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The New Hungarian Quarterly

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WINTER 1973

SURVEY

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

ARTS

THEATRE AND FILM

ECONOMIC LIFE

This issue went to press on 1st October, 1973

HOPES EXPRESSED

We here in Hungary, where many of us remember the horrors of not just one, but two, World Wars in both of which Hungary had to pay so heavily for the unpardonable blunders of her former rulers, hope for a détente and a new Europe, governed by realism and reason, with a far greater intensity than the British or American reader can possibly imagine. This is what we have tried to express again in our more than fifty numbers and this is what we do in this present fifty-second issue. As Péter Rényi, Deputy Editor of the Party's national daily points out, what we are—hopefully—witnessing is in fact the falling apart of deep-rooted myths and falsifications that were based on whipped-up fear, suspicion, greed and ignorance—basically the same qualities that once fostered Fascism, that basest of all the political ideologies mankind has produced.

The idea, generally and concisely referred to as the détente, is still a long way from being the true foundation on which all international relations rest in Europe today, not to say the world. The tragic events in Chile remind us of the difficulties mankind is still confronted with before the age of peaceful coexistence becomes a full reality. The idea and practice of it have all the same made considerable headway these last few months. As János Péter, Hungarian Foreign Minister rightly observed in his address to the Helsinki conference (printed in this issue): "I can say with reason, on the basis of experience, that in this conference we are aware of many signs of efforts towards mutual understanding never before encountered at intergovernmental conferences of countries with different social systems."

The free flow of men and ideas—a topic open to so many interpretations and so much talked about nowadays—is something Hungary has in fact helped to achieve. The number of Hungarians travelling to the West is not far behind the number of westerners coming to this country every year—

a shortage in foreign currency having been the only major factor in passport regulations for a long time now.

At a conference, quite appropriately held in Finland this summer, non-governmental representatives of small nations tried to find ways and means which might help their cultures to become better known in the world. Ideas, as Gábor Vályi—who was present—reports, did not differ as much as all that and practical steps could soon be taken to promote a freer flow of much needed cultural information—something this paper has been trying to do for more than ten years now.

It is not easy to decide who is likely to be better informed about what is going on in the world today in any field, political, cultural, scientific, or ideological, the average Hungarian intellectual or his western counterpart. But Hungarians are bound to come out on top if the question is who knows more about the other side. György Aczél, Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, in charge of cultural and ideological matters, began outlining the fundamentals of Hungarian cultural policies in No. 51. The continuation of his account, originally an address given to a national conference on information and culture in January 1973, is found in this issue. The second part is mainly concerned with certain questions of ideology: ideals that must be clearly defined and guarded, like national consciousness and reasonable national pride, in opposition to nationalistic or chauvinistic feelings which once did so much harm to the nations living in this troubled part of Europe. A sensible, open, though not uncritical approach to western cultural and ideological influence is urged by György Aczél, who then goes on to explain the Marxist-Leninist attitude towards various theories, found in Hungary and abroad, on the alleged ultimate convergence of capitalist and socialist development, among other timely questions.

The reader might be surprised to find a summary of current capitalist economic worries in the pages of *The NHQ*. The personality of the author, however, might help to explain. Thomas Balogh, chief economic adviser to Harold Wilson's government, happened to be born in Hungary, the first and so far the only Hungarian to be created a life peer. What he discusses in detail is no less then the question why all existing economies, Communist, capitalist and uncommitted, have so far failed "to combine internal economic stability, the avoidance of accelerated price rises, full employment and sustained material expansion." József Bíró, the Minister of Foreign Trade, writes about something more cheerful: the changes in the commodity pattern of Hungarian foreign trade—vital in this small country which derives such a high proportion of its national income from trade with other countries.

The management of the country's finances can be seen from a rather unusual, because very personal, angle in an interview given by Lajos Faluvégi, the Minister of Finance. It is good to know that people in charge of such important matters can occasionally be, or even prefer to be, informal, human and humble, and talk about their job and their life in a casual way.

A short story by Boris Palotai once again recalls the atmosphere of the early 'fifties but, it seems, two decades have at last worn away most of the bitterness in the memory of those days, and we are even able to laugh at the humorous underside of tragic events. István Szabó (who is not to be confused with the film director of the same name) in his story "Sunday Mass" writes about something that concerns the present, and, in a way, also the future: the widening generation gap in the village.

Few know that Hungarian is related only to Finnish and Estonian of all the national languages spoken in Europe. Many questions of Hungarian prehistory, i.e., the history of the Hungarians before they settled in this country in the 9th century, A.D., remain unclear today. There are numerous small linguistic groups in the Soviet Union, in the Ural region and Central Asia, whose language shows an affinity to Hungarian. László Rapcsányi and János Boros, reporters for Hungarian Radio, went on a tour last year with microphone in hand, visiting these distant peoples, searching for memories and relics of a long forgotten common past. What they found made excellent radio material and the experts in various fields (linguists, folklorists, archeologists, musicians, anthropologists) they consulted added to the interest. We print a summary they wrote on their trip. István Halla, a young Orientalist at Eötvös University in Budapest, reviews an important book on ancient Japanese art—a subject, curiously enough, also somewhat pertinent to Hungarian prehistory.

As we go to press we learn of the tragic death of Deputy Premier Péter Vályi whose name appeared more than once in these pages. His fine article in our last issue (No. 51) on Hungarian–American economic, and not only economic relations, shows Péter Vályi's wide outlook, international understanding, socialist humanism and his sense of understatement as well; that the visiting United States Secretary of Commerce attended his funeral gives a hint of the nature of the deceased's international prestige and also of a loss which is not only ours.

THE EDITORS

TOWARDS THE CONSOLIDATION OF DÉTENTE

by

JÁNOS PÉTER

On behalf of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic I present my respects to the Government, the President and the people of the Republic of Finland. This greeting is at the same time an expression of our thanks for the careful political work through which Finland actively and steadily contributed her share to the preparation of this conference, organising its first stage.

We in Budapest are happy that the first stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation is taking place in Helsinki. Finland deserves it that this Conference—without precedent in history—be held in Helsinki. It was at the most opportune moment that the Government of Finland, first and foremost President Kekkonen, became aware that the readiness to strengthen genuine security in Europe and to make this security grow through manifold cooperation was ripening in a whole series of countries responsible for the fate of Europe. Representatives of the Government of Finland, among them the staff of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were working equally hard both in Europe and America. They kept collecting ideas on how it would be possible to prepare the proposed conference to good effect, until at last the historic moment, the opening of the first stage of the CSCE has arrived.

Since kinship and friendship between the Hungarian and the Finnish nation, and their actual cooperation are an integral part of the future of European security, I believe it is not out of place here, at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to mention that right now, and under the high patronage of President Kekkonen, traditional festive meetings fostering cooperation between the two nations are taking place both in Finland and in Hungary. In Finland, these festivities will be

Text of the Hungarian Foreign Minister's address delivered at Helsinki on July 5, 1973 at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

attended by hundreds of Hungarian visitors. At the same time in Hungary hundreds of Finnish visitors will participate in the friendly meetings. The representatives of these two countries with different social systems will inform one another of their own experiences. The increasingly intimate relations between Finland and Hungary are a fine example of how beneficient an effect the friendly cooperation of countries having different socio-economic systems, and direct contacts between nations, can have on the life of both countries.

The opening of the first stage of the Conference on security is an eloquent sign of the great changes we have experienced in the past two or three years. Countries with different historical and social backgrounds are in a position to discuss very delicate and complicated matters in a calm and open atmosphere.

I can say with good reason, on the basis of experience, that in this conference we are aware of many signs of efforts towards mutual understanding never before encountered at intergovernmental conferences of countries with different social systems. All this reflects the considerable change that has occurred in the international situation. If we compare the present with the international situation as it was when the Budapest Appeal was issued in the Spring of 1969, it is difficult to find words to express the difference. The international situation has improved very considerably since then. Few would have thought at that time, that in three and a half years agreement would be reached on a whole series of complicated issues in Europe, and a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would be convened in the summer of 1973.

In general it is usual to mention several factors and indications of the improvement of the international situation. I wish to stress only one of them, the shift in international power relations. I enumerate the indications only by way of reference: improvement in the bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the signing of a number of agreements having a bearing also upon relations of other countries: the treaties signed by the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany; the West Berlin quadripartite agreement, and the considerable progress made in bilateral relations between various pairs of countries in Europe. The international détente has not stopped at the borders of Europe. This year has witnessed an event of such importance as the signing of the Vietnam ceasefire agreement and a number of other arrangements within the scope of disarmament.

True to its foreign policy ideas, Hungary has always endeavored

to make the principle of peaceful coexistence prevail in international relations. On the basis of this principle we have established fruitful relations with a number of Western European countries: Austria, France. Italy—and also with the United States of America and with Canada. In the absence of diplomatic relations we have established extensive economic and cultural relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. We note with satisfaction that the governments advocating peace, together with the nations opposing war and international tension, have succeeded in considerably improving relations in Europe, and thanks to this we have arrived at the present deliberations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Of course I do not wish to say that right now everything has been dealt with and put in order. We know there are many problems awaiting solution in Europe and in other parts of the world as well. In this very awareness our Government—together with other Governments—will in the future, as well as in the past, strive to promote the settlement of outstanding issues and the strengthening of peace and security.

The war in Vietnam has left us a heritage of very complicated problems. As you may well know, the Hungarian People's Republic has acceeded to the request of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States of America, and is a member of the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam. It is our aim to help the spirit of the Vietnam agreements signed in Paris to prevail, and to thwart efforts aimed at the violation of the ceasefire. We are convinced that in Vietnam we are doing a service to the cause of peace and security in Europe as well.

We are deeply concerned also with the problems of the Middle East, and the consequences of Israeli aggression. It is evident that, until the Middle East crisis has abated, it is difficult to say that the conflicts menacing the countries of Europe as well have been entirely averted.

Representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic—just as representatives of other countries—have consistently worked on the preparation of this Conference. They have conducted negotiations on a Head of State level, as well as a governmental, ministerial etc. one in the cause of the improvement which is at present evident. There is hardly a delegation here with whose government we did not enter into contact with a view to elucidating the matters we are considering here today.

The success of the preparatory work was achieved by the method which the negotiating parties used to approach the complicated problems of Europe: the separation of organically interdependent and interacting

international issues which had become ripe for solution, from those questions, the solution of which is not at present possible.

Nobody has to tell the Hungarian Government that the cause of security in Europe cannot be separated, for example, from the problems of the Mediterranean area. We know very well that other world political problems as well are interdependent with the solution of European problems. But if, when considering any one question, we had waited for all other questions to become ripe for solution, then we would have tied our own hands, and politicians of Europe today would not appreciate the great progress made since the spring of 1969 in the relaxation of international tension, in furthering international cooperation for the benefit of the nations. We would have stopped in our tracks and would now perhaps be about to resume the old disputes.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic considers it its most immediate international task in the present situation to promote the consolidation of the favourable results attained, to make them irreversible, and to cooperate for the achievement of further results. For this very reason it follows with attention the dangers that are still undoubtedly looming, and which threaten the results we have already attained. We were guided by such considerations when we sought cooperation with other governments in the preparation of this Conference, as we are now when we are all together getting ready to deal with new tasks.

The ambassadors to Helsinki of the countries represented here discussed the preparation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe for over six months. They did a good job. They compiled the proposed duties of the various committees, designed to help during the second stage to draft the final documents containing the common position of the participants in the light of the present debate. This will not be an easy task either. Realistically, however, it may be envisaged that the committees will complete their task in the autumn and that the third stage may start before the end of this year.

In the present Conference of Foreign Ministers numerous proposals have been presented which should be discussed during the second stage. The principles of the relations between countries, as summed up by the ambassadors in their recommendations, are clearly reflected in the draft declaration submitted by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. We think this draft is a good basis for discussion.

My Government holds the view of course that the military and armament problems of European security are also important. We think the recommendations formulated by the ambassadors rightly refer to this question.

We agree that the substantial negotiations on the reduction of armed forces in Europe ought to begin in Vienna on October 30 this year, with the participation of the interested countries. During those negotiations we will have to endeavour to ensure that the principle of equal security prevails and neither of the parties gains military advantages to the detriment of the other.

On July 3 the Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic, on behalf of his Government and of the Hungarian Government, submitted our common draft on economic cooperation between European States and on the protection of the environment. We attach great importance to the economic cooperation of European countries, and we think this matter deserves special attention. We speak emphatically of economic cooperation, not simply commercial relations; economic cooperation is more than that. Any possible oscillation in international tension may put commercial relations to a severe test, but long-term cooperation in industrial production between countries having different systems is capable of resisting any possible increase in tension, and even reduces its impact. The Hungarian People's Republic therefore gives preference to cooperation, both multilateral and bilateral. On the one hand, it seeks to widen the division of labour and the expansion of economic cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and on the other it is widening this kind of cooperation with other countries as well. I think there are few countries represented here with which we do not have some form of industrial cooperation either in process or in preparation. We consider it necessary for the Conference on Security and Cooperation to remove the obstacles still hindering cooperation between countries having different social systems, to help eliminate discrimination and to secure the general application of most-favoured-nation treatment.

Our representatives will also in the future cooperate in expanding cultural relations of European countries and the interchange of information and in promoting the freer movement of persons and ideas. I think, however, that if we have to join forces against the remnants of the Cold War anywhere at all, it is just in this area. A well considered, careful advance may bring favourable results. We have to take into account the laws, customs and regulations of our countries, thereby sharing our experiences.

Finally I should like to note that Hungary considers it absolutely necessary for us, at the second stage, to thoroughly examine the establishment of a permanent body dealing with European security. This idea opens up great prospects for international cooperation. If there were

a body which could continually deal with the cause of European security, we could receive new proposals for the expansion of multilateral and bilateral cooperation between countries all the time, so that new steps can be taken to strengthen security.

I think every participant at this Conference is occupied with the many questions related to the second stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is our task to define the preparations of the second stage. In my view it would be advisable for the Coordinating Committee to meet as soon as possible and to fix a date for the Committees to set to work in Geneva. I am convinced that every participating country will endeavour to ensure that the Committees start work at the earliest possible date, and draw up the final documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation. I am confident that the adoption of the documents will be the work of a Conference of Heads of State and Government.

Also from this rostrum I should like to stress that we are glad that the Government of Switzerland is willing to undertake the tasks related to the organization of the second stage. We are also pleased to see the third stage of the Conference meet, here in Helsinki again, as agreed.

CARING FOR EUROPE

by

PÉTER RÉNYI

After the successful ending of the first stage of the European Security Conference, the Helsinki meeting of foreign ministers, a series of negotiations in Geneva have now begun, constituting the second stage of the conference. There is no doubt that a political action which —together with the preparatory talks—occupies the press for years loses a great deal of its news value; at times the attention given to it wanes. Here, however, a process is involved which is worth evaluating not only as regards its topical diplomatic aspects: it signals changes whose historical and even ideological meaning is worth meditating upon.

The Western side spent a great deal of energy in Helsinki to create the impression that questions of security can already be placed among the files; as if speaking of them, the making of declarations, the outlining of the principles of peaceful coexistence were mere verbiage. The economic issues—they added—were progressing well in any case: let us therefore push the question of other contacts—by which they meant primarily ideological contacts—into the forefront. In their opinion the latter is a condition for the former; as if peace depended on the flow of ideas and information to be organized in the future and, from a different aspect, as if only the West had anything to gain in the field of ideology.

As in the time to come this will be one of the main themes of European coexistence and collaboration, it is necessary to ask: is it true that the endeavours so far which, beyond doubt, were primarily of a political-diplomatic nature, have not affected the sphere of ideology? Moreover, is it possible to imagine that we would have progressed in politics if in the sphere of ideas and information contacts had remained at the level which once characterized the relationship of the two social systems?

I am reading "Europe, beware!" Thomas Mann's famous manifesto from the beginning of the thirties, the first period of the European awakening to

the danger of Nazism. I quote: "Many things that would not have been permitted by the stricter humanism of the 19th century have become possible once more, the fairground noise and hullaballoo have sneaked back to us in the meantime: the most diverse secret sciences, semi-sciences and imposturing have flowered, suspicious sects and backstairs religions, crude swindling, superstition and charlatanry have conquered the masses and are determining the style of the period—and many educated men regard this not as cultural corruption but mystify it as the rebirth of deep life forces and the soul of the people to be respected." Then he continues by saying that the masses from the middle and lower middle classes who sank into poverty and are upset by hunger begin to "think" at first through mysticism. The petty bourgeois is told that reason is dethroned, that the intellect can be freely abused, that these bogey-men have something to do with socialism, internationalism and even the Jewish spirit, that they play a part in their misery, and thus the petty bourgeoisie have learnt the word "irrationalism", which is difficult for the tongue, but pleasant for the instincts. Apart from violence this petty bourgeois believes only in lies, and in the latter with an even more fervent faith than in the former. Thomas Mann explains that of the European ideas of truth, freedom and justice, this petty bourgeois hates truth above all. He replaces it with the "mythos," by which he means that something in which the difference between truth and deception ceases to exist.

These thoughts make one think from several aspects. On the one hand because they evoke, as a biblical *mene tekel*, what we rarely speak of these days: the spiritual darkness that gave birth to the phase of European history which ended in a war in which 40 million Europeans lost their lives and which destroyed half the continent—the tragedy whose "remnants", as we so very dryly say, we are now eliminating. A large part of Europe confronted fascist ideology only afterwards, when fighting with arms against it. Its horrible essence was already fully revealed then, when it was sufficient to say Lidice, Oradour, Treblinka, Auschwitz, or Coventry, Leningrad, Warsaw; to cite names of the Soviet villages and towns which were destroyed, to show the documents of the mass graves, the concentration camps and the sufferings of the people made homeless; in Hungary the photographs of the blown up Danube bridges and of the capital blasted to ruins served as similar mementoes.

However, this post facto proof, though from one aspect it had a tremendous effect, from a different aspect created the impression that it was no longer necessary to deal with the analysis of fascist demagogy, its system of arguments, intellectual origins and social background. It is no accident that

the present generation ask their parents in surprise, how could all this have happened, why did they not see earlier, in time, the dangers that threatened Europe and the world. It is at such times that one realizes that we have neglected to tell them—at least thoroughly—of the ideological manipulations and false teachings with which fascism operated, how it misled people and confused their minds with its "ideas". Hitler and his followers did not say that in twelve years they would make Europe a ruin where the smoke of the gas chambers would linger over the fields of the dead, but rather shouted about the brilliant future of the peoples and nations and races that were "worthy of life"; they fooled people with "theories" that varied from country to country and from situation to situation. As unscrupulous adventurers, they promised everyone whom they wanted to use what those people desired. It is far from true that the political and ideological tactics of fascism were as simple as became obvious on the basis of facts after their collapse.

Nor must it be forgotten that the legacy of fascism was not entirely eliminated by the shock caused by the truth that emerged in 1945. Even after the war, the ideological systems of aggressive nationalism, of racist and chauvinist myths and of German militarism did not immediately lose their positions in Europe. There were periods also in the past nearly thirty years when they raised their heads in threat and for a long time (to a lesser extent to this day) they have continued their rear-guard actions.

Helsinki and the all-European agreement that it will hopefully give birth to is a significant stage in this struggle. The western foreign ministers do not speak much of this, nor did the socialist side stir up the upsetting memories of the past. The Hungarian side attempted primarily to promote the idea of mutual understanding, as János Péter, Minister for Foreign Affairs stressed: "Representatives of the Hungarian Peoples Republic—just as representatives of other countries—have consistently worked on the preparation of this Conference. There is hardly a delegation here with whose government we did not enter into contact with a view to elucidating the matters we are considering here today." But since in the western half of Europe many approach the questions of European security and cooperation primarily from the side of ideology, it is worth speaking of this as well. Lest they believe that the socialist side has some reason for keeping quiet concerning the struggle of ideas; incidentally, they have not kept silent about it. Only more attention should have been given to what was said at the conference —and, naturally, also to what had been said by the socialist side earlier, at the time of the preparations—it would have become immediately apparent that ideology was involved in two senses.

As regards one, let me quote the words of Gromyko: "Peace and security

in Europe largely depend on the degree of confidence existing between peoples, on whether the feelings of goodwill and mutual respect, or on the contrary those of suspicion and hostility, get enrooted in them... We believe that in international intercourse as well the ideals of peace, equality of all nations and good neighbourliness should become ever more firmly established. There should be no room for propaganda of hatred, aggression, militarism, the cult of violence, racial or national supremacy or of other objectives inconsistent with the goals of rapprochement and cooperation among nations... We should also do away with the psychological consequences of the 'cold war'." In this respect, therefore, ideological tasks were directly discussed.

But it is not only in this sense, in the sense of the norms of behaviour directing the normal conduct of contacts, that this question can be examined. If, as was said earlier, we have reason to consider the comprehensive meaning of the normalization of relations between European states, it must also be considered: can and will that ideology which is usually briefly termed anti-communism have a role, a place and a weight, and if so, what sort, in the Europe of the future?

Let us not forget what the fundamental content of Fascist war ideology was. Was it the hostility of fascism to the bourgeois democracies? The Hitlerites with the help of their Quislings almost loosened up and ideologically confused the latter. We could even ask Thomas Mann, who though he was a militant humanist and not a Marxist, said in 1938, that in the capitalist democracies of the west the fear of socialism and of Russia was greater than any distaste for the mob and gangster spirit of Nazism, its moral degeneration and ruinous effect on culture; this was the reason for conservative Europe seeking protection behind the "bastion" of fascism.

In other words: the devilish "inspirer" of war was the anti-communism fired by the monopolies, the most reactionary forces, the rabid anti-soviet attitude and the fear of socialism—both politically and ideologically. "The greatest lie of the age is anti-communism", wrote Thomas Mann. This definition is certainly valid for the whole period of the Cold War. Every political step and every state activity which increased tensions in Europe and more than once brought the situation to the brink of military confrontation was motivated by anti-communism. (By anti-communism I mean the attitude which has as its goal—beyond the defence of the capitalist system—the elimination, that is the destruction of socialism.)

This ideology was the almost monolithic basis for bourgeois Europe until De Gaulle announced that the West was not threatened by aggression from the Soviet Union and from socialist Europe. Hardly a decade has passed

since. Nor must we forget that ever since in every instance when here or there an opportunity presented itself—such as the 1968 events in Paris and Prague, the Polish disturbances in 1970 or the West German elections in 1972—the forces of anti-communism came to life again. (To mention only a few European dates.)

We are certainly not yet as far from this past that we should not have a basis to say: if the West will now accept the principle of peaceful coexistence, it must leave the ideological battlements of the Cold War, the crumbling, false theories of anti-communism.

How is it possible to discuss the free flow of ideas seriously and in the hope of coming nearer to each other's positions while the western side does not face this inheritance and keeps silent about it, even in the negotiations? The rejection of the Cold War in politics and in ideology goes together with the rejection of anti-communism. A part of the western press gives expression to this view, but diplomacy has so far kept a deep silence.

The final failure of anti-communism naturally does not change the fact that the capitalist and socialist systems are in irreconcilable opposition to each other. This has its clearest reflection precisely in ideology, in the unbridgeable opposition between the bourgeois and proletarian world views. For this reason, when the relationship of the two systems was comprehensively discussed, the foreign ministers of socialist Europe expressed themselves differently in Helsinki. Nonetheless, it is important to look at—preferably precisely—what this "differently" was like and why it was like that.

I refer once more to Gromyko who on the one hand said, "We do not propose to anyone either to introduce changes in their social or political systems, in their ideological views—whatever our attitude towards them." Elsewhere he added, "Our country proceeds from the premise that the advantages of any social system should be proved through peaceful competition and cooperation, rather than war." He also said that the opportunity and the circumstances are characterized by the fact that, "there is a coincidence of views of governments, political parties and organizations, which recognize their responsibility for the cause of peace, irrespective of differences they may have in other respects." Elsewhere he specially mentioned the "strict observance of the laws, customs and traditions of each other."

What is expressed in all this? The acceptance of the ideological differences and conflicts just as much as of the inevitability of the ideological struggle, but in the spirit of that state and—let us add—human attitude which knows that the confrontation is on the one hand inevitable and that on the other hand it is a long term lesson. It is true that the European socialist countries start from the position that under the conditions of peaceful coexistence

and cooperation they can wage this struggle from a better position than under conditions of sharp conflicts, international crises and a dangerous arms race. They might say that socialist Europe is biased in this, but they can hardly expect us to take a different view on these questions. For us it is unequivocally true that if the reactionary and mystical myths are finally banished from the atmosphere of Europe, if the "dethroned reason" is put back on its throne, if the intellect cannot be vilified in the name of dark irrationalisms, then communism and internationalism can no longer be used as the bogey-man and anti-communist incitement is revealed, every type of racial and national arrogance is shown up, and truth regains its radiance. For us it is beyond argument that all this favours the cause of progress, genuine democracy and socialism. For this reason *as well* we welcome and support Helsinki and Geneva, for this reason *as well* the European security conference is a cause dear to our hearts. But who could stop both halves of Europe from embarking on a mutually profitable competition in this sense—for placing reason and intellect on their thrones?

We can note many hopeful achievements from the chronicles of recent years. Let us run through the list: the treaty between the Soviet Union and West Germany renouncing the use of force was a great defeat for revanchism; the Polish–West German treaty brought to resting point at last the question of the Oder–Neisse frontier; the Four Power agreement settled one of the most dangerous centres of the European cold war, the status of West Berlin; the ratification of the basic treaty between the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany began a new era in the most sensitive and most turbulent section of the frontier which divides Europe into two systems. The shameful Munich Treaty came off the agenda only recently, but surely finally, thus opening the possibility for establishing diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary. János Péter expressed the feelings of many when he said in Helsinki: "I can say with reason, on the basis of experience, that in this conference we are aware of many signs of efforts towards mutual understanding never before encountered at intergovernmental conferences of countries with different social systems. All this reflects the considerable change that has occurred in the international situation. If we compare the present with the international situation as it was when the Budapest Appeal was issued in the Spring of 1969, it is difficult to find words to express the difference. The international situation has improved very considerably since then." And we still have not mentioned many events that occurred in Europe and in other parts of the world: for example, the Paris agreement on Vietnam or Leonid Brezhnev's negotiations in Bonn and Paris, and the most important

achievement of the Washington meeting, the agreement between Brezhnev and Nixon on avoiding nuclear war. And now the first series of negotiations of the European Security Conference have been successfully held, with full unanimity concerning the important questions to be decided. What else does this show but the strength of reason, of sobriety and humanity? The socialist countries are confident that these international political achievements will increase not only their security but also the strength of their ideas.

What should Europe beware of today? First of all that the process of the détente should be held up, that it should be possible to reverse it or disturb it from the outside or the inside. This corresponds to the interests of the nations of Europe and of the ideas of social progress alike. "Peace and socialism were inscribed on our banner from the very moment the Soviet State was born," said the Soviet foreign minister in Helsinki. "We remain true to that banner."

The same—*mutatis mutandis*—is our device. These concepts are also indivisible in the politics of Hungary; they become increasingly united in our thinking and practice. Thus, caring for Europe we also care for our cause: by building socialism we are strengthening the peace of Europe.

HUNGARIAN FOREIGN TRADE IN THE SEVENTIES

The Transformation of the Commodity Pattern

by

JÓZSEF BÍRÓ

Hungarian foreign trade is determined in the main by production, world market demand and home consumption. The key question of the further progress in Hungary's international economic relations is the transformation of the production structure. The structure to be must be in accordance with the demands of international markets. It is obvious that in spite of measures so far taken in this field a number of major problems have still to be solved in the near future. This question has to be dealt with for the sake of the future showing how production and foreign trade have shaped in mutual interdependence, further, how and to what extent it meets the demands of international markets and what kind of tensions have to be overcome in the course of coordinating the market and production. Laying down the trend of the structural transformation means determining economic development—and also influencing the growth of productive forces—for a long time ahead.

The production pattern decisively influences the composition of exports and imports of every country while the repercussions of foreign trade are limited only, though it could well be that it is just foreign trade which conveys the impulses of international markets. Thus, the situation and the more or less stable position of a country in international trade are determined by the structure and market potential of home production that backs foreign trade. Speeded up industrialization in Hungary was not able to keep up with changes in the production pattern in conformity with the requirements of international trade; the structure of foreign trade has improved in spite of the fact that trade with capitalist countries demands conditions that differ from those required by commerce with socialist countries.

It is self-evident that Hungary aims to expand international economic relations with socialist countries, it is this that ensured industrial growth and economic growth as such as well as making it possible for a structure to come into being which permitted a link-up with the international division of labour. By the time this took place, Hungary was already among the "late-starters", a newer process was under way in the more developed socialist countries and in capitalist countries, and Hungary could not keep up. As a result contradictions came to the surface in the production pattern and in the foreign trade commodity pattern as well which threw the country's foreign trade out of balance. In the present case the first steps in easing inconsistencies aim at a narrowing of the pattern of production and at the concentration of productive forces; these measures are characteristic of small countries which undertook speedy industrialization. A further peculiar feature of these countries is a repeated or chronic deficit in the foreign trade balance. The causes of the latter vary from country to country. There is a clear marked relationship however between the trend of concentration and the foreign trade deficit. The core of the problem is that imports, particularly the imports of raw materials and energy bearers, are the basis of speedy industrial growth in these countries which have to pay for materials and energy by exports of increasing quantity and value. This obligation which goes together with a phase delay, that is with characteristic differences between imports and exports, is at the same time an important stimulus prompting the economy to adapt development to given conditions, for example, in the supply of raw materials and energy bearers, and to concentrate on the stepped up production of a few marketable articles which can be turned out profitably in large series, and are readily saleable. Important factors in the intricate web of efforts towards concentration are the high degree of capital intensity and research sensitivity of the modernization of production. When all is said and done it is clear that it is more remunerative to concentrate limited resources, such as labour and capital, on products which can be manufactured most profitably.

This process is the transformation and modernization of the structure of the economy, a calculation of the relationship of costs as against returns in order to achieve maximum results by a continuing regrouping of the factors of production.

Before looking at the commodity pattern of Hungarian foreign trade it is advisable to survey, in brief outline at least, the commodity pattern of world trade.

The Commodity Pattern of World Trade

Given modern large-scale production the commodity structure of individual countries has become differentiated owing to variations in the standard of productive forces. Technical progress has changed the commodity pattern of the world economy in recent decades and this transformation has not come to a stop yet.

Changes speeded up after 1955. The ratio of products of a raw material character and of processed goods was fifty-fifty in 1955, the former decreased to 35.5 per cent while the latter increased to 64.5 per cent by 1970. The equality of fifteen years ago thus changed to a $^1/_3$–$^2/_3$ ratio by 1970. This is attributable to the fact that the proportion of products of a raw material character decreased in world trade by 1 per cent a year while that of processed goods increased by the same ratio. Supposing that this shift in proportions continues—and all indications point to this—the proportion of products of a raw material character in world trade will shrink to about 25 per cent whereas that of processed goods will increase to 75 per cent by 1980. These figures indicate that the development of the forces of production changes the commodity pattern of world trade at a fast rate.

Trade in machines grew at the fastest rate: it amounted to 17.9 per cent of world trade as a whole in 1955, to 27.8 per cent in 1970 and will probably reach the double of the 1955 percentage (i.e. 35 per cent) by 1980. The sale and purchase of chemicals and other industrial products stands second as regards dynamism of world trade. The proportion of raw materials in the strict sense in world trade decreases steadily, they amounted to about one-fifth (19.5 per cent) of world trade in 1955 and to one-tenth (11.2 per cent) in 1970 but will decline in all probability to one-thirteenth by 1980. The proportion of agricultural produce also shows a decreasing tendency.

The shift in the commodity pattern of world trade reflects the fact that science and the power of the intellect increasingly determine the structure of production and trade indicating the main trends of technical development; in this respect automation, the use of atomic-energy, missile techniques, modern transport and telecommunications and chemization (new kinds of fertilizer) are the principal areas of growth.

It is now possible to keep track of the technological application of scientific research and its ultimate realization in production. Technical aspects become outdated within a far shorter time and the commodity structure quickly changes and is differentiated as a result of new products.

New basic materials are used by certain industries, more and more part units can be applied in a number of fields aiding both mass and individual production. Intellectual factors are given an increasingly important role, the concentration of research being a phenomenon observable throughout the world. Small countries—amongst them Hungary—can only develop along a narrow sector of one or another industry; for such countries the production and export of specialities is far more rewarding.

Development in the Commodity Pattern of Hungarian Foreign Trade

Considerable changes took place in the development of the forces of production in the past quarter of a century. This is demonstrated by the commodity pattern of imports and exports; the years 1938–1970 are particularly illuminative in this respect (see Table 1).

It was characteristic of the semi-feudal agrarian conditions prevailing in Hungary before the Second World War that the percentage of the machine and equipment imports amounted to about 10 per cent whereas the import of raw materials and semi-finished goods amounted to 70 per cent. The percentage of the raw and basic material import was unchanged, in the main, in 1950. The country, however, embarked on the building of socialism and it therefore became obvious that the import of machines and equipment had to be increased. The proportion of the latter reached double the pre-war figure, on the other hand, the proportion in imports of consumer goods, foods and materials for the food processing industry

Table 1

Development of the commodity structure of imports

	1938	1950	1960	1970
Machines and equipment	10.6	22.0	27.8	29.7
Industrial consumer goods	8.8	1.5	5.0	8.4
Raw materials and semi-finished goods	73.1	72.7	58.9	52.2
Foodstuffs and materials of the food processing industry	7.5	3.8	8.3	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Foreign Trade of 1960 and 1970, published by the Central Statistical Office.

decreased—the latter to a slighter degree. This structural change was inevitable since conditions were not present yet for a decrease in the proportion of raw and basic materials imported; on the other hand, the changes in the commodity structure reflected the way of thinking of the times which concentrated on quantitative industrial development. In the years 1950–1960 the proportion of machines and equipment rose by 5.8 per cent. The fact that the share of foodstuffs grew by 4.5 per cent and that of industrial consumer goods by 3.5 per cent shows that economic policy to a greater extent took into account what the state of the economy made possible. The considerable decrease of the proportion of industrial raw materials of plant and animal origin in 1960 made it possible to increase the import ratio of raw materials of the chemical industry. In 1950 raw materials of plant and animal origin amounted to 52 per cent of Hungarian raw and basic material imports, however, this ratio decreased to 36 per cent in 1960. The relative decline of imported basic materials for the light industry—a phenomenon observable throughout the world—is also due to the fact that synthetics are used to a higher degree. Besides, light industry grew at a slower rate anyway, one reason being that Hungarian economic policy in the first half of the fifties relegated light industry to the background.

Figures show that the period of intensive development started in 1970. In conformity with the increased requirements of technical and technological development, the proportion of machines and equipment continued to increase within imports. In accordance with the living standards policy, the import of industrial consumer goods increased while the proportion of raw and basic materials further decreased.

Although the proportion of the raw materials of the light industry continued to decrease in 1970, but only by 3 per cent as against the 16 per cent of the prior decade. This also indicates that growth in the light industry received greater emphasis in recent years. The considerable increase in the import of raw materials and semi-finished goods of the chemical industry was the result of the stepped up development of the chemical industry and of the heavy demand for chemicals; this increase was partly set off by the decreased proportion of fuels and metallurgical products.

In the last resort it appears that the formation of the commodity structure of imports—at least as regards the main tendencies—furthered the continuous building of the Hungarian socialist economy.

As regards the commodity pattern of exports: a comparison of imports and exports figures for 1938 and 1970 shows that changes were far greater in the latter (see Table 2).

Table 2

Development of the commodity structure of exports

	1938	1950	1960	1970
Machines and equipment	9.3	23.0	38.0	31.5
Industrial consumer goods	10.2	20.3	17.8	19.5
Raw materials and semi-finished goods	23.5	17.5	23.6	26.1
Foodstuffs and materials of the food processing industry	57.0	39.2	20.6	22.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Foreign Trade of 1960 and 1970, published by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office.

This is due to the fact that the shortage of raw materials—which determines the commodity pattern of Hungarian imports to a great degree—influences the commodity composition of export to a far slighter extent and indirectly only. Since reconstruction after the liberation of the country did not simply mean the restoration of the earlier economy, considerable changes took place in the structure of both production and exports as early as 1950. The proportion of machines and equipment in exports increased from 9 to 23 per cent and that of industrial consumer goods from 10 to 20 per cent. At the same time the proportion of foodstuffs and raw materials of the food processing industry as well as of raw materials and semi-finished goods considerably decreased as compared to pre-war exports. An overall picture shows that the improved commodity pattern of exports furthered the transformation of the internal economic structure. This became possible owing to improved trade links with socialist countries, primarily with the Soviet Union.

The proportion of processed industrial articles in exports further increased to 1960 mainly as a result of the large-scale development of the exports of the engineering industry. The porportion of machines and equipment in exports amounted to 38 per cent in 1960 and surpassed that of a number of developed industrial countries. This could be achieved thanks to the joint economic policy of the socialist countries in addition to particular stress being laid on the growth of the engineering industy. The same factors influenced the relative decreased in the exports of industrial consumer goods. The exports of raw materials and semi-finished goods reached the pre-war level. Between 1950 and 1960, as a result of the

changing production pattern the proportion of agricultural products and those of the food processing industry decreased from 39.2 per cent to 20.6 per cent in exports as a whole. This decline was partially due to mistakes committed in the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The period 1960–1970, the decade when the necessary transition to intensive economic development took place, brought about decisive changes in the commodity structure of Hungarian exports. On the one hand, the proportion of products of the engineering industry declined for various reasons, on the other the proportion of industrial consumer goods, materials and semi-finished goods as well as of agricultural produce and products of the food processing industry increased more or less to the same extent. Some fundamental causes of the decline in the exports of the engineering industry deserve attention: (a) in line with the step by step transition to intensive economic development, the requirements of socialist countries regarding technical and technological standards rose; (b) because of parallel industrial development in the fifties, Hungarian foreign trade with socialist countries in products of the engineering industry could only grow to a relatively slighter extent.

The proportion of raw materials and semi-finished goods in Hungarian exports surpassed the pre-war percentage in 1970. This, however, took place against a background of changed home commodity consumption. The proportion of fuel, metals and mineral substances increased within exports of materials from 35 per cent to 60 per cent in 1970. The export of materials and semi-finished goods of the chemical and rubber industry increased at a fast rate as did that of ferrous and aluminium metallurgy. The considerable growth in the proportion of these two commodity groups took place at the expense of industrial raw materials of plant and animal origin. These changes are ascribable to both the fast growth of Hungarian industrial production and to changed demands on world market Thus, the same situation has arisen once again: demand for raw and basic materials of the light industry has been slight all over the world; besides the share of these products has diminished due to declining prices as well.

The Commodity Pattern of Hungarian Imports

Sixty-seven per cent of direct Hungarian imports in 1970 originated in the socialist countries, 29 per cent in developed capitalist countries and 4 per cent in developing countries. There are considerable differences

in the commodity structure of imports deriving from different groups of countries. This is partly due to the economic conditions of various relational groups and partly to special reationships influencing the economic links which have developed between Hungary and the given relational groups. To take one example: it has become usual practice—and a very favourable one from the point of view of Hungary—for imports needs of energy bearers and electric energy to be covered almost entirely from socialist sources. In this respect the Soviet Union is qualified to meet Hungary's needs in the first place, in view of her natural endowments, and immense productive background.

The proportion of materials and semi-finished goods in Hungarian imports from socialist countries was lower than in imports as a whole, though this is the most important group of commodities imported from socialist countries and the basis of the raw material supply of Hungarian industrial production. The proportion of materials and semi-finished goods in Hungarian imports from socialist countries has gone down somewhat and shows an even greater downward trend in respect to agricultural produce and products of the food processing industry. It is characteristic of the latter that their share of imports from socialist countries is far below the average. This is so because the Hungarian economy needs to import agricultural produce and products of the food industry of a kind which are produced by socialist countries to a limited extent only or not at all, since the necessary geographic conditions are absent (protein fodder, citrus fruits, spices and so on).

In 1960 machines and component parts accounted for 31.3 per cent of imports from socialist countries.

This ratio showed a slightly increasing tendency in the sixties and reached 33.5 per cent in 1970. The share of socialist countries in Hungarian machine imports is high since these countries have already reached a high standard in this field and produce many kinds of modern machines and different types of equipment.

The proportion of industrial consumer goods was rather low in both 1960 and 1965 for all possibilities had not been taken advantage of. The fact that the improvement of living standards is considered something of the very first importance made it necessary to expand foreign trade in consumer goods, and with the socialist countries as such; as a result the proportion of consumer goods in imports increased to 13 per cent in 1970.

The commodity structure of imports from developed capitalist countries underwent a favourable change over recent years. In 1960, 70 per cent of imports from developed countries consisted of materials and semi-

finished goods. This high percentage decreased to 55 per cent in 1970 although this ratio shows that Hungary is still dependent on the markets of developed capitalist countries in satisfying needs for raw and basic materials instead of being able to further expand imports of indispensable machines and other equipment needed for intensive economic development.

Between 1960 and 1965 the proportion of machines and other equipment imported from developed capitalist countries increased at a moderate rate but remained unchanged in the main in the past five years—apart from the unusual ratio in 1967. (An essential change in this field—a sweeping increase—took place in 1971.)

The share of industrial consumer goods increased from 3 to 6.4 per cent in the course of ten years. In order to improve supplies to the population at a fast rate almost seven times as great a quantity of consumer goods were purchased in 1970 than ten years earlier. Imports shot ahead in 1970. Imports of agricultural produce and products of the food processing industry from developed capitalist countries grew at a particularly vigorous rate in the first half of the sixties. This was connected with changes in the composition of import requirements: in the first half of the sixties it became necessary to import bread cereals, fodder grain and meat and these purchases, repeated from time to time, increased imports from developed capitalist countries.

The commodity structure of imports from developing countries is more uniform for it mainly consists of raw materials and agricultural produce; however, the proportion of these two significant product groups was reversed in the course of the past ten years: the import of materials amounted to 80 per cent and of agricultural produce to 20 per cent in 1960 whereas the former decreased to 40 per cent while the latter increased to 60 per cent in 1970. This is connected with changes in the composition of Hungarian raw material and agricultural imports as such which were discussed above.

The Commodity Pattern of Hungarian Exports

Sixty-eight per cent of exports are directed to socialist countries, 27 per cent to developed capitalist countries and scarcely more than 5 per cent to developing countries. The proportion in exports of the main commodity groups also differs. It is well-known that the main buyers of Hungarian-made machines are socialist countries while agricultural produce and foodstuffs are highly important export items to the capitalist world. It can

be said that the commodity pattern of Hungarian exports is by and large in conformity with the structure of the most developed industrial countries, on the other hand, the picture is by no means unambiguous if the question is analysed from the point of view of main groups in terms on the type of country involved.

The composition of exports is particularly favourable in the socialist relation as shown by the fact that—in 1970—68.2 per cent of Hungarian exports to socialist countries were made up of processed industrial goods (that is, of products of the engineering and the light industry). The ratio was 67.6 per cent in 1960 and 65.8 per cent in 1965. The very high proportion of 1960 machine exports considerably declined by 1965; this could not even be offset by the dynamically increasing exports of the products of light industry. By 1970, however, the export ratio of machines increased again and the exports of the products of the light industry to socialist countries continued to grow to a slighter degree—in spite of stagnation in 1970.

The share in exports of agricultural produce and products of the food processing industry to socialist countries also shows an upward trend. The export of fruit and vegetables considerably increased in recent years. Although the Soviet Union continues to be the main buyer, the assortment of products of the food processing industry has considerably increased in relation to a number of socialist countries (Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia) in recent years.

The commodity structure of Hungarian exports to developed capitalist countries points to a far lower degree of economic development as shown by the fact that the share of products of the processing industry in the narrow sense was a mere 23 per cent in 1960. This ratio slightly decreased in 1965 and receded to 21 per cent in 1970. In the first half of the sixties the decline was due to the relative decreased of exports of the engineering industry, recently slackening export activity on the part of light industry was responsible. The slow increase in the export of machines to developed capitalist countries between 1960 and 1966 was mainly due to the unsatisfactory improvement of the export capacity of the engineering industry. In recent years a turn for the better took place in this respect, partly as a result of expanding cooperation; the marketability of machines of Hungarian make has improved, this trend however, has not yet become general along the line.

In 1970 the increased satisfaction of home demand produced a considerable decrease in the proportion of industrial consumer goods in Hungarian exports to developed capitalist countries. This is a disadvan-

tageous development for the country can loose its external markets if this tendency continues for some time.

The solution of this problem lies in the creation of commodity stocks by increasing imports, primarily however in the adequate increase of home production. Successful steps were already taken in this direction in 1971 and the share of consumer goods particularly increased in exports to capitalist countries.

In the last decade it became an important aim of both trade and production policy to decrease the share in exports of less processed and prosperity and depression sensitive products to non-socialist countries as well. This endeavour proved successful. The ratio of agricultural produce and of products of the food industry which still amounted to 50 per cent in 1960 decreased to 41 per cent by 1970 in spite of the fact that considerable quantities of bread cereals were exported as a result of the previous year's bumper harvest. The commodity pattern improved in general within this commodity group since—in addition to the wheat exports mentioned above—the proportion of products processed to a higher degree increased within agricultural and food exports to developed capitalist countries. In the ten years from 1960 to 1970 the boom and slump sensitivity of Hungarian exports to developed Western countries has increased more and more.

Finally the Hungarian exports to developing countries should also be mentioned. The large share of industrial consumer goods—mainly products of the light industry—was characteristic of Hungarian exports to developing countries in the first years of the sixties. Products of the processing industry in a narrower sense, including machines and equipment, amounted to 76 per cent of Hungarian exports to developing countries in 1960. This ratio decreased to 69 per cent in 1965 and to 58 per cent in 1970. These changes were mainly ascribable to the decrease in the exports of consumer goods from 41 per cent in 1960 to 22 per cent in 1970.

Demand for industrial consumer goods considerably increased in recent years. This was true of exports to socialist countries as well as of home demand. The proportion exported to both Western countries and developing countries decreased since industrial production could not keep up with the increased demand mentioned above. These changes made it obvious that light industry has to be reorganized; in fact, the reconstruction of this sector was decided on in 1970 in order to meet demand from all three markets (home, socialist countries and non-socialist countries) to a maximum degree.

The decline in Hungarian exports of products of the processing industry

was offset—also in respect to developing countries—by exports of raw materials and semi-finished goods, that is, by highly prosperity and depression sensitive products. This was partly due to the boom of the late sixties. In addition developing countries became greatly interested in semi-finished goods, mainly of ferrous origin and in those produced by the chemical industry. In recent years Hungarian industry has achieved a fairly high productive capacity as regards goods of this kind.

In summing up it can be said that, in the commodity structure of Hungarian exports, deviations between the countries involved are too high. Important problems have yet to be solved in improving the price structure and lessening the sensitivity of exports to prosperity and depression effects.

International Aspects

In investigating the commodity pattern of Hungarian foreign trade the question of the extent to which the composition of commodities is in conformity with what is generally the rule and/or whether the trends of structural changes are in harmony with the main tendencies of world trade also has to be considered. It is obvious that this question touches on problems of the economic structure of the particular country the commodity pattern of the foreign trade of which is under discussion, and is also connected with the economic efficiency of production, and with the situation of big and small countries in world trade. The latter problem refers to the foreign trade structure to be developed in accordance with the given state of the productive forces, taking into account regional, natural, etc. conditions. In Europe there are a number of small countries like Hungary, with more or less identical raw material resources; although a parallel cannot be drawn between them, a comparison can be made, *mutatis mutandis*, bearing in mind that every comparison distorts to a certain extent. If the 1969 figures are scrutinized it appears that there is a marked difference as regards the import commodity structure of Hungary, the socialist countries and Western Europe, that is, the proportion of foods and consumer goods is smaller in Hungarian imports than in that of socialist countries as a whole, and far smaller than in West European imports. This is only natural considering that Hungarian agriculture can meet home demand for agricultural produce and products of the food processing industry besides exporting considerable quantities. The extremely high proportion of Hungarian raw material imports is the consequence of the country's natural endowments. The proportion of products

of the chemical industry is relatively high in Hungarian imports indicating that the demand for chemicals is—due to the forceful development of the chemical industry—very high as compared with economic development as such.

The proportion of the extremely comprehensive group of products which includes semi-finished and finished goods of the light and other industries, black and non-ferrous metals, etc. is relatively slight in Hungarian imports. International cooperation is not satisfactory as yet, and relatively large reserves are available of these products, allowing for considerable future expansion.

The greatest difference in the export structure appears to be in the share of the food processing industry and food as such. It is obvious that, with regard to Hungarian conditions, the share of exports of this group of products is considerably larger than that of the socialist countries as a whole, or in the combined exports of Western Europe.

The proportion of raw materials and energy bearers in Hungarian exports is slight; it is somewhat higher in West European exports and highest in the combined exports of socialist countries. These figures truly reflect natural conditions. On the other hand, the relatively high percentage of products of the engineering industry in Hungarian exports is striking (in spite of a drop back since 1960).

Below average foreign trade in food and consumer goods on the one hand, and the large-scale increase of products of the chemical and the engineering industry in international trade, on the other, is a general tendency that has manifested itself throughout the world in the past 15 to 20 years. Thus, the structure of world trade changes to the advantage of machines and chemicals. This tendency is also observable in Hungarian foreign trade if a longer period is under review.

Yet, if a comparison is made between countries of about equal size and with more or less identical raw material resources, the question of the commodity structure—a perpetually timely question—merges, on a narrower range though, in respect to both imports and exports. As a result of their situation small countries have to overcome more difficulties, for many of them—Hungary included—have embarked on the path to industrialization rather late, their possibilities of development are limited, intellectual reserves are more restricted and the funds they can allocate for scientific research are far smaller, than is the case with, say, the Soviet Union or the United States. These smaller countries must to a large extent rely on the international division of labour, the commodity structure of their foreign trade must continuously be adapted to the permanently changing inter-

Table 3

Composition of exports and imports in 1968 (in percentages)

Main commodity groups Breakdown by SITC sections	Austria		Belgium and Luxemburg		Denmark		Netherlands		Switzerland		Sweden		Hungary	
	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.
Foodstuff and livestock	4.5	9.1	7.1	10.7	38.5	8.3	22.7	12.2	4.0	11.1	2.3	9.6	17.6	7.6
Beverages and tobacco	0.2	1.2	0.7	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.3	1.3	1.6	2.2	0.0	1.4	2.8	1.2
Inedible raw materials (excepting mineral fuels)	10.9	8.9	5.1	13.6	7.2	7.7	7.5	9.8	2.4	5.9	21.7	5.9	3.7	16.1
Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	3.0	7.5	3.1	9.5	1.5	11.6	8.0	10.1	0.2	6.7	1.3	12.3	1.7	9.7
Animal and vegetable oils and fats	0.0	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.9	0.3	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.6
Chemicals	6.3	10.4	7.8	7.3	7.3	9.3	13.3	8.1	20.5	10.1	4.0	9.2	6.9	9.7
Industrial products classified by basic material	39.3	22.2	47.0	26.8	9.6	24.1	18.8	21.9	16.5	22.9	28.2	21.7	14.9	19.7
Machinery and transport equipment	21.6	29.8	19.3	22.6	23.4	27.8	20.0	24.2	30.7	26.1	36.8	28.0	35.7	30.3
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	14.2	10.0	7.9	7.2	9.6	8.8	6.5	10.1	23.3	14.1	4.9	11.4	16.0	4.8
Non-classifiable commodities and transactions	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.9	1.3	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.3

Source: *International Statistical Yearbook*, Central Statistical Office, 1970. Data on Hungary were specially compiled from SITC as well.

national commodity pattern, flexible production must be carried on which is able to adapt itself to changes, moreover, their resources must be employed in a way that ensures that new products are competitive.

Developed small countries apparently try to meet the exigencies of the times particularly in those industries in which conditions prevailing in the country prove as well as in industries which have developed at about the same time at home and on a world scale. (The breakdown of exports and imports of small West European countries is shown on Table 3.)

It is striking that industries have developed in small countries in which they are competitive on a world scale. Their natural conditions indicate that they ought to concentrate on certain industries or groups of products and their deliberate industrial development policy also centres on the exploitation of given advantages. A case in point is the telecommunications industry of the Netherlands. From January to October 1971 the export of the electronic and instrument industry amounted to 942 million Dutch florins as against exports worth 692 millions during the same period of the previous year. Many more examples could be cited, for example, the Swedish engineering industry, typically of a "pace-making" character, as well as Switzerland's precision engineering industry. The foreign trade structure of Denmark deserves special mention: the country's agriculture and food processing industry continue to play a considerable role in the national income and the balance of payments; the proportion of the above amounts to 32–34 per cent in exports as a whole. Within the latter the export of products of animal origin is of primary importance, pork and bacon exports amounted to 48–50 per cent of exports deriving from animal husbandry. The main import items of Denmark are bread cereals, fodder, fertilizers and tractors. Its industry, tending to specialization, develops at a fast rate. The growth of the engineering industry as well as technical development concentrate on a few industries only e.g. on the production of agricultural, food processing and refrigerating equipment.

The development of the production of "pace-making" industries and commodity groups is a characteristic feature of small countries. This affects both the exports and the imports structure of the country. In the case of small countries efficient production can only be achieved in this way. These "pace-making" groups of commodities are, of course, export orientated and have to develop specialized productive methods, this, however, generally goes together with the marked increase in the imports of the products. In the case of small countries—Hungary included—restricted but specialized production with preference given to "pace-making" industries produces a foreign trade sensitivity which some countries, e.g.

Greece, Austria and Switzerland, try to balance by services. Joining in the international division of labour to a greater extent may help small countries to overcome production problems; this is perhaps the most efficient means to bring about a viable and rational commodity pattern at present.

Hungary's present economic structure is inseparable from the country's economic development. Joining the currents of the world economy only became possible as a result of the growth of the socialist world economy; the opportunity is now present for the sort of specialization other small countries have embarked on earlier. Traditional ways of production, that evolved through history, could be further developed to a limited extent only; the conditions of technical progress as required by the international market must be fought for now. Competition in foreign trade requires an export structure which is fully in conformity with Hungarian expectations. Twenty years ago the Netherlands, Ireland and the South European states concentrated on the food processing industry and on agriculture. The chemical industry of Austria was insignificant, Finland's timber and paper exports and Sweden's steel exports owe their existence to natural resources. In twenty years the production of these countries became specialized and continues to adapt itself to the trends governed by international trade since then.

External economic relations have expanded Hungary's economic borders and—like it or not—they compel the economy to become part of the international division of labour. This must be done, but in such a way that exports pay for imports, since international services cannot make up for gaps in the trade balance due to commodity imports. The Complex Programme provides favourable conditions for this country in establishing specialization in accordance with the requirements of the socialist market—the major factor in Hungarian foreign trade. Machine exports to the Soviet Union are particularly important for Hungary: the influence it exerted on the transformation of the country's economic structure manifested itself in the first year of the third Five Year Plan. Hungarian motor-coach exports, for example, increased eight-fold in the third Five Year Plan period and further increased by 7 per cent in 1971. As a result the export of motor-coaches which made up 3 per cent of machine exports as a whole in 1965, amounted to 19.5 per cent in 1970. Important changes took place in the production of equipment for the chemical industry which increased by 104 per cent and in the production of equipment for the food processing industries which grew by 63 per cent in the third Five Year Plan. The computer programme also influences the transformation of the commodity structure. The export of component parts of computers

increased four-fold from 1970 to 1971 and further considerable changes are expected in this field in the period of the fourth Five Year Plan. Although economic agreements concluded with socialist states have an impact on the commodity structure, the main point is to develop those groups of commodities which can be sold without difficulty and whose production is economically efficient. This is required by today's internal development and the international market.

To sum up, it can be said that the most important task ahead is to catch up with the up-to-date requirements of markets in both socialist and developed capitalist countries. The development and production of the Hungarian economy must be directed and influenced in such a way that the products turned out should be in demand, permanently and to an increasing extent. Production should be able to adapt itself to the requirements of markets as regards technical indices, quantity as well as quality and finish and marketing should be more efficient. Although all this is elicited by the need to adapt to the requirements of the international market these aims also are in conformity with the government's economic policy regarding home consumption, since the requirements of such consumption are growing in a measure which surpasses the productive capacity of production. They are developing in accordance with world market tendencies and no difference can be made between the satisfaction of domestic and export demands.

Efficient and Marketable Commodity Structure

A basic condition of the economic efficiency of foreign trade is the economical scale of production; hence, we must advance towards specialization and concentrate the available resources on certain branches within one or another main sector.

It is therefore advisable to meet needs by imports in those fields in which the insufficient scale of production makes efficient production impossible; in other words: the labour input of the exported products must be less than the domestic production costs of the exchanged import commodities would amount to.

Comparative advantages can be made most of through foreign trade; hence, it partly depends upon the standard of foreign trade practices how and to what extent foreign trade enterprises take advantage of the terms of trade of international exchange and to what degree they are able to increase efficiency not only from the point of view of the enterprises

but also that of the economy as such. However, exploiting changes in export and import prices demands flexible production. The adequate co-ordination of production and the commodity pattern of foreign trade allows one to reach almost optimum economic advantages by means of the international division of labour.

The main problem of the Hungarian export structure derives from the fact that the product patterns of various special provinces of the economy are rather broad as compared to the country's resources. This refers to the engineering industry in the first place. The aim therefore is to increase the efficiency of production in these fields not only by increasing output but also by improving the efficiency of manufacturing technology.

The Hungarian economy must concentrate on those fields of production in which international technical standards can be achieved, ensuring diversification within a narrower scope, so that every variant and size within certain type of commodity can be offered to meet any sort of demand.

In a more distant future it will become necessary to select between fields of production. Every one where development comes up against absolute barriers either for lack of research or sufficient experience, in view of the market situation or because basic materials and semi-finished goods are in short supply must be reduced and resources must be directed to areas where absolute limitng factors do not exist except for investment problems.

At present, however, production has grown to considerable proportions so that a small country cannot embark unaided on the development of a certain branch and on large-scale production. Co-operation in production can greatly further both specialization in the commodity structure and concentration. Specialization agreements reached with socialist states and co-operation agreements concluded between Hungarian enterprises and capitalist firms are only the first steps along this road. To mention but a few of the well-known advantages of joint undertakings: prime costs decrease as a result of optimum plant size and advanced technology investment costs are divided between the partners and the time needed for putting the new plant into operation shortens as a result of common efforts. Relying on common development one can, to a greater extent, take advantage of our intellectual resources and experiences. Instead of extensive industrial development, Hungary must increasingly have recourse to intensive development.

The finish and workmanship of Hungarian products has to be improved not only because, in the engineering industry, demand tends towards

automated machines—single-purpose machines to use a technical term—and complex equipment, but also because the price of these kinds of machines shows a tendency to increase while the price of basic materials and simple products remains unchanged or rises at a slower rate. This refers not only to the engineering industry but, also to agricultural produce, articles of the food processing industry and to other products as well. Only in this way can Hungarian export products become marketable not only on certain traditional markets but on more exacting ones as well. The marketability of articles of Hungarian make is an increasingly urgent requirement depending upon the technical standard and improved quality of our products. As a preliminary condition export-mindedness has to become general in both production and foreign trade instead of the import-mindedness prevailing today.

With regard to the aforesaid it seems expedient to change production trends and methods in the following way:

— A basic requirement is to develop long-term economic policy on the basis of given conditions and resources as well as taking into account economic efficiency in such a way that it should serve as a yardstick not only when it comes to deciding plans and problems of the economy but that it also be instrumental when enterprises want to settle their own problems, particularly in evaluating their long-term objectives.

— Instead of an economic policy based on group interests of single industries a uniform economic conception has to be worked out in respect to development trends aiming at the transformation of the commodity structure of both production and foreign trade, so that plants of major industries (mainly of the engineering industry) should turn out larger series, or a greater volume of fewer commodity groups, and do so on a higher technical standard than at present. In this way the Hungarian economy will be able to increase exports of a higher technical standard to CMEA and developing countries, and supply capitalist markets with marketable industrial goods.

— Small and medium-sized plants should produce articles of sound craftmanship, though not only labour exacting articles but mainly products which call for intellectual work, for exacting markets.

— The present period—a transitional one from the point of view of technical development—must be made the most of in order to catch up with world standards in certain industries and types of agriculture given priority; resources must therefore be concentrated on those fields of production where differences in technical standards are not unmanageable; however, those fields have to be deliberately reduced in which technical

differences are very great and the required standards cannot be reached even through co-operation or the acquisition of licences.

— The long-term development of Hungarian raw material production (with the exception of bauxite and oil) seems inexpedient because of limited natural resources on the one hand, and high transport costs of voluminous goods as well as high investment needs, on the other.

The following guiding principles should be taken into account in respect to the transformation of the commodity structure of single industries.

Within selective industrial development particular stress should be laid upon the industries enumerated below, which should develop at a rate far above the average:

— tool engineering,

— professional telecommunication techniques (e.g. the production of acoustic equipment, special sound and video-recorders),

— agricultural machines and machines for the food processing industry,

— certain fields in computers and management techniques,

— the manufacture of medical, telecommunication, geodetical and geophysical instruments,

— health appliances and equipment as well as equipment for hospitals and surgeries,

— illuminants (Tungsram type lamps, etc.),

— the pharmaceutical industry (including veterinary medicaments),

— special sections of the chemical industry,

— wearing apparel (after considerable qualitative improvement),

— shoe and leather industry (after considerable qualitative improvement and in a selective way),

— certain special products of the food processing industry, meat products in the first place.

Soil and temperature conditions, the number of hours of sunlight as well as the rainfall in Hungary allow the country to produce:

— protein fodder (instead of basic materials of the food processing industry rich in carbohydrates),

— fruit and vegetables, further

— seed grains of high germinative value.

Those branches of production which can satisfy home needs efficiently and turn out large quantities of exportable products at the same time, must be chosen by a selective industrial and agricultural policy. The country's resources in respect to means of production, labour and money are scarce and can be increased to a limited extent only even in the long

term. For this reason Hungary has to select possibilities for development on the basis of criteria which approximate economically efficient foreign trade in various ways. The criteria forming the basis of selection change according to the size of countries, further, from country to country according to the standard of economic development. Economic efficiency is the main criterion of the selection as regards both production development and trade development policy. The decrees of the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the guide-lines of the fourth Five Year Plan and decisions of the government have placed selective industrial development at the centre of industrial policy. However, selective industrial development is the equivalent of an export orientated trend of development. Requirements can only be met out of own resources where sound conditions prevail. In other cases the smooth supply of the home market is provided for by relying on the international division of labour. Imports can be offset by a modern product structure which comes into being as a result of selective export orientated development. Just because of scarce resources Hungary will, in the future even more than hitherto, have to aim for economic and political objectives by the smallest possible expenditure. This aim includes the need to develop and modify both the production pattern and the commodity structure of foreign trade with a view to economic efficiency. This will be accompained by the purposeful regrouping of the country's resources.

THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

A Failure of Conventional Economics

by

THOMAS BALOGH

Some ten or so years ago most of the social scientists—but especially economists—thought that at last they had found the philosopher's stone, the perfect remedy. Quantification was the cry. Social studies—but especially economics—had at last become a real science. Mathematical equations—as many as there were unknowns—were to capture reality and enable objective "positive" advice to political leaders. The great blemishes of the capitalist system, unemployment and stagnation, would for ever be banished.[1] The consumption function, the accelerator, the Okun "law" on the relation of income to employment, the Phillips curve, linear programming and what have you, at last raised the economist to the level of the physicist indeed of the cybernetician.[2] A good dozen sterling and three dollar crises later, after the Vietnam war, who would make such brashly rash claims? Where is Bretton Woods and where are its defenders? There is hardly a meeting of the profession where the President of the American Economic Association, of the Econometric Society, of the British Association, do not bewail the useless mass of the games (or are they play-therapy) economists trifle with (though returned to the old groves they continue—with profit—to do what they condemned). I shall try to analyse much the most important of the problems now facing the Western world: inflation, from this viewpoint: unless we are able to solve it, our progress is uncertain and the danger to the social fabric remains acute. Yet without a clear analysis of the reasons for our discontent we are unable to tackle it.

Text of an address delivered at Karl Marx University of Economics, Budapest, May 17, 1973.

[1] Intelligence would also be "scientifically" tested and thus chancy recruitment eliminated. The theory of games would rigorously solve the mystery of warfare, of strategy and of optimal weapon-systems.

[2] See, e.g., Paul Samuelson's Stamp Lecture given at the London School of Economics.

The Unscientific "Science" of Harmony

The history of economic "science" is a tale of evasions; of reality, of attempts to derive general rules from a few untested assumptions which, however, permit determinate counsels to be given to policy-makers. In order to be able to do so, conventional economics "solved" the problem of crises by assuming them away. This was done on the plea of eliminating the "veil" of money and analysing a system which was limited to the production and exchange of a specific number of goods (usually two: one producer or capital, and one consumer good), which would be created by two, and at most four, factors of production: capital and labour, with land and entrepreneurship possibly slipped in later. It was also assumed that, as the demand and production of either product increased, so did its cost and price. Decreasing costs, advantages of large-scale production so typical for modern industry were excluded (or brought in separately). Thus a continuous balance could be secured.

This dominant "scientific" convention, dating back to the 1870s and still going strong in pre-Second-World-War days, considered the labour market to be very much as any other market; as, say, that for turnips. The behaviour, both of the employer and employee, was not studied in an actual historical and traditional setting and framework; it was analysed within a theoretical construction, in which both employers and employees were assumed to act in a "perfect" market, that is, a market which neither party could deliberately influence. This means that, if "real" wages were to rise above the "real" productivity of the worker (that is "his" marginal product), he would be dismissed, as his continued employment would diminish profits.

Unemployment, then, was the result of undue "interferences" with the natural forces in such markets. In the absence of such unnatural meddling, the economic system would automatically return to full employment. Demand, according to "Say's Law" creates its own supply, and supply its own demand. Dirigism, Government intervention or "interference", such as public works or Budget deficits, would only intensify the imbalance and depression. This was the thesis defended by Chicago and the London School of Economics in the 1930s. This still remains the attitude of a number of "Liberals" who by advocating shop-level bargaining unwittingly exaggerate the threat of cost-inflation.

But goods do not in fact exchange against goods. Somehow money and monetary institutions had to be allowed for, had to be incorporated into the schemes. Thus was born the quantity theory of money whose

revival has caused so much mischief lately. While *relative* prices—that is the exchange rates between goods—and the real remuneration of capital and labour, were all determined by "real" factors—that is technical and physical factors which were assumed to be relatively slow changing (except for harvests)—*money* prices and incomes depended on the quantity of money in existence. Provided "money" remained "neutral" all was well. Only fiscal mismanagement, such as Budget deficits or inflationary Central Bank policy (possible its consequence), could upset the harmony of the system under which everyone got his deserts.

The Keynesian Revolution and Its Limitations

It was these imbecilities which were, for a time, successfully attacked by Keynes. He pointed out that the market for labour was by no means like any other market. It is an appreciable part of the economic system itself, and changes in it, provided they are general, will affect the economic system as a whole, especially if, as is most likely in an oligopolistic type of economy, in an economy of few producers in each branch, and some dominating the rest, a movement of wages, is with a certain lag or perhaps even without a lag, followed by a change in prices and therefore in other incomes. Keynes, however, unlike his closest collaborator's, Mrs .Robinson's, contemporary essay[1] eschewed the discussion of this aspect of the problem: he was writing in a period of deep depression and wanted to concentrate on showing that involuntary unemployment could persist.

The fury of the counter-attack on Keynes showed that he had touched on a raw point at the innermost centre of the intellectual dishonesty of his conventional adversaries. It was followed by desperate efforts, culminating, among other, in the attempt to show that it was not the inherent defects of price mechanism, but the rigidity of prices, and especially of wages, which caused the trouble, and that eventually monetary forces would end the slump. The most ridiculous of these efforts was the argument that the increase in value of money and monetary assets in real terms would induce an increase in spending (the Pigou effect).

The Keynesian "revolution", however, was limited in breadth, and, especially after its formalization, in the main, deeply conservative in character. Its adherents believed that the economic problem could be solved not indeed by drastic structural upheaval but by simple painless functional reform, by adding new gadgets—mainly in the monetary and

[1] *Essays in the Theory of Employment.* London, 1936.

fiscal field to a basically unchanged system. Budgetary management and changes in the long-term rate of interest would do it all. Its *political success* was due partly to the increasing revulsion felt in the 1930s against the neo-classical dogma, and much more because its proposed remedies seemed easy; yet it provoked a paroxysm of rage among a majority of conventional *economists*, who asserted that, given flexibility of wages and prices, full employment and progress would automatically be maintained by the individualist private enterprise system. The Keynesian revolution was a revolution only in the sense that it asserted that no balancing mechanism existed which worked automatically and that this mechanism had to be provided by intelligent intervention on the part of the central banks in the monetary sphere and by the government through budgetary policy; that is, with indirect global measures, which did not necessitate direct controls or direct positive state intervention, far less state ownership. The liberal Keynesians (and, apart from Mrs. Robinson, there were few Keynesians who did not incline towards liberalism and, apart from the need for global management, did not basically subscribe to the neo-classical approach) dismissed the threat of inflation. The case of those who thought that here was a new and vitally critical problem, the problem of reconciling full employment and stability, was said to be non-proven. Year after year of failure with the Keynesian attempt to achieve harmonious balance on the tight rope, managing demand so as to continue full employment and stability,[1] did not make any difference. Indeed instead of leading to a fundamental reconsideration it resulted in a resuscitation of the most primitive type of quantity theory.

Full Employment

The achievement of full employment since the Second World War has in my opinion wrought fundamental changes in the functioning of the social, and, therefore the economic system. Many, if not most other advances were, if not a direct consequence, at least conditioned by it. The British post-war level of employment was quite dramatically different from previous history. It was different not only from the misery and indignity of the inter-war period when 10 per cent unemployment was the "norm" in Britain and the horrible level of 20 per cent was often passed, but also from the era of vulgar Edwardian display and luxury to which

[1] See, e.g., Mr. Worswick's and my own memoranda to the so-called Cohen Committee. *Oxford Economic Papers*, June 1958.

are turned yearningly nostalgic eyes of plate-glass university doctorates, nurtured on state grants. Those were in reality days of stagnant production and productivity, and falling real wages. Unemployment twice rose above 6 per cent and never fell below 3 per cent. The contrast between the inter-war and post-war period in the United States, Germany, France is even more startling.

Full employment not only makes domestic help scarce and thus alters the way of life, the relationship between classes, but it generally removes the need for servility. It changes the balance of forces in the economy. This is its outstanding revolutionary consequence. Yet it is precisely this very fundamental change in class relationship which tends to undermine progressive governments, because it is the main cause of the continuous rise in costs and prices which offends the majority, which, in fact, benefits most from the new achievement. Unless the Western countries realize and accept these profound social, economic and political consequences of full employment, their economic problems will prove as difficult to solve and the future of governments pledged to full employment as vulnerable as in the past. A new approach is as urgently needed as it is bitterly resisted. Full employment, in order to be meaningful politically and sociologically, must imply a situation in which people know that if they lose a job they will, with but little delay, be able to regain employment; though, of course, in some localities and occupations, a certain degree of geographical movement and re-training might be needed, but these can then be provided without hardship. The essentially non-economic nature of the concept is clearly demonstrated by those economists who wish to employ the definition of full employment to further their political ends, by limiting the concept to those situations (of severe unemployment perhaps) in which price stability is maintained automatically, without "artificial" (deliberate) measures. It is a situation in which people feel wanted, needed, and members of a dynamically advancing community; a community in which material resources are accumulating, for whatever purposes the community in the end decides to use them, be it for private consumption, be it for public consumption, be it for consumption investment, such as houses, such as amenities, be it for productive investment, giving one more earnest of a yet better and easier life later on.

Production thus has another aspect which has been disregarded even by some eminent authors who, like Galbraith, otherwise have evinced great sensitivity for the social implications of economic policies. Human dignity and satisfaction are not compatible with the lack of employment even if the anguish of insecurity and the fear of penury have been eliminated

by social services. The knowledge that a man fulfils a role in the community, that he has a positive function to perform, is surely in itself of great importance, which no system of social security, on however lavish a scale, will provide. The individual must know that he is needed and that as he grows more mature he is likely to be given increasing scope and eventually dignity in old age. A feeling of optimism with a conviction that the trend is upwards can make up for much hardship and lack of satisfaction in the present. And, above all, it will be needed to induce a feeling of interdependence, the essential precondition of true, willing responsibility.

Full employment is, then, not merely a means to higher production and faster expansion. It is also an aim in itself, through its implication on social relation—the end of the dominance of men over men, the destruction of the master-servant relation. It is the greatest engine for the attainment by all of human dignity and of equality, and not merely in respect of incomes and consumption, important as these may be. Indeed much of the improvement of the share of salaries and wages in the national income since before the war comes from the source. Even more important, however, was its impact through a fundamental change in the status of the non-privileged individuals in the community, those who are not managers or owners. Yet it is this total change in general welfare which is completely neglected in the pure "economic" calculus, in the crude figures of "growth". It is in terms of human dignity, the end of fear of unemployment and penury and misery, that we must count its blessings. And if there are abuses on the part of a tiny minority of those benefited, that is a price which we should be prepared to pay. It is not a question of ten guilty persons escaping in order that one innocent should not suffer. The orders of magnitude are the other way round.

What is involved here is nothing less than the most basic problem in economics, the relationship between ends and means. Nevertheless the problem of full employment is the most fundamentally misunderstood problem. Not only have we in the last decade or more, come to take it for granted, despite the traumatic struggles of the inter-war period, but a majority of the people have deliberately shut their eyes to its vital social and economic consequences. Thus the achievement of full employment necessitates a complete reconsideration of our attitude to economic and social policy, a rethinking of social institutions and obligations and responsibilities both for individuals and groups. Capitalist or mixed economics need a new *"contrat social"*, a deliberate agreement on economic and social policy.

For more than a generation, the whole world—Communist, anti-Communist and uncommitted—has been engaged in a vain struggle to combine internal stability, the avoidance of accelerated price rises, full employment and sustained material expansion. They have failed. Their failure was due either to the fight against rising prices causing unemployment beyond what was politically acceptable, or to the measures mitigating unemployment being accompanied by such cost explosion as to lift prices intolerably. Since 1969 or so most countries, but especially the United States and the United Kingdom, have suffered from both simultaneously.

The managed economic system of the post-war period has indeed proved far more successful than nineteenth century capitalism, both in securing material progress and maintaining employment; but throughout this period all Western or Capitalist or mixed countries suffered from an incessant increase in prices. This in the West undermined governments and threatens social stability. I hold in particular that Britain's success in solving the problem of her international competitiveness depends on making effective a sense of individual and group responsibility. The law of the market, that is the law of the strong based on sheer bargaining power can only lead to a bitter confrontation. This responsibility must manifest itself in a far more conscious consensus—about policies on productivity, income distribution and the management and expansion of the public sector, especially of the social services, than has hitherto been admitted, not to say achieved.

The reason for this failure has been the refusal to analyse deep-seated structural changes in the economy and their effect on its functioning. This basic problem has been caused by the massive concentration of economic power through which the consumer and prices are both manipulated by a few large-scale enterprises while, at the same time, a similar concentration of power has taken place in the labour market through the rise of powerful unions.

I assert that this consensus is impossible if a far greater sense of what it is now fashionable to call "participation", but which I would prefer to term a relaxed consciousness of steadily advancing social justice and accountability, is not created. The Keynesian "revolution" in economic thought has proved as broken a reed in helping to attain a steady dynamism in our economy as the elegant neo-classical structure of thought it overcame. The arrogant belief based on Say's *Law of Markets*, denying the possibility

of unemployment, became the fundamental professional test for economists before 1933, despite the regular recurrence of slumps. It proved a Jack o' Lantern which led us fatuously into the avoidable catastrophe of the Great Depression, the victory of Hitler and the Second World War. Liberal Keynesian growthmanship did achieve accelerated and sustained growth. But through the social tensions, which were caused by its failure to secure a sense of justice, it undermined its own success through escalating demands for higher money income in a reversion to the *bellum omnium contra omnes*.

Western economic calculus cannot deal with this fundamental aspect of its own problem: and this in the main is owing to two reasons. Firstly, an increase of output needs to be measured by some conventional standard, based on the prices of some base period, to give comparable total values to the goods and services produced. But this common measure is itself determined by the distribution of income and does not take into account changes in that distribution. Thus it cannot measure the welfare or the happiness of the community. An acceleration of the expansion of the national income will not bring an unquestioned satisfaction if it is stimulated mainly by the artifical creation of new needs rather than a balanced advance on a broad social front. Obsolescence imposed by psychological manipulation creates a sense of frustration. A tendency towards more inequality and a relative reduction in collective consumption, and an increase in conspicuous waste creates its own undoing. The increase in productive power, instead of being allocated to increased leisure, increased education and increased general amenity, without which leisure cannot be enjoyed, might be concentrated on creating new individual material needs, creating discontent in order that the supply of these needs should provide outlets for new enterprise.

Collective needs, because they demand collective resources, are discouraged, and intense propaganda is waged against "mollycoddling" through better schools, hospitals and libraries, whose support demands high tax revenue. The richer and the more successful the system, as we see it in America, the greater the psychological malaise. This is the reverse of the coin of material success without acceptable social content. Purposive education only, towards a less competitive, less materialistically conditioned state of existence, and more compassion, can bring real fulfilment. The dialogue between the negative personal rights of the individual and the needs of the community could then at last be resolved in a general economic ease of living, which would no longer depend on uncertainly and dissatisfaction for its dynamism.

In the second place liberal Keynesian growthmanship tends to undermine

itself by its failure to eliminate dissatisfaction and uncertainty; hence its inability to reunite stability and dynamism. The change in the balance of social power, unaccompanied by a change in social attitudes and institutions, undermines its own success by leading to inflation.

The consequences

Those liberal Keynesians who thought that the basic economic problems had already been solved neglected this issue. Through its victory, therefore, the new thought provoked a double reaction, fatal to stable progress. On the one hand there are the ardent liberal conservatives who trust the bliss of automatic balance through a slight increase in unemployment. They are enthusiastic votaries in this queer new form of liberalism. These hopes, as I shall demonstrate, are not founded on experience. Consequently the proponents of this view do not, in my opinion, take into due account the awful risk of stopping expansion altogether and bringing on a pre-war type of self-cumulating depression. The repeated monetary crises and the self-defeating orthodox measures adopted to cope with them emphasize this danger.

Hardly less disturbing is to see the rise on the Left, and especially among trade unions, of a powerful group which demands on the one hand planning and the control of prices as well as the maintenance of full employment, while raucously asserting their faith in restricted collective bargaining, in a free for all in the labour market. They do not even try to reconcile their demand for planning and deliberately controlling all other phases of national life with their surprising new enthusiasm for the law of the jungle in the matter of wages. They refuse to analyse the experience of the past twenty-five years, which shows not only that industrial action unaided by state intervention cannot over good years and bad increase the share of wages, but moreover that it will lead to the disadvantage of the poor, the defenceless, the weak. Thus they repudiate all efforts to adapt the existing socio-economic system to the new conditions.

The grave danger is that the political leaders, faced with the negativism of the Left, will be driven to an at least partial acceptance of the false nostrum of the laissez-faire orthodoxy for fear of being outflanked in the middle ground of the electorate. A new approach is clearly in order: it must be based on a clear realization of the impact of full employment or socio-economic, class, relations.

The trade union structure as it evolved in Western countries was the response of the working class to the dominance of employers, a dominance due partly to the enormous increase in the supply of labour during the nineteenth century, and partly to the beginnings of the concentration of economic power into ever fewer hands on the employers' side. Consequently trade unions have developed segmentarily in skilled occupations, in which a smallish number of people could, by cooperation, exert an appreciable bargaining force. The rise of the general unions for the less skilled, and even more of the general mass unions in specialized industries, came very much later. Unions were very numerous. It was in Britain mainly among those of the general workers and labourers and less skilled workers that amalgamations became more rapid so as to evolve powerful large unions such as the Transport and General Workers, the General and Municipal Workers, and also the Engineering Union. In Germany and America their lawful expansion was postponed by legislation or by the courts. Hence a much more homogeneous development towards industrial unionism and centralization took place—except in the U.S. in the specialized skilled fields especially in building and construction where the organization is similar to the British.

While the number of trade unions has been considerably reduced, there are still a large number in existence in Britain and within each factory a number coexist. For bargaining purposes in some industries, special organs of cooperation—such as the confederations—have been established. Nevertheless both the interest and the bargaining tactics of the unions has often clashed. This is shown by numerous demarcation disputes and strikes. One of the main reasons for the uncoordinated wage pressure which has been forcing up costs was unquestionably the continuing lack of cohesion of the unions. In this Britain differs woefully from many countries.

The Trade Union Congress, unlike some parallel organizations on the Continent, is a looseish confederation, whose authority is severely limited by the basic autonomy of the unions themselves. While all countries suffered from cost inflation, Britain suffered most. Thus the relative international competitive weakness of Britain can be retraced to sociological-historical causes beyond the comprehension of orthodox neo-classical economics.

Britain's relative weakness is exasperated by the fact that union leadership itself has been weakened with the increase in militancy and the power of the shop stewards and conveners in a number of industries. Thus, while economic policy and successful management of the economic system and the increase in the quality of life, and the eradication of pockets of poverty would all need

a greater coordination and concentration, the trends in the trade union organization have been, on the whole, if anything in the opposite direction. The "new" conventional approach in Britain[1] ignoring the disastrous potential economic consequences, advocates plant—that is further going decentralization of—bargaining. In present conditions, without overall co-ordination, any further development in this direction would reinforce the strength of the basic factors, making for inflationary leap-frogging, and thus aggravate the fundamental maladjustment in Britain. Far from being the protagonists of the oppressed, trade unions have become a strong vested interest represented in, indeed a powerful—and on occasion dominant—influence on, the decision-making machinery of the state. Politically this has most harmful results as a growing number of people especially the weak and the poor, the housewife and the pensioner feel the impact of their demands.

It was this powerfully concentrated yet largely unconcerted force which was liberated from the dread of poverty and unemployment by the post-war development of the welfare state and upward thrust of economic activity. Nor can it be said that the success-story of post-Second-World-War economic management was unconnected with this increasingly effective insistence of the organized working class. They would even in the absence of the Keynesian revolution provide for the expansion of demand needed for the maintenance of full employment. The fact that Keynesian views of managing demand became accepted was a seal on the success of their activity—and at the same time the reason for their ultimate failure to achieve balance.

The New Instability

The fatal snag in the new conventional wisdom was, however, that hardly had these neo-Keynesian claims been made about the possibility of the scientific management of the economy when they were rudely controverted by events. So long as this ineluctable fact is ignored, our emergence from the consequent general instability—not restricted to this country—is uncertain. In an affluent society, global—predominantly fiscal but also monetary—controls, such as were envisaged by the Keynesians, seem to work very imperfectly. Violent variations in savings through consumer credit or repayment, the use of vast idle money reserves, immense accumulations of durable consumer possessions, these can offset—and more than offset—changes in the budget, in taxation, or in monetary policy. Expansionary policy, budget deficits, and the pumping of purchasing power into the economy can be

[1] As characterized e.g. by the Donovan Report on Trade Unions.

offset by increased saving, increased repayment of debt due to apprehensions, however ill-informed. The Gadarene might be proved right.

On the other hand, the increase in interest charges, provided they are general, could—like other costs—be offset against taxes or might be shifted on to the consumer. There is no God-ordained rate at which money will be used. Money can act only through *expenditure*, and money and expenditure are mainly connected through the rate of interest—though general ease on the money market might directly stimulate increased speculation or productive or consumption outlay. Earlier views presumed that once demand fell, the least successful firms would suffer losses and some would go bankrupt. This world discourage investment, especially in stocks, and bring forth a further decline in demand. With increasing unemployment, consumption would also fall. If, on previous occasions, experience has shown that the process will not be counteracted by conscious policy measures or that they would be ineffective, anticipation would sharpen the impact. A cumulative expansion or decline would set in. The booms and slumps of the 150 years before the Second World War represented exactly this sort of basic instability.

Since the Second World War, this sequence, as we have seen, has no longer been the main economic problem. The new problem, however, the problem of ever increasing incomes and demand under the new politico-economic conditions, is especially difficult, if not impossible, to deal with by the methods proposed by the Keynesians. Demand has never actually fallen. All fully industrialized countries have experienced, however, a relentless increase in prices; this has continued even in periods of (relatively) increased unemployment.

This violent contrast of post-Second-World-War especially with inter-war and even with the pre-First-World-War experience has been attributed to the wisdom acquired at such cost in the 1930s, and to the greater sophistication in economic analysis and policy. I personally doubt that it was the improvement in human wisdom that explains the change in climate. The behaviour of the political "experts" of the Nixon administration in his first two years of office (or of de Gaulle's government) shows how superficial the change has remained. Nor do I believe that the struggles against "inflation" can be resolved as a problem of excess demand.

The post-war performance can be mainly explained—especially in the U.S.—by the increase in the budget, and in government expenditure, both in absolute terms and in terms of the national income. This, in turn, was to a considerable extent due to the increase in defence and war expenditure which could not be resisted even by the troglodytes of the Right. For the rest, voters, and even those who in many countries are excluded from effective

voting, became accustomed to and demanded the maintenance of employment and an increase of income. *It was political pressure rather than intellectual achievement that secured the favourable background for employment and expansion.* The fact that we have fallen into the trap of continuous inflation, which has not yielded to the policy measures adopted, shows the extent of intellectual failure.

Much the most important change working in this same direction, however, has been the change in the structure of industry, which has contrasted sharply with the much more slowly responding evolution of the pattern of trade unionism. It is this contrasting development which is the most important explanation of a wage increase at a rate far higher than productivity. And it is this fact which has been denied so fiercely, because it offends against the pet theories, indeed against the justification for economists, politicians, heads of trade unions and, at the same time, the rationalization of the "free" enterprise system from the viewpoint of the industrial leaders on both sides.

The Cause of the Malaise

This development could be foreseen already during the war. I wrote in 1943: "Is trade unionism on the basis of sectional wage bargaining compatible with full employment? The answer to this question is in the negative. If there is no central planning agency strong enough to enforce decisions, employers would have no possible inducement to expand employment to the point where a labour shortage would arise, such as at full employment. Their disciplinary powers would slip from their hands as the threat of the sack would then carry no further terror.

"Trade unions, on the other hand, would push their advantage while the going was good and prices were rising. The process of cumulative inflation would be unavoidable. One has only to look at the war economic system of any of the belligerents, irrespective of the vast differences in their economic structure, social background and political outlook. Everyone of them was forced by the threatening monetary chaos to adopt stringent controls over manpower and wages as well as over production, investment and prices. These controls released the productive powers of the nations represented by restrictive influences imposed on them by monopolistic interests which profited at the cost of the community.

"Trade unionism, however, is one of those monopolistic associations which is syndicalist in its approach, i.e. incapable of securing harmony

between the different branches of the economic system. It would be foolish not to recognize this, however necessary and desirable one considers its rise in its historical setting. It grew up as a defensive organization of helpless employees against powerful employers. Their defence measures in the competitive fight are akin to those of the employers: they consist of restrictions on labour supply, such as on the intensity of work and on entry into the industry. Thus they establish a bargaining position to extort as much as possible from the employers. Incidentally, they give further impetus to the combination of employers in order that they should be able to recoup themselves by mulcting the public. The story does not end there, as the evolution of monopolistic associations rarely does. Trade unions in due course became vast organizations possessing a distinct bureaucracy. Any weakening of the sectional character of the organization of the working class would therefore have distinctly adverse effects on the bureaucrats, whatever the gain to the rank and file. Indeed the continued prosperity of the trade unions depends partly on the workers being disgruntled enough (or being compelled) to pay their dues for favours to come, partly on their ability (helped by relatively good relations with the employers' organizations and by the strength of the employers' organization to exact levies on the community through raising prices) to deliver these favours. The embarrassed silence of the Labour Party whenever the increase in the price of coal, or other vital commodities in which this dual monopolistic control exists, is discussed is a direct consequence of this system.

"Some of the trade unions are among the most bitter restrictionists in the USA, the most vehement opponents of a lowering of the tariff barriers, and thus potential partisans of an isolationist Republicanism. Economic stability and progress at full employment can only be achieved either: if a centrally conceived manpower plan is imposed compulsorily on the workers (as happened in Nazi Germany even before the war, and has been increasingly happening in Great Britain ever since May 1940), or if a responsible collaboration is established between the workers as a whole represented by a central executive organ (such as a strengthened TUC) and a democratically controlled government. Such responsible collaboration can only be based on confidence, and that presupposes a conviction that the policy worked out collectively is determined solely by the aim of ensuring a steadily rising standard of life and promoting a juster (though not necessarily egalitarian) distribution of income. The TUC machinery as it now exists must be reformed if full employment is to be achieved. If that goal is to be reached, the reforms will be imposed by or originate within the labour movement, coincident with and depending upon a general reorganization of the economic

system. Thus, at one and the same time, the positive attitude of the trade unions is both necessary to and conditional on their having been introduced as full partners into the administrative machinery of the State dealing with economic planning." ("Trade Unions and the Future". *Left News*, 1943)

In analysing the situation as it emerged from the first post-war revival of mechanistic monetary delusions after 1951, I was constrained to reiterate this judgement.[1] The startling failures of monetary policy in the period 1921–38 had been forgotten. Monetary policy since the rise of modern banking and industry had invariably worked through psychological shock. It failed to provide an elastic and subtle influence through the price mechanism which could ensure smooth readjustment and eliminate booms and slumps. They either overstimulated the economy or else caused panic. When the "monetarists" after 1951 succeeded in influencing policy making in both the UK and US, they only just failed, under political pressure, to induce a slump of the pre-war type. They succeeded, however, in sharply cutting the rate of expansion of real output and increasing unemployment. What they patently did not succeed in doing was to stop inflation.

"Their failures found expression in fluctuations in the velocity of money which offset—more than offset—changes in the volumes of money. Nonetheless, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Governor of the Bank of England, lent their authority in support of the 'Monetarists'. This disregard of the complexity of the problem was, perhaps, not surprisingly, supported by *The Economist*. When statistical evidence was finally produced by the Midland Bank (see 'Bank Deposits and Currency', *Midland Bank Review*, November 1957) which could not be dismissed, a new version of the theory was produced, in which the price level was determined by the interplay of the supply of money, the stock of old money and 'confidence in its widest sense'. 'Confidence in its widest sense' of course, makes no analytical sense; it can affect anything so strongly as to offset or more than offset the primary factors without having any systematic relationship with them."

I anticipated the recent resurgence of the excess demand theory based on the quantity theory of money: "It should be noted that there is no need to assume the existence of excess demand in order to show that trade union claims led to the increase in prices. It would suffice if the entrepreneurs thought as indeed they could not fail to do that individual wage demands are part of a general wave, likely to be self-justifying. The point has received ample attention in connection with the problem of starting development in a poor country, a problem which has been in the forefront of interest recently."

[1] Thomas Balogh: "Productivity and inflation". *Oxford Economic Papers*, June 1958.

"No doubt singly no entrepreneur could grant wage increases, for he could not be sure of being able to pass on the addition to his costs by rising prices. But if all (or most) entrepreneurs are faced with almost identical wage demands, and react to them in a more or less identical manner, experience will teach them that it is safe to accede to these demands; it will be the increase in income due to the wage bargain (including, of course, the increased profit) that will provide the additional demand required to sell the output at the enhanced price. There is no need to postulate a hidden, unspent or dormant, excess demand which becomes "active". The fallacy of those who are looking for the unseen and unseeable is that they apply the *ceteris paribus* method to a situation where the change justifies itself because it is of a finite and not of an infinitesimal magnitude. Provided that the process is general, as it is, and repetitive, as it is bound to be; provided that single wage bargains overshoot the average, as they are bound to do, there is nothing to stop it from accelerating its velocity as anticipations of further wage and price increases swell speculations."

Experience all over the world has shown that in the new industrial system, which relies for its viability on mass production, the needs of productive efficiency in most industries will reduce the number of firms. A concentration of power takes place which enables manufactures to manage their selling prices. Price movements can be closely correlated with the movements of wage costs. Consequently in the medium short run and taking "good" years with the "bad" the trade unions cannot be successful in increasing the share of wages in the national income.

At the same time unions know that entrepreneurs' resