as the network of health, social and day-nursery organizations and recreation is being investigated as well.

The structure of the system of public parks is as follows:

1. Existing and planned public parks. Both are situated on large green areas, thus forming the basis of the park system of the future.

2. Zones of the capital's infrastructure and pedestrian traffic favourably influence the layout of the settlements, e.g. road parks partly separate them from, partly connect them with, pedestrians' zones.

3. Parked areas of a limited use which penetrate deep into residential areas.

4. The green belt around the capital is formed of the woods in and around the city, ensuring the transition to nature.

Sofia is already called a city of parks; 9.24 per cent of its area are parkland, that is 17.2 square metres per inhabitant. By 2000 this will rise to 25.5 per cent, that is to 50 square metres per inhabitant.

Felix Slavik, the Mayor of Vienna, chose the international problems of environment protection as the subject of his address. He said that the municipal authorities of every city must cope with these problems which thus can justly be called international.

He started out from the fact that the means at the disposal of the various capitals differ. But even if a uniform practice of sorts could be established, the municipal administration alone would be incapable of coping with increasing pollution. Measures taken on a regional or country-wide scale can be effective only in part. A number of problems in this connection can be solved only on an international basis.

He mentioned as a major obstacle that a country which ensures that industry takes measures against pollution, will be handicapped on the international market by those whose industry is not encumbered by such obligations. Some argue that those must deal with pollution who are responsible for it. According to Mr. Slavik, this also requires international co-operation. Distorting effects could only be avoided if various countries pursued about the same practice in environment protection. He considers such international agreements necessary as would guarantee that products

be exported to other countries only if their use or their destruction after use did not harm the natural environment. There are many small countries in Europe, yet not one can afford to permit the importation of only such motor vehicles the exhausts of which are reduced to an acceptable minimum. The situation is even worse in the case of airplanes. The gases of nearly all aircraft pollute the air, yet no aircraft manufacturer will possibly meet the demand of individual countries in this respect. A reassuring solution of these questions requires international agreements. He mentioned, as an example for the efficacy of international agreements, the agreement on atomic exchange under which the artificial radioactive radiation affecting the natural environment has considerably decreased.

Representing Fifty Million Europeans

The Mayor of Vienna spoke in terms of great appreciation of the importance of the Budapest Conference, and suggested that at this first conference of the European capitals a statement be made on the necessity of co-operation, and that this communiqué be made public.

The participants in the Conference carried the motion, and discussed the draft communiqué. After views had been reconciled, the text of the declaration was unanimously adopted. The mayors and council chairmen of the European capitals, representing fifty million Europeans, assessed the result of their meeting in the following brief communiqué:

"Budapest's centenary—the hundredth anniversary of the unification of the ancient Hungarian towns of Buda, Pest and Óbuda (Old Buda) afforded an opportunity to the heads of the European capitals to confer jointly for the first time in the history of our Continent. We had much pleasure in coming together in Budapest and discussing problems that are of high concern to us.

"Representing Amsterdam, Andorra la Vella, Ankara, Athens, Belgrade, Berlin—capital of the GDR—Bern, Bonn—capital of the Federal Republic of Germany—Brussels, Bucharest, Budapest, Copenhagen, The Hague, Helsinki, London, Madrid, Monaco, Moscow, Oslo, Paris, Prague, Reykjavik, Rome, San Marino, Sofia, Stockholm, Vaduz, Vienna and Warsaw, we had the opportunity to discuss at length both the specific and the common tasks set to us by the rapid development of our age. These tasks make it imperative that we co-ordinate our creative efforts.

"Inestimable treasures of art and cultural assets have accumulated in our capitals. The preservation and further enrichment of this irreplaceable

heritage depend on the maintenance of peace. The creators of such values ought not to feel concerned about the results of their labours falling into ruins or burning to ashes. It is our common objective that, starting out from realities, we may further the development of our capitals and the welfare of their population in an atmosphere of security and co-operation.

"This realization prompts us to establish closer relations among our capitals. We deem it our task to promote scientific, technical and social progress by every means at our disposal and to do everything in our power for the peace and security of the peoples and to work for the continuous improvement of the living conditions of both today's and tomorrow's generations.

"We are taking effective measures to cope with the increasing environmental pollution that threatens the health of the population of the European capitals. We will concentrate, counting on the support of our respective governments, on ensuring a healthy environment for the population.

"One of the greatest events of this Conference is that it provides us with an opportunity for intensifying co-operation among the capitals of our Continent. We believe that our Conference is useful also because it can serve as an overture to future negotiations which will, no doubt, contribute to intensifying mutual relations, to the development of our cities and to the enrichment of the lives of our populations.

"We are firmly resolved to pool our forces, with mutual trust, understanding and co-operation, for the realization of our common aims. We are convinced that this resolution and the subsequent co-operation will be fruitful and will serve the interests of our Continent."

I think we may safely say that the Budapest Conference has opened up a new phase in the relations between the individual capital cities of Europe. It can be unequivocally stated that the competent heads of these capitals consider their close co-operation not only possible, but necessary. It is only to be hoped that the Mayors and Council Chairmen of the capital cities of Europe will exploit the advantages of this co-operation and will thus serve the common cause—the peace and security of Europe.

A 1932 INTERVIEW WITH BARTÓK

by

MAGDA VÁMOS

Habent sua fata libelli. I do not know to what extent this saying is due to the convulsions that shook Roman history, in more than one case, however, it can, I think, be appropriately applied to the years that preceded the Second World War in Europe, and the period that directly followed it. Otherwise it would be hard to explain how one of the longest, perhaps the longest, interview that Béla Bartók ever gave could have sunk into oblivion.

More than forty years have passed. Now that *The New Hungarian Quarterly* is republishing this conversation with Bartók, which is apparently confined to musical questions, though it moves on many levels, an outline of its background, and the circumstances under which it took place may well be of some interest.

No decent man could remain indifferent to the moral pollution of the environment in the early Thirties. The Cantata Profana, composed in 1930, was a profession of faith in the innocence of art and the decency of man. It goes without saying that an important piece of music outlives by far the political tensions and constellations that prevailed at the time of its birth, contributing to it. They no longer count when listening to Beethoven's Third Symphony, and in the same way concert-goers will soon be unaware of them when attending a performance of the Cantata Profana. Beethoven and Bartók have much in common, to give just one example, possibly one of the most important, they were both committed men, as one says today, they both believed that an extraordinary talent commits to much that goes beyond mere self-expression. In Bartók's case, as in Beethoven's, this awareness was frequently formulated in non-musical terms. After finishing Cantata Profana Bartók wrote to Octavian Beu, a Rumanian fellow musicologist:

"... My real idea however, one of which I have been completely conscious since I have known myself to be a composer, is the brotherhood of nations, a brotherhood in spite of war and strife. I try to serve this idea in music, as much as my strength allows; that is why I do not shut myself off from any influence, be the source Slovak, Rumanian, Arab, or any other. But the source must be clean, fresh and healthy!... Others, not I, have to judge whether my style, regardless of the many sources, has a Hungarian character (and that is what counts). I, on my part, feel that it's there. Character and environment must after all be somehow in harmony."

This private letter, written in German, Bartók's German was as good and correct as his Hungarian, was followed that same year by a protest which the New Hungarian Music Society, on Bartók's initiative, submitted to the Societé Internationale pour la Musique Contemporaine as a draft resolution. Bartók himself formulated it. The decent stand taken by the Hungarian section of the society in the Toscanini affair must be particularly ap-

preciated bearing in mind that Hungary at the time was formally allied to Italy, the country where fascist rowdies had the hide to demonstrate viciously against Arturo Toscanini, since he refused to conduct the Giovinezza at performances at La Scala. The one who gained from the whole affair was the Metropolitan Opera House, Italy and Milan were the losers. Bartók, at that time, did not yet consider emigrating as Toscanini had done. What he wanted to do was to preserve the intellectual heritage and the liberties of his country and Europe. The draft resolution formulated by Bartók demanded "a world-wide organization able to defend the freedom of art in an institutionalized way".

That is why, though a busy man, one what is more known to be taciturn and reserved, he took part in the deliberations of the Comité des Arts et des Lettres de la Cooperation Intellectuelle.

The Committee sat in Geneva, in the Palace of the League of Nations, between July 5th and 9th 1931. Bartók attended this meeting. He hoped to submit a resolution on the Toscanini case, but diplomatic over-caution aborted his intention. Bartók was the only musician attending the meeting, they therefore expected a special motion covering music from him. Considerable respect was shown him personally though, out of all those present, Thomas Mann only knew his compositions more or less well. A letter from Bartók to his mother shows that Bartók saw the importance of conferences of that sort not in the diluted and toned down resolutions but knew that "most of the profit lies in the fact that twenty–twenty-five people can meet, get to know each other, and talk to each other".

There is a photograph of the Committee sitting at a horse-shoe shaped table in the Conference Room. Bartók got his signed by the other participants. This photograph, bearing the signatures of Karel Čapek, Thomas Mann, Gilbert Murray, Paul Valéry, Hélène Vacaresco and others, has since appeared in a number of books on Bartók. He only established a closer relationship with Čapek and Thomas Mann and his wife. Bartók sat next to Katja Mann-Pringsheim at the official supper. "I talked a great deal to Thomas Mann as well", he wrote to his mother. Very likely neither Katja nor Thomas Mann were aware what a rare event they witnessed since Bartók only rarely showed an inclination "to talk a great deal".

Ten months after the Geneva meeting the Society for International Intellectual Cooperation held its symposium in Budapest and Esztergom. Even more people attended than at Geneva, perhaps the beautiful spring weather, or the Danube, or Hungarian hospitality attracted them. The *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, a predecessor of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* published in French, issued a special number in May 1932 on this occasion. An hour-long interview with Bartók was considered one of the highlights of this issue, and indeed, it fulfilled the expectations attached to it; in the summer of 1932 *Le Mois—Synthèse de l'activité mondiale*, published in Paris, re-printed it in its entirety, a number of English and American weeklies published extracts, and the interview was translated into Hindustani as well.

It must be said that Béla Bartók is unlikely to have agreed to this interview if he had not considered it important that outstanding European artists and writers should build a bridge over an abyss in which hatred was eddying dangerously, if he had not considered that this organization assembled in the interests of intellectual cooperation had at least the strength of an intention or symbol.

He gave the interview to someone he had never seen before.

Perhaps I will be forgiven for saying a few words about myself, that is about myself forty years ago. I became a professional journalist at an early age. Unfortunately I was equally interested in literature, music and politics. That is how it happened that, right from the start, I wrote on home and foreign affairs, as well as writing book-reviews and music and

dramatic criticism. My field in music criticism was strictly limited however, I wrote about operatic performances and *Lieder* recitals only, that is I did not even cover all of vocal music. Owing to the musical education of my youth I was much more at home in the German or Italian musical idiom than in the Hungarian one. It would be a mistake to deny that Bartók and Kodály's work had not yet borne fruit in Hungarian music teaching in the Twenties. As a rule not even the best teachers taught Bartók and Kodály's music. Margit Varró was my teacher at the time when I practised music and did not merely listen to it. She was an outstanding teacher of the piano whose books on new methods in piano teaching appeared in a number of languages. She emigrated to the United States before the War, continuing to teach there to a ripe old age. Bartók as well thought highly of Margit Varró's work, and that really was something. As time passes Bartók the composer is increasingly recognised as a classic, and Bartók the pianist tends to be forgotten. Whatever I may have said about the musical idiom my own aged generation was brought up in does not alter the fact that already in early youth, that is starting around the middle Twenties, I considered Bartók to be the most important pianist in Central Europe. The linear severity of his playing, the strength of the discipline controlling the demonic power inside him, showed the structure of a work more clearly than anyone else did at the time. It was as if a Shakespeare had shown himself to be the greatest actor even when speaking the words of other playwrights.

The piano opened Bartók's doors to me, both in a literal and a metaphoric sense. My teacher, Margit Varró, gave me a letter of introduction, and she also "introduced me" over the telephone when we arranged a time for me to call at Bartók's house in Kavics utca, in the Buda hills.

The path up to the Rose Hill house where Bartók occupied a flat on the First Floor was pretty steep. The ground above and behind was still free of buildings at the time. Silence reigned, and horizons were distant, the Danube islands and the outline of the town built on the Pest plain were within reach of the eye.

Silence and eyes that reached distant horizons: that was the first impression I had of Bartók as we shook hands. He had only recently returned from Egypt, his complexion was tanned by the sun, but his handsome figure still looked fragile, and in need of protection. His manner reminded me of outstanding mathematicians whom I knew, there was nothing "arty" about him. Simplicity, an effort to be precise, concealed wit—that is what I observed. The edge of his irony was playful rather than biting.

If I remember right we sat in two large leather arm-chairs, books, scores, magazines behind us, pianos in front of us. I had barely arrived and we had something to drink when Bartók's son Péter, who was eight at the time, burst in, showing no intention of leaving. His father told him not to disturb our conversation and he found a place under the piano opposite, between the pedals and right-hand leg. He crouched there right to the end without batting an eye-lid, observing us for a full hour. He came out from his hiding-place when we said good-bye. "Why didn't you ask me anything?" he said with a certain sound of reproach in his voice.

Then, like a little gentleman, he took me down to the gate, right down the steep slope of the garden.

I never saw Péter again. I met his father once again in the flat of Dr Gyula Holló, whose patients we both were. Dr Holló was not only an outstanding scientist, but an outstanding man and amateur musician as well. His wife, also a doctor, was her husband's assistant. The Holló couple moved to New York feeling threatened by the Nazis, before Bartók and his wife did. Though there cannot be a moment's doubt that Bartók was prompted to

emigrate by the unbearable state of the political atmosphere, the fact that Dr Holló and his wife moved to America also played a role in his decision.

But that is another story.

As is one, which as far as I know remains unrecorded, concerning the desire of many politicians in Hungary in the months following the war, to invite Bartók to be the first Head of State of the new Hungarian Republic. Such plans were put an end to by Bartók's death in October 1945. The divided world of the time had stopped news of his mortal illness reaching Hungary.

The number of contemporary witnesses is dwindling, and these stories will perhaps remain unrecorded for ever.

Just as it is I alone who remains to vouch for the authenticity of our conversation. The interview was first recorded in Hungarian, then I translated it into French myself. Bartók carefully checked both the Hungarian and French versions and signed them. The MSS were destroyed, as were all the other files of the *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*.

A good many Bartók scholars have started work since then, others have continued with their labours. I had hoped that this major interview would also be dug out by them, but this did not happen. Much was buried too deep by the vicissitudes of time.

That is why, on the fortieth anniversary of the conversation, I myself asked the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences—Bartók had been on the staff of the Academy for the last six years of his stay in Budapest—to photocopy the original publication of the *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*.

The sun-bathed crest of a hill dominating the town. Green meadows. Stairs cut in the hillside lead to a solitary villa: Béla Bartók's home. His room is fitted with peasant furniture of the land of the Székely. Letters and parcels from all parts of the world are stacked on the soberly carved timber table-top. At the age of twenty-five the young Hungarian composer, famous for his research into Hungarian folk music to which no one had responded with such intensity, had already captured the attention of the world of music; today, at fifty, he is one of the uncontested masters of modern music whose works are now becoming more generally admired.

Squeezed between two huge pianos in the maestro's studio, in whom a virtuoso, a scholar, a collector of folk-songs and a composer have merged to achieve an amazing equilibrium, we are talking of the relation of art-music and folk-music, of the role of Hungarians in music, and of the search for new ways, the great problem of all art today.

Béla Bartók is not fond of long speeches. A peculiar, not very modern, quality characterizes him: a respect for words. I almost said: a fear of what they may evoke. Even when speaking he is overwhelmed by the scruples

of artistic creation. He stresses and chooses each word with the studied precision and anxious thoroughness of the scholar.

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I began with a statement and a question. "While music is usually referred to as an abstract art, it is undeniable that it too reflects the artistic features of a given period. There exists, for instance, an intimate relationship between Debussy and the Barbizon school, or rather the impressionists. Similarly, Schumann has given musical form to the high fevers and the petty sentimentality of romanticism, and the dynamic conflicts and volcanic forces of the Revolution pulsated in Beethoven's music. Despite all individual and material differences an opera by Meyerbeer, a canvas by Delacroix and a poem by Victor Hugo create a stylistic impression—undefineable yet defined—which correlates them like parts of a single entity. Nowadays, or shall we say once again, a young and vigorous style appears to be more prominent in the arts—and here I am thinking of architecture and, maybe, literature in the first place. The names might differ. 'Populism' or 'neue Sachlichkeit' it does not make much difference what you call it, is here to stay. Neither sentimentalism nor romantic fervour seem to agree with the spirit of our time. At this point various questions will arise: what are the musical means helping to develop this style? What are its musical characteristics? Can it be felt in the new music as strongly as in the new architecture or new literature?"

"I do not think we can tell"—the Maestro said. "What we actually see is chaos: there are various trends, explorations, efforts, experimentations. Mere fumbling. There is but one trait which seems to be clearly outlined: a total rejection of the nineteenth century. But we really are too close to that to see things in the proper perspective.

"But you are a peak and from a peak it is easier to survey the whole, don't you agree?"

(Smiling). "A nice thought. As for myself: I know very well what I want to express. That much is true. But you cannot exclude the possibility that one who looks at things from a distance will see the peaks and the outlines more clearly.

Well, you seem to believe that harshness is the dominating tone in modern art. I would not say that. Disillusion? Simplicity? These are appearences only. In nearly every great modern musical work one may, in fact, perceive an effort towards a clarity of construction, a rigorous severity of composition coupled with a tendency to do without flourishes. At this point there may be a connection with the style you just mentioned. But modern simplicity is just a moment of condensation within a complex evolution."

"You have often emphasized how much peasant music has to teach, particularly from the point of view of this simplicity."

"That is right. The tunes of peasant music—in the strictest sense of the term—actually embody the highest artistic perfection. Still, whenever one discusses this subject it is indispensable to define one's terms. This is a point I keep stressing in my books and published papers. Even Ferenc Liszt, in the absence of scientific material and the necessary documents, operated with erroneous concepts when writing on Hungarian folk-music and on so-called "Gypsy" music. What is usually called Gypsy music—and maybe some day we shall be able to slowly convince the public of this—that is tunes played by Gypsy bands, are mostly compositions by dilettante members of the Hungarian middle class, town dwellers or landed gentry. Hungarian amateurs compose and sing these songs and the Gypsies merely play them. Anyone can observe that usually neither the Gypsy band-leader nor his musicians will sing. It is true that the Hungarian public will also play such melodies on instruments: piano, violin, cymbalum, but only at home or with friends. When it comes to performing this popular music in public, for money, that is the business of Gypsy bands, a Hungarian gentleman of old would never lend himself to so menial a task. True, times have changed but the dissemination of Hungarian folk-music and urban music has remained the monopoly of Gypsies. At most one could add that this music is played "à la tzigane" which seems to be the only original element contributed by the Gypsy nation to Hungarian art-music composed in the popular fashion.

Even here there remains a doubt and as for myself, I would be inclined towards the opposite view. Those who cannot imagine a Gypsy without a fiddle are gravely mistaken. Most of the Gypsies in Hungarian villages do not play any kind of instrument. It is true they have their own songs which they sing in the Gypsy language, but the melodies are usually borrowed from the neighbouring peasant population. Those few original songs sung on rare occasions by Gypsies in Hungarian villages have neither colour nor depth, and they have nothing in common with the tunes played by the Gypsies in towns. Incidentally, Gypsies have acted as performers in Hungary's musical life only since the 18th century. Still, even today the proportion of these musicians is rather low. Among Hungarian Gypsies no more than 6 per cent earn their living this way and their musical stock as well as style is by no means homogeneous. In remote villages they will play exactly the same pieces as the peasants and in exactly the same manner. The nearer one gets to civilization and the bigger towns, the more this style changes; finally, in big cities one meets those so-called "folk"-songs and those mannerism of execution known throughout the world by the name of "Gypsy music". It seems to me that this style and this manner were

produced by the environment rather than by the character of the Gypsies', were it otherwise, the village Gypsies would play exactly in the same way as the urban ones. It is an open point whether the said manner of playing, customarily called the Gypsy manner, has been determined and shaped by the Hungarian classes just like their stock of tunes. I'm inclined to answer this question in the affirmative."

"You were just speaking of the excesses of the Gypsy manner. Maybe they are inseparable from the sentimental—sometimes shocking—exaggeration abounding in both the tunes and the words of pseudo-folk-music. Incidentally, nineteenth-century composers have freely borrowed from the elements of folk-music. Why, take Chopin who stands for the national romanticism characterizing his time, besides his own incredibly individual style. His Polonaises and other piano pieces of a Polish tenor have inspired similarly national works in other countries, national in rhythm and melody. What we are witnessing is a steadily spreading and systematic utilization of motives borrowed from folk-music, though in most cases the aim is just to achieve a decorative effect. Everyone knows that Hungarian motives are frequently encountered in Haydn's or Beethoven's music; and Liszt's Hungarian rhapsodies and Brahms' Hungarian dances art widely known. In the case of both of these composers the influence of Hungarian folk-music is often apparent. Towards the middle and the end of the 19th century the "national" element played an increasing role in European music, particularly with the Slavs and Scandinavians. It was precisely the utilization of the musical folklore by Grieg which had enchanted certain composers who came under his influence. Nevertheless we have reason to believe that in 19th-century music the famous "national" character was based on motives and tunes borrowed from the "popular" music of the upper classes rather than on genuine peasant music."

"This is so. The discovery of peasant music was left to the first years of the twentieth century. It is true that even last century, in western countries, folk elements lent colour and enriched great musical compositions, contributing something new and original; still, in the last analysis, these elements were treated in the routine manner and mostly mixed with romantic sentimentalism."

"Say sentimentalism and you've said prolixity. Peasants in general, and Hungarian peasants in particular, are sparing of speech. What, then, has led modern Hungarian music, art-music that is, to discover real Hungarian peasant music?"

"In the first place this: the great example of conciseness. An antique simplicity that will spurn all florid flourishes. Among Hungarians, and this is true also of their Rumanian or Slovak neighbours, and other East-European nations as well, peasant tunes show great conciseness, a clear-cut form, and neat outlines that cannot be surpassed. These melodies are the classical examples of the art of expressing any musical idea with the highest perfection, in the shortest form, and using the simplest and most direct means.

Much has been said about the intimate relationship between mathe-

matics and music. Whether this is mathematics or music, the most perfect form has been achieved when all that has to be said is said and not one iota more."

"It is true that in all human thought and art facility has its dangers. Often the spirit may spark to the disadvantage of depth; ultimately routine will kill the intensity of expression. On the other hand, real folk music, that is peasant music, gushes forth naturally from life's spring and from the great antique rhythms: thus it is, in the purest meaning of the word, the source to which one must constantly return."

"When twenty or twenty-five years ago, we were carrying out a thorough investigation of Hungarian peasant music in the field, many people were astonished, and they were sorry to see trained musicians, authors of original compositions, devote several years' intensive work just to collecting peasant music. These persons did not have an inkling of what it meant for us and —now it can be told—for the subsequent progress of Hungarian art music, to have had such a direct contact with peasant music. Still, the fact is that folk-art cannot have a fertile influence on a composer unless he knows the peasant music of his native country just as thoroughly as he does his mother tongue.

In this way folk music will flow through the veins of the composer and the idiom of peasant music will have become his own musical language which he will use spontaneously, involuntarily and naturally just like a poet uses his mother-tongue. In this country the most striking and magnificent example of this can be found in the case of Kodály. It is enough to think of the "Psalmus Hungaricus" in order to be aware of the victorious strength drawn by modern Hungarian art-music from delving into the Hungarian soil in the midst of roots that go deep and are alive."

"Don't you find that at the end of the last and at the beginning of this century, it was principally composers belonging to small nation or such as were at some distance from western civilization who marched at the head of musical movements? The motifs of western folk-music had been amply exploited by the great masters, so much so that the powerful impact of peasant music has, lately, benefited mainly the composers of Eastern Europe and of the small nations. Don't you agree that this explains much, and we should keep in mind that nowadays it is Hungarian, Russian, Czech and other national composers who represent progressive European music in the greatest number and in the most expressive manner; I would even venture to say that they are the most worthy of this European music."

"Let us beware of generalizations. The fact is that the impact made by the discovery of the peasant music of Eastern-Europe has been very strong and in many ways perhaps even decisive. What you have said sounds likely. Incidentally, it is interesting to observe that—as a rule—it is the small countries and chiefly the oppressed nations who devote themselves most passionately to the collection and study of their folk-music.

It is only natural that modern art-music, and not only Hungary owes much of its idiom to such research and to a knowledge of peasant music. This idiom and the particular characteristics which are the result of organic development will surprise reactionaries and may mislead many before they are able to understand their intricate relations. The melodic turns of East-European peasant music have led to new conceptions of harmony. We have elevated the seventh to the role of assonance for the simple reason that in Hungarian pentatonic folk-songs it is an interval with no less a role than that of the third or fifth. This equality, which our ears have often perceived in the sequence of sounds, we have also tried to make felt in simultaneity. In other words we have united the four sounds in a single assonant chord. Similarly, the frequency in which passages in fourths occur in our old melodies has inspired us to create fourth-chords, we have simply projected onto a vertical plane what used to follow on a horizontal one.

For instance, the fact that peasant tunes are not based on the stereotype pattern of the combination of triads has freed us from certain shackles, thus making possible, entirely new and free harmonies. We have been able to illuminate these melodies in various ways by greatly differing chords and tonalities. The fact that polytonality has appeared in Hungarian music, and in Stravinsky's works, can be explained, on the whole, by this possibility. It should be stressed that this has not been the result of a random change or accidental contingency but rather of an organic evolution having its roots in folk-music."

"Don't you find it interesting, Maestro, that the musical idiom is not the only thing to have been upset, but other arts have been as well. It appears that each period in art has its own favourite genre which flourishes at the time. Would you agree that the opera is stagnating, that it can be even said to be in a state of decadence?"

"This is so. No successful opera, or one which has proved viable, has been written since Puccini. Still, at this point the disadvantageous position of the small nations becomes more pregnant. In Hungary, for instance, the absence of good librettos has contributed a great deal to this stagnation. The composer's task is aggravated by the tyranny of the text, and in the case of a small nation the choice will necessarily be restricted. But in a general way yes, one may speak of the decadence of opera.

Incidentally, it seems to me that the fashion of suites consisting of short pieces, and generally the vogue contenting itself with short genres and forms must be connected with the faster tempo of the modern way of life. One may say, without exaggeration, that, nowadays, it no longer pays to write a long-winded work."

"It is striking that the element of parody should be so widespread in contemporary music and is still gaining ground. At this point I am not referring to the healthy ancestral humour of folk-art but rather to refined, even degenerate, parody, to musical coarseness, the cartoon, the petty grimaces, this mania of self-mockery. When all is said and done, shouldn't we see in this the expression, or negative proof, of an absence of real creative power?"

"That may be true to a certain degree. Right now these may be temporary phenomena only, striking our eyes. The taste for parody, incidentally, is not of such recent date as one might think. Berlioz, for one, was fond of it.

"Jazz indulges in such effects. Can it be that contemporary compositions are showing the influence of jazz?"

"(Smiling). What do I think of jazz? It is a clever thing, to which melody owes many of its happy elements and rhythms, owes much that is new, all valuable in their own way. True, the harmonies are mostly banal and poor."

"While we are at this point, what is your opinion on the future development of Hungarian peasant music? May we hope that it will not die out in this age of talkies, the wireless, the grammophone and jazz, threatened as it is by a multitude of alien influences?"

"Being a prophet is unrewarding. In any case it is worth mentioning that in addition to the old pentatonic style of Hungarian peasant music, tunes that are no longer sung except by old people, we have encountered a new and flourishing style, characterized by a lively, vigorous rhythm, and a symmetrical and orderly structure. These new-style melodies date from the last seventy or eighty years and several of them from the very 20th century. It is not likely that anything will arrest the development of peasant music. However, naturally, jazz may well leave its impact: certain features and certain elements of jazz may be absorbed by the powerful organism of peasant music only to be transformed and differentiated within it."

"A great many—and I don't mean laymen only—cannot or will not hear the melody in peasant music and its contemporary adaptations. But going on from peasant music to modern art-music, and I want to make it clear that what I am goig to say does not apply to yours or Zoltán Kodály's, music-lovers and even those who love the grand-style mostly have a confused feeling deep in their hearts that the works of the most progressive members of this school are wanting in melody. One might say that melody has been relegated into the background and invention—deliberately or otherwise—plays a lesser role. I should like to know your opinion, as that of one of the outstanding representatives of modern music. And at this point, could you tell me, which of these three elements, that is rhythm, harmony and melody, can be considered the most important today?"

"(Without hesitation). Melody. Today as ever. In my opinion those who find the works of modern composers to be poor in melodic invention are

entirely wrong. Melody is still the "body" of the work just as it was with the old masters. If the public and those critics who are unable to get rid of clichés fail to notice this, why, it is the public and the critics who are at fault, not the composers.

After hearing an adaptation of a Székely folk-song, an English critic wrote recently that it was interesting but there was no use looking for a melody in it. Not to hear a melody in a folk-song! That is revealing. A folk-song without a melody: that is utter nonsense. But no matter how simple and clear the melodic line may be, once it clashes with the settled notions of the "initiates", they will fail to understand anything."

Bartók then discussed his working methods.

"Instinctive and conscious elements must be in equilibrium within the creative imagination. In my view the importance attached to the originality of the theme is one of the characteristic exaggerations of the past century. It is not so much the theme which matters but rather what the artist can make of it. All art has the right, even the duty, of looking for links and lessons in preceding ages. Let us recall how many formulae Johann Sebastian Bach, the greatest of them, borrowed from his contemporaries and predecessors. The big test of a real talent will be the form he lends to this loan.

The dominant current of modern music is based on the powerful impulse of folk-melodies expressive of the national soul. It is from that direction that rejuvenation has and will come. In the creative ages bent on interpreting collective feelings, it is natural that the artists should draw from the great common source. But before folk-music can achieve its full artistic significance, it is necessary that, in the hands of a real creative talent, it should become capable of acting on the art-music. One thing is certain, those who speak of a poverty of invention and poverty of melody, are mistaken. Despite the arrival of the machine age the powerful stream of music throbbing with life's eternal rhythm will never dry up. And the source of this stream—particularly in the countries devoid of musical traditions—will always be found in folk-music. Let me conclude with Zoltán Kodály's beautiful words: what folk-music means to us is no less than the organic life of a great national tradition."

ISTVÁN VAS

BOCCHERINI'S TOMB

Shall we go there, too? Whatever for? Another half-Gothic
Small checkered church whose inside has been ruined.
Sub-baroque. We're lucky that it's dark.
Let's get away from here. But wait a moment, there's something white
showing over there,
A huge nose, a vaulted head, set in the wall. And a lute below?
Well, let's have a look. It's Boccherini's tomb.
How did it get here? He was born in Lucca, of course,
Though he lived in Madrid. You may remember
The Madrid Guard on record.

But that wasn't the first thing of his I'd heard.
It was rather late in my life before I'd even heard his name;
And the place and time were rather strange.
Gödöllő, the school gymnasium. There were a hundred of us.
Or more. And a little rotten straw.
The only place you could go out to was the yard,
Where the snow was deep. We could wash in it,
But then (do you remember? it was a cold winter) it froze,
And they urinated all over it... but, you recall, once
You got in and bribed the guard and took me out to wash.
You can imagine what we were like after two weeks. But I
Wasn't the only poet in the gymnasium.
Tom Fool was there, too, who not long before
Had been writing Fascist articles, but since his luck had worsened,
All he talked about was who should hang.
And there was another, who later celebrated the hefty little leader

In such artful poems; but at times he was a real
Poet—you had to admit that—and he was also
A good mate in trouble and behaved wonderfully well—
Threatening to boot the contaminated Jews
Who sang one of the German soldier songs inside.
But they weren't the ones who consoled me; it was a red-haired printer
Who put up with all that happened, always gay and sarcastic.
It was he who whistled the Boccherini minuet all day,
That mocking ironical pizzicato minuet,
Which made fun of everything including
The minuet itself. When we were inoculated
Against typhoid and the Medical Officer remarked
That we were all pretty dirty, even then
He hissed it in my ear; and whenever I was really downcast,
He began to hum it especially for me, and that
Restored my courage and I laughed again.
Then, as you know, I soon got out of there;
I've always been something of an exception. He went up to the front,
From which he managed to return, God knows how;
He joined the Party, but I haven't heard anything about him for a long
time;
I'm not even sure he didn't emigrate on one occasion or another.

But now here in the dark church I remember him
And in thought bend my knees not to Francis,
The gentle, poor, super-poet, the saint,
But to the mocking minuet, Boccherini's pizzicatos.
And to Andor Rottman (now I can safely put down his name;
He turned it into Hungarian later, to what I've forgotten.)
And to C. who lived there, near the Gödöllő Gymnasium,
Something I didn't know, not knowing him at the time,
But later, when things became even worse for me, he hid me at his
place,
And to A., who also saved my life
Without having been asked to, rewarded only by my disapproval,
And to K., the unlaurelled outstanding poet whom
I sent to you on a secret mission, and who, entering,
Clicked his heels: "L. K., Secretary to the Minister,"
That's how he introduced himself to the Commander
Of the Desemitizing Unit, who was armed to the teeth;

Not to mention a number of women, whose names
I shall not put down, since they would not like to appear together on
this page,
In other words, to everyone in that dark church who then
Helped guard my sanity.

Translated by William Jay Smith

JÁNOS PILINSZKY

POEMS

CATTLE BRAND

1

There is no cattle brand
I don't deserve.

It will be good for me to cross
the white-washed threshold of death.

Everything we have deserved is good.

2

With a nail driven into the world's palm,
pale as death,
I flow with blood.

ALL THAT IS NEEDED

However wide creation is,
it is more cramped than a sty.
From here to there. Stone, wood, house.
I do this and that. Come early, am late.

And yet at times someone enters
And suddenly what is expands.

All that's needed is the sight of a face, a presence,
And the wallpaper begins to bleed.

All that is needed, yes, is a hand
stirring the coffee, or
withdrawing from an introduction.
That's all that is needed for us to forget the place,
the dismal row of windows, yes,
when we return at night to our room—
all we need to accept the unacceptable.

I SHALL BE WATCHING

I shall be watching how the water trickles—
branching in delicate paths—
the inscriptions of agony
and chance, their long outlines
on dead stones, living faces—
I shall be watching them before
I gain oblivion.

METRONOME

Measure time
but not our time,
the motionless present of splinters,
the angles of the drawbridge,
the white winter of our execution,
the silence of paths and clearings,
in the setting of the fragmented jewel
the promise of God the Father.

EVERY BREATH

Every breath wounds me,
every heart-beat knocks me down.
Odd that the sea is immortal
although its every wave is doom.

How does God govern his eternal
presence, in the forever
perishing field of creation?

Like the resigned life of grasses,
the heart-beats of mortals,
in the end that's what glory must be—
the grave happiness of God.

THE REST IS GRACE

Terror and dream
were my father and mother.
And a corridor was the
country opening out.

So I lived. How shall I die?
What will my end be like?
The earth betrays me in its embrace;
the rest is grace.

CELEBRATION OF THE NADIR

In the blood-stained warmth of sties
who dares read?
And who dares
in the splintering field of the setting sun,
when sky is at its high tide
and earth at its ebb
set out, anywhere?

Who dares
stand still with closed eyes
at that lowest point
there, where
there's always a flick of the hand,
a roof,
a lovely face, or just
the hand, a nod, a movement of the hand?

Who can
with a calm heart sink slowly down
into that dream that overflows childhood's
pains and lifts
the whole sea to his face in a handful of water?

MEETINGS

How many kinds of meetings,
being together, being separated Lord—farewell.

Wave meeting wave, flower parting from flower,
in the windless calm, in wind,
moving, unmoving,
how many different transfigurations,
how many interchanges
of the perishable and the imperishable!

Translated by William Jay Smith

BENCE SZABOLCSI

(1899–1973)

It is difficult to give even an outline of the work and activities of Bence Szabolcsi. Any English reader acquainted with musicology who knows that Sir John Hawkins (1719–1789) and Charles Burney (1726–1814) wrote the first modern history of music in the 1770's and 80's, must find it difficult to comprehend that the foundation work carried out by Szabolcsi was still necessary in the twentieth century. In Hungary the first steps were taken by Antal Molnár, who is now eighty-three, Ottó Gombosi (1902–1955) and Bence Szabolcsi.

Like the father of the history of music, Burney, Bence Szabolcsi was also an artist-scholar of a fundamentally musical disposition. He began his studies as a student of composition under Zoltán Kodály, but was at the same time reading law and philosophy at Budapest University. He received his doctorate at Leipzig, where he was a student of Hermann Abert, for a dissertation called *Benedetti und Saracini, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Monodie*. This work is known to this day as the finest source on his theme. He then returned to Hungary and, at Kodály's urging, devoted most of his energies to research into the history of Hungarian music. At the same time he was actively engaged in the study of Hungarian folk music and comparative musical folklore. As a result folk music and written music are merged into a mutually fertilising, productive unity in his works. His first English language essay, "The Eastern Relations of Early Hungarian Folk-music" appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London, 1935). Readers of the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, however, had come across his writings from 1925 onwards on the subject of the history of Hungarian music.

The dual unity of the Hungarian written music of the past and of folk music are integrated by a third line: Szabolcsi's researches into general musical and stylistic history. This latter line saved Szabolcsi from getting

lost, as a philologist, in the study of the history of Hungarian music and enabled him to raise even those results which at first sight appear peripheric or provincial, to a European level. This "third line" at the same time contains such fundamental works as his "General History of Music" (1940), his "Beethoven" (1948), his monograph on the late Liszt (1954) and numerous longer or shorter studies on Vivaldi, Mozart, Haydn and others. Naturally, he also wrote many studies on Kodály and Bartók—of these his essay on Bartók's "Mandarin" is particularly significant.

His works of a philologic nature on the history of Hungarian music and his appreciations of the great figures of western music are alike characterised by a fine literary style and a language that is musical in its conception. It is this feature, besides the wide-ranging and profound knowledge contained in them, that make the works of Bence Szabolcsi so significant. Benedetto Croce is probably right in maintaining that the translation of literature can even at best be only relatively successful. The works of Szabolcsi sprang in their entirety so much from the spirit of the Hungarian language that any translation can give only an approximate picture of the original. It was Szabolcsi who taught every one of us that writing about music is a matter of fine intimations, of rendering things perceptible, since essentially we have to grasp gestures whose content is not conceptual with the conceptual tools of words. He developed for the first time that sublime Hungarian, rich in similes, which became suitable for evoking feelings in the reader which approximate the sensation brought forth by the music.

Several of his articles and studies dealing with Hungarian folk music, the work of Bartók and Kodály and the great composers of the world's musical literature were also published by *The NHQ*, of whose Editorial Board he was a member. "Liszt and Bartók" (No. 1), "Man and Nature in Bartók's World" (No. 4), "Zoltán Kodály's Youth" (No. 8), "Two letters of Béla Bartók" (No. 11), "Bartók's Miraculous Mandarin" (No. 20), "Folk Music, Written Music and the History of Music" (No. 17), "Monteverdi" (No. 27), "Bartók's Principles of Composition" (No. 39).

J. S. Bach's first biographer, Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749–1818), wrote in his book on Bach, published in 1802, that the great master's compositions are of marvellous perfection, but his improvisations, which lost nothing in the course of notation of their creative inspiration, were obviously even more sublime. The author of this article, who was a student of Szabolcsi, feels that the same can be said of Bence Szabolcsi's lectures. These were marvellous improvisations, evoking a wonderful atmosphere with their beauty and almost embarrassing eruditeness. It was really in this sphere that the personality of Bence Szabolcsi showed itself in its fullness.

Every one of his lectures was in some way a piece of performing art, a production in the best sense of the word. Whatever theme he spoke of fitted into the framework of universal culture and gradually all its connections were revealed for the listeners, because in Szabolcsi's consciousness the history of European music and culture lived as an indivisible unity, as organic and alive as a living body.

He lived culture and was constantly ready to use his marvellous memory to guide his colleagues who sought his help. With a few words of encouragement, helpful observation or some critical remark he gave one new strength and in a moment helped one over the hiatus. Thus we received help from him which none of the professional literature could give us. At these times there was a playful lightness in his words and observations; he offered his opinions with a smile and always created the impression that it was a mere accident that it happened to be he to whom the thought had occurred.

Those who had the privilege of listening every week for five years to the lectures he gave to a small audience in the Department of Musicology, carried the impressions they gained with them throughout their lives. The English reader must realise that, contrary to the general international practice, the Hungarian department of musicology is part of the Music Academy and not of an arts' faculty and the students in a class never exceeded half a dozen. Szabolcsi always lectured sitting by the piano and illustrated his talk with music. As practically every lesson also contained an account by one of the students, the atmosphere of these classes evoked seminars in the original sense of the word, taking the form of a conversation or debate. Szabolcsi thoroughly enjoyed it when an argument flared up and credited it with a smile when a student became passionate in defending his point of view. On the other hand, he was definitely annoyed when we gave a dry or pedantic talk or repeated his words. "More blessed anarchy from youth," he used to say on these occasions. "When I was young we were delighted if we could disprove what the teacher said."

On one of these occasions he told us that when he was in his early twenties he had been engaged for a long time in studying only Mozart and came to the conclusion that the late string quartets of Beethoven were fragmentary and barbaric compositions, without the sublime refinement of Mozart's music. He imparted this observation to Bartók, who listened patiently and then said: "It is possible that you are right, but have you ever heard more vertiginous music than the late Beethoven quartets?"

This might appear superficially as a matter only for a small group of students, but essentially this was the work a musician-scholar of national and even European dimensions. It was in his lectures that he presented

many of his results for the first time, testing, so to speak, their real value and it was here that he brought up some of the most important events in our musical life, encouraging his students to voice their opinions. We hardly noticed that almost automatically we grew into critics. It often happened that we debated an important concert that we had all attended a few days earlier. Thus, for example, Szabolcsi's beautiful analyses after Richter's first concerts in Budapest were an unforgettable experience. His aim was always to evoke in us an awe for greatness and to make us sensitive for the perception of genuine greatness.

The other area in which he encouraged us was towards teaching on a high level. It was from him that we learned that valuable knowledge can only be passed to the audience by well prepared experts and that the work of scholarship and lecturing for the general public differ not in the quantity of the preparation but only in the selection of the material and the manner of exposition. Bence Szabolcsi lived to see the achievement, which in the Hungarian musical culture can be said to be a great one, that music lovers can read biographies and appreciations of every great composer in Hungarian. This is how the influence of his seminars have spread to encompass the whole country.

ANDRÁS PERNYE

SURVEYS

ISTVÁN FÖLDES

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF NATIONALIZATION

A quarter of a century ago, on March 25, 1948, several hundred workers assembled in the HQ of the Ironworkers' Trade Union. They had been called there by telegram; they themselves had no idea that they were to leave the headquarters of the trade union that very afternoon as newly-appointed factory managers.

Let the participants speak for themselves:

János Csergő, ironworker, later Minister of Metallurgy and Engineering, today general manager of Hungary's second largest industrial enterprise, Ganz-MÁVAG, who was in 1948 chairman of the workshop committee of the Antal Oetl Smelting Works and Machine Factory, recalls the great day:

"I was called in by telegram. I appeared in the Great Hall of the Ironworkers' HQ on March 25. I was told there that I had just been appointed manager of the factory. I was sworn in together with the others.

I first called on Dénes Oetl-Pálffy. I went to see him in his apartment in Petőfi Sándor utca. István Hózlinger, my deputy, was with me, as a witness to what was said. Dr. Oetl-Pálffy was alone and was surprised to see us, we had never been to his home. He asked us in and to take a seat. I told him that, as of today, his factory was nationalized and that I was appointed manager.

He could scarcely speak. He said he knew something like that was in the offing, but he had thought he would be allowed to stay on in the factory, for wasn't it common knowledge how good he was to his men and how well he paid them? We answered that, unfortunately, our factory had paid the lowest wages in the entire iron industry.

There was no shouting, no raised voices. Oetl Pálffy must have been nervous all right, he picked up now my fag, now Hózlinger's instead of his gold-tipped cigarette, once he wanted to draw on the wrong, lit, end of a cigarette. I asked him to give us the stocks and shares. He did. And the key to the safe."

Dr. Mihály Ekés, formerly works engineer, later manager of the Goldberger Textile Printing Factory Ltd., now Director of the Research Institute of Textile Industry, said:

"I was summoned by telegram to appear at the HQ of the Ironworkers' Trade Union by 3 p.m., if I remember right. The fact of nationalization was announced by Árpád Szakasits, the then Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Industry, and Secretary General of the Social Democratic Party. The announcement swept us like an elemental force. What I thought of first was not power but the weight of the task awaiting me, I was thinking of ways and means of coping with it.

The central office of the Goldberger Factory was in Arany János utca, a plant

was in Kelenföld, another in Óbuda. János Sütő, the manager appointed to run the Kelenföld factory, and I, went to the HQ in Arany János utca. Standing there before the gatekeeper's lodge we were just racking our brains on how to take the keys from him, when out came Antal Goldberger, the chairman and general manager of the company. Having no idea of what had happened, he left the keys in the gatekeeper's cubicle. He did not take anything with him, either money, or documents. The following day I inspected the Óbuda plant where the manager, Frigyes Reichert, who had heard of nationalization, assured us of his support and help. I must say that he honestly helped us for many years to come.

We also offered Antal Goldberger a chance to work in his own factory offices. However, he declined and left for abroad. That very day I called a workers' meeting. I still have a photo of this meeting. Nationalization was proclaimed beneath the bust of the great capitalist Leó Goldberger. The announcement was received with tremendous enthusiasm. It was a hectic meeting indeed: the men felt that a decisive thing had happened."

József Harustyák, then Chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions, now living in retirement, recalls:

"I, too, was in the Ironworkers' Headquarters that day. We felt then that our old hopes and dreams of socialism were coming true. I was so impressed by the events that, after the historical announcement, I stepped up to the microphone and began to sing the Internationale. The whole gathering sang with me."

Imre Karczag, then Undersecretary of Industry, now living in retirement, told the newly-appointed factory managers what they had to do. This is how he recalls the event:

"I first acquainted the prospective managers with their most obvious duties—how to take over, exercise the right of signing and so on, and ensure the continuity of production. Then I called their attention to their obligation to carry out existing contracts—taking over what the former management had ordered and delivering what had been sold, etc., etc. Should they encounter any hitch in supply or in the payment of wages, they should report this without delay so that they could be given assistance. It was also said that technical, administrative and sales staff who were not owners should be dismissed only if they showed hostility. If not, the new manager should rely on them as far as possible. I ought to say that the majority of specialists in key positions kept their jobs and did their bit in making sure that work went on without a hitch in the nationalized factories."

One by one the new factory managers took over their letters of appointment, and six hundred men pledged a vow: "...I shall conduct the office entrusted to me to the best of my knowledge and abilities, I shall vigilantly watch over the interests of the state, lest they be curtailed in the factory." Then the national anthem was sung, and the six hundred men went their way to complete the conquest of Hungary by the working class.

The Antecedents

The road that led to this point was not an easy one. The antecedents go back to 1944–45.

The Independence Front, formed in December 1944, in which four political parties, the Hungarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, the Independent Smallholders' Party and the National Peasant Party, were united, declared what had to be done. This included joining the struggle against German nazism, a radical land reform within the framework of the democratic transformation of this country, as well as state control of finance capital and the nationalization of mineral deposits. Hungary lay in ruins. War damage amounted to 22,000 million pengős, i.e.

two-thirds of Hungary's national assets in 1944. About half of the fixed assets of the manufacturing industry had been destroyed. There was scarcely a factory that had not suffered major or minor damage. In May 1945 manpower in industry was only 30 per cent and industrial production only about 20 per cent of what it had been the year before. Communication and transport were paralysed. The German army in retreat blew up all Danube bridges, and almost all bridges over the other rivers and watercourses as well. Buda and Pest had been connected by a bridge of a permanent character as far back as 1769, in 1945 however, a pontoon-bridge had to be erected when the Danube was running with drift-ice. The greater part of Hungarian livestock perished or was driven to Germany. One-third of all dwellings lay in ruins; tens of thousands of families were without a roof over their heads, or housed in makeshift shelters.

There will be a Hungarian renaissance—the Communist Party proclaimed to the people emerging from the air-raid shelters. Indeed, the spontaneous activity of the workers and factory hands largely contributed to life starting afresh amidst the ruins. They did not wait until the capitalist owner or his representative started production, for, anyway, a considerable part of the factory-owners had gone abroad. The workers themselves set about clearing the rubble and putting production back on its feet. Workshop committees were set up which later, after the government had regulated their sphere of authority, became the effective organs of workers' control and of the limitation of the power of finance capital.

On the one hand the burdens of reconstruction, production that was but a fraction of the prewar output, on the other, sabotage by the capitalists. The workers and peasants made incredible efforts to get production going, but the capitalists sabotaged reconstruction in many cases. Indeed, they often spent the credits extended by the government on speculation; they lent money at interest, or sold their goods on the black market. The outcome was the biggest inflation in history. On August 1, 1946 when a stable currency was established, the rate of exchange was fixed at 1 forint $= 4 \times 10^{29}$ pengős. At the end of 1945 and in the spring of 1946 hundreds of thousands of workers demanded in successive demonstrations in Budapest that industry, mainly the mines and heavy industry, be nationalized.

It should be noted that state intervention in the economy was not unusual in Europe during the war. This trend continued to help the workers deal with the problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation during the years which followed the conclusion of hostilities. The necessity for this was recognized even by the Hungarian bourgeoisie, although the National Association of Manufacturers emphasized in its memorandum: "Regulation should not exceed the necessary limits dictated by circumstances, its extension to wider fields cannot be considered the object of democracy." It should be added that at that time the state purchased about three-quarters of the products of industry, and the scarcity of raw materials objectively reinforced the state's role in distribution.

Greater state control was most urgent in mining. Coal production reached rock bottom and the mine-owners were reluctant to make the investments needed to step up production since profits were low and losses were not infrequent. Miners and workers demanded the nationalization of mines at a series of factory meetings. The 1944 programme of the Independence Front—as has been mentioned—also contained this point. A major role was played in the development of events—primarily in the attitude of the Social Democratic Party—by the fact that, at about the same time, the Labour government in England had also nationalized the coal-mines. The nationalization of the Hungarian coal-mines took place early in January 1946.

By the middle of 1946 the first results of

reconstruction were beginning to take effect. The government succeeded in dealing with the coal question and ensured the coal supply of transport, electric energy and major industries. In the summer of 1946, the output of the coal-mines was already two-thirds the pre-war one. Rolling-stock was up to half the prewar level. Two-thirds of the country's smelting works were back in operation, as were half the open-hearth furnaces. Iron and steel production had reached 50 to 60 per cent of the pre-war level. The iron, metal and engineering industries operated with three-quarters of their 1938 capacity. The situation was slightly less favourable in the light and food industries. In July 1946, the last month of the inflation, industrial output was in excess of half of the pre-war figures. The economic bases for coping with the inflation were being laid.

The plans of the Communist Party, in the formulation of which Professor Jenő Varga, the noted Hungarian economist who lived in the Soviet Union, had co-operated helped to put an end to the inflation. On August 1, 1946 the forint replaced the pengő. However, a stable currency had to be fought for. The credit system and key economic positions had to be controlled by the state. First on December 1, 1946 the heavy industry was nationalized. The state had been its principal customer already before that date. The nationalization of the Weiss Manfred Works, the Ganz Works, the Carriage, Wagon and Machine Factory of Győr, and the Ironworks of Rimamurány meant that the greater part of the Hungarian iron and engineering industry were socialized.

In the meantime the progress of democracy in Hungary reached a turning of the roads in politics as well. Opposition on questions of power became acute. The question arose as to who we were building democracy for, the capitalists or the working people? Were we reconstructing a capitalist economy, or creating a socialist economy? Could socialism be imagined without a change in the relations of production, without the socialization of the basic means of production, primarily without that of large-scale industry? The Third Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party gave an unequivocal reply to this question. The slogan, "We are not building this country for the capitalists, but for the people", found wide acceptance first of all among the workers but also in the villages.

The Beginning of a Planned Economy

The implementation of this programme made it necessary to establish a planned economy. A stable currency provided the necessary basis. The complexity of the problem made it imperative to introduce a planned economy. Planning was making headway in capitalist countries as well at that time.

Early in 1947 the bourgeoisie still shared political power in Hungary. Its economic strength was considerable. However, at the same time the influence of the socialist forces in Parliament was on the increase, as it was in the government and in all fields of the economy, thanks to the nationalization of mining and the key factories. After the stabilization of the currency the state, with its price, fiscal and credit policy, strongly restricted the activity of capital. From below shop committees exercised the workers' control.

It was under such circumstances that the first medium term plan, the Three Year Plan for 1948–1950, was elaborated.

The bourgeoisie imagined that under this Plan, as in capitalist countries, the state would finance the reconstruction of the capitalist enterprises, and would give them a free hand also in other things. Some sections of the National Association of Manufacturers went beyond that and opposed the Plan.

However, the working class, the Communist Party and their allies continued to

aim for a socialist planned economy. Their idea was, on the one hand, that a planned economy would continue to restrict the opportunities for manipulation of capital and, on the other, would necessitate further steps towards the realization of socialist conditions of production. Indeed, a planned economy covering the entire economy, production, distribution and consumption, can be implemented only if the means of production are in public ownership. It made it imperative therefore, that the socialization of the nation's economy should be extended.

The lion's share in working out the Plan was taken by the Communist Party and by the specialists guided by it. The Social Democratic Party also supported the idea of a planned economy, the Social Democratic Party invited Nicholas Káldor, the noted British Labour Party economist of Hungarian birth, to work out a Plan. This differed only slightly from that of the Communist Party. It was then the draft plan concerted by the two workers' parties which was submitted to Parliament.

Views taken on financing the Plan in the first place by the bourgeois parties within the coalition proved a stumbling block. Who would bear the burden of the Three Year Plan? How should investments be financed? These were the main issues. Should it be the rich, as was proposed by the working-class parties, or the workers, as the attitude of the Smallholders' Party implied?

For the rest, it became clear that the Plan could not be implemented without the nationalization of the banking system. The workers demanded the nationalization of the banks at a number of shop meetings, and the National Council of Trade Unions also supported nationalization. The nationalization of the banks was one of the questions which split the opposition within the coalition, helping Hungarian democracy to deal a crushing blow to the economic positions of bourgeoisie. The nationalization of the National Bank of Hungary and the other banks meant not only that credit came to be controlled by the state, but it strengthened the state's power in enterprises owned or controlled by these banks.

The Act declaring the nationalization of the banks on December 4, 1947 produced a fundamental change in the structure of the economy. The number of workers and employees in the state sector rose from 43 to 58 per cent. But this ratio does not truly express actual power relations, for the share of the state sector in the key positions of economy was much higher. (E.g. 88 per cent of heavy industry had by then become social property.) The Hungarian Communist Party, assessing the situation after nationalization, was right in saying: "The Hungarian economy has turned away from the capitalist road and, in incessant struggle with the still considerable capitalist section, will gradually progress until it implements socialist conditions of production."

So when the year 1948 started conditions became more favourable for the Three Year Plan which had started to operate in August. Nevertheless, there were still many obstacles in the way of a planned economy. The capitalists realized that the consolidation of a planned economy would undermine capitalist conditions of ownership. They began to sabotage the decrees, throwing newer and newer obstacles in the way of the Plan. It often happened that contractors pushed tasks appointed by the Plan into the background. To quote an example: when the state extended a credit of about 100 million forints for the reconstruction of the Pét Factory of Nitrogenous Fertilizers, so that it could supply agriculture with fertilizer already in the spring of 1948, the enterprise used part of the money for other purposes. Nor was the Pét case unique. A whole range of private enterprises made superfluous investments and used up raw materials in short supply in a haphazard way. Private enterprises kept only their daily profit interests in view. They withdrew profits from production and not infrequently transferred them abroad fraudulently.

However, beyond the anti-Plan machinations of the capitalists, there were objective reasons as well, which urged further nationalization. It is true that the state-owned sector dominated industry, but mostly only in unprofitable fields. At the same time the greater part of the light and food processing industries remained in private hands. The private enterprise sector was strong in trade as well. The success of a planned economy and the raising of the standard of living, as forecast in the Plan, made it necessary to take further steps.

The Repercussions

The first was taken on March 25, 1948. On the same day, in the morning, the Council of Ministers voted the nationalization of all industrial and commercial enterprises employing more than a hundred workers, and nationalization actually took place on March 26. The state-owned sector of economy increased by 160,000 workers and 594 enterprises.

The resolution of the Council of Ministers was debated during the April sessions of Parliament. This is how Antal Apró, today Speaker of Parliament, then head of the Trade Union Section of the Communist Party, recalls this debate:

"In the April sessions of Parliament the coalition parties supported nationalization. Certain M.P.s, however, expressed their concern. Well-intentioned politicians as well recommended that the repression of the capitalists be not carried out at once but rather as part of a long-range programme. They admitted all right that the nationalization of heavy industry had produced considerable results, but they were afraid of large-scale nationalization. There were those who said that the rate of accumulation would slow down, and the spirit of enterprise would slacken, others again were of the opinion that large-scale nationalizations would mean newer burdens.

But there were those too, who were oppowed on principle to further socialization and voted against it. The discussion of this Bill on nationalization was amongst the most heated. I remember István Barankovics having expounded at length, on behalf of the Democractic People's Party, the reasons why he did not agree with the proposal. He suggested a gradual transition that stretched well into the distant future, and indicated as a road to be followed some sort of a 'Gospel socialism'. At the same time he deemed it quite bearable, and reconcilable with his Christian conscience, that the Hungarian government should continue to finance capitalist enterprises, putting up with the many abuses. He did not vote for nationalization. Another M.P. objected to the government's intention of calling for a vote speeding up procedure. He said he did not know where the government intended to stop. Opposition speakers also emphasized that this country still relied on the special knowledge, the mobility, the personal contacts and the unselfishness of manufacturers. These voices were, of course, inspired by capitalist entrepreneurs and the representatives of the exploiting class who opposed nationalization.

The greatest storm was unleashed by a woman M.P., Margit Schlachta. She had her name set down to speak in the first day's debate, but when summoned to speak, it turned out that she was absent. On the following day she demanded the floor, and in defence of the sanctity of capitalist private property, most determinedly argued against the Bill. 'This Bill', she said, 'does not reassure us. The government rushes the enterprises, so that nationalization is nothing but a quick way to grab money.' Margit Schlachta's words provoked a storm of protest, but she did not let herself be put out. 'The reason why they want to remove the owners,' she concluded, 'is to place their own party men in these key positions. The Party needs six hundred key positions.'

As regards key positions now occupied by workers and technicians and not capi-

talists, Margit Schlachta was to a certain degree right. Ninety-six per cent of the enterprise managers appointed by the government became managers in the same factories where they had worked. In the struggle for power the working class scored another resounding victory. The slogan 'This country is ours, we build it for ourselves!' had some force, and nationalization gave a new incentive to work."

And how did the workers receive the nationalization? This is what eye-witnesses tell us about it:

The following is taken from János Csergő's reminiscences. As mentioned, it was at that time that he became a factory manager:

"At 8 a.m. we called a meeting in the culture hall. On our way there we were flanked by cheering workers. I was supposed to announce nationalization, when we entered the culture hall. However, before I could utter a word, the workers stood up and began to sing the Internationale. Then I spoke briefly. I could not offer a great programme, I said something about the needs to work differently, and that we must keep together. I was not used to delivering speeches, and what little I said I said haltingly, almost stammering. An old turner shouted to me: 'All right, John, you'll learn that, too, in time!'

We started working at once. We took stock, surveyed the finances and the orders placed. We were not well off, financially; the factory had short-term bill-debts with the Hermes Bank. We had to pay high rates of interest, and some of the bills were prolonged three or four times. However, we soon coped with all these difficulties, secured new orders, so that in three months production rose to double the previous figures. The workers worked enthusiastically. The moulders who at the time of the capitalists laid 45 to 50 casings, now made 95 to 100 a day. But it was worth their while to work more, because we progressed from month to month. We improved socialist conditions, supply, bought summer-cottages at Lake Balaton for the workers, and endeavoured to increase their wages as well. We felt what it was like when we worked for ourselves, on our own account."

"We are building this country for ourselves", this is what created enthusiasm everywhere. The workers of the Weiss Manfred Works made an appeal to the other plants: "Now that after three years' hard struggle we succeeded in breaking the power of the large estate owners and the class of the big capitalists, the Hungarian workers, the Hungarian working people having become the owners of this country, we feel that we owe more and better work to our country... We have, therefore, decided worthily to celebrate the first anniversary of the Plan on August 1, 1948: we call on our fellow-workers to participate in work competition."

The appeal found wide repercussions. This competition was also responsible for there having been no set-back in industrial production in April 1948, i.e. in the month following the nationalization in fact production increased by more than 8 per cent and by the autumn of 1948 the production level of 1938 was outstripped.

To crown the process of nationalization, another measure was taken at the end of 1948. The enterprises in which foreign companies had an interest were nationalized, together with the smaller plants employing more than ten workers. As a result of these measures, by the end of 1948, much of the economy had come under socialist ownership, agriculture being the exception.

JUPITER THE URBANIST

Urban Reconstruction and the Protection of Historic Monuments

The brand-new patisserie on whose terrace we were sitting in the Szombathely city centre resembled a huge glass cube. Nonetheless what made it interesting was not its streamlined beauty, but rather the fact that it had been built above the skilfully preserved remnants of the shop of a second-century maker of fancy honey-cakes, moulded in the form of hearts and other figures. It might even be said that the new patisserie picked up the business where its ancient Roman predecessor had left it off.

Szombathely, a county seat, is situated on the western edge of Hungary about 20 kilometres from the Austrian border. It has a population of 70,000. The patisserie in question looks out on an extensive garden of antique ruins. In the foreground there is a section of a Roman road made of blue-grey basalt squares, completely intact; behind it are almost two thousand years old ruins, fragments of walls, parts of the foundation of a palace and a wide stretch of mosaics under a protective roof. This is all that has remained of the *forum* of Savaria, the Roman predecessor of the modern city of Szombathely.

The Roman Emperor Claudius founded Savaria in A.D. 43 at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Alps, in a commanding position where regions of different characteristics and some of the cross-roads of Europe met. Although the city did not reach its zenith until the third century, Pliny himself referred to it. Savaria was for a while the administrative centre of Pannonia, which stretched over the present-day area of Austria, Hungary and Yugoslavia. It was the religious centre of the province throughout the Roman rule. Savaria ranked as a *colonia*, whose inhabitants were regarded as citizens of the Roman Empire. The centre of the city developed in the last decades of the first century, under the reign of Emperor Domitian. The most important building in the *forum* was the Triple Sanctuary of the Capitol, with large-scale marble statues of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. Only the torsos of the gods and the foundation walls of the Proconsular Palace have survived, the latter, however, fairly extensively. A mosaic floor in surprisingly good condition was unearthed from a hall of state in one of these palaces. The patterns somewhat resemble the mosaic floor of the Çathedral of Aquileia. Even parts of the one-time central heating conduits were found under the mosaic floor. The Garden of Ruins, which fosters mementoes of the Roman city *forum*, is situated in the grounds of the Baroque cathedral. One of the main concerns of town planners is the preservation of this Roman centre and of the Isis sanctuary, the Roman religious centre excavated in another part of the city. It is hoped that these monuments can be made an integral part of the present settlement.

Specific Tasks of City Development

Today Hungarian cities show the same fundamental changes as the rural areas which have acquired various new functions. This rapid urbanization is, of course, a world phenomenon, but urban growth is especially rapid in Hungary, for here it is based on the transformation of the social structure. A significant proportion of Hungarian towns were agricultural in character, since at the beginning of this century farming was still the major occupation. All the larger settlements on the Great Hungarian Plain are of this kind. These "field towns" as they are called in Hungarian, developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the marketing of agricultural produce was gathering momentum. They were under the jurisdiction of the local landlord, but had at

the same time some genuine municipal privileges. Most of them developed a relatively broad self-government, but their external appearance has remained to this day village-like, with the order of the settlement, the architectural forms and furnishings all reflecting the peasant way of life. These old peasant towns are now acquiring new features—in part because of the housing projects, often several stories high, but mainly through their industrialization, that is, as a result of the social re-stratification.

There are several different types of Hungarian city development. The radical modernization of Salgótarján, a dynamically developing mining city, shows an interestingly different approach: while most of the other towns are developing at the edges, with the addition of new suburbs around them, Salgótarján is having its city centre rebuilt. For several years now the old superannuated tenements, landmarks of poverty, the desolate-looking slums of the workers employed by the quondam private mining companies, have gradually been demolished in order to give way to an entirely new city centre.

But at Szombathely, which up to the turn of the century was essentially an agricultural town, the challenge is the integration of the continually excavated Roman remnants and the likewise valuable Baroque setting with the modern cityscape produced by industrialization.

Cross-roads of Two Thousands Years

In the case of several provincial cities in Hungary there was a real danger that the rapid rate of development might destroy the historic parts. In Szombathely, however, modernization, carried out according to the ideas of up-to-date city planning, in fact emphasized the ruins from the first and third centuries as well as the city core's eighteenth-century Baroque ensemble. The *forum* of one-time Savaria, rather closed in behind the Episcopal Palace and the Cathedral, virtually expanded when a large new square was added to it. The modern, smooth façades of the six and seven-storey residential buildings lining the square provide vertical interest. The still intact, usable Roman road segment almost appears to belong to the long-distance bus terminal located in this new sub-centre of the city. This is, indeed, where the roads of almost two thousand years meet.

The glass-walled Garden of Ruins Patisserie by the bus terminal is also a link between millennia. When one sits down for a cup of coffee on the terrace overlooking the Roman ruins, one feels the presence of twenty centuries of history. One sees below the town's predecessor, which received its urban rank in the first half of the first century from Claudius "the God" and whose flourishing was brought to an end by a powerful earthquake in 455. One glances over a stretch of the "Amber Road" which led from Rome to the Baltic, a road over whose basalt cobble-stones travelled the chariots of the legions and the pack-mules of Italian merchants trafficking with the Barbarians. There are the remnants of the early-medieval Hungarian castle built on the ruins of the ancient Christian basilica, serving as a foundation for the present cathedral built in the eighteenth century. This is, indeed, a cavalcade of living history, of centuries piling up their materials on each other as the visible time-layers of cultures. The Roman town, the eleventh-century oligarchy, the feudal county and the socialist present are all in evidence here. And today's town planning fosters this continuity, preserving and protecting whatever can be excavated and salvaged from the past, and fitting it all into the modern townscape.

The other garden of ruins, the sacred district of the goddess Isis, presents another example of this process. Oriental influence mounted in the life of Savaria during the second and third centuries. Thus considerable attention was given to the cult of the goddess

Isis of Egyptian origin, and that of Syrian Jupiter Dolicheus. The Isis sanctuary, built in the second century, whose remnants were excavated between 1955 and 1963, was one of the biggest public buildings in Savaria.

The Isis Sanctuary

The white marble-covered sanctuary—beautiful parts of its façade were dug up with some remnants of the frieze and its relief ornamentation—was destroyed by the earthquake of 455. In fact the earthquake ruined the entire city, so that it remained more or less uninhabited until the appearance of the conquering Magyars in 896. A vast hall of eight-metre-high columns surrounded the sanctuary. The grey granite columns, weighing 26 tons each, were found in various parts of the city, but were reassembled and restored in their original locations. This 1,800-year-old architectural ensemble has also been found a function within the present townscape. The sanctuary forms a well-integrated unit with the institutions set up in its neighbourhood, which splendidly coalesce into a musical centre. The cultic square of the Isis sanctuary is most suitable for the holding of concerts. Its impressive row of columns faces the new conservatory of the town. Next to the music school stands the seven-storey Hotel Isis, one of the most attractive hotels in Hungary.

The head office of the county's technical and scientific associations should have joined this ensemble in 1968—except that Jupiter intervened. Archaeologists found remnants of additional Roman buildings and roads near the Iseum. The most significant of these are the ruins of the sanctuary built in honour of Jupiter Dolicheus (the eastern Jupiter). As the archaeologists believe that further finds of great significance may be found in this area, the office building went up on a different site, and large-scale excavations are continuing.

The sacred district of the goddess Isis is now a maze of pits and trenches. Inside the ditches men work with careful, cautious movements. One of them loosens parts of a heating system, the other brushes off the earth from the surface of a terracotta floor. Farther off a mural dries under a make-shift roof. Here the remnants of a corbel, fragments of a capital, details of an altar, and there an inscribed stone, a sacrificial vessel, or a coin from the reign of Diocletian are found. Only recently a beautiful relief was produced from a depth of less than 80 centimetres, from under the foundations of a recently demolished nineteenth-century one-story house. The early third-century relief carved in Noricum marble depicts the deities Mercurius, Jupiter and Sylvanus. The figures are classical, but the features typically oriental. The valuable relief is completely intact: Mercurius is holding his money-bag, Jupiter the horn of plenty, whereas Sylvanus, the god of the forests, is holding a shrub-clipping knife.

Seventy metres of the foundation walls of a third-century public building have been unearthed as well as an additional 120-metre stretch of the road network of the Roman city. From the layer below, the remnants of second-century pissé loam houses came to light. The excavations are taking place under a pressure of time, for the siting of the new city hall depends on their results.

The Past Preserved and the Future Planned

First, however, what here is under the earth must be known. The reconstruction of the inner city is taking place much more slowly in Szombathely than in towns where the demolition squads can work quickly, without meticulous care for the valuable objects that their instruments may shatter. Sometimes accepted plans have to be abandoned or revised, which often creates storms. The county and city leaders are frequently reproached with making too much

of a to-do about a few pieces of old stone. Nonetheless the local council leaders are sticking to the view that the preservation and utilization of monuments and historic buildings is one of the things town planning is about. The preserved past, the developing present and the planned future have to be considered together—with visionary eyes. The restoration of monuments is meaningful, however, only if the restored building can again be given a socially useful function. To restore, to preserve—while one does not know what the purpose of the restored building will be—is no real solution. Restoration must be adjusted to the demands of the process of urbanization.

What better example to illustrate this point than the Isis sanctuary, which has for the last decade provided the backdrop for the operatic productions of the annual Savaria Festival. The music of Mozart's *Magic Flute* has a special magic when it is heard in the cultic square of the goddess Isis. These performances play no small part in the fact that during the summer months some sixty thousand foreigners—chiefly from neighbouring Austria—visit Szombathely each year. They love listening to opera amidst the natural setting of the Iseum.

Apart from the *forum* and the Iseum, Szombathely has another valuable historic part, the Baroque city centre on the site of the former medieval fort, and partly built from its stones in the eighteenth century. When one stands in the main square, surrounded by the nobly conceived architecture of some 200 to 250 years ago, one gets the same strong sense of the past as in the Roman Garden. Distinguished late Baroque buildings are on all sides, most of them designed by Maynard Hefele, the great Austrian master of the Louis XVI style, who, in the mid-1700s, designed for the Hungarian high clergy many fine buildings whose style reflects the move from the Baroque to the Classical. The most commanding area in the central square is dominated by the Episcopal Palace with its stone-balustrated balcony resting on four Tuscan columns, the light-grey planes of the façade animated by coiled and braided columns. In the piazetta-like bay of the square rises the Cathedral, a monumental work from the late Baroque period, and near to it, the puritanical mass of the former Theological Seminary with its undecorated tympanum. The beautifully tranquil façade of the Chief Provost's Palace, with only the salient half-pillars accenting its even smoothness, close one side of the square. Experts believe that this ensemble is the finest composition of the late Baroque in Hungary. Farther away, the pastel green façade of the imposing County Hall stands out from the axis of the square with a pronounced projection bearing a pechinent, its one-time Baroque façade altered to make it look eclectic.

One side of this classic Baroque square was left open until 1967—with a wide gap where the City Hall, levelled by bombs in 1945, used to stand. Fortunately, however, no one wanted to "mend" the square with some pseudo-Baroque fake for the sake of sheer nostalgia. A national competition was announced for a design to fill the vacant lot, and every plan submitted proposed up-to-date, contemporary solutions. Thus now a flat-roofed office building in the most modern architectural idiom, with alternating stripes of cast-stone facing and glass fills the gap.

The Hotel Claudius and Houses with Atriums

It is an important principle of the protection of historic monuments in Hungary that the preservation of ensembles must not stand in the way of contemporary progress. The aim is not preservation at any cost—except in the case of the most valuable monuments. The goal as regards a whole town is primarily to preserve the general character, the salient features of the settlement. In the reconstruction of Szombathely, it has certainly been

a guiding principle to save the old inner city from becoming a museum, a "national park" of historical and architectural traditions, and for this reason Szombathely's city centre continues to have important administrative, cultural and trade functions, while the adjoining areas develop into completely modern quarters with district centres of their own.

The housing estates here, as almost everywhere else in Europe, are rather monotonous and lacking in character. They do nothing to make the townscape more interesting. Thus the contrast due to their organic link with the historic core of Szombathely definitely contributes to making the total effect favourable.

The architects responsible for some of the important new buildings did their best to utilize the inspiration of the region and its historic past. In the newly developed resort area of Szombathely, on the shore of an artificial lake, a new hotel named Claudius after the emperor who founded the city, was recently opened. The designer attempted to avoid the conventional by concentrating on forms which have a long history in this landscape. The lacy open-work of the four-level façade seems to suggest the rippling of waves, while the lines of the arcs are related to Roman architecture. These curves find repetition in the furniture of the green and blue rooms and even in the patterns on the bathroom tiles. The crimson-panelled round bar—which blends with an exciting change of forms and colours into the open quadrangle of the white atrium with its sky-blue water basin and mini-garden—recalls the history of the region and is at the same time a first-class tourist attraction. Or another example: 28 bungalow-type houses with an atrium each have been built amidst the medium-high residential buildings of a new part of the town. These L-shaped, flat-roofed ground-floor houses link up with each other in such a way that each house encloses a charming inner court. All the windows open to this intimate little garden, which is the greatest attraction of this type of house. Two thousand years ago the Romans built homes with atriums like these in Pannonia, and the architects of our times revived this elastic form—converting it, of course, to present tastes and requirements, which also means that each has a garage. The atriums are the green rooms of the houses and the low ground-floor block itself makes the centre of the residential district look spacious and airy within the frame of five-storey houses.

The Inspiration of Folk Architecture

The utilization, or at least the absorption, of the heritage of folk architecture is an interesting part of the Szombathely town development project. Wooden buildings are autochtonous in the hilly wooded environs of the town. The peasant cottages built of pinewood preserve a rich flavour of folk architecture. Decorative folk art has gained perhaps its most beautiful expression in the ornamental carving and painting of the gables of the wooden houses and in the multiple variations in the capitals decorating the porches attached to the front of each house, as well as in the water mills, and in the wooden towers with running galleries around them. The gabled and thatched-roofed, carved houses, brown with age, which line the pine-wooded slopes give a unique interest to the beautifully varied landscape.

The first registration of folk art monuments in Hungary took place in the county whose seat is Szombathely. In 225 villages every single building—houses, barns, cellars, wine cellars, apiaries, water-mills, churches and belfries—of ethnographic or architectural interest was sought out and an inventory was taken of each with an accurate description, ground-plan and photos. Those relics of folk architecture which are unlikely to remain in a good state of preservation in their original localities are removed to a *skansen*, an outdoor village museum, which

is at present being developed in the Szombathely resort area. This rich collection of architectural objects adjoins the most up-to-date residential section of the city, and is an attractive counterpoint to it. County leaders hope that this presentation of the most typical pieces of folk architecture will inspire developers to make the contemporary town express the influence of the historic and folk architecture of the region. The valuable popular heritage is worth utilizing in present-day city building, for, as the most eminent Hungarian architects profess, "without tradition there is no modernity".

Four new suburbs are being developed around the historic nucleus of Szombathely. The biggest of them is the housing estate named after the outstanding artist son of the city: Gyula Derkovits, an Expressionist painter of great force. It already accommodates ten thousand residents. Most of the apartment houses are panel buildings—made by "house-factory" methods—and are generally six storeys high; but now some ten-storey, and in especially dominant places, some 15-storey houses are under construction. Wherever one looks, Szombathely is being built or demolished today. The local architectural planning office employs a trained staff of 170, but the ordinary people of the city are also "in" on every new project. There are extensive—and sometimes intensive—debates over each major question of city development, and no important building can be sited without some sort of "referendum" of public opinion. The town development plans are always displayed at a public exhibition. Thousands commented, for instance, on the various designs for completing the eighteenth-century Baroque centre in a contemporary manner.

This new democratism of city planning is a significant source of vitality. No settlement that wants to develop soundly can ignore today the ideas and feelings of its citizens when decisions are made on what to demolish, what to build, and what to reconstruct. Architects and builders are among the most highly respected people in Szombathely. The local workers' hostel is as attractively appointed as a tourist hotel. The head-offices of the building industry have developed into a little technical and architectural sub-centre. The achievements of the "Szombathely school" of town development are provoking notice throughout the country. They are praised especially because of their modern solutions of the problem of simultaneous monument protection and city modernization. At the same time their general urbanization of the county seat has also attracted attention. Szombathely has matured into a more plastic looking city as the formerly customary three-storey buildings alternate with some six and ten-storey ones. Szombathely has grown from the underdeveloped small town it was a quarter of a century ago into an up-to-date big town. It is the centre today for an area larger than the county whose seat it is, and its light industry is of national significance. Around the town centre, which has loyally preserved the relics of antiquity and of the Baroque, the modern Szombathely is expanding into a colourful community with a wide sphere of influence.

Where a Castle is the Town Centre

If one wants to study the relationship between the protection of historic monuments and urbanization in the case of a smaller town, Sárvár, a rural district seat with a population of 13,000, suggests itself as an example. Sárvár is rapidly industrializing; its biggest plant, the subsidiary of an engineering works, has assumed an important role in the national vehicle development plan, which is one of the major ventures of the Hungarian national economy. For centuries the fortunes of this little town were closely linked with the castle rising in its centre. The foundations of the castle were laid in the fourteenth century, it had its golden age in the seventeenth, but with

its squat gatehouse, its battlement, bartizans and bastions it still dominates the town. In the 1500s it was the educational centre of the western or Transdanubian part of Hungary. In the first half of the sixteenth century, when the Reformation was spreading in the country, an eminent school was functioning within its walls, employing a number of schoolmasters who excelled with their translations of the Bible and their compilation of dictionaries. The first Hungarian-language book was printed at the school press at Sárvár in 1539.

The castle of Sárvár, one of the finest examples in Hungary of the mature Renaissance, was misused in the last few decades. Consequently its condition—unusually good for a long time—deteriorated, with the frescoes becoming cracked, the stucco ornamentation of the vaults loosening and in many places becoming detached. For this reason those responsible for the protection of monuments in the county considered renovating the castle and finding a role for it that is worthy of its beauty one of their main tasks. They intended the castle to assume once again the role for which its was predestined by its historic past and architectural assets. Renovation started with the reconstruction of the walls and ramparts and the casemates. In 1960 the allegorical paintings by Stephan Dorfmeister (1729–1797), the Austrian Baroque painter, on the flattish cupola ceiling of the tower-room above the castle-gate were restored. The seventeenth-century murals on the ceiling of the hall of state, depicting battle scenes from the Turkish–Hungarian wars, masterpieces of Hungarian secular fresco painting, were saved just in time from total destruction in 1966. After full restoration, this valuable historic building will become the cultural centre of the town. Besides the museum, which has been displaying for some time its rich collection of local history and ethnography in the castle, the library and a variety of clubs will also be accommodated in this building. The castle yard will be converted into a small playhouse.

The main street of the little town begins at the turreted gatehouse. Old one-storey houses line both sides. According to the town planners this street of great provincial charm is to be saved at all costs, and in fact it is to be made more artistically effective by the elimination of the buildings which do not reach a certain standard. Every single house was separately examined to decide whether it should be maintained, i.e. whether it fits into the townscape. The gaps will be filled with modern buildings which will not try to emulate the style of the row—only its dimensions. Behind the castle, where once servants' quarters made up a kind of slum at the foot of the impressive fort, now a new section of town is developing from multi-storey, centrally heated buildings. Beyond this group of buildings, which follows the curve of the rear wall of the castle, there is a green belt of parks and a variety of such leisure-time attractions as the thermal baths, man-made lido, horse-riding tracks and various sports grounds. This recreational area will soon have even lakes for boating and angling—in the quarries of the old brickyard—following the model of the new holiday centre of Szombathely. The inspiration is obvious and, indeed, the designs for the development of Sárvár were prepared by the town planning architects of Szombathely—once more in a way befitting its historical heritage and rustic beauty, and again with the intention of turning the historic, cultural and architectural treasures of the past into good use for the man of today.

GYULA ANTALFFY

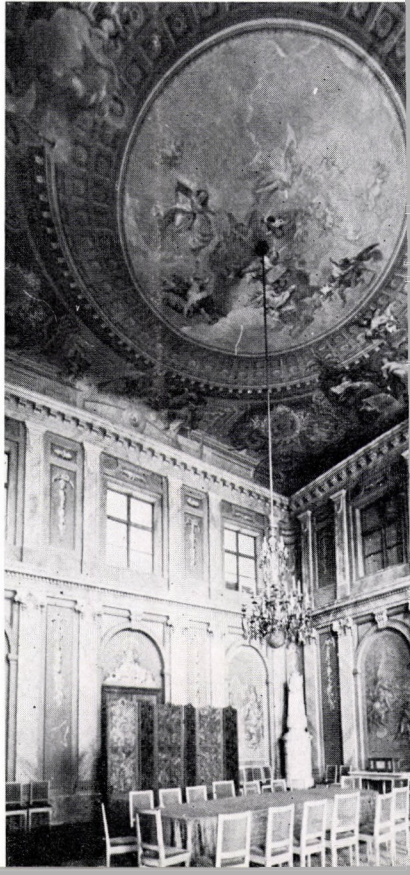
Part of the Roman highway, Szombathely

Photo: MTI, Rudolf Járai

Szombathely—Hotel Claudius

Szombathely—Iseum

Szombathely, Bishops's Refectory, fresco by Anton Maulbertsch



BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THREE WORLDS

IVÁN MÁNDY: *Egy ember álma* ("A Man's Dream"). Magvető, Budapest, 1971. 166 pp.

Two cars collide in the street with a shattering of glass. A moment later a crowd surrounds them, they want to see, to know what happened. Someone always stares at stars using the stage doors of theatres, whatever the season, the spires of a Gothic cathedral will always evoke a sense of wonder. Human curiosity, the wish to know about things is aroused by the unexpected, the spectacular, the marvellous: by every sensational event. But sometimes queer people cross our way who marvel at things which would never evoke a response in ordinary human beings: they watch a dingy wooden fence, a grey cloud or turn to stare at an average passer-by. Iván Mándy is a writer of the latter type*, his ambition seems to be to show the rich hues of grey, and the inner turmoil of an apparently dull and monotonous human life.

He once told how he started to write: "An old tramp crossed the square, sat down on the bech and went to sleep. This was my first short story, and with this I found my basic theme or, rather, the basic theme found me. My characters have since kept coming, resignedly waved and went to sleep." This, of course, narrows his scope, but this delineation of limits is conscious, as that of a scientist who examines only one small segment under his microscope but showing great insight and penetration.

The proper place for this type of prose is the short story or a loose series of short stories. In this particular volume he has found a very natural, obvious structural solution: "A Man's Dream" consists of short chapters which are connected like the themes of a dream. A dream must be granted a certain informality, the right to free associations for instance, and Mándy takes advantage of this license. He only expressly tells us that we read a dream in the title; but the story's nature leaves no doubt. Within one chapter, sometimes within one sentence he skips decades forward and back, he changes scenes and people according to the logic of dreams. The dreamer is János, a doctor, the dream illuminates parts of his life for a few moments, it is filled with persons and events, then it fades and is replaced by another memory. His father and mother are the heroes of the dream. The father is himself a dreamer, a cloud-chaser, forever planning, wishing to direct a film, to be an impressario of would-be singers, he emerges and abruptly desappears, always mixed up in obscure love-affairs, and if the mood takes him, he stops in the carriageway to adjust his boot-laces. The mother is all vibrating, nervous gestures. She used to be the life of

* See: Morning at the Cinema, in No. 4, Private Lives, in No. 26, and Girl from the Swimming Pool, in No. 36 of *The N.H.Q.*

the party, officers and journalists courted her. Then her figure lost solidity, she is nothing but faded contours, a half-smile, an incomplete gesture. The two World Wars are in the background, the revolution of 1919 which failed, and some "years of peace"—seen through Mándy's eyes. The wars are not screaming massacres but silent and all the more overwhelming moments of fear, and the years of peace are also colourless like faded old photographs. The grotesque figures emerging from this background people John's dreams. The general had been an old doddering soldier already in the First World War but he survived the Second as well, even his sword did not get any more rusty. Fili, the crazy servant girl abandoned by her lover, is another character. She looks for signs of him on the battlefields of the war.

Certain motives recur like warnings: somebody is taken away, somebody must be sacrificed for the sake of others who live in the house. The circumstances are not quite clear, we do not know who are the armed men and why they take away the designated victim: the point is that a community of humans decide who is to die. This scene is enacted rapidly, the "candidate" is always embarrassed to the point of excusing himself, the others are nervous and angry, they hurry him—the picture is ghoulishly accurate.

Mándy's short narratives are not real stories: they have a strong peculiar atmosphere of their own, they can be almost felt with our senses. What remains of them in our mind is the colour of a scarf, or the perfume of sea water. He characterizes his persons with declining sentences: "A little while before, he was perhaps chasing women but all he wanted to do now was to sit down somewhere"—he says about John's father. The connection between humans and objects is intimate and personal and so the unlikely appears to be natural. The suggestiveness of Mándy's style gives authenticity to sentences like: "He galloped in the street; ran into a partition wall. It was a huge, old partition wall: it suddenly cracked and gave way." "Smoke rose before the window. It covered the trees, the garden. A bench rose slightly, then fell noiselessly apart."

The fortunate conjunction of Mándy's methods, style and the dream-structure ensure that "A Man's Dream" is a delightful experience for the most discerning critic.

GÁBOR THURZÓ: *A rászedettek* ("The Dupes"), Magvető, Budapest, 1972, 557 pp.

Gábor Thurzó began to write forty years ago. He was a member of a Neo-Catholic writers' group and his themes and subjects were for a long time determined by this outlook. The war and the past twenty-five years have extended the scope of his interests and this change in outlook and method is reflected in his works. "The Dupes," his new volume, is a selection of his work, containing thirty-six short stories. He selected as many early pieces such as were written in the last twenty years, although the latter are of much higher quality. The sub-title of the first part is *In a Narrow Circle*—an accurate definition of the themes of these short stories: family and moral conflicts. To a reader today they seem somewhat outdated, closely tied to their times. One of them, *Timpani Symphony* is well-proportioned and concise. A cellist playing Haydn's symphony is, for one fleeting moment, when the drum brutally cuts into the harmony and happiness of the music, filled with a premonition of the unknown, of death. What if his well-ordered, quiet life also were upset by some sudden change? After this one moment of fright music and life are restored to order, the premonition recedes from consciousness and remains only as an undercurrent which can emerge on the surface at any time.

The second part, *Closing Time*, reflects Thurzó's changed methods. The short stories written right after the War still show the author's intention to explain things by theses; some of these writings are as didactic as the morality plays of the Middle Ages.

The recurrent problem of a man wrestling with his faith appears ever and again: who is responsible for the horror of war, God or man, His tool? In *Bones*, the principal character, a bank clerk of no importance, walks about indifferently and fearlessly in a city filled with ruins and corpses: he is accustomed to the scene, he finds it natural. Suddenly he is startled by a stentorian voice: God himself addresses him and confers the right on him to resurrect the dead and make the ruins disappear if he should wish to do so. After some hesitation he decides to make use of his powers and the world is restored to its former state. The city is intact and its people live again—but the little man is frightened now, he is weighed down by his responsibility. The moral of the story is obvious but the writer seems to feel some uncertainty about it, adding a last, explanatory sentence: "And although he was very happy to have been a prophet, he had a small grudge against God for having left everything to him."

Situations enforcing a moral choice are the recurrent themes of his later works but his solutions are more artistic and clear: he lets a situation, or a life, speak for itself. The writings contained in *Closing Time* show the anachronistic nature of a section of society, the upper bourgeoisie, and of a certain type of attitude: the social changes after 1945 changed also human relations. *Return Victorious* introduces an old couple, two beautiful old people with an upright carriage but their eyes are lustreless, their glance is rigid and empty. Those who enter their dwelling feel uncomfortable, "they suspect a secret, almost a crime. A secret which perhaps does not even exist, and a crime which cannot be put into words." The story tells the tale of this crime. The old couple had a handsome son, an army officer posted somewhere in the rear during the war. His fellow-officers who went to fight moved up in the hierarchy although many of them were only promoted posthumously. The parents would not dream of sending their son to fight, they only made pointed remarks about the glory enjoyed by other parents. The boy felt it was his duty to volunteer for combat service—and the happy and proud faces of his parents justify his action. A few months later he stupidly plays the hero while carrying out an order and is mortally wounded. The parents are not legally guilty, "only" morally, but their empty stares reflect their punishment: an empty life.

Thurzó's characters could fill a small political waxworks. A gifted mathematician steps over everybody and agrees with every slogan and ideology that furthers his career until he miscalculates just once, and his painfully built-up career collapses. The retired minister who, after 1945, turned night-watchman at a state enterprise: his friends despised him as a "collaborationst," they would no longer talk to him for although living on charity, they had no "dealings" with the socialist system.

These stories show Thurzó's talent for satire. His mordant humour is always indirect, it is carried by his dialogue or by a new arrangement of some standard scene.

The title of the whole volume: *The Dupes*, is unusual for this type of selection, it is not that of any short story in the volume. The term characterizes the people he writes about; they always lagged one step behind in history and then feel that they have been cheated. They are not only victims, in most cases they have duped themselves as well.

GYULA LUGOSSY: *A lézengő* ("The Loafer") Szépirodalmi, Budapest, 1972. 418 pp.

Lugossy is a consistent writer. His first novel and short stories had been variations on the same basic situation: their characters were people who lived in a never-changing environment and clung to unchanging patterns of action. (See my review in *The N.H.Q.*, No. 42) His new novel, *The Loafer*, delves

deep at one point of this theme, the subject being monomaniac loyalty to a certain pattern of life. The character is a young man who idles his time away as if inaction were his profession, he is interested only in the vegetative pleasures of life. Every day of his life is exactly the same: he spends his morning on the roof terrace of his fifth-floor flat, deeply absorbed in lengthy exercises, then, while shaving, he studies his face in the mirror for minutes on end, later he loiters in the city and stops from time to time for a whisky in an espresso. He continues to drink in the homes of his friends who lead a similar life, and in the evening returns to his apartment and spends the night with a causally picked up girl. The novel is the repetitive description of this unchanged series of actions, though each time the affected circle widens. First we see only Hubert, the young man; his environment is only a dim background. Then the contours take on more shape and—always from Hubert's viewpoint—we get to know his companions in their Bohemian habitat, men whose only bonds are drinking, love-making and beat music. The frequently changing girls are different only in shape and hair colour. Their reactions and vocabulary are identical. Later we get a glimpse of other people living in the house, all disgusting people as far as Hubert is concerned. This antipathy is obviously reciprocated.

Hubert necessarily moves in a narrow circle, he can have closer ties only with people who have a similar outlook. The writer uses an interesting method to illustrate this when describing the changing scenes of action. He conveys a detailed and accurate picture of the streets, houses and objects of the town but their names are markedly general: Main Square, Side Street, River, Bridge. The scenery, a concrete part of a city, a unique experience to others, is for Hubert only a casual terrain for hanging about in. The scene is accidental, only his loitering is regular.

This permanent circulation is interrupted only in the last sentences of the novel: Hubert suddenly changes his usual course to the left. He hesitates, stops, there is no reason on earth why he would go in just that direction, so he turns in the other. After two steps he stops again, and stays still. He wavers and stares undecidedly before himself as if he had forgotten how to move. The permanent loitering without any rational aim has incapacitated his brain and if, for one moment, he wanted to direct himself consciously, his reflexes no longer obey.

And going backwards from this point the various, previously indistinct elements of the novel take on a new accent. The ritual of the morning exercises which is always precisely detailed means the physical "care and maintenance," just like the morning shave—but mental exercises are never performed. Hubert does not afford himself the luxury of thinking. His only utterance which does not refer to an object, love-making or eating, is neither original, nor spiritual: "The main thing is to live, brooding leads nowhere." In the pool of a baths Hubert sees his own life pattern: "...all sorts of people splashing about without getting anywhere submerged in the water up to their necks or floating on the surface, in a thick cloud of steam, in complete forgetfulness of everything, in a languid, limp, dreamy daze. Like lifeless weeds, motionless water-plants or an inert mass of aquatic animals who would very likely meekly resign themselves to their own slaughtering."

Hubert is in quest of timeless and thoughtless happiness, of the body's contentment. And if troublesome misgivings pierce through the satiety of the senses—on the level of consciousness we would call it fear—the concentrated torpor of alcohol and sex help. For there is one hitch in this pattern of life, in this organised idleness: it can be enjoyed only without the control of consciousness but consciousness is necessary to create its conditions. This contradiction cannot be reconciled, and this is demonstrated by the ending of the novel.

The pedantic, detailed description of Hubert's permanent rotation around himself, of his life lived on a vegetative level is exasperating at first—Lugossy's book is no easy reading. But after the confusion of the first pages the reader is captured by the swift current of the text, and by the stylistic assurance which is present in this novel as in Lugossy's earlier works.

LÁSZLÓ VARGA

CULINARY ART AND CULTURAL HISTORY

GEORGE LANG: The Cuisine of Hungary. Athenaeum, New York, 1971. 495 pp.

"If one wants to ascertain the degree of culture attained by a people, one should look at its cooking range," Mór Jókai, the novelist, who was an enthusiastic patron of Hungarian culinary traditions, wrote a hundred years ago.

Many authors have followed the development of the Hungarian kitchen, dealt with the evolution of its customs and collected Hungarian recipes into cookery books. However, until now the history of Hungarian gastronomy and the recipes have not yet been *combined* in one volume.

Even now, it was not in Hungary but in the United States that this comprehensive work took shape. George Lang, a Hungarian gastronome and restaurateur living in New York, collected into his book everything worth learning of the past and present of Hungarian cuisine.

In the first part of the work the author conducts us through the history of the kitchen—peasant, bourgeois and aristocratic—of the past eleven centuries. He shows with methodological precision the gastronomic and hospitality traditions deriving from the ancient homeland of the Hungarians, which they preserved and enriched with new colours and flavours during their wanderings. Quoting from the works of old historians and chroniclers, George Lang gives a faithful picture of the past and while we are reading with interest about the cuisine of the Hungarians of old, we hardly notice that we have become acquainted with with Hungarian history itself.

The great feasts from the Middle Ages come alive in all their colourful splendour in the chapter entitled "The First Five Hundred Years." A special delight is the description of the wedding of King Matthias, the great Renaissance ruler, to Beatrice of Aragon. The author depicts how the Hungarian kitchen of the day was enriched under the influence of the Italian cooks and pastrycooks who came to Hungary with the queen. He gives an insight into the court and even the way the palace was furnished and the offices distributed.

The author calls on old chronicles to prove that even in the period of the Turkish wars and occupation the Hungarian kitchen did not become impoverished. On the contrary, the foreign troops brought with them the customs and dishes of faraway countries, thus making Hungarian cuisine even more colourful. In the centuries following the liberation of Buda well-made cookery books and hostelry menus show the development of the *csárdas*, the inns, and of their furnishings and kitchens. During the Austrian rule coffeehouses came into fashion. In time they became the centres of cultural life and even the cradle of the 1848 revolution.

It was in the second half of the nineteenth century that the process began which turned

the three separate towns of Buda, Pest and Óbuda into what is now Budapest. The first luxury hotel—the "Queen of England"—was built. Historic names are on its list of guests. It was the fashion to visit City Park and to go to the newly opened restaurant founded there by Károly Gundel. It was at that time that the still popular Gerbeaud patisserie was opened in the heart of the city. One cookery book appeared after another during these decades, each aiming to preserve the tasty dishes of Hungarian cuisine for ever. To have guests and to be a guest was the fashion in those days.

George Lang remembers in his book the people who helped the development of Hungarian cuisine. He writes of József Marschal, who acquired his skill in the court of Napoleon III, furthered it in the kitchens of the Czar, eventually to become the head chef of the National Casino in Budapest. The inventor of the famous Hungarian *gateau*, József G. Dobos, is not forgotten. Nor is Károly Gundel, who was the founder of the still popular restaurant bearing his name, as well as the teacher of later generations of chefs. Splendid dishes are associated with him.

Varietas delectat—the author shows that in the various regions of Hungary cooking varies greatly as regards the basic materials, the spices and, of course, the taste of the dishes, yet together they create a characteristic "national" kitchen. He devotes separate chapters to the cuisine of Transdanubia, Transylvania, the Great Plains and Budapest. The wines of many splendid flavours and bouquets complete the picture.

The second part of the book is organically linked to the first: having become acquainted with the kitchen traditions and the customs of the different regions, we now meet the descriptions of the dishes and the method of preparing them. The grouping follows the strict traditions of cookery books, yet as we turn the pages we are surprised time and again. It is striking how thoroughly the author is acquainted with the Hungarian kitchen; not only with the dishes which are familiar to a skilled housewife but also those which have been forgotten in the course of centuries. The collection of regional dishes is the result of careful, time-consuming but enthusiastic work. This varied introduction gives, as well as the peasant dishes, the recipes of famous Hungarian cooks; the specialities of the many regions besides everyday dishes. While we read them, we feel like cooking them too.

"It is also a book that people will read for sheer entertainment, like a mystery novel. And, finally, there will be many who take it out into the kitchen to try one of the recipes," writes Joseph Wechsberg in his preface.

George Lang did not begin his career as a master of cookery but as a violinist. Now, when he shows his talent with the pen, we are aware of the artist's sense of proportion. He portions the theory carefully, with a deep knowledge of man—combining practical recipes with cultural history—of each exactly as much as it takes to keep the reader's interest alive. The easy style, the conversational tone makes the history and customs of faraway Hungary, often thought an exotic land, enjoyable for American readers, also dispelling the mistaken belief that in Hungary even cakes are made with strong paprika. The author also shows good judgement in his selection of quotes. The mood of the book is characterized by one of the many quotes in which an anonymous caterer of our time says: "A visiting Englishman asked me the secret of the Hungarian cuisine. I told him: it is sweet onion, noble paprika, unmatched bacon, the very best sour cream and a thousand years of experience."

The illustrations of this tasteful, well-produced book deserve a special acknowledgement. The drawings, old etchings and photographs fit nicely into the style of the work.

ANGÉLA F. NAGY

TRANSLATIONS

from English, French and German published in Hungarian during 1972

(Fiction, drama, poetry, travel, crime, essay, science, Children's books, etc.)

EUROPA PUBLISHING HOUSE

ANTELME, Robert: L'espèce humaine
BALZAC de, Honoré: Le père Goriot (reprint)
BALZAC de, Honoré: Eugénie Grandet (reprint)
BALZAC de, Honoré: Les contes drolatiques (new edition)
BEAUVOIR de, Simone: La vieillesse
BRONTË, Charlotte: Jane Eyre (new edition)
BRONTË, Emily: Wuthering Heights (new edition)
BROWNING, Robert: Selected Poems
BRUNO, Giordano: Dialoghi Metafisici
BURNS, Robert: Poems
BRECHT, Berthold: *Plays* (Baal, Die Dreigroschenoper, Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder, Leben des Galilei, Der gute Mensch von Sezuan, Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg der Arturo Ui, Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis)
CASTELOT, A.: Napoleon Bonaparte
CONRAD, Joseph: Lord Jim
CAMUS, Albert: L'étranger—La chute
CHRISTIE, Agathe: 4.50 From Paddington
DICKENS, Charles: Bleak House
DIDEROT, Denis: La religieuse
DRUON, Maurice: La louve de France
DRUON, Maurice: Le lys et le lion
DUMAS, Alexandre père: Le comte de Monte Cristo (new ed.)
DUMAS, Alexandre père: Les trois mousquetaires (new ed.)
DUMAS, Alexandre père: Le vicomte de Bragelonne
DUCHESNE, Pierre: Sacco et Vanzetti
EDEL, Peter: Die Bilder des zeugen Schattmann
FLAUBERT, Gustave: Madame Bovary (reprint)
FOISSY, Guy: Coeur à deux
FÜHMANN, Franz: König Ödipus (short stories)
GOETHE, Johann Wolfgang: *Poems*
HACKS, Peter: *Plays* (Columbus oder: die Weltidee zu Schiffe, Die Schlacht bei Lobositz, Amphytryon, Omphale)
HAUPTMANN, Gerhart: Der Ketzer von Soana
HARDY, Thomas: The Return of the Native
HUGO, Victor: Les misérables (new ed.)
HUXLEY, Aldous: Eyeless in Ghaza (new ed.)
IKOR, Roger: Monsieur Gloucq ou la toison d'or
ISHERWOOD, Christopher: Good Bye to Berlin
JEROME K., Jerome: Three Men in a Boat (new ed.)
LASKER-SCHÜLER, Else: *Poems*
MARSHALL, Peter: The Raging Moon
MANN, Thomas: Mario und der Zauberer (reprint)
MANN, Thomas: Buddenbrooks (new ed.)
MAUGHAM, W. Somerset: Short Stories
MAUGHAM, W. Somerset: Of Human Bondage
MAUPASSANT, Guy de: Bel-ami (new ed.)
MICHAUX, Henri: *Selected poems*
MITFORD, Nancy: Voltaire in Love
MOLIÈRE, Jean Baptiste: *Plays* (L'avare, Les precieuses ridicules, Le malade imaginaire, Les femmes savantes, George Dandin, Tartuffe)
PERRAULT, Gilles: Le dossier 51
LE ROY, Eugène: Jacquou le croquant
REMARQUE, Erich Maria: Im Westen nichts neues
SAND, George: Consuelo
SAND, George: La comtesse de Rudolfstadt

SCHEINERT, David: Le flamand aux longues oreilles
SCHILLER, Friedrich: Wilhelm Tell (new ed.)
SCOTT, Walter: Redgauntlet
SHAW, George Bernard: Six Plays (Mrs. Warren's Profession, The Devil's Disciple, Caesar and Cleopatra, Man and Superman, Pygmalion, Saint Joan)
SHAKESPEARE, William: Complete Works (new ed.)
SONTAG, Susan: Against Interpretation—Styles of Radical Will
THACKERAY, William Makepeace: The History of Pendennis
THACKERAY, William Makepeace: Vanity Fair (new ed.)
TRIOLET, Elsa: Le rossignol se tait a l'aube
VERCORS, Jean: Le silence de la mer et autres récits
VOYNICH, Ethel: The Gadfly (reprint)
WELLS, H. G.: Bealby (reprint)
WOODHOUSE, P. G.: Leave it to Psmith (reprint)
ZOLA, Émile: Nana (new ed.)
ZOLA, Émile: L'assommoir (new ed.)

MAGVETŐ PUBLISHING HOUSE

BECKETT, Samuel: Murphy
BESSIE, Alvah: The Un-Americans
BUTLER, Samuel: The Way of All Flesh
EXBRAYAT, Charles: Il faut chanter, Isabelle!
JACKSON, George: Soledad Brother
JACTA, Maximillian: Berühmte Strafprozesse
KIRST, Hans Helmut: Die Wölfe
LENZ, Siegfried: Deutschstunde
LESSING, Doris: The Grass is Singing
QUENEAU, Raymond: Zazie dans le Métro
REINECK, Karlheinz: Mordfall Cavaltini
ROTH, Philip: Our Gang
SACHS, Albee: Stephanie on Trial
SCHNELL, Robert Wolfgang: Erziehung durch Dienstmädchen
WHITE, Patrick: The Tree of Man
WILSON, Angus: Anglo-Saxon Attitudes

GONDOLAT PUBLISHING HOUSE

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ADAMSON, Joy: Living Free—Forever Free (3rd ed.)
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BERTINO, Serge: Les fonds sous-marins
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FRANCASTEL, Pierre: *Selected essays*
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GREEN, Graham: Journey without Maps
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HARTMANN, Nicolai: *Selected essays*
HEYERDAHL, Thor: The Ra Expeditions
HUSSERL, Edmund: *Selected essays*
JANOUCH, Gustav: Gespräche mit Kafka
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LEWIN, Kurt: *Selected essays*
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ROBERTSON, A.: The Origins of Christianity
SCHICKEL, Richard: The Disney Version
WALTER, Bruno: Briefe 1894–1962
WATSON, James D.: The Double Helix (2nd ed.)
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CORVINA PRESS

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STIEHLER, Gottfried: Der dialektische Widerspruch—Formen und Funktionen
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WINNINGTON, Alan: The Non-Dead

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FELSENSTEIN, Anneliese: Die Zauberflöte
FERRA-MIKURA, Vera: Besuch bei den drei Stanisläusen
HAUFF, Wilhelm: Das Wirtshaus in Spessart
KÄSTNER, Erich: Das doppelte Lottchen
KÄSTNER, Erich: Das fliegende Klassenzimmer
KIPLING, Rudyard: The Jungle Book (new ed.)
LONDON, Jack: Michael, Brother of Jerry (new ed.)
MARK TWAIN: The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (reprint)
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SPARK, Murel: Robinson
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VERNE, Jules: Les enfants du capitaine Grant (new ed.)

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SMITH, Peter: An Introduction to the Instruments of Orchestra

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MAKATSCH, Wolfgang: Kein Ei gleicht dem anderen
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SOMMER, Siegfried: Blumen und Blattpflanzen am Arbeitsplatz

Á. Sz.

ARTS

THE OEUVRE OF AURÉL BERNÁTH

Few can call as homogeneous a life-work their own as Aurél Bernáth. * On the occasion of his 75th birthday a retrospective exhibition was arranged in the Műcsarnok art gallery in Budapest. There have been many sudden flare-ups in Hungarian art, extravagant verve and brilliant prodigies are not uncommon, but few artists built up a consistent life's work. Aurél Bernáth's principal characteristic, extending already over a working life of more than half a century, has been fidelity to himself and restraint. He has been the disciple—not only in form but in his moral views as well—of his great forerunner, Károly Ferenczy, the style-creating master of the Nagybánya School of Hungarian Impressionism.

But Romanticism which played such a determinant role in the history of Hungarian art, was Bernáth's starting-point as well. After the First World War he was part of the mystic, romantic trend of abstract expressionism and of an expressionism of the Franz Marc type. At the time he lived in Vienna, later in Berlin, and as a protegé of Herwart Walden, that great propagandist of Expressionism, he exhibited in the Sturm Gallery in both 1923 and in 1924. His name became known in art circles, but he was dissatisfied with himself. "I can only remember," he wrote in 1939 of this non-figurative and Expressionist period, "that I wanted to attain almost unattainable distances and synthesis, clothed in some sort of aethereal floating and ease. I did not entirely kick the earth out from under my feet, but the facts themselves played only a re-evaluated role for the sake of the expression of a great synthesis."

Later, however, he turned his back on this all-synthesizing romantic attitude; he felt that to wish to express everything may also mean to lose all. He sought a control and a support that would put a limit to the stream of romantic self-exhibition and uncontrollable cosmic inspiration. He wanted to formulate the relationship of man and the world seeking an equilibrium between sentiment and reason and not a romantic vision. After an inner struggle he discovered the rule which came to govern his work. "The fate of the arts is an argument with nature."

Nature did not play an important role for Bernáth alone, but for the overwhelming majority of modern Hungarian art; even in the case of those artists who border on the non-figurative, the original experience of reality can be sensed. Just as Béla Bartók saw the realization of the laws of nature in folk music, nature as a determinant can be felt in Hungarian painting and sculpture. This has led to the important role played in twentieth-century Hungarian art by the aesthetic experience of the concrete vision,

* See also: Aurél Bernáth: "A Scene from the Inferno" in No. 4 and István Genthon: "Aurél Bernáth" in No. 5 of *The N.H.Q.*

and as a corollary of this, by the emphasis on pictorial qualities. Because of the dominant nature of the experience of vision, the overwhelming majority of painters stuck to the pictorial realization of concrete motifs and to the principle of composition after nature. Aurél Bernáth called this artistic creativity "painting according to the principles of nature", consciously accepted it, and chose it as the theoretical foundation of his art. While the overwhelming majority of painters remained faithful to nature as a subject, instinctively or as a result of their training, this was a conscious choice for Bernáth; he decided on it after carefully considering the dangers inherent in non-figurative art.

Bernáth is an intellectual painter, his painting has been accompanied by reflections concerning painting. It is his view that in our age the path of painting bifurcated, and it is necessary to make a difference between painting in accordance with the principles of nature, which accepts the traditions, and the artistic knowledge accumulated over the centuries, and non-figurative painting, which rejects and denies the latter, and strikes out on a new, uncertain path. There were great differences between the styles of the past, but there were family ties between them, "since at its origin each followed the principles of nature". But in the twentieth century art following the principles of nature tried to merge with an art of conscious origin, it began to distort natural vision and to transform it until it got to the point "where distortion necessarily turned into abstraction, i.e. where painting abdicated its origin in vision, or—and this has happened as well—it is not even interested in it". This was when the rupture with nature, with the principles of painting according to the principles of nature, occurred, according to Bernáth "sometime between Ingres and Rouault, in French painting, which means that Ingres is more or less the most faithful to nature, while Rouault represents the limit to which painting may go in distortion if it wants to stay in the tradition, i.e. stick to the principles of nature". Bernáth looked for his place and did his work within these boundaries.

The return to nature, to the objective world, did not, however, mean the acceptance of the principle of naturalism, that is a return to the imitative presentation of nature. "It is not the object of the picture that is important, but the spiritual reality that has been embodied by it," Bernáth argued, and his art, in the period following on the non-figurative and expressionist stage, attained the unity of the spiritual sphere and its materialization, the drawing of the objective world. He increasingly endeavoured to set down the spirituality, which was hidden in nature and was sensed by his artistic receptivity, not speculatively but perceptively, in its pure pictorial quality, and to achieve corresponding colour effects of increasing richness and differentiation. The still-life element was given a new significance in his pictures. But the meaning of the still-life subjects is not merely pictorial, it maintains the sensorial beauty and it interprets a mood and sentiment as well. The evocative character calling forth associations, a warmth of feeling and pure visual beauty were interwoven in the pictures which he painted at the beginning of the thirties. This was true of his representational paintings as well. His figures stood silently, there was no sudden motion, anywhere, nothing that could be explained psychologically, or no sign of active life. "I was not interested in the personal, in what was bound to the person, in the psychological, in the momentary," Bernáth wrote about these paintings; and indeed, the sublime beauty of pure existence, the flow of an enigmatical inner atmosphere permeates these pictures and unities the figures bathing in the light streaming through the window, or in the opalesque film of vibrating air, and their environment.

His works painted at the end of the twenties still maintained a great many elements of his early expressive period; the tight spatial structure in particular reminded

of it. In the thirties this tightness subsided, and Bernáth's work more unequivocally joined the stream of late Impressionism. His desire for perceptible vision had already earlier indicated his being committed to Impressionism, but then he was still separated from the latter by the rational composition and the continuation of the expressive element. In his pictures the pictorial quality of the still-life elements as well was given emphasis, his deeply lit colours did not dissolve in the painting of the atmospheric reflection. By the mid-thirties an impressionistic painting of the atmosphere became stronger in his art, it was then that, in essence, he got closest to the great school of Hungarian Impressionism, the Nagybánya School, and Károly Ferenczy. The severity of composition was replaced by the chance selection of the vision. Later this trait became even clearer, and when under socialism, he was given the opportunity to paint large murals, he essentially maintained his impressionism in his seccoes as well, although it could always be felt that he had been through the school of expressionism and that he had not abandoned the desire to express flashes of the spiritual through the material reality of the natural subjects. His vision of reality, his painting of nature has always stayed ethereal, the lyrical colour-scheme has been characteristic of his entire life-work.

Bernáth created a school in Hungarian art, and had many disciples. It was he who kept the principles of Nagybánya* alive in their purest form, and even developed them further. His puritanism and his pictorial steadfastness also exercised an influence on the younger painters in the forties and fifties, but later those who were seeking something new wanted to rise above Bernáth's interpretation of painting according to the principles of nature.

Seeking Bernáth's place in European art, one may mention the later Bonnard and the later Kokoschka when painting impressionistic-expressive landscapes. Bernáth's pictures painted at the end of the twenties, like the monumentally sublime "Riviera", the hotel-room scenes, his self-portraits, "Violin before the Window", "Winter", "Violiniste", "Girl on Her Way to the Harvest Festival", etc. are not only among the most important Hungarian works of the period, but represent also universal values of a school of painting which accepted art as being according to the principles of nature, which grew out of the soil of Impressionism but assimilated also the elements of Expressionism. When he arranged an exhibition in the Galerie Hartberg in Berlin in 1931, the well-known critic and pundit, Julius Meier-Graefe wrote: "Through this one painter Hungary entered, as Norway once did through Munch, the ranks of those nations in modern art, which we have to watch very carefully hereafter." Though this enthusiasm was exaggerated since Meier-Graefe had no opportunity to get acquainted with other modern Hungarian painters, it nevertheless indicated that Bernáth's work —with its uninterrupted correlation with nature—was more than a beautiful off-shoot of later Impressionism; it was worthy of the forerunners he had accepted as his own.

LAJOS NÉMETH

* On the Nagybánya school of painting see "Béla Czóbel" in No. 44 of *The N.H.Q.*

STUDIO 72—EXHIBITION OF YOUNG ARTISTS

The traditional annual show of the Young Artists' Studio opened in the Ernst Museum, one of the best exhibition rooms in Budapest. The Studio is the young artists' organization —members must be under 35—and the several hundred young artists who belong to it are the best of their generation. In earlier years, directly after the Studio's creation in 1958, almost all graduates of the Art Academy joined the Studio, but the existing framework was gradually filled and selection became unavoidable. Although financial possibilities increased with the years, the growth in the number of members kept step with it.

The Studio functions with budgetary allocations from the state. Its policies and economic management are supervised by the Arts Foundation of the Hungarian People's Republic. Its activities are directed quasi-autonomously by a management committee elected by the general assembly. It is, however, accountable for its actions to the supervising authority. The director of the Arts Foundation is entitled to suspend the management committee: this happened once, in 1967.

The Studio's tasks are manyfold: it defends the interests of young artists, ensures the necessary conditions—studio, material, model—for their work and helps their development through other material and organizational means. The Studio disposes of scholarships: these grants are distributed in accordance with the artists' achievements and financial needs. Every year two or three competitions are conducted for Studio members, sometimes on specific themes. The works in the exhibition dealing with György Dózsa are the results of such a competition.* The Studio also buys works for its own archives, which collect the finest works of members. Apart from providing material aid, the Studio concerns itself with post-graduate courses, it teaches young artists to handle new types of material, organizes special workshops and, last but not least, ensures the possibility for members to participate in collective and one-man shows. These latter are held in the Studio Gallery, the recently inaugurated showroom of the organization.

A comprehensive evaluation of the Studio's work will yield a contradictory picture. In the past some Studio members have been significant artists whose work had an impact on Hungarian fine art, or at least on one or the other genre. The most obvious example is Béla Kondor, who died recently at the age of 42, and who had opened a new era in Hungarian painting and graphic arts by liberating thinking in images from the fetters of naturalism. Others, like Erika Ligeti and Tamás Asszonyi—two young sculptors—were innovators in the design of coins and medals. However, the Studio, as an organization, also produced "leading lights" who concealed their dilettantism under the cloak of loudly proclaimed political positions and hectic public activity, defending their acquired positions tooth and nail from their more talented colleagues. Today these extremes have died away; on the one hand because the present Studio members lack the penetrating force which would give them significance beyond their own circle, and on the other, because the possibilities of a career by way of political demagogy have considerably narrowed.

Quality is always recreated: some of these young artists are real masters and the attribute "young" refers to their age, not to their art. Unfortunately there is no shortage in mediocrity, only these days it does not put its cards on the table but advances stealthily.

* See the reproductions of works on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the Dózsa peasant war in No. 48 of *The N.H.Q.*

However, its greed for power has not changed. Mediocrity mainly assumes the form of clever or unimaginative imitation, its representatives follow certain fashionable artists and styles without really understanding them. It started with armies of young Kondor-followers, then enthusiasts were attracted by the pictures of Ignác Kokas* and today Lajos Sváby's** expressionist style is imitated. The imitation of models is an infantile disorder with young artists, an unavoidable concomitant of growth and learning, but something else is meant here, a kind of mental weakness, an infantilism which is incapable of original thinking. These young old fogeys, in some kind of unconscious daze, turn ever and again to the barren fields of medal design, to portraits and thematic compositions for support.

By and large, the Studio tries merely to fit into the world of the fine arts. It accepts its often retarding norms instead of trying to transforms them. Many things should and could be done: the older artists have started already to renew monumental art, public square sculpture and architectural decoration, but only the collective breakthrough of a whole generation could achieve something against the backwardness of general taste. The organizational framework of the Studio is particularly fit to make it the rallying point for this venture. Its domestic competitions could orient members towards this goal. So far little has been done in this field. Only the fountain designs of Tamás Asszonyi, in which historical associations and modern forms are in lucky harmony, and the Peasant Revolt of Ferenc Gyurcsek with its oriental effect show signs of this trend.

The exaggeration of specialization is overwhelming. Applied and pure arts, fine arts and industrial arts, painting and graphics live in sectarian isolation. The graphic works in the exhibition are grey both in the concrete and abstract sense of the word: not only colour is lacking from these works but also the lively effect of applied graphic art. The rigid clinging to one genre is naturally a problem not only for the Studio and young artists, but they are the people who should change this bad tradition.

The sculptures present the greatest variety at the exhibition: apart from a considerable number of mature works there are many abortive efforts, works lacking character and showing marks of stagnation. Pál Kő is one of those with marked individuality. His art is based on his interest in man at work. His inspiration stems from the people and from folk art. His Scavenger is a gnome-like dwarf, whose misshapen body, carved of gnarled wood, carries a fine head with a wry smiling face; his other work is a bride standing on a box, a proudly erect peasant goddess; the artist combined wood, stone and metal with a deep feeling for folk ornamentics. His love for the peasant world has led him to Chagall: he transplants to wood Chagall's characteristic motives wittily and playfully and he identifies himself with them in a kind of *ars poetica* when he portrays himself on the back, as a curious spectator.

Róbert Csíkszentmihályi,* another outstanding young sculptor, is represented with a wooden moral relief showing galloping horses carved with virtuosity. Csíkszentmihályi used Vasarely's method in the Zebra—he distributed horizontal strips over the panel and carved in these the vibrating contours of the galloping animals, thus creating the impression of intensified motion.

Andreas Papachristos, an artist of Greek origin, sculpted a lying nude from grey, veined marble; true to the nature of the material he condensed the forms of the female body into a cylinder-like closed unit, while keeping and even intensifying the organic momentum of the ruddy plump forms. His Christ-bearded Prometheus is built on different formal effects. The slender figure almost melts into the stone pillar, only his defiantly raised head stands out from the stone surface which is grooved and

* See *The N.H.Q.* No. 31.

** See Nos. 24, 48 of *The N.H.Q.*

* See in No. 46 of *The N.H.Q.*

pierced and conveys the feeling of tragic struggle.

Three other sculptors, Enikő Szőllőssy, Tibor Borbás and Zoltán Szentirmai, also rate special mention. Szőllőssy composes her works of painted wooden elements: her themes are the reversals of fortune in nature and in human life, blossoming and mourning. In her compositions the phenomena of the living world overlap each other; the bud concealed in the depth of undulating barks materializes as a girl's figure, and she, in turn, is formed of leaf veins. Tibor Borbás works with plaster. The Meal is a re-adaptation of the theme of the Last Supper: the picturesque animation of the material, the undulating draperies and bustling groups counterbalance the mass of the large white table. In another sculpture a running figure and the flying shape of his spread-out veil convey beautifully the feeling of movement. Szentirmai experiments with methods of combining various materials, metal, stone and wood, with open and closed surfaces. Dózsa's throne, constructed of cindery wood shows the success of these experiments.

Among the mass of characterless and unorganical medals, plaques and portraits, Zsuzsa Lóránt distinguishes herself with the sincerity of her works, and Péter Kaubek and László Rajki show good portraits. Especially Rajki has the necessary abilities without which no real portrait is possible; he is able to express the very core of his models using a confessional emotional charge to give his work depth. József Rátonyi shows a marked sense for sculpture but as yet he is a prisoner of conventional forms; the same can be said of János Fritz, who appears to find pleasure in the clever but shallow imitation of Manzu's female portraits.

Most graphic artists still struggle to find their own original style, while some of them have not even acquired full mastery of their craft. Károly Koffán junior typifies many young artists: his considerable technical skill and talent for depiction have led him so far only to the clever imitation of different styles and manierisms. His drawing representing the mutilated head of the burnt Dózsa is, however, a promise that sooner or later his own strong personality will replace the models. Many works evoke György Dózsa and the peasant war of 1514, but they are frequently superficial and lack true élan. Only a few artists could compose an interesting and substantial picture; like the total view of a battle with minute figures drawn by András Miklós Sáros or the Dózsa-tryptichon of Vilma Somlai representing the deadly courage of the crusaders.

Ferenc Banga is an original and significant artist despite his youth. His style evokes children's drawings, his outlook is naive but in Before the Gates the slightly ironical idyllic style changes into Goyaesque grim satire unmasking the execrable pretentiousness of the invaders.

The montages of Gábor Gy. Rádóczy depict the conflict between man and beast, civilization and nature, showing the artist's romantic predisposition to the terrifying and horrible. Rádóczy likes to turn to Bartók for inspiration; last year he showed an etching, entitled Prince Bluebeard; now he evokes the dehumanized animal world of the hunters changed into deer in the Cantata Profana—their eye sockets empty, their muscles uncovered, their fur in a whirl.

Of the older generation Huba Bálványosi and Árpád Szabados show mature and characteristic works. Bálványosi's litographies are somewhat naturalistic, but their political pathos is sincere and artistic when depicting the dramatic moments of the class struggle: strike, demonstration and interrogation. His extreme figures represent the despair of the oppressed and the vileness of the oppressors. Szabados is an intellectual artist whose brush drawings, inspired by Bartók and Attila József, are composed of real elements and fantasy shapes. The dynamism of his jagged lines, the rhythm of the strictly purposeful drawings and the black and white contrast effects are the main features of these works.

The painters still lack the marked profile

AURÉL BERNÁTH: SEASHORE IN ENGLAND, (OIL, 75×130 CMS, 1963)

Photo: József Horvai

Overleaf: AURÉL BERNÁTH: VIOLONIST, (OIL, 110×80 CMS, 1931)

Photo: István Petrás

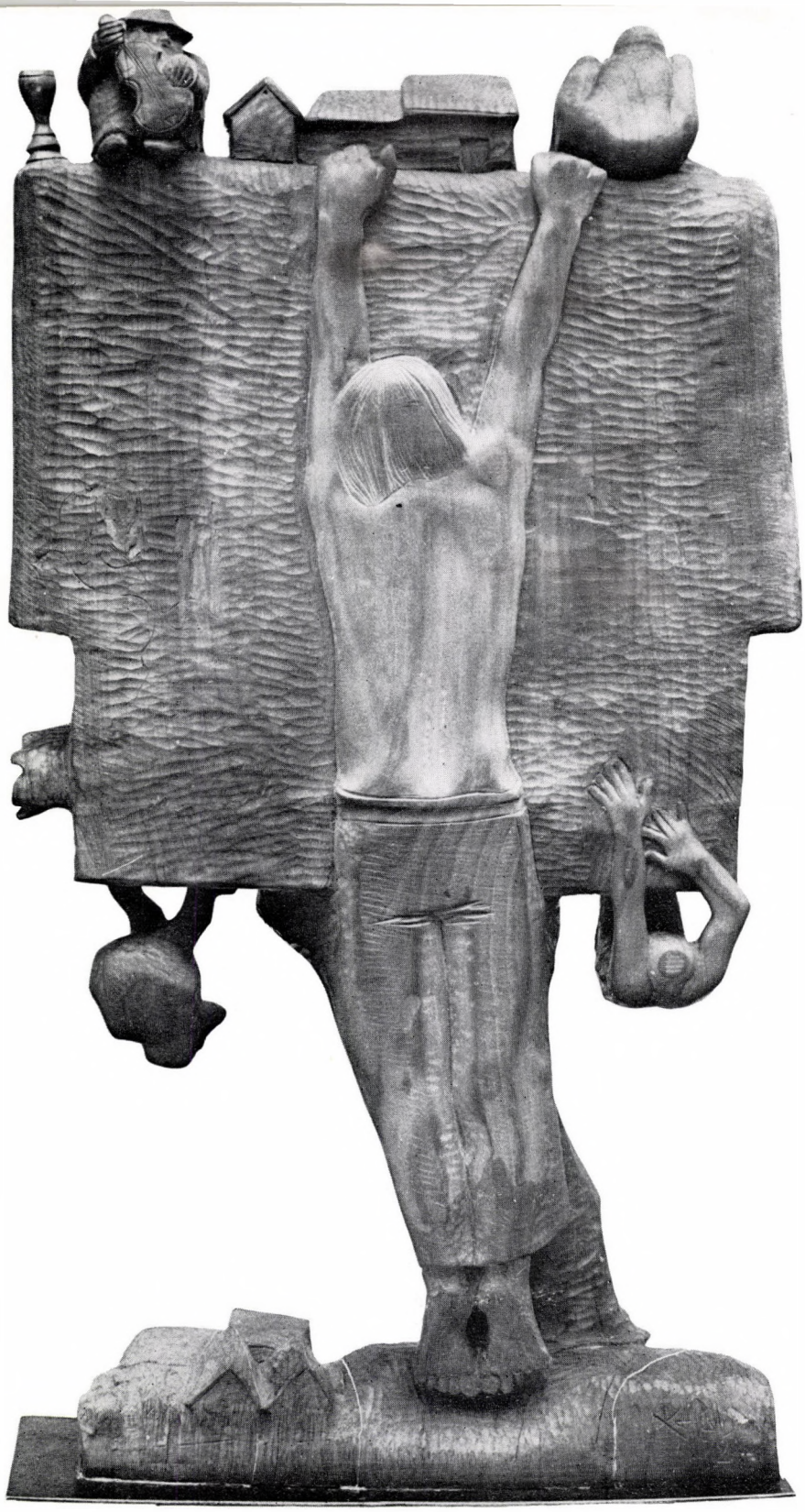

COELIA

ANDRÁS VÉGH: THEY HAVE GONE (OIL, 90×108 CMS)

Photo: Károly Szelényi

PÁL KŐ: CHAGALL AND ME (WOOD CARVING, 73 CMS)

Photo: Ferenc Kovács



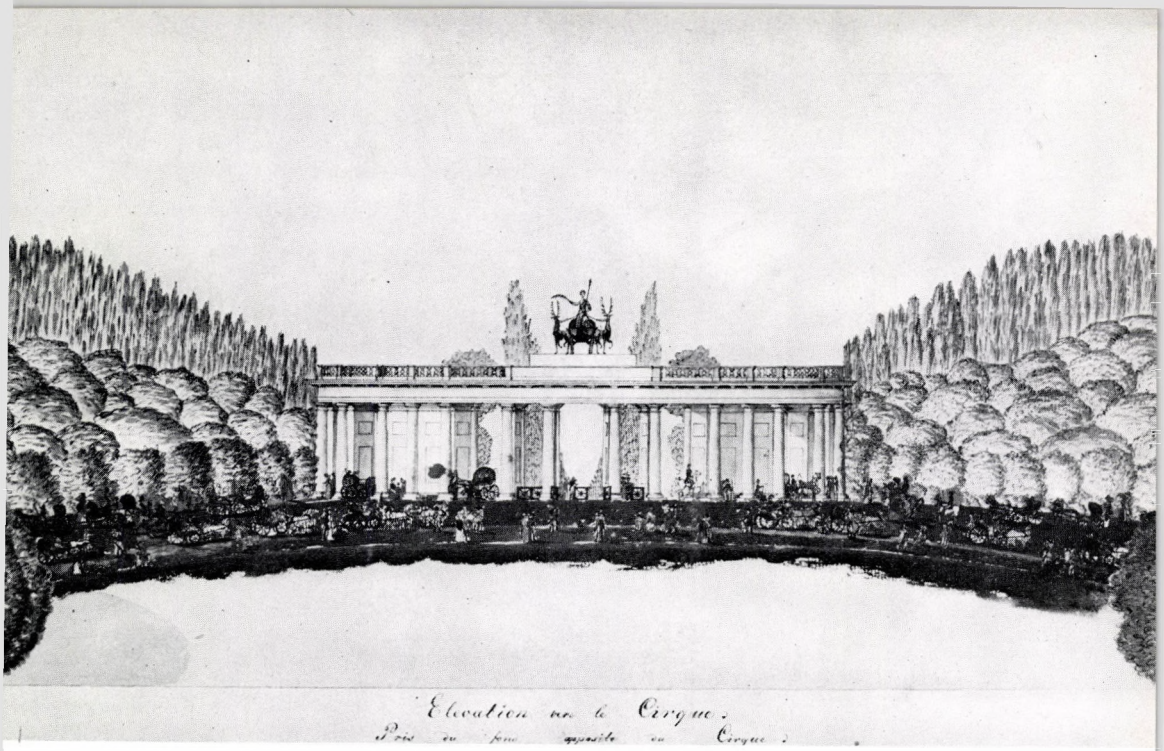
Enikő Szőllőssy: Flowering (wood carving, 66 cms)

Photo: Ferenc Kovács

Gábor Gy. Rákóczy: Cantata Profana (copper engraving, 50×70 cms)

Photo: Ferenc Kovács

Ferenc Banga: Marci Zöld the Outlaw (copper engraving, 40×30 cms) *Photo: Ferenc Kovács*

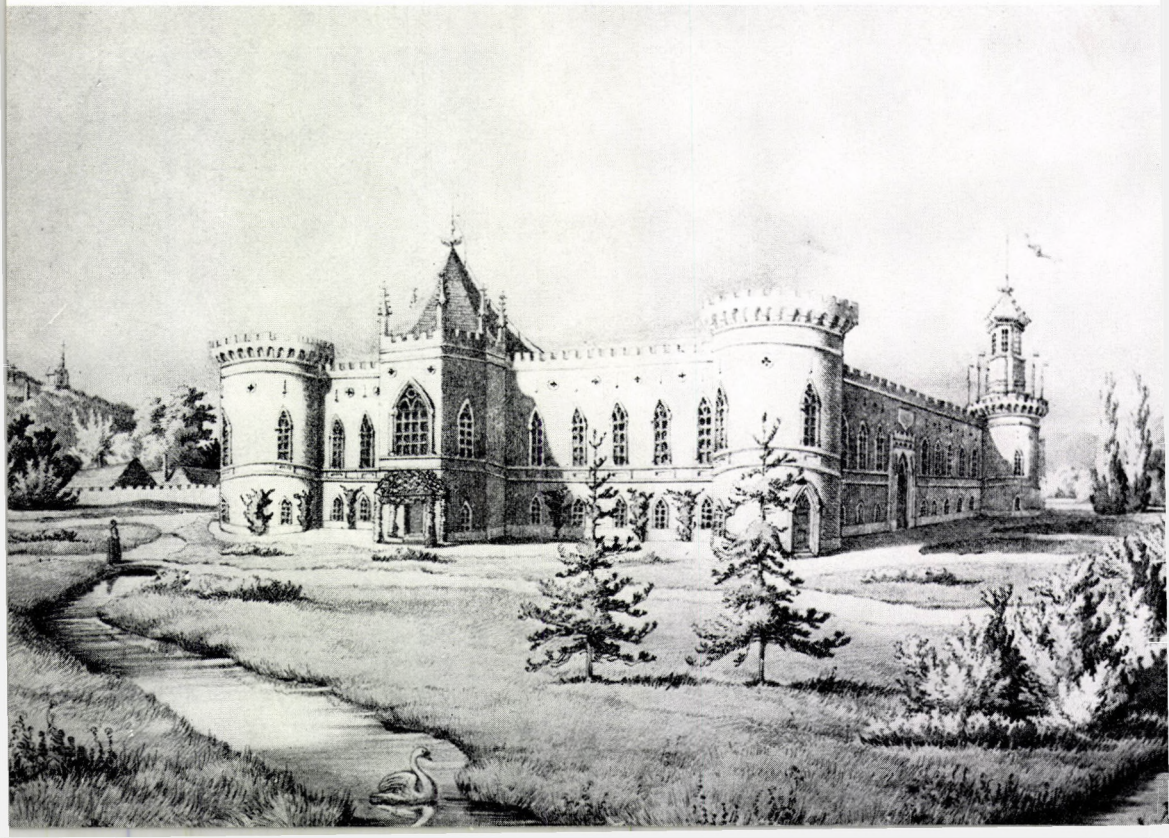


H. Nebbien: Plan for the entrance of the city park on the park side, 1816

The Pest city park in the middle of the 19th century *(Litograph by Alt-Sandmann)*

Castle and garden of Gernyeszeg (Litograph by Rohbock)

The English style mansion and garden in Nagyugróc *Photo: Dr. László Varscha*



of some sculptors and graphic artists, but some promising young talents have emerged. András Végh appears to be the most mature of them. He started from the art of Ignác Kokas but successively built up his own personal and original style. His figures, painted with wry colours, seem to float in the sharply segmented space which surrounds them like a magnetic field, in turn alongating, narrowing or flattening them. Iringó Kócsy, with markedly drawn lines and areas, builds a traditional Euclidean space on her landscapes and with her constructivism and complementary colours reminds the spectator of the activist Nemes Lampérth.

Iván Szkok and Ádám Kéri use synthetic material and operate with plastic effects. Szkok mixes painting with maquettes; on his Dózsa painting the glowing embers and the gnarled surface evoking burnt wood remain flat, but on his other picture the forms stand out as reliefs, and the dim figure of a man hit by the train is projected on the salient rails and sleepers. Kéri recreates some apparently accidental details of the objective world with documentary authenticity, his best work, the Revolution, reconstructs a white-painted brick wall with bloody bullet traces.

Among long-standing Studio members Piroska Jávor excels with her sophisticated and original enamel paintings, whereas Erzsébet Fülöp and Ferenc Hézső are disappointing. Fülöp's small pictures of idealized types have become too sweet. Hézső has also shifted towards using cheap effects: superficially combined pleasant motives—colourful birds, folk art objects, modern buildings—with pompous titles, such as Nature-Folklore-Urbanization.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

ANNA ZÁDOR

THE ENGLISH GARDEN IN HUNGARY

The English Garden in Hungary is still awaiting its historian. Its long period of flowering spanning more than a hundred years, the extraordinary preference shown it, evidenced by the nearly two hundred gardens we know of, form a marked contrast to this neglect. This short account aims to offer a brief survey. It deals with garden architecture; though I am fully aware of the great importance of the horticultural aspect, I do not propose to discuss it here.

The one hundred and fifty years of Turkish occupation of the country obviously meant a major setback for gardens as well. Even the construction and maintenance of fortifications and bastions, which were essential for the survival of the nation, was often impeded by various difficulties; the maintenance and cultivation of gardens which required considerable financial resources and continuous care, was out of question.

The spreading of the fashion for English Gardens in Hungary started during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. This is the period when the influence of the French

Encyclopedists began, that of the first waves of the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment reached Hungary somewhat belated and trhough various side-channels, which meant that it bore the imprint of a number of new trends. In the Age of Reason a powerful urge for learning showed in wide sections of society. It was rooted in an almost childish belief that learning leads to happiness. New ideas in literature and art generally reached Hungary through Germany, new ideas in architecture and garden layout on the other hand came via Lombardy. The new fashions which were part of the Enlightenment, including the English Garden, reached Hungary in a roundabout way, and were first found amongst the nobility. But a number of men of letters, especially members of Catholic teaching orders, the Piarists among them, were amongst the propagators of new ideas; they introduced many things to Hungary including the new vogue in garden design.

The spreading of the English Garden fashion was initially hindered not only by the backwardness of the social pattern and the precarious economic situation, but, to a certain extent, by the geographic and climatic features of the country as well. Hungary has little rainfall and substantial extremes in temperature; summers are hot and dry, and there is much snow and frost in winter. This sort of climate does not really ensure what an English Garden needs, it does not favour the vast expanse of closely mown lawn, and trees displaying a variety of colour and foliage, or a multitude of water surfaces, if possible natural brooks and water-courses. Nevertheless skills which made it possible to overcome these difficulties were soon acquired, and Hungarian plants that produced effects typical of an English Garden were bred. The preferred trees were the Lombardy poplar, the linden, various kinds of oak and the acacia, the latter soon became a characteristic feature of the landscape. The weeping willow, a tree particularly apt to evoke a sentimental mood, was frequently planted. Shrubberies of a most varied nature, size and colour, including some from remote countries, were naturalized and played their part in creating the picturesque ensembles so characteristic of the English Garden. The newly liberated imagination urged the men of the period to find "exotic" lands, in regions they had never approached before. Imagination made an impact on the development of the English Garden; as a result, "oriental" shapes and materials were used; the earlier cool and formal trend came to be replaced by the fanciful. Not only the plants, but the architectural objects indicate this preference for the fanciful, this fondness for wearing disguises. This accounts for the multitude of pagodas, Chinese tea-houses, sphynxes and obelisques found in early English Gardens. But the imitation of remote and mysterious countries was not only due to the new freedom of the imagination and to a romantic roving of the fancy, but also to a desire for seclusion, for a withdrawal from the outside world, for a rejection of the present. This is how the English Garden turned into a retreat, into a place of sentimental meditation; indeed, the blending of colours and shapes, of real buildings alternating with ruins or tent-like temporary pavilions, often produced a somewhat theatrical effect. This is why this kind of garden, at least in its early stages, was called "picturesque" in England, a term one could not really use about when describing gardens in Hungary.

Landscape Gardens

Oddly enough the difference between the English Garden and the Landscape Garden is not clearly established, neither in English writing on the subject, nor in other languages. These two terms are employed alternatively about the same type of garden. One is inclined to say that English Gardens that survived into the second half of the nine-

teenth century are generally called Landscape Gardens. In Germany in particular, the Landscape Garden is the more comprehensive term, the term English Garden being reserved for later city parks.

Though precise dating is not really possible it is noticeable that some eighteenth-century Hungarian publications already contain references to a fair number of English Gardens. Their owners must have been proud of their fashionable possessions, their gardens being expressions of the new taste, of garden design fashions imported from Western Europe. The same scanty sources tell us that the late eighteenth century was the age when most formal gardens were transformed into English Gardens, or at least a new part layed out in the English fashion was added to the formal garden, as a status symbol, with all that an English Garden implied in terms of elegance. The formal garden was considered dull and impersonal since it did not reflect the individual taste and the personality of the owner. This implies the emergence of a new feature, characteristic of the Age of Enlightenment in this country: accent was given to the personal, to individual and special tastes, in regard to all questions concerning man and his environment. The few sources mentioned above suggest that garden design in the late eighteenth century was of a mixed style, reflecting a mixed outlook. The garden widened into a landscape, merging into the natural scenery without clear limits. Even the nature of the vegetation is not allowed to form a fence or limit. These gardens were embellished by a variety of small architectural objects, modelled after the buildings of different countries and ages: their arrangement is not scholastic or pedantic but fanciful. Tea-houses and tempietti all'Antica, Chinese structures and Japanese-type bridges were common all over Europe at the time; less frequently, they occurred in Hungary as well. A Turkish type of building looking like a mosque perhaps, appeared more often in this country. This is not surprising, when one thinks of the Turkish occupation and the Turkish wars; it becomes understandable that, in Hungary, the exotic was more or less taken to be the equivalent of something Turkish.

The High Period of the English Garden in Hungary

The transitional late eighteenth-century style was followed around 1800 by the absolute predominance of the English Garden. The mature style of the early nineteenth century aimed at a certain solemn loftiness blended with sentimental and nostalgic feelings, leaving no room for the earlier fanciful aspects. No more garden theatres, no fountains and water jets, no pergolas or bowers to play hide-and-seek in; all these late Baroque features surviving into the transitional period were out. The most that can be found are pieces of sculpture, chiefly in the gardens of the Transylvanian aristocracy. Rural scenery, left untouched and unshaped, merged without a noticeable break into the English Garden which consciously tended to produce an imitation of an open landscape, based, however, on a carefully designed and mapped-out plan. This fashion, and with it the prevalence of the English Garden, dominated the scene up to the middle of the nineteenth century all over Hungary.

The Landscape Garden in the form developed around 1800 offered an appropriate scene for quiet, intimate strolls, for contemplation and for enjoying the silence, the beauty of trees and shrubs with its wealth of colours and shapes, the soft purling of brooks, or the calm surfaces of lakes and ponds. Even flowers avoided harsh or gaudy colours. These features turned the garden into a world of its own, characteristic of the temperament and taste of its owner, reflecting his changing sentiments and moods.

This character of the English Garden was first stressed in Hungary by Ferenc Kazinczy, the poet and writer, a promoter of all that

was new and up-to-date, who pointed out that the Landscape Garden served to beautify the country, as well as the progress of botanical studies.

Garden Designers

Who, then, were the designers and architects of these gardens? It is difficult to answer this question, not only on account of the small numbers of surviving signed plans, but also, and mainly, because it is difficult for us to imagine a personality matching the names we have. We have no authentic knowledge of the designers of even the most important gardens, even the horticultural manuals or encyclopedias of the time offer no information regarding the garden architects of the period, Bernhard Petri, who will be discussed later, being the only exception. Hence, all one can do is to try to follow the channels through which the fashion for English Gardens was imported into the country. The main sources were pattern books, also periodicals and books on garden culture, which were in wide use from the seventeen-seventies onwards all over Europe, and which spread to Hungary as well. It appears that often the owner of the garden also cherished an "image" of a garden he wanted to see realized, mostly following a pattern or design seen abroad. At the time Hungary already had numerous contacts with other countries. Another channel very probably led through Lombardy. A number of Viennese architects and craftsmen lived and worked there, while that part of Italy was part of the Austrian dominions. Leopoldo Pollach, the designer of a grandiose English Garden of the sumptuous Villa Belgiojoso in Milan (1793), stood out amongst them. He is considered to have introduced the English Garden into Italy. The great Hungarian architect Mihály Pollack, a half-brother of Leopoldo, spent several years of study at Milan; what he knew of the English Garden was very likely due to his Milan years. The fruits of that inspiration are apparent in many a Hungarian mansion built by him.

Bernhard Petri (1768–1855) was the first real personality in the period of the rise of the English Garden in Hungary. He was endowed with all the skills of a gardener and a garden architect. He spent four years in England, where he acquainted himself with the new style in garden design and the necessary knowledge of hydraulics and glass and hot-house construction. He came to Hungary via Vienna, to lay out gardens for the mansions of Ráró, Vedrőd (Voderady) and Hédervár, gardens which soon became well known, particularly since Petri himself described them in Becker's *Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde*, a popular gardening manual.

The garden at Hédervár surrounding the Viczay mansion dates from sometime before 1786; it is thus one of the early examples. Hédervár is mentioned as a famous garden by the geologist Robert Townson. According to Townson, Viczay "had called on the advice of a German who resided a good while in England with a view to learning the art of adjusting the scattered beauties of rural scenery". It was at Hédervár that Petri first tried his luck with the naturalization of the acacia. This tree, as mentioned earlier, turned into a characteristic feature of the Hungarian landscape. Petri, in his paper, tells with some satisfaction of his success in binding the soil. But his most important achievement was the Orczy garden in Pest, the first city park in Hungary intended to provide open spaces and fresh air to the public of a growing town. Unfortunately it was later mutilated, and only a small part of it has survived.

The English Garden, by definition, serves a small number of persons; the layout of a private garden stresses quietness and seclusion. As against this a city park is meant for the general public, and can therefore retain the features of the English Garden merely in its style and its general conception.

The first transitional phase produced a number of noteworthy gardens in Hungary. One of the most attractive is that of the Counts Esterházy at Csákvár. A mansion built around 1781 by an unknown architect was transformed after 1800 into the present, impressive Greek Revival building. The English Garden was very likely laid out in the seventeen-eighties, and was richly embellished with a variety of architectural objects, that appear in a recently discovered series of gouaches. They show a Temple d'Apollon, a Gloriette Chinoise, a Bâtiment Turc, also a Pyramid and a building in the Egyptian style. The gouaches, signed by a certain Peter Rivetti, are of poor quality. Rivetti's name occurs in the Archives of Csákvár from 1795 onwards, but the dates on the paintings are earlier, indicating that the buildings must have been erected prior to 1795. The fame of the garden at Csákvár, with its extraordinary wealth and variety of fancy architecture, spread rapidly and the garden must have persisted, at least in its main features, even after the mansion was rebuilt around 1810. Some of the buildings, among them the Bâtiment Turc, have survived.

The most sophisticated of all these gardens of the transitional period may well have been Hotkóc (Hodkovce), built for Count Emanuel Csáky. Luckily a painting dated 1803, by Johann Rombauer (1782–1849), is extant, showing twenty-three views of the Hotkóc garden. The owner was apparently so proud of his garden that he commissioned the garden's portrayal rather than his own. The mansion itself, presumably a converted manorial building, is not very ambitious, but the gateway and some other architectural objects are of a good standard, in some ways suggesting the Late Baroque. Hotkóc also had a Greek-Revival Tempietto, a Gothic Church, and a number of sculptures, which can be clearly discerned in the small compartments of the painting. The name of the designer and the plan itself have not come down to us, but the garden must have been similar in style to what was known as the Anglo-Chinois Garden in Western Europe.

Charles de Moreau, a Viennese architect of French origin, is referred to as responsible for a number of mansions in Hungary. I shall only discuss the great English Garden behind the Esterházy palace at Kismarton (Eisenstadt). Moreau worked from 1801 on the re-shaping of the garden, which he found overcrowded by too many high trees, and lacking in intimate rural retreats which were considered essential around 1800. We know that Moreau had a team of skilled men at his disposal, most of whom had been trained in England, to be able to cope with the latest requirements. The Kismarton garden was cut by a huge canal, and four large ponds provided mirror-like surfaces evoking feelings of quiet and peace. Sinuous paths of differing widths, as well as carefully chosen and scattered trees and shrubs embellished the garden, and changes in levels also added to its beauty. The garden is framed by hills and impresses the visitor as a genuine natural landscape. It contained a *monopteros* (a Tempietto surrounded by a colonnade) on one of the most exposed heights, with a seated figure of Leopoldina Esterházy by Canova. The wealth and variety of the Kismarton garden, both as regards vegetation and layout, the vast vistas, contrasted by intimate, secluded retreats, enhance its picturesque beauty. Josef Fischer (1679–1822), from Vienna, court painter to the Prince, condensed in one small painting, all the features of the garden which he considered beautiful and characteristic, in conformity with the style of the day.

The vast ensemble of Kismarton is the last great work of the transitional period, and at the same time the first step towards stressing dignified grandeur. The years following 1800 witnessed the complete disappearance of the formal garden at a surprisingly rapid rate, with its mythological sculptures and elaborate parterres, except for a few cases, such as the English Garden sur-

rounding the Teleki mansion in Gernyeszeg (Gernešti). This garden has large areas of water of irregular limits, which become even less clear owing to the rich foliage of the surrounding trees. A pool of water is in what used to be the moat, surrounded by fancifully scattered satirical figures of Mirabeau, Louis XVI and other men of the French Revolution period, all shown as dwarfs. They may possibly have been imported from some other earlier garden.

The gardens of Lombardy, as argued earlier in this article, could well have been a source of the English Garden in Hungary, particularly considering Leopoldo Pollach, and his connection with his half-brother Mihály Pollack, who transplanted this type of garden to Hungary. It is likely that the high style of the English Garden developed mainly under Italian influence. Pollack's gardens are neither fanciful nor picturesque, they are sentimental and dignified instead.

Let me first mention the garden at Dég, at the Festetics mansion. Dég is on a monotonous level site, which poses a difficult task to the architect. Pollack however succeeded in mastering the unfavourable conditions both as regards the mansion and the garden. The spacious lawns and carefully selected and planted trees, with ponds flanked by a Dutch House, enhance the picturesque effect of this secluded ensemble.

The garden of what used to be the Károlyi mansion at Fót, built by an unknown architect, is related to Dég. Today a Children's Town is housed there. Two paintings, one bearing the signature of Károly Klette, minor painter, dated 1835, offer a great deal of information on the garden. Klette's painting represents this very typical Hungarian garden with its large expanse of lawn, shrubberies and clumps of not too high trees. The pond is enlivened by swans floating in serene dignity. The whole complex, framed by not too distant hills and mountains, creates a feeling of detachment, quiet meditation and solitude.

The Garden of the Brunswick Mansion

The series of great English Gardens continued with the famous Martonvásár residence of the Brunswicks, friends and patrons of Beethoven. Beethoven's "Unsterbliche Geliebte" could possibly be identified as the Countess Theresa Brunswick. We know that Beethoven repeatedly stayed there around 1800, and was fond of strolling in the large and magnificent park, which originally surrounded a Baroque mansion. Theresa Brunswick, in her diary, mentions the rondeau enclosed by linden trees, the spacious lawns and big ponds framed by weeping willows. The garden in shown in a mid-nineteenth-century lithograph, looking much as it does now, suffering no apparent change even when the mansion was rebuilt in the neo-Gothic style in the second half of the nineteenth century. The architect is presumably identical with Henry Nebbien who designed another Brunswick mansion, that at Alsókorompa (Dolny Krupa), transforming a formal garden there into an English one (before 1817).

Nebbien's major achievement was the new layout of the city park called "Városliget" in Pest, which was the subject of a competition in 1817. Nebbien was very likely Belgian, but his ideas in garden design were certainly English. In a memorandum that is of great historical interest, Nebbien not only described all the trees and shrubs to be planted in the Városliget in detail but also tells that the garden at Alsókorompa was layed out by him. Arguing by analogy one might, with some reservation, attribute Martonvásár to him as well.

Nebbien accompanied his rather voluble application by thirteen drawings and water colours, including all the characteristic features of a sophisticated English Garden. Vast lawns alternate with fancifully arranged groups of trees and shrubberies. The large pond, set in what used to be marshes, is embellished by two small islands made accessible by small bridges. The most striking

architectural object is the imposing and somewhat oversized main gate, a semicircular double colonnade topped by a piece of triumphal sculpture. The whole composition is as huge and grandiose as an entrance to an imperial residence, an impression further reinforced by the straight lines of trees leading up to it, not really the entrance to a garden for the use of the public in a growing commercial town. It is remarkable how out-of-date the style of this building is for the eighteen-tens, with its marked relationship to the Napoleonic and immediately preceding elaborate, often temporary, architecture for which there was no room after 1815. Nebbien's City Park is, of course, not the only example of such a displacement in time and style.

Although the City Park is not a private garden, yet its character is on the whole typical of the wide acceptance of the English Garden throughout Hungary, but mainly in Buda-Pest, which was becoming increasingly important, as the newly established capital of the country. Nebbien's role in the large-scale development of St. Margaret Island for the Palatine, the Archduke Joseph, presumably carried out around 1820, is not altogether clear. The spaciousness and serene calm of the island, hugged by the two arms of the Danube, made it eminently suitable for a garden to which the public was to be given access at certain limited hours. This type of partly private, partly public garden can be found in other countries as well, mainly in cities that were once part of the Hapsburg empire, such as Vienna, Bratislava or Zagreb.

The Garden and the Building

In city parks and "mixed" gardens which, as a rule, were not grouped around an important building, no marked association could appear between garden and building, even if small villas and other minor structures, like tempiettos, pavilions or arbours were erected in them. In private gardens, on the other hand, where the mansion is the essential and emphasized part of the complex, the almost complete lack of association between house and garden is astonishing. In most informal gardens of continental Europe the mansion or chateau was more or less hidden; a visitor was often has difficulty in finding it. Only with the earliest gardens does one have the feeling that there had to be a small building somewhere in the garden which acts as a minor centre without, however, dominating the whole. In most cases a level terrace was formed in front of the main building, sometimes raised by a few steps—or a lofty stretch of lawn framed by carefully selected trees. Anyhow, architecture and garden were conceived as separate entities and did not merge into an ensemble as they had done in the earlier formal garden. Hence, English Gardens could be attached to any kind of house, most of them surrounded Greek Revival buildings, but a considerable number of smaller or larger neo-Gothic chateaus often had English Gardens, the remodelled mansion at Martonvásár for instance.

The residence of the Bánffys at Bonchida (Bontida) is a fine example. The late medieval castle was repeatedly rebuilt, once into a Baroque mansion with a formal garden which achieved considerable renown, often being called the Versailles of Transylvania. Around 1830 an English Garden was added, which survived into the period when the central part of the mansion received its neo-Gothic form. That may well have been the first appearance of the neo-Gothic in Transylvania, the influence of the style being apparent in the layout of the garden as well.

The central part of the Sárospatak Castle also dates from the late Middle Ages. Sárospatak is one of the remotest castles in north-eastern Hungary. The main wing, rebuilt in a late Renaissance style, joins a huge keep; after 1850 the Renaissance section was again remodelled and given a central wing in the romantic style. The vast English Garden

was added around 1826. A lithograph by Gusztáv Keleti is one of the earliest representations. It shows the remodelled building, surrounded by an English Garden layed out in what used to be the moat, with oaks and horse chestnuts, that are very characteristic of garden design in Hungary.

These few examples, which represent only a fraction of the gardens of the time, show how far and wide the fashion of the English Garden had spread in Hungary.

Right now, when gardens are also protected as historical monuments, and the injuries and damage suffered during the war and the early post-war period are being gradually repaired, some one hundred and fifteen gardens have been so scheduled in Hungary. Many of them are in the process of reconstruction and preservation. This work was considerably helped by the IFLA session of UNESCO, which stressed the importance of the garden as a historical monument. There is every hope that a large number of English Gardens will soon be presented to the visitor in their original remarkable beauty.

FOLK ART—DOES IT HAVE A HISTORY?

Folk art has become fashionable again in Hungary and in other countries as well and it is worth noting that young people in particular can be numbered amongst connoisseurs and collectors. Both craftsmen and those who delight in their products are wont to emphasize their beauty and powers of expression. One can tell from what is usually said that most people have vague ideas indeed of the past of folk art. Hungary is not an exception and here as well as in other parts of Europe out-of-date views can be frequently heard which derive from times when folk art was rediscovered, that is, from the second half of the nineteenth century. These argue that folk art came into being in the distant past, in societies of peasants engaged in a subsistence economy being handed down through the ages essentially unchanged.

Ethnographers and art historians have fought such naivities for just about a hundred years, their persuasive powers not proving particularly effective. One can understand this failure up to a point in view of the fact that the argument most frequently used is as far from the truth as the one it is meant to combat. It argues that folk art cannot be considered as unchanged through the ages since it, in the main, consists of the clumsy and mindless copying of what are called the historic styles, maintaining certain "ancient" decorative elements, whose role, however, is dwindling.

One of the main causes for the survival of wrong opinions can be ascribed to the fact that the history of folk art is still in a muddle. It was thought for a long time that a comprehensive history of the process of development was impossible. The immense quantity of undated and seemingly undatable products of folk art had a paralysing effect on scholars; all they tried to do was to establish the chronological order and to clear up the main stages of development in particular fields. The only way of getting away from speculations that were merely variations on the same idea appeared to be

Joined Chest, Transylvania, around 1400, with painted vines

Photo: József Franciscy

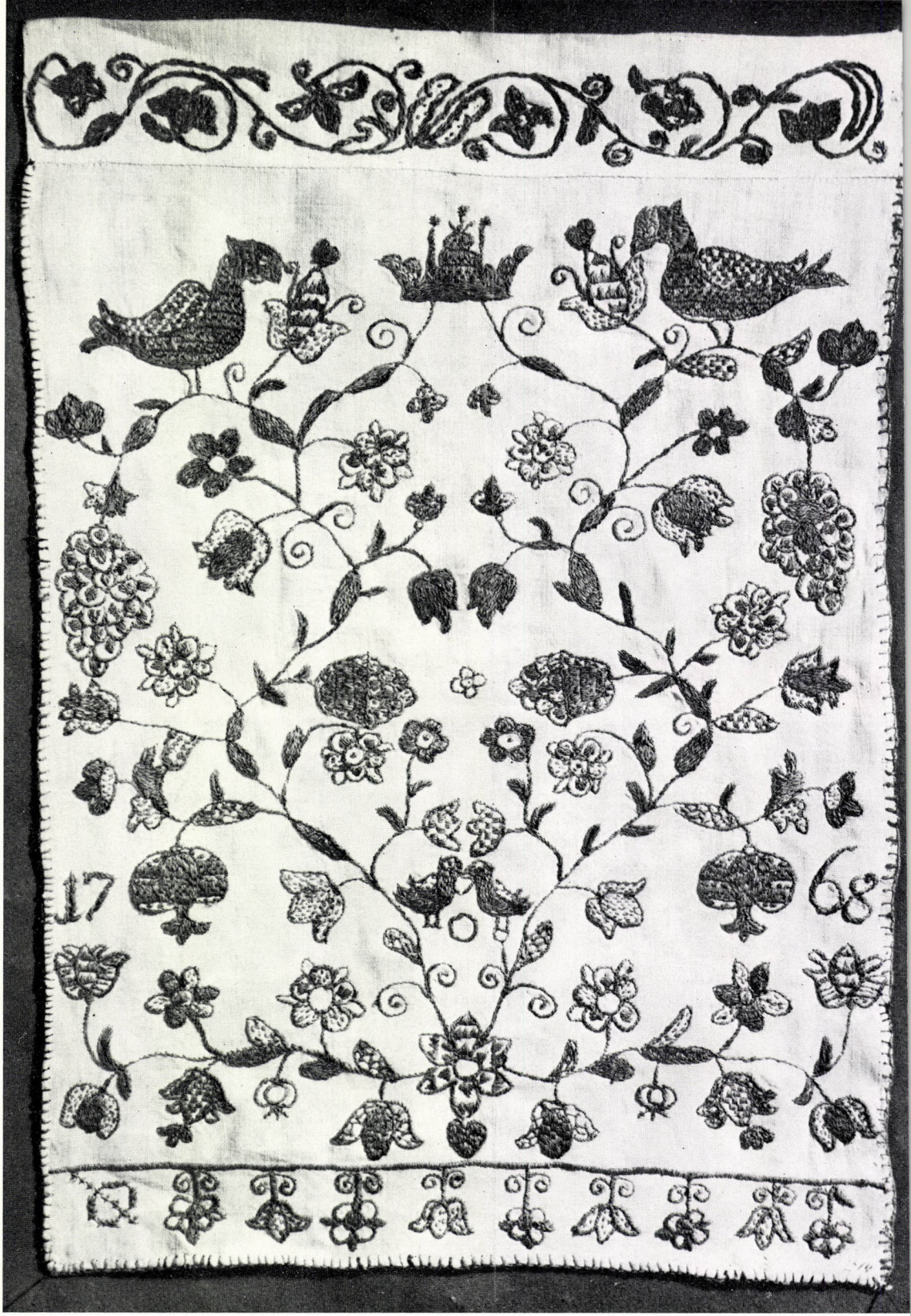
Mirrorcase, inlaid with coloured wax, work of Zsiga Károly, 1842

Photo: József Franciscy

Mirrorcase, inlaid with coloured wax, showing the arrest of Jóska Savanyú,

Powder Horns, 17th-18th Century

Photo: József Franciscy



Part of a Festive Shawl, embroidered in red silk, 1768

to classify, establish the chronological order and to re-examine objectively not merely the products of a particular workshop or centre, or dated objects of a certain kind, but as many as possible produced by one country or another country as a whole, irrespective of the subject-matter. It is certain that the objects themselves provide the most reliable information on their history. In order to reveal laws of development that become apparent after a classification of this sort, an exhibition of the history of Hungarian folk art based on objects in the collections of the Hungarian Ethnographic Museum was arranged first in Budapest, in 1971, and a selection being subsequently shown in Geneva, Berlin and Rostock, in 1972.

A large number of documents are already available on which a history of Hungarian folk art could be based. The material clearly shows that folk art, known largely on the basis of nineteenth and twentieth-century objects, is a product of historic development. It became a separate entity by and large in the course of the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, that is essentially at a time when —on the eve of modern industrial society— folk art necessarily broke away in other European countries as well.

Excavations on sites of villages destroyed in past wars, work done with much greater intensity since 1945, considerably helps an understanding of what went on before, making it possible to clarify notions on village houses and their furnishings from the ninth to the seventeenth century. The material convincingly shows that the style of decorated objects from even the most modest of cottages was in accord with the prevailing style of the age and that there was no evidence whatever of a separate folk art style in earlier centuries. Cheap trinkets and decorated knife-handles, as well as convoluted incisions on pots and pans or zigzagged ribbon ornaments incised on the surface of spindles match well—in spite of their simplicity—with the style of decorative art of the times.

These objects also indicate that country folk used—as far back as is traceable—objects made by various craftsmen, they certainly did not supply all their own needs as regards decorated objects. This has to be borne in mind particularly since it was always craftsmen who were the agents transmitting changes of style to villages.

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Every sign points towards the fact that in those times wood-carvers—including villagers working for their own households— used geometrical patterns in accordance with the style of their age. Although objects of that kind have not survived, there is a great deal of other evidence including that of etymology. (The Hungarian word *ékes* which now means "adorned" or "beautiful", originally, in the early Middle Ages, meant "adorned with cuneiform incisions".) Incisions making up a purely geometric pattern are a process particularly common in the Romanesque period, especially in furniture making.

The many surviving pots and potsherds allow one to keep track of changes in the decoration of objects made by craftsmen for villagers and of the increased demand by villagers for objects of this sort. Excavations make it clear that the needs of village households amounted to one or two pieces of indispensable moderately decorated crockery up to as late as the fourteenth century; in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries the living standard of the peasantry went up, houses were divided into two or three parts and more crockery was used. Pitchers with polished surface painted red and smoked black appeared, and later in the sixteenth and even more the seventeenth centuries plates with holes (for hanging on the wall) are particularly striking. From the fifteenth century onwards tiled stoves became common even in the homes of serfs and there, amongst simpler ones, relief and reticulated ones could also be found, showing rosettes

and acanthus patterns. These also tell us a great deal about wood carving since they were made by means of props hollowed out of wood. All these objects still accord with the prevailing style of their age although they doubtless lag behind the times.

Documents of the second half of the thirteenth century also mention certain pieces of furniture—mainly chests—in the houses of serfs; an inventory of the chattels of a well-to-do serf included three tables. Houses were probably decorated with textiles on festive occasions; goods, such as tablecloths and kerchiefs, removed by force in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, probably were such occasionally used textiles. Wealthy husbandmen bought trinkets and work in precious and semi-precious metal as well as woven stuff sometimes embroidered in gold and silk; the chests in which they were stored could be hidden in times of trouble.

This, of course, only means that more or less progress was made as compared to the earlier situation of the serfs, but they lagged far behind the economic and cultural rise in the living conditions of the ruling class. Villagers found it increasingly difficult to keep up with changes taking place in important art centres. This backwardness prepared the way which eventually led to the breaking away of folk art.

Fourteenth–sixteenth-century plain timber joiner's work hope chests show this lag well. Chests of that kind, products of the cottage industry, were out of fashion by then, and the aristocracy and rich townsdwellers used elaborate pieces made by cabinet-makers from the fourteenth century onwards. The pattern on some of the chests made by village carpenters is fairly old-fashioned and the carving barely shows an adaptation to the influences of the Gothic style. Other examples show that some who wanted to keep up with the new fashion made by cabinet-makers ordered decorations from church painters; the designs of these are, however, also outmoded.

A style making use of stylized flowers —which was to dominate Hungarian folk art later—first appeared on fancy articles, mainly on Late Gothic cloisonné enamel goldsmith's work, commissioned by the ruling class, in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries. The basic composition already contains the three or five-branched flower stock design; laymen think of this pattern as very ancient indeed perhaps because ethnographers gave it the mysterious name "tree of life".

However, the unbroken progress of rural life was arrested by the reprisals which followed the Peasants' Rising of 1514 and, subsequently, by the Turkish occupation of Central Hungary from 1526 to 1686 and the unceasing wars that accompanied it. To make matters worse the country did badly economically and the ties of serfdom were tightened. This also made itself felt in the cultural field, tastes became differentiated even more markedly but, on the other hand, such changes helped the development of an original and independent folk art.

The differentiation of folk art occurred throughout Europe, earlier here, later there, the originality of folk art, however, or its dependence on the prevailing style, differed from country to country, region to region, and even according to the nature of the object. There is no doubt that folk art made the greatest progress in those areas where the feudal order disintegrated at the slowest rate, areas such as Central and Eastern Europe.

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The earliest and clearest evidence of an independent Hungarian folk art is provided by the decoration of powder flasks made of antlers. This type of object was widespread within the Carpathians in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries; judging by the quality of workmanship, skilled craftsmen were responsible. As early as the seventeenth century powder horns in the Late Renaissance style could be clearly differentiated from those showing the signs of an independent folk art. The pattern was always geometrical

with a swastika at the centre and stylized human figures on the edge and, occasionally, animal forms between ornaments. The strict system of composition and the set of conventional motifs of the powder flasks points to a longish period of development.

In Hungary the differentiation of folk art had occurred in just about every kind of art by the eighteenth century. This process of development was considerably furthered by the fact that trades became increasingly differentiated and some of them working for peasant customers only, naturally carrying out their wishes. By the end of the eighteenth century differentiation reached such a point that tradesmen who worked for the gentry or for a bourgeois clientele keeping up with the latest fashion trends were organized in separate guilds and with those who worked for peasants. The latter however continued to live in towns, these therefore turned into the principal centres shaping the style of folk art.

The floral decorative style which showed such persistent vitality was also spread by tradesmen, mainly by joiners, potters and furriers. Pots decorated with floral patterns were found on the sites of cottages on the Great Hungarian Plain destroyed at the end of the sixteenth century. This was the fashionable style of the times before folk art became independent. By the eighteenth century the gentry and town-dwellers favoured the Baroque. From that time on colourful floral designs only appealed to peasants. This is very clearly shown by paintings on the ceilings of churches, those which were built by peasant congregations and not by landowners, and on painted hope chests or drinking vessels used on festive occasions.

Nevertheless the peasantry continued to insist on geometrical patterns. The cottage industry and those who made objects for their own communities continued to work in this spirit in many places. Although peasants took notice of the new style of freer lines, it became clear that the translation of the new manner of decoration into practice would have required radical changes, perhaps the giving up of acquired decorative techniques, conditions however were not yet opportune for this to happen. The use, at the same time, of floral and geometric patterns appeared in many different kinds of variants. For example, in the western parts of the country, peasant embroidery was covered by flowering shrubs and ornamental vines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, carvings by peasants in the same region however show single flowers modestly wedged in a pattern of geometric symbols.

In the second half of the eighteenth century a new situation developed which improved the climate for folk art. The law of 1767 regulated the corvée. The living standard somewhat went up and peasant demand for decorated articles increased. A number of objects bearing the date of origin and inscriptions as well as the name of the maker are known, which were produced by peasants who worked for their own communities. The compositions show a skilled hand and also that these objects were made for people who understood what they wanted, and the trouble they took over their signatures expresses their pride in their work.

After a long period of evolution, folk art in Hungary reached a peak of development in the first half of the nineteenth century, in a great part of the country around 1830–1850. It is the time when the nation moved towards the War of Independence of 1848; these years also saw movements designed to secure the abolition of serfdom.

The specific style of folk art centres in guild-governed towns had already developed by that time, and the object then was to bring the various forms to perfection. The main cause of considerable differences between the style of various towns was due to the fact that folk art centres had a limited range of influence and scarcely maintained contact with one another; travelling journeymen did not make much of a difference. Komárom on the Danube was an exception; in Komárom tulip-decorated chests were

made by hundreds and taken, using cheap water transport, even beyond the borders of the country.

Carving by shepherds came into prominence at this time. It is know that, sometime around 1800, a completely new technique, sealing wax marquetry, was introduced. A number of perfect works in red or in red-and-black, profusely decorated with flowering shrubs, survived from the eighteen–twenties. Figural carvings were produced in greater quantities concurrently. The most important subject of shepherd work was the life of highwaymen. Country people felt sympathy for outlaws whom they considered avengers who punished the rich; their representation in folk art expresses social unrest. Scenes illustrating the life of outlaws from the early eighteen–twenties still show the influence of illustrations to broadsheets. The rising generation of carvers which was to create a style of its own came to the fore at about 1830; Zsiga Király was the most original and significant; his expressive compositions were copied by less talented epigons for over half a century.

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After a peak at the middle of the nineteenth century, demand in centres where trading was more lively slowly shifted from folk art to objects in the current style. Master craftsmen in towns who did not wish to change to the new style looked for customers in more conservative regions and sometimes even moved there. There still was considerable demand for folk art in many of the villages inhabited by liberated serfs. After the abolition of serfdom peasants at last were in the position to acquire a number of decorated objects they had desired for a long time. They furnished their rooms with painted furniture, eiderdowns on beds piled with embroidered or handwoven cushions almost reaching the ceiling and walls almost "papered" with fancy plates and holy pictures were common.

This late flowering, which by and large lasted up to the First World War, is characterized by the desire to show movement: earlier closed compositions are broken up or multiply and designs consist of a confused mass of colourful small flowers. The increasing competition of industry more or less forced tradesmen to adopt this eye-catching style. New shop-bought dyes led to the use of gaudy colours.

These trends also applied to guild members, for example, makers of joined chests, who tried to protect their markets against varicoloured chests showing the tulip pattern. The result of discarding the shackles of convention, in some places at least, was a varied late style developed out of the traditional profusion of geometrical patterns. After ten or twenty-odd years the new manner reached small villages and lonely hamlets. Decorations crammed with perplexing designs and a brilliancy of gaudy colours also prevailed on embroideries and handwoven fabrics by peasant women and on carvings covered with cuneiform characters or flower bushes, turned out by laymen.

Shepherds' carvings also underwent many changes. First those employing the technique of sealed wax marquetry began to use a number of colours, subsequently, in the eighteen–seventies, a technique employing fine tiny hatching came to the fore and carving in relief became the prevalent fashion by the end of the century. Later, historic representational carving became popular, employing as many figures as possible, and quite frequently the names of the persons represented were recorded. The new trend favoured subjects full of movement, such as the ballad of the girl who danced herself to death or the arrest of the highwaymen who held out to the very last. The makers of folk art, who always were in quest of new modes of expression, managed to achieve dramatic height.

At this stage development came to a close. More showy, practical and, besides, cheaper consumer goods turned out by industry

gained ground and villagers no longer demanded folk art products. Recently townspeople rediscovered folk art and the few skilled tradesmen who remained faithful to it switched to the production of articles that accorded with the demands of the new clientele.

This is the history of Hungarian folk art told in a nutshell. Although my brief account needs further amplification, this summary perhaps helps to indicate how folk art developed, also telling of its short-lived flowering when it was continuously changing. Respect for folk art certainly does not lessen through familiarity with its history. The continuous search for independent forms deserves the highest praise.

The history of folk art is still in its infancy. In order to see clearly, not only an analysis prepared with meticulous care is needed, a large-scale survey making a comparison of the development of folk art in Europe as a whole possible is indispensable. This work will have to be carried out sooner or later, allowing folk art to take its rightful place as a bright spot in the history of art itself.

KLÁRA K. CSILLÉRY

THEATRE

J. C. TREWIN

A LIVING STAGE

I

In these days the World Theatre seasons at the Aldwych are a feature of every London spring. After experiencing all of them since 1964 I have seen very little indeed to compare with the major productions I caught in two memorable visits to Budapest.

This, maybe, is because I have been thinking in classical terms. From the first I have regretted the admirable Peter Daubeny's resolve to exclude Shakespeare from his annual choices. It seems to me exceedingly important to meet as much Shakespeare as possible from as many different nations as possible. My particular and ceaseless regret is that, in effect, the decision has prevented Londoners from seeing—let us say—the magnificent Hamlet of Miklós Gábor and the same actor's Richard the Third. The World Theatre season was, and is, a proper place for such performances as these.

At present the main difference between the English and Hungarian theatres is a matter of discipline. The sharp revolution in English playwriting and production during the last decade and a half has had its excitements and its benefits but it has also had certain dangers. Contemporary dramatists have been over-relaxed; with a few obvious exceptions (Pinter for one) they have been inclined to discount construction and to let their work sprawl. Moreover, with censorship withdrawn—as it has been since 1968—realism can be excessive.

Classical adventuring, too, can be contentious. Not every director has the firmness of Peter Brook who has provided in King Lear and A Midsummer Night's Dream two of the famous re-statements of our day. Some of his colleagues can go unwarily into the plan, theoretically laudable, of approaching a play as though it were being acted for the first time. Above all else, a text must be strongly and audibly spoken. What Brook has done with the *Dream* (and he has met a few resolute opponents) has been to sharpen his listeners' hearing and understanding as never before. We need more directors with his gifts; this is (temporarily at least) a directors' theatre. It requires the most professional discipline, and I am sure it will come to terms with itself. It is, at any rate, an interesting period in which to live.

One agrees that any forward-looking theatre must experiment; but it is not the only need. The Hungarian stage has a particular quality, a forthrightness and assurance valuable at an hour of change and speculation. I have seen various Hungarian experiments with pleasure, and learned of others; yet my special joy has been in the gravity and wisdom with which directors

and players have faced classical problems, re-animating texts without mauling them in the process.

II

Britain, during the last fifty years, has seen far too little work from Hungary. The dominating name (and in New York as well) has been that uncommon technician Ferenc Molnár. Even so, his work has seldom had any sustained London success, I think because it has so rarely found the right translator. Thus (though the young Charles Laughton acted in the play during the nineteen-twenties) there has never been a good production of *Liliom*, and in future, inevitably, we shall be obliged to think of it in terms of the American musical, Carousel. The Swan had a reasonable run at the old St. James's Theatre. Lynn Fontanne and Alfred Lunt brought their production of The Guardsman from New York. Otherwise, little consistent fortune. Even two full-dress revivals of *Játék a kastélyban*, or The Play's the Thing, as it is known in London, sagged curiously, the first with Gerald du Maurier at the head of the cast, the second with Clive Brook. Audiences never warmed to this expert artificial comedy, and that was why I was delighted, at the Vígszínház in 1969, to hear the laughter of a house ready to take every point.

Parenthetically, there is something of a contrast here between the London and Budapest theatres. London audiences can be loyal and heartening; but now and then they can be very cautious in response. I think this is due to what we are told to call the "generation gap": older and younger members of the same audience can react quite differently. It struck me, in Budapest, that the average Hungarian audience was more unified.

One has to ascribe much to a lack of adequate translation. Jenő Heltai's romantic verse-play, *A néma levente*, was badly represented in London in the tinkling rhythms of Humbert Wolfe. Wolfe could be a fine and idiosyncratic lyric poet, but he was arguably quite the wrong man for Heltai, and because of this The Silent Knight had the briefest of runs and was never revived.

It will be realized that London has very much to learn about the scope of the Hungarian theatre. Between the wars, managements in general called for only the lighter plays. One finds in the lists the names of Lajos Bíró and Lajos Zilahy, but looks in vain for such various writers as Zsigmond Móricz, László Németh, Dezső Szomory, József Darvas, Lajos Mesterházi, Ferenc Karinthy, Miklós Hubay, or Gyula Illyés. Moreover, little has been known of the famous nineteenth-century figures, Kisfaludy, Katona, Vörösmarty, or Madách. It would be only right to see in London Imre Madách's The Tragedy of Man (always in the repertory of the Hungarian National Theatre), or the adaptation of his Moses by the modern writer Dezső Kerésztúry: I admired this in Budapest during 1969, with Imre Sinkovits's thunder-stroke performance of Moses under the direction of Endre Marton.

It is unlucky that so rich a theatrical culture should have been (as yet) so meagerly explored. All of us who admire the Hungarian achievement wish that the World Theatre season, or the National and Royal Shakespeare managements, or the English Stage Company at the Royal Court, would take a long look at Hungarian dramatic literature and the current work—both classical and experimental—from Budapest.

III

On each visit I have found that Budapest playgoers can be too modest about their own companies. It is natural enough. When one is used to the same players (as I am in London) one does tend to recognize method and mannerism and to under-value this per-

formance or the other, simply on the score of over-familiarity. It must be so especially in Budapest where all companies play in the repertoire system. A stranger, on the other hand, feels differently; all is new to him. Just as Peter Brook looked at the Dream with fresh eyes, and heard it with fresh ears, so a visitor to Budapest will discern qualities that maybe have been taken for granted.

I have to speak dogmatically here. If you do not know a language, then the actor has to establish himself in your imagination by force of personality, by sheer persuasiveness. He must act himself into your mind (which, after all, should be his primary task). Again and again in Budapest, I responded to actors and actresses who either created a part for me out of the air, or (in a familiar play) performed with so much confidence and command that any language barrier vanished. I would not be hyperbolical enough to claim that this was invariable. But I can say, in entire honesty, that I have been more in key with the style and quality of Hungarian playing than with the work of almost any of the scores of companies that have come to the Aldwych. And I can repeat the assurance after allowing for the interest of meeting a company in its own capital, on its own stage.

Currently, English and Hungarian theatres most resemble each other in authoritative classical playing. Any historian of the twentieth century will go first, I believe, to Shakespearian work in London and (for a longer period than generally believed) at Stratford-upon-Avon: here memory can return with admiration to the 1920s.

The precise value of much modern playwriting is contentious. A lot is first-rate, but it appears to me that, in the century's final count, some of today's most debated dramatists will fade before the names of such men as Bernard Shaw, Granville-Barker and Sean O'Casey. Reputations rise and disappear. Personally, I believe that the most potentially important new British dramatists of the last decade have been Peter Nichols, David Storey and Frank Marcus; now and again a flash from Harold Pinter or a scene from Tom Stoppard or John Arden. But it is never easy, in London or in Budapest, to look to the future; prophecy in the theatre is an awkward game. While welcoming the new men we should be careful not to assume, on slight evidence, that they must necessarily endure. So many must be transient like the sparrow, in the old poem, that flickers for one moment athwart the firelight and then is seen no more.

Still, however broadly and surely based a theatre is, it must have its constant supply of challenging new ideas. In Budapest one must be aware of such a director as Károly Kazimir in his experiments at the Thália; in his calm resolve he reminds me irresistibly of the English James Roose-Evans, who, however, has less room to manoeuvre. (Roose-Evans would have applauded happily such a notion as the stage performance of the *Kalevala*.) From my last visit to Budapest I was fascinated, too, by György Szabó's Love Locked in a Closet *(Szekrénybezárt szerelem)*, at the Pesti Theatre. Since that night I have been hoping that it might turn up in London; it is one of the wines that ought to travel. But where is the translator? Where the appropriate stage? (I would suggest Hampstead or Greenwich.)

IV

But then there is so much, old and new, that I wish London could see. It is a period when the English stage, less conservative than in the past, is open to new influences. Undoubtedly it should see what Hungary, without distortion of any kind, can do with Shakespeare. Only one of five Hungarian performances I recall, a Timon of Athens by the much-respected Tamás Major, baffled me. He saw the play Brechtianly; and in spite of a quick and spirited production, I was not persuaded. The bitter condemnation of ingratitude remained for me at

a remove; there possibly I did miss the sound of the English text. But Timon is a terror to direct in any circumstances. Just two years ago the Royal Shakespeare Company abandoned at the last moment the production it had announced for Stratford-upon-Avon; we never heard why.

My other Shakespeare recollections from Budapest excite me; and especially the intellectual-romantic Hamlet of Miklós Gábor in a production by László Vámos at the Madách: something that in the János Arany translation—which even a stranger could recognize as astonishing in its fidelity—brought the great play to me as nobly as I remember in hundreds of performances (at least eighty Hamlets, many of them seen on several occasions). That night, while watching the universal figure on the Madách stage, I realized the truth of a phrase Alexander Sinclair had used in a Budapest lecture: "Thanks in great measure to Arany, Shakespeare is indeed a great Hungarian poet, and it is not such a far cry from Stratford to Nagyszalonta."

So the story goes on: Éva Ruttkai as a Juliet from the right latitude in Dezső Mészöly's modern translation, most imaginatively directed by Zoltán Várkonyi; Gábor as Richard the Third, "one raised in blood and one in blood established", a performance (in a text by István Vas) that made me want to see him as Macbeth; and István Egri's production of The Comedy of Errors, one in which the director had rightly orchestrated speech and movement.

Much else: I think now, away from Shakespeare, of such various matters as O'Neill's Long Day's Journey Into Night with Ferenc Bessenyei unerringly exact in the part—the father—where Olivier has triumphed in a current London revival; a Master Builder *(Solness építőmester)* that lost little of the dramatic conflict, though I gathered that Budapest was not devotedly Ibsenite; an eloquent Man and Superman, and—in fascinating contrast—a revival of Bruckner's historical melodrama, Elizabeth of England. More besides: my point here is that I have not yet seen a play (and the range is wide) let down in Budapest performance. It might have been from the steeps of classical drama, a piece of popular narrative, an experimental comedy, a psychological drama, or—to be precise again—a version of Dostoevsky's The Idiot. Everything (as we say) "worked". Most of the productions could have travelled. Anyone theatre-minded would have been grateful for the work of the players I have named, and for such others (selectivity must be forgiven) as Lajos Básti, Zoltán Latinovits, László Márkus, Klári Tolnay, Éva Vass, Irén Psota, István Sztankay, István Iglódi, Antal Páger and Mária Sulyok (whom I recall especially as the Nurse in Romeo and Juliet, a lovely version of a part too often ground through as routine). I was very sorry indeed to miss Iván Darvas in The Diary of a Madman, something of which many people spoke; the play has not yet come over, for me, in an English production, though recently it has been twice revived.

V

What worries me is that the picture, for the mass of English playgoers, remains one-sided. The Hungarian stage, with both its classical felicities and its developing adventurousness, should have more notice in England. One realizes that, until the plan of the World Theatre season is reconsidered, it may be hard to present Shakespeare (so far a Zulu variation on Macbeth has been the only exception), but Olivier's National Theatre should be honoured to welcome such an actor as Miklós Gábor, who is in the high tradition: playing that crosses any frontier.

I am afraid that, with contemporary plays, translations from English to Hungarian (and there are expert translators in Budapest) are more playable than versions from the Hungarian into English. This

should be overcome: the fact remains that it is not, and that, during the last half-century, the generous gifts of Hungarian drama have been only thinly acknowledged. In these days, for example, we ought to have heard István Örkény's *Tóték (The Tót Family)* and László Gyurkó's *Szerelmem, Elektra* (Electra, My Love).

From what I have read, have heard and have had the opportunity to see for myself, it is clear that the Budapest stage is always growing, and growing wisely. Without living on its past, the past is acknowledged. Without entering too freely into the less profitable experiment, it does look forward. Its organization is stable. In performance it knows what the English poet meant by an "acted passion, beautiful and swift". Outside the capital, if the Petőfi Theatre at Veszprém is an example of what goes on in the Hungarian provinces, then here is another—and a close—affinity with the British stage. Outside London in these days everything depends on the regional repertory theatres. The production I met at the Petőfi (the play was Scribe's A Glass of Water) struck me as extremely just and true, in the manner of, say, a Val May production at Bristol or, in the immediate past, of John Harrison at Birmingham (he is now at Leeds). All of these theatres are comparable with Veszprém's and (I should imagine) with those at Miskolc, Pécs, Debrecen, or Szeged.

The only technique I have thought might be developed is that of stage lighting. It has become a fetish in the English and American theatres; perhaps too much so. A performance should not be governed by its switchboard, but it can be notably aided, and a few Budapest productions I saw could have done with that aid. This is a small point. What matters far more is the abundant imagination, the zest, the artistic integrity, of the Hungarian theatre. It must have its hour in Britain and I have no fear of the response. Here (shall I say?) will be the serene, unvaried light of friendship and respect.

FROM PETŐFI TO AYCKBOURN

(Alan Ayckbourn: How the Other Half Loves; Leonard Gershe: Butterflies are Free; Vadim Korostiliev: The Stone Statue's Footsteps; Lajos Maróti: The Night After the Last; Sándor Petőfi: Tiger and Hyena)

Several Budapest theatres decided to amuse their audiences with sheer entertainment in the last two months of 1972. In the past this aim would have led them to borrow from the boulevard theatres of Paris, but now—and not without reason—it has become fashionable to import something from the Anglo-American market. Two theatres presented this type of entertainment recently: the Vígszínház put on *How the Other Half Loves* by Alan Ayckbourn and the Madách showed *Butterflies are Free* by Leonard Gershe.

The odds appear to favour the first play, but in fact the latter one turned out to be the more successful. Ayckbourn's comedy, despite its really "universal" theme, adultery, did not seem suitable for export. The plot does not offer dramatic surprises in the con-

ventional sense. Its strength lies not so much in the much-publicised simultaneous stage-setting—the sensational effect provided by this is quickly exhausted—but rather in its mordantly witty dialogue which surpasses the usual boulevard comedies, and in the good illustration it gives of the differences in the social status, the system of values and norms of behaviour of its three couples. These are the very things which cannot be transplanted. Even the best translation is unable to render the natural and yet literarily sophisticated text as spoken by Ayckbourn's heroes in their original environment. In Budapest the differences between the couples fade into comical generalities. The average Hungarian audience can hardly appreciate the fundamental differences between a family which reads The Times and one which reads The Guardian—at any rate not with the immediacy required for a genuine theatrical experience.

Leonard Gershe's play appeals to the audience's emotions, even to their sentimentality and in Budapest as everywhere in the world, this is a good recipe for success. Everyone is willing to root for the budding love of the blind boy and the starlet, especially when it is described in such direct, fresh and modern terms as in the first part of this American play. The dialogues between the boy, the girl and the mother could, with very small modifications, be spoken in Budapest, and three excellent actors rendered them with virtuosity. In the first part Don's blindness is not yet the decisive dramatic factor. Artificiality and aggressive sentimentalism take over in the second part however, where it is revealed that one day in the life of Don Baker is very different from one day in the death of Joe Egg: the hero's blindness does not mean anything more than a certain oculary defect of a certain youth. The enthusiasm of the audience noticably diminished, but fortunately by that time they felt affection for the heroes and the second part was not long enough to induce an immediate break with them. The breach took on a more refined form: out of the theatre, they were quickly forgotten.

The József Attila Theatre presented an interesting Soviet play, *The Stone Statue's Footsteps*, by Vadim Korostiliev, a few weeks after its Moscow premiere. The play is much more than a picture of the tragic end game of Pushkin's picturesque life, court and amorous intrigues, the sly preparation for the deadly duel: it deals with the eternal conflict between power and art. Tsar Nicholas I and the poet are two strong and autonomous personalities in conflict. Their clashes are exciting because they attract and repel each other in turn: were it not for their social status and aspirations, the force of their personalities and their intelligence could have made them friends. Such abstraction is of course not possible in real life. The tsar represents Power and Pushkin is the Rebelling Artist: they try to understand and win aech other in vain. One of them must perish. The balance of strength is clear: the victim can only be the poet. Korostiliev is a surprisingly mature writer, his dialogues are a mixture of the light conversational tone, the pointedness of French plays and the philosophical depths of new English drama. Unfortunately, the performance did not reach the level required by the play: the actors clung to the colourful and superficial style of traditional historical drama.

The Hungarian theatre had two important dates in these weeks: a first night and a revival. The former, in the Budapest National Theatre, introduced a new playwright in the person of Lajos Maróti. He is 42, a one-time Benedictine novice, then a physicist, later a poet and novelist. Presently he is editorial director of a publishing house and his diverse career had led him onto the stage. His theme enabled him to utilize his past experiences: *The Night After the Last* deals with the martyrdom of Giordano Bruno. Or so it seems on the surface. According to the sub-title it is "an absolutely unhistorical play" and certain contemporary social, political and philosophical problems

have captured Maróti's attention much more than the erudite monk of Nola: Bruno's fate has been rather a good *à propos*.

This play by a gifted author stumbles over the difficulty of this duality. Some of the audience go home thinking that they have seen a colourful, turbulent, traditional historical drama about the martyrdom of a great humanist; the author repeated once more the eternal truth that we should pay tribute to the heroes of progress and not forget their glorious names. Last year it was the turn of Savonarola, the year before last it had been Galilei, five years ago Saint Joan: this year it is Giordano Bruno, the writer is entitled to choose him if he so wishes. Some of the more shallow critics also fell into this trap: they remarked that the things said by the author were not new but it could do no harm to remind forgetful mankind of its great models.

But the more thoughtful part of the audience and critics felt that the main thing was not Bruno himself: the substance of the drama was in the three long dialogues. In order to understand these, one must know the outline of the plot: Bruno is before the tribunal of the Venice inquisition, charged with heretic doctrines. He is visited by an old friend, Cardinal Bellarmini, who has become by now the Pope's chief inquisitor. He intends to take Bruno to Rome where his trial would have a greater impact: whether he dies or withdraws his doctrines, the Church will have triumphed over science. This first great dialogue presents a clash between clarity, the restlessly searching scientific mind and bigoted, narrow-minded but cunning dogmatism. Bruno decides to follow Bellarmini but for different reasons: he thinks that today, while strong and young, he is able to stand his ground against the inquisition, but a few years of "peaceful" life in the Venice goal would break his militancy.

The second part takes place seven years later, on that "night after the last" which captured the author's imagination. It is a historical fact that—for reasons unknown to us—Bruno's execution at the stake was postponed for one day. The Pope, Clemens VIII, himself goes to see the scientist in the condemned cell and—in the second long dialogue —makes a most startling revelation: he preceded Bruno in his scientific discoveries and became Pope in order to be in a position to introduce them "from the inside." But when the conservative Church had doomed his plan to failure, he himself set the trap in which his rival has fallen, because at the light of the death-fire mankind would at last see the true doctrine of the infinite universe. Bruno, in his despair and indignation, has a vision: God sends a comforting angel in the person of Albert Einstein—this is the third dialogue—who tells Bruno that in the 20th century he will disprove his discoveries but this will not lessen their value: the chain of relative truths leads to the final truth and even the relative truths of the day are worth sacrificing one's life for. The megalomaniac old pope offers to burn at the stake instead of Bruno to prove his priority but Bruno, inspired by what he has learned from Einstein, proudly rejects this offer. Clemens VIII suddenly realizes that Bruno is not simply a rebel, but the "eternal heretic" who always refutes yesterday's truths, and corrects those of today. He excommunicates him and the triumphant Bellarmini leads him to the stake.

Whatever either part of the audience understands of the play, neither can watch it with untroubled pleasure. Those who wish to see the play as a spectacular historical drama will not like the three lengthy dialogues. They will, however, dimly perceive that the colourful and exact details, although true to their epoch, and the dream scene in the first part, are only auxiliary material and the author did not put his heart into them. Those who are receptive to modern philosophical drama will, on the other hand, be irritated by the picturesque parts. Had Maróti opted entirely for the first type of play, he would have produced a witty and

entertaining piece in the manner of Robert Bolt's *A Man For All Seasons;* in the opposite case he would have written a fine modern philosophical drama, a rare phenomenon on the Hungarian stage. This, naturally, would have clarified his conception, as it is the three dialogues which represent three conflicts which clash and interfere with each other. The conflict between Bruno and Bellarmini is not new, but quite clear: the other two are very exciting but rather obscure.

The material in Maróti's play would have been enough for several, and as a consequence *The Night After the Last* is not a mature and harmonious work. Contrary to several other critics, I feel that Endre Marton's direction was right in stressing the spectacular, instead of concentrating on the duel of the ideas, which, because of their lack of clarity, could not have carried the evening. Marton's direction served the interest of the play. He treated the traditional line of the plot with taste and imagination, while in the philosophical duels of the dialogues he emphasized the personalities of his heroes, their emotions and aspirations, rather than the philosophical content.

The revival mentioned above is a piece of rarity in theatre history: the Thalia Theatre presented *Tiger and Hyena*, the only play by the Hungarian national poet, Sándor Petőfi. The occasion was the 150th anniversary of his birth on December 31, 1972. The *Tiger and Hyena* is a by-product of Petőfi's career. He wrote it at the age of 22, under the influence of his past as a strolling player and his literary erudition that was considerable for his age. The young Petőfi knew Shakespeare well—his still performed translation of *Coriolanus* shows the impact Shakespeare had on him—as well as Victor Hugo and the French romanticists. Unfortunately, he was also familiar with the German and Austrian melodramas and stage-thrillers of his age. Furthermore, he saw better than most of his contemporaries the Hungarian reality at the time, the centuries old conflict between the people, who had no say in the country's government, and the nobility, who were busy with extortion and intrigues. Petőfi drew on all these sources for the play, which could have become the *Titus Andronicus* of a great dramatist, had its author not fallen at the age of 26 in one of the last battles of the Hungarian fight for independence. The work itself is a stage-thriller set in the 12th century: the ruler is a young king with good intentions but no power who was blinded by his predecessor. He is threatened by a pretender, the bastard of his predecessor's second wife. This second wife, Predslava, living in exile, is a revengeful demonic old woman. She is the Hyena in the title, while her son, Borics, sly, greedy, thirsting for power, is the Tiger. First the two want to destroy each other. Both fight for their separate aims with monomaniac obsession. Predslava wants to revenge herself on her former lover, who is the father of her two illegitimate sons. First she incites him to conspire against the king, then she helps to denounce him. In the meantime Borics conspires to become king of Hungary. Everything ends in a bloodbath. Ilona, the hard and merciless young queen unmasks her husband's enemies and wreaks dreadful punishment on them. Her helper, Saul, the pure-hearted knight-errant, kills himself when he learns that he is the brother of the "tiger," the other bastard of the "hyena" and of the leader of the plot against the king. The chief rebel is first in gaol and then stabbed by his former mistress, Predslava. Borics flees in terror and the poor king continues to sit melancholically on his unsteady throne.

The structure and the characters are inconsistent, the plot is confused and arbitrary, but, apart from the beautiful, tense language, the main attraction of the *Tiger and Hyena* is its white heat passion. It is no accident that Petőfi wrote this work in the form of a play. If one disregards the youthful excesses and the author's lack of stage-craft one finds that Petőfi showed a sense for drama in his selection of conflicts, aroused

genuine dramatic clahses between his characters and, beyond the bloody in-fighting of the ruling class, also showed the real conflict between the noisy, destructive lords and the silently suffering people.

The first performance in 1967 was much better. Incidentally it almost counted as a première because the play had never been played during Petőfi's life and later only three times in Kolozsvár. In 1967 the Thália theatre believed in the play's force, beauty and passion, which shone through its primitive aspects and it conveyed this belief to the audience too. The performance was crude, brutal, hot with passion. They left out certain spectacularly naive and bombastic details. In 1972 the director, Károly Kazimir, wanted to bring something new at all costs and he added foreign elements to his production. Again and again young people came on the stage in the stylized uniform of beat orchestras to sing Petőfi poems set to music, as if they wanted to excuse themselves and prove that the author of this immature drama had indeed been a poet of genius.

The production itself contained peculiar effects as a result of the director's attempt to import foreign styles. These, however, did not match well with the play's style. These experiments concealed and even degraded to mere episodes the play itself. The *Tiger and Hyena* can be performed only if the theatre accepts it as it is: and the première five years ago showed that it was possible to assume this responsibility.

JUDIT SZÁNTÓ

MUSICAL LIFE

REQUIEM FOR KASSÁK

SÁNDOR BALASSA: Requiem for Lajos Kassák, op. 15. (Editio Musica, Budapest, 1972.)

The Rostrum of Composers works under the auspices of UNESCO, more precisely the International Music Council. Recently Asian and African music have also had their rostra, but there is no doubt that the most effective organizer and propagandist of modern music is what is called the European rostrum with its annual sessions in Paris. It is during these sessions that representatives of radio stations of more than thirty nations listen to each other's latest music, and the most distinguished piece of music of the year, irrespective of genre, apparatus, style and technique, is chosen by vote. This piece of music is then broadcast by all the participating radio stations either live or as a recording. The rostrum has witnessed two Hungarian successes during the last two years. In 1970 András Szőllősy's *3rd Concerto* got the majority of the votes, in 1972 Sándor Balassa's *Requiem* obtained first place following the third place of his *Legenda*, a choral work, in 1971.

Balassa's career began late. He was born in Budapest, in 1935, but brought up in a village, then worked as a labourer in the capital, beginning to study music only at the age of 17. First he attended the choirmaster school of the Bartók Béla College of Music, later he was accepted by the faculty of composition of the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music. He graduated from there in 1965, as Endre Szervánszky's student. His professor has been a prominent figure in Hungarian music since the forties and was one of those who initiated a stylistic revolution against the limitations of the fifties. His composition class has always shown respect for the individuality of the students, and not pedantry. From the Academy of Music Balassa moved on to the Radio as a music director and for years he went on with his own education, making up for the handicap deriving from his late start, mastering more and more techniques.

His first works give evidence of his being attracted to poetry and of his feeling for a vocal medium. Every piece was a stage in his experiments to find his own way of expression, while he still respected the international technical conventions of the period. His inclination towards expressiveness, lyricism and strong emotions protected him against the fossilization of the inspiration and imagination of composers working with preformed structures, against intellectual sterility and unnecessary complexity. His development was economical, he tried his ability gradually within different formal frames, in new genres, with different apparatuses, approaching the large-scale cantata and the independent orchestral score from the direction of songs and chamber music. The most important stages of this road are

a cantata to words by Apollinaire (1967), the previously mentioned a cappella choral work, *Legenda* to words by the poet Jenő Dsida (1968), and a trio for treble voice, clarinet and cello to words by Gustafsson and Jenő Dsida (also 1968). It was after these that he, in 1969, composed *Requiem*, setting the words of Lajos Kassák.

Lajos Kassák (1887–1967), writer, poet, painter, was the most influential advocate in Hungary of the avant-garde. Kassák was an ironworker and took an active part in the organization of strikes in 1905. His first poems were published in 1908. Kassák travelled in many countries, including Austria, Germany, Belgium and France, walking most of the way. After his return home he wrote free verse and showed a certain affinity with German Expressionism. He opposed the First World War and was an internationalist who sympathized with anarchism. In his magazines *Tett* (Deed) and *MA* (Today) he advocated futurism, exercising considerable influence on the post-war generation of Hungarian poets. Kassák lived in Vienna for many years as a political exile and it was around this time, after the First World War, that he started to paint in a constructivist manner. His exhibitions included one in Vienna (1921), in Berlin (1922), and in Paris (1960). His writings found their way into anthologies in English, French, German, Italian, Russian, Japanese and Slovak.

The words of the *Requiem* are exclusively those of Kassák but, except for the second movement, no complete poem or even stanza was set to music by Balassa. Reading Kassák and allowing his influence to take hold of him he chose images, lines, similes and words from different poems, constructing his libretto in this way, calling it a Kassák-collage. The libretto was shaped by the tradition of Latin requiems, the mood and atmosphere of the parts of the Hungarian composition follow the *Kyrie*, *Credo*, *Agnus Dei*, *Dies Irae* and *Lux aeternam*.

The *Requiem* was composed for soprano, tenor and baritone solo, mixed chorus and full orchestra. The size of the orchestra reminds one of the demands of the Romantic composers. Ninety instrumentalists are needed, a particularily large number are required in the percussion section which consists of twenty-eight instruments.

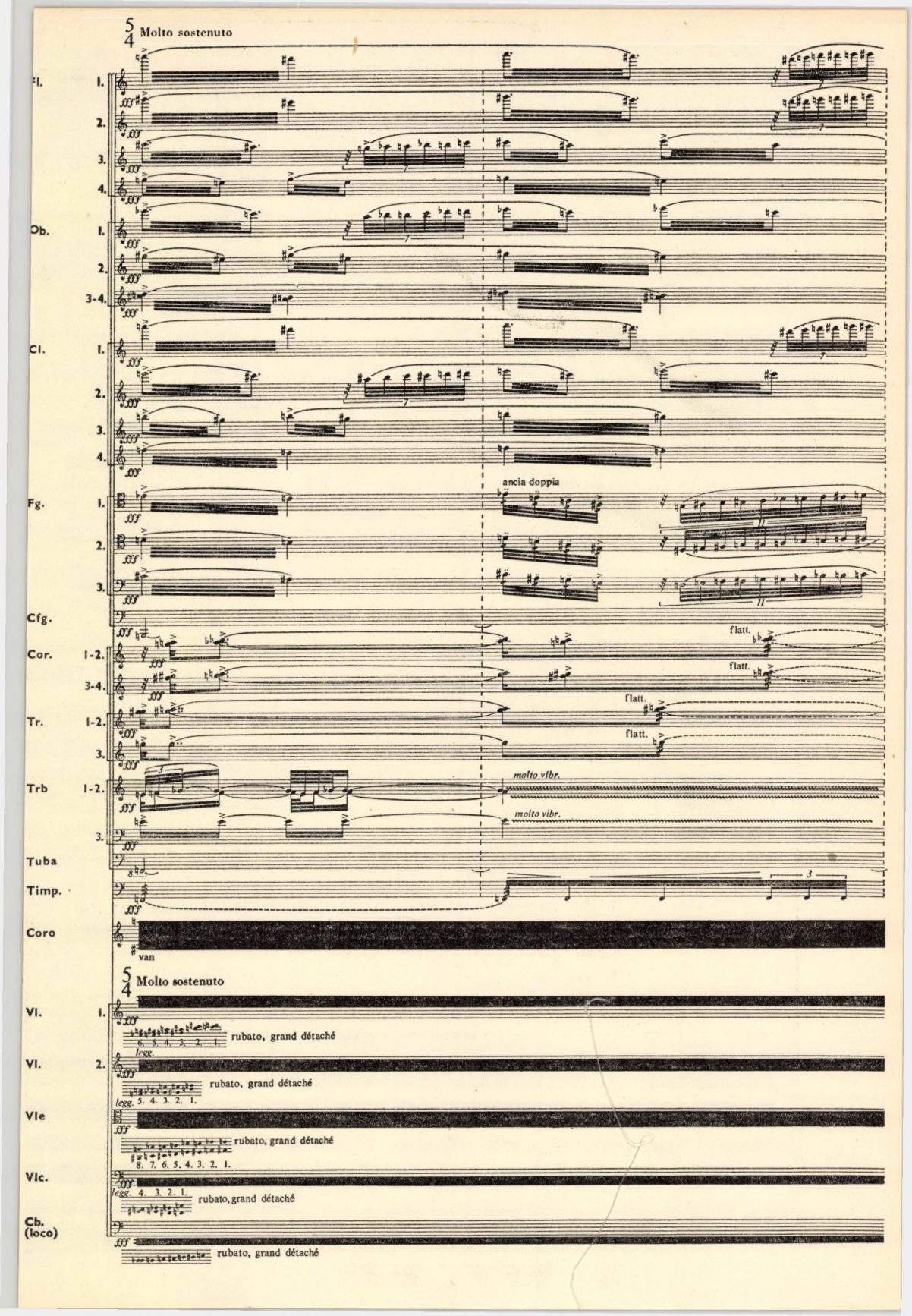
The first movement is Maestoso. Its structure is based on the alternation of chorus, treated in a block-line fashion, and tenor solo. Its colours are dominated by a nocturnal mood. The tenor in this movement, just as throughout the whole composition, embodies active Man struggling against Fate. At the musical—dramatic height, near to the end, the music of night and silence, the plaints of a lonely man are contrasted with extraordinary effectiveness with the only fortissimo chord of the movement suggesting the elementary, paralysing strength of death and fate. (See pp. 217. and 218.)

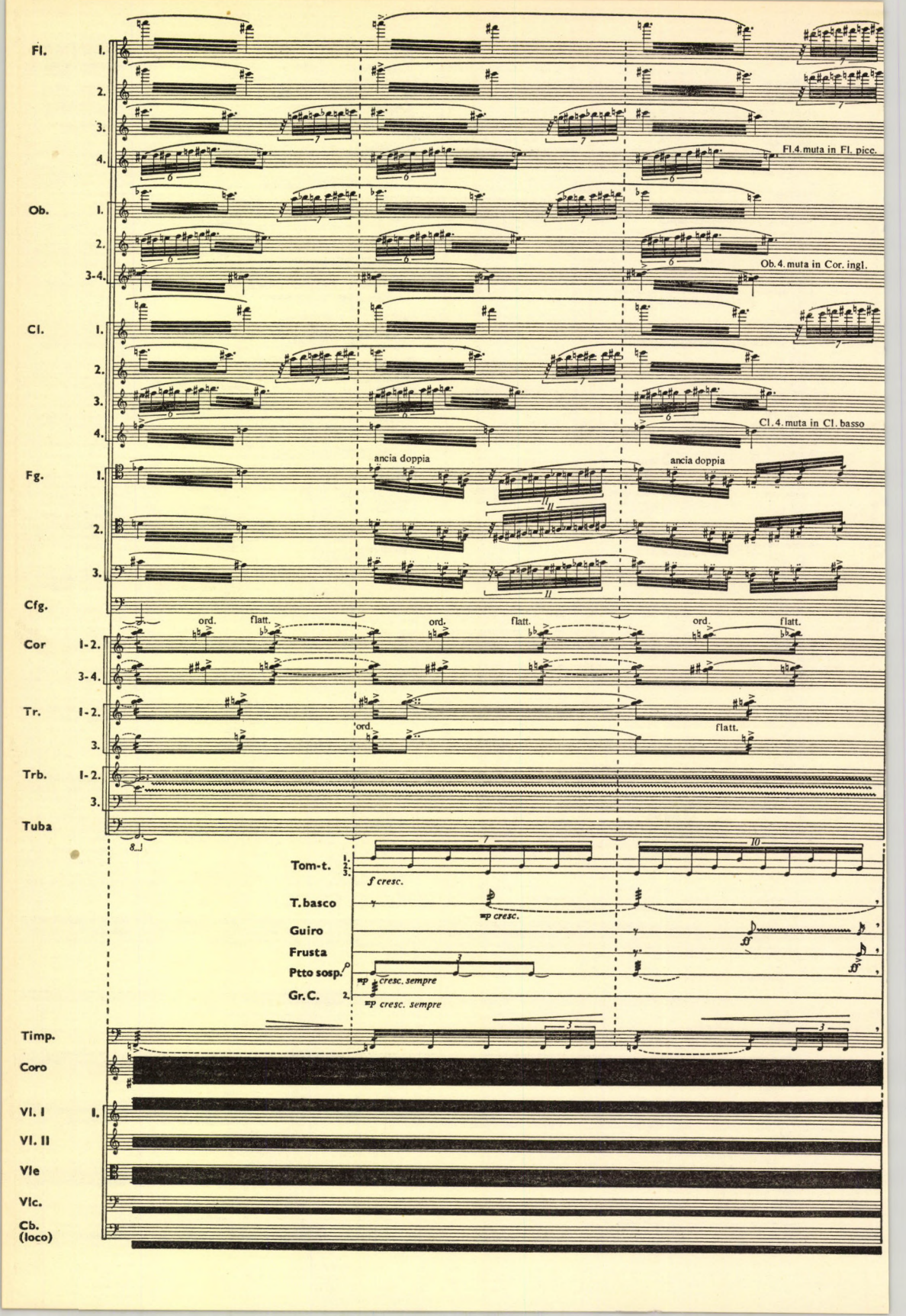
The Andante second movement consists of recitativo accompagnato, introduced by a violoncello cadenza, and an aria for soprano solo. The structure of the recitative (parlando) is like a three-tier terrace, while the aria is in two parts. As opposed to the dark colours of the first movement and its outlines veiled in mystery this part is dominated by light tones, high, star-lit-bright compasses. The andante expresses the harmony of the cosmic peace of the soul rising above suffering and seeking the light, the sort of harmony that all of us hanker after. (See p. 219.)

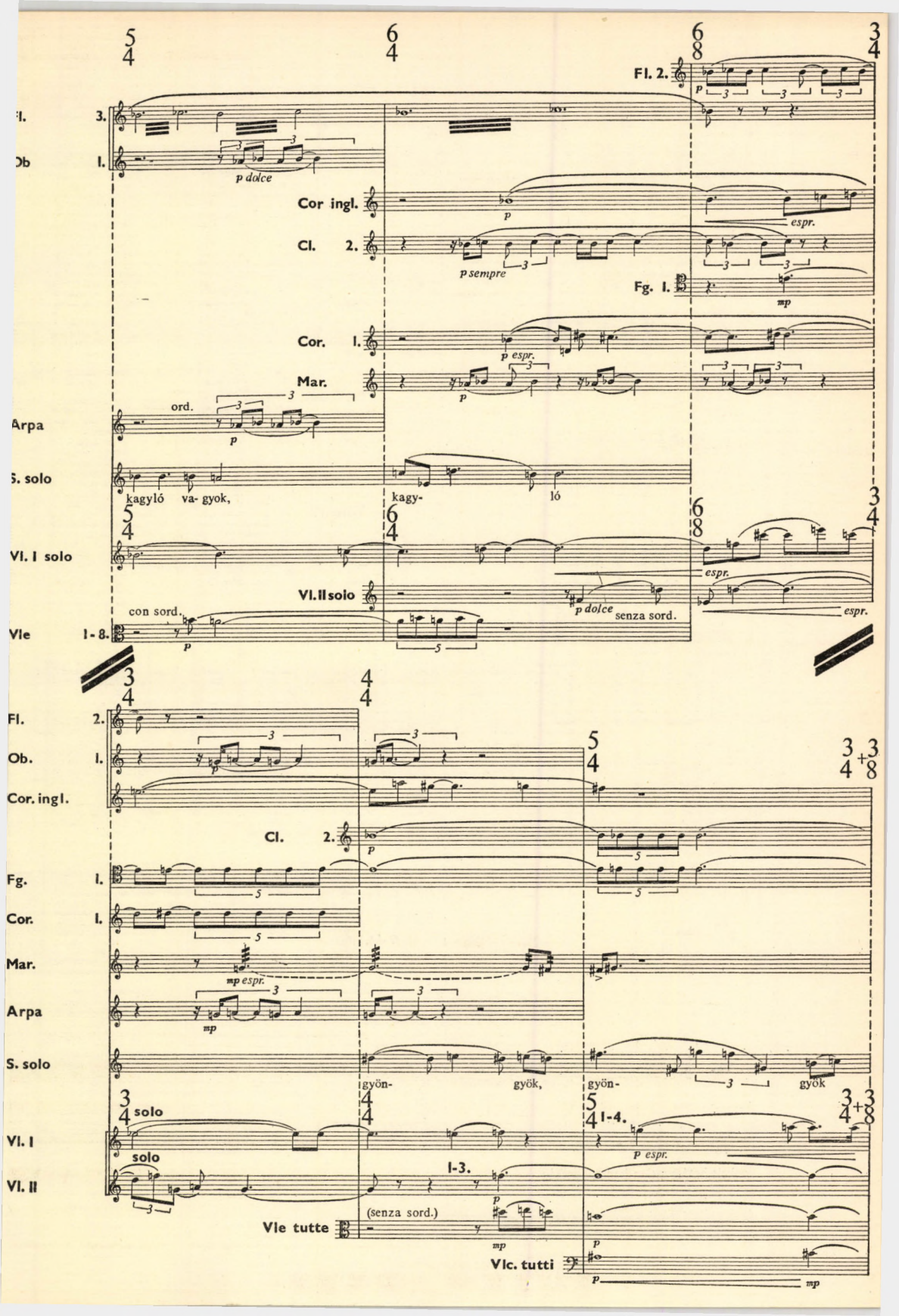
The third movement is the only fast one in the work (allegro). The chorus conveys apocalyptic visions through specific effects, mouths struck with the palm of the hand, glissandi, trills and tremolos of indefinable pitch. (See p. 220.)

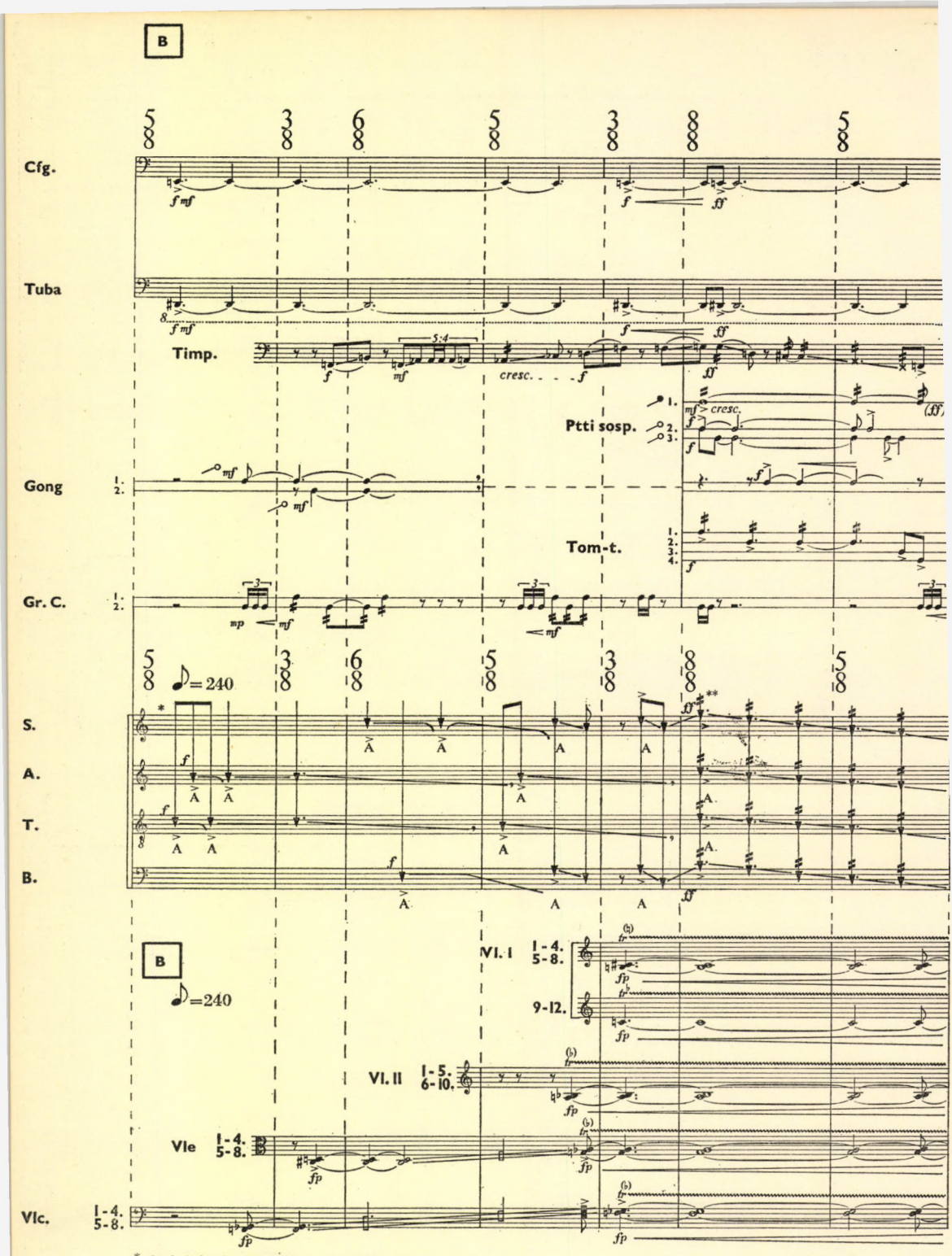
The virtuoso cadenza of the trombones stands out in the orchestral writing.

The movement it is in two parts. In the first an aleatoric orchestral block and patches of wordless choral parts alternate to create a chaotic effect. A tenor solo leads on to the next section of the movement—a single


Molto sostenuto
Fl. 1.
2.
3.
4.
Ob. 1.
2.
3-4.
Cl. 1.
2.
3.
4.
Fg. 1.
2.
3.
ancia doppia
Cfg.
Cor. 1-2.
3-4.
flatt.
Tr. 1-2.
3.
Trb 1-2.
3.
molto vibr.
Tuba
Timp.
Coro
van
Molto sostenuto
Vl. 1.
rubato, grand détaché
Vl. 2.
legg.
Vle
Vlc.
Cb. (loco)


Fl. 1.
2.
3.
4.
Fl. 4. muta in Fl. picc.
Ob. 1.
2.
3-4.
Ob. 4. muta in Cor. ingl.
Cl. 1.
2.
3.
4.
Cl. 4. muta in Cl. basso
Fg. 1.
ancia doppia
ancia doppia
2.
3.
Cfg.
Cor 1-2.
ord.
flatt.
ord.
flatt.
ord.
flatt.
3-4.
Tr. 1-2.
3.
ord.
flatt.
Trb. 1-2.
3.
Tuba
Tom-t.
f cresc.
T. basco
mp cresc.
Guiro
ff
Frusta
Ptto sosp.
mp cresc. sempre
Gr. C.
mp cresc. sempre
Timp.
Coro
Vl. I
Vl. II
Vle
Vlc.
Cb. (loco)


Fl. 2.
Fl.
Ob
Cor ingl.
Cl. 2.
Fg. 1.
Cor. 1.
Mar.
Arpa
S. solo
kagyló va- gyok,
kagy- ló
Vl. I solo
Vl. II solo
Vle
con sord.
senza sord.
Fl. 2.
Ob. 1.
Cor. ingl.
Cl. 2.
Fg. 1.
Cor. 1.
Mar.
Arpa
S. solo
gyön- gyök,
gyön- gyök
Vl. I
solo
Vl. II
Vle tutte
(senza sord.)
Vlc. tutti



* énekelt határozatlan hangmagasság
sung at undetermined pitch

** A-ra nyitott ajkat tenyérrel ütögetni (quasi tremolo)
with the palm beat on the mouth, opened to A (quasi tremolo)

tectonic crescendo, and the movement, so eruptive and rich in rhythm and colour, ends at its culminating point.

The finale is attacca and represents a settling of accounts and a last farewell. The chorus is joined by a baritone solo—the poet, standing on the brink of the grave, looks back on life and bequeaths to us the Testament of Love. It is an adagio conceived as an a cappella movement, rubato in character. The full orchestra is replaced by a chamber ensemble (Hungarian cimbalom, harp, vibraphone and gong) serving merely to create colour effects. The vocal part is declamatory, in the style of Gregorian chants, the replicas of the chorus rendering the three-part form responsorial.

Trying to sum up the merits of the work I should emphasize first of all its tense, dramatic construction. Then the contrast of the chorus and solo parts and that of high and deep colours between the first and second movement; that poetic gesture through which the sound of the second movement guides us from the dark of the night towards the harmony, beyond death, of nature and the universe. And then that humane lyrical sound which after the ruthless, Dürer-like nightmares and Last Judgement visions of the previous movement can give consolation in the finale. Balassa's *Requiem* moves along the same road as liturgical requiems: it leads the audience from mourning, through faith and annihilation, to hope. Every strain in his music is part of the European tradition. Balassa composes thematic music, he creates unambiguous rhythmic contours, is well aware of the value of harmony and does not soften form into colour. His melodic invention, his sense for harmony and the evocative power of his music are conspicuous. His language is rich in images and sentiments, his way of composing is clear, his orchestration is effective. He is able to do something which is very rare nowadays: he composes genuine music, the individual tone of which can always be recognized by everybody. Our century has great puritan masters of construction, of the economical handling of musical material, of what are called pure techniques. Balassa is a composer of a different kind: he is more spontaneous and impulsive. He is closer to life and people than to laws of style. Natural feeling and the warmth of life flow even from his *Requiem*.

GYÖRGY KROÓ

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Arnot sent this letter to the Hungarian Ambassador in London, Dr. Házi, and refers in it to a press conference, held on October 16th, 1972, at the Hungarian Embassy in London, where No. 47 of The NHQ, *an issue devoted almost entirely to the work of the late György Lukács, was presented to the English public by the editors.*

I was delighted to receive at the beginning of this month the extremely well-taken photographs, taken on the occasion of the New Hungarian Quarterly's special number devoted to György Lukács, of whose name and activity I became aware in 1919, shortly after I came out of prison.

I asked F. W. Jowitt, M.P., then one of the halfdozen socialists within the Labour Party, to make a particular point of seeing Lukács when as an M.P. he was able in the spring of 1919 to visit the Councils' Republic.

Jowitt was very impressed and told me all about it one day early in the first half of 1919. Afterwards in 1967 Sándor Nógrádi arranged with the Central Committee that I should see Lukács, with whom I spent a whole morning. We talked partly about old friends that we had in common, such as Bernard Shaw; and about poetry and European literature. This referred mainly to the later 19th century but included of course Walter Scott at the beginning of the century.

The next year, back in Scotland, I went to see the great-great-great-granddaughter of Walter Scott, together with Abe Moffat, ex-President of the Scottish Miners's Union.

When I had the pleasure of being in Hungary last year in June and July of 1971, I had looked forward to this holiday, also with the hope of seeing György Lukács for a second time, but unfortunately his death preceded my visit by several weeks.

Robin Page Arnot
London

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ANTALFFY, Gyula (b. 1912). Journalist. Graduated from Pázmány University, Budapest. Has been on the staff of the daily *Magyar Nemzet*, since 1949. His main field is cultural history and ecology. Has published several collections of articles.

CSILLÉRY, K. Klára. Ethnographer, at the Budapest Museum of Ethnography. See her "Hungarian Peasant Furniture" in No. 34 of *The N.H.Q.*

FEKETE, János (b. 1918). Economist, Vice President of the Hungarian National Bank, in charge of international operations. Studied economics in Budapest, has been in banking since 1936. Has published numerous papers on Hungarian and international monetary problems. See his "Credit and Foreign Exchange Policy in Hungary" in No. 41, and "East-West Trade and the US" in No. 44 of *The N.H.Q.*

FÖLDES, István (b. 1920). Journalist, on the staff of *Népszabadság*, the central daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. He specialises on industry.

GALGÓCZI, Erzsébet. Writer. Her short stories and reports, based on fact and personal experience, deal mainly with contemporary village life. See "Its a Million Miles to Budapest", in No. 35, "The Bullet," in No. 37, and "Lights Elsewhere," in No. 43 of *The N.H.Q.*

HANTOS, János (b. 1927). Deputy President of the Budapest City Council since 1964. Graduated at Pázmány University, Budapest. Between 1957–59 was Secretary of the Hungarian Peace Council, between 1959–64 headed a department at the City of Budapest organization of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

KÖPECZI, Béla (b. 1922). Historian and literary historian, Secretary General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. A member of the Editorial Board of this review. See "Socialist Realism—The Continuing Debate," in No. 24, "Hungarian University Reform," in No. 35, and "A Controversy on the New Left" in No. 45 of *The N.H.Q.*

KROÓ, György (b. 1928). Musicologist. Professor of Music History at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music in Budapest. Has published books on Mozart, Schumann, Berlioz, etc.

LUKÁCSY, Sándor (b. 1923). Literary historian. Studied at Pázmány University and Eötvös College, Budapest. Has been active as editor of various magazines and also in publishing after the war, since 1962 senior research fellow at the Institute of Literary History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Has compiled numerous anthologies, edited classical authors, and written on Hungarian, French and Russian literary subjects. Lectured on Petőfi at various French universities.

NAGY F., Angéla. Journalist on the staff of *Újítók Lapja* ("Journal of Innovators.") A regular contributor of cooking recipes to magazines. Has published *Egészséges élet, egészséges konyha* ("Healthy Life—Healthy Kitchen"), 1963, and *A modern magyar konyha* ("The Modern Hungarian Kitchen"), 1973.

NAGY, Zoltán (b. 1944). Art historian. Works at the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Graduated at Eötvös University, Budapest, subsequently spent three years at Moscow University. See "The Luddite Etchings of Béla

Uitz," and "Lajos Sváby—A Merciless Painter" in No. 48 of *The N.H.Q.*

NÉMETH, Lajos (b. 1929). Art historian, a frequent contributor to *The N.H.Q.*

ÖRKÉNY, István (b. 1912). Novelist and playwright. His grotesque, "The Tót Family," and his play "Catsplay" were shown in several theatres abroad. See part of "The Tót Family" in No. 28, and the entire text of "Catsplay" in No. 44, as well as some of his "One-Minute Stories" in Nos. 29 and 35 of *The N.H.Q.* The Hungarian titles of the stories printed in in this issue are: *Egy szerdai napon*; *Az állva maradás joga*; *Egy pocsolya emlékiratai.*

PERNYE, András (b. 1928). Musicologist, our regular music reviewer.

PILINSZKY, János (b. 1921). Poet. Some of his poems were translated into French by Pierre Emanuel; an English edition is under preparation at Penguin Books. See his poems in Nos. 23 and 30 of *The N.H.Q.*

RÉNYI, Péter (b. 1920). Journalist. Deputy Editor of *Népszabadság* the central daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. See "The Dialectics of Permanence and Change" in No. 41, "The German Question in Europe" in No. 45, and his review on János Kádár's book in No. 49 of *The N.H.Q.*

SZÁNTÓ, Judit. Our regular theatre critic.

TREWIN, John Courtenay (b. 1908). The well-known drama critic of the *Illustrated London News*, the *Birmingham Post* and other papers. Author of numerous books, chiefly on the theatre. See "Playgoer in Budapest" in No. 11, "Helping Charles and Mary" in No. 15, and "Theatre in Budapest" in No. 37 of *The N.H.Q.*

VÁMOS, Magda. Journalist, formerly on the staff of the Budapest daily *Magyar Nemzet*. Graduated in French and German. Her main field is music criticism. Has also published translations, monographs on Thomas and Heinrich Mann, biographies of Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin and Ármin Vámbéry.

VARGA, László (b. 1939). Literary historian, one of our regular book reviewers.

VAS, István (b. 1910). Poet, author, translator, an eminent personality in contemporary Hungarian writing, a member of the Editorial Board of this review. His publications include many volumes of poems, an unfinished autobiographical sequence, volumes of essays, and a collection of translations from foreign poets. See his poems in Nos. 23, 29, 38 and 46 of *The N.H.Q.*, as well as his autobiographical writing "The Unknown God" in No. 40.

ZÁDOR, Anna. Art historian, Professor of Art History at Eötvös University. Her main field is baroque art and architecture. See "Books on Hungarian Monuments" in No. 6 of *The N.H.Q.* She is a member of the Editorial Board of this review.

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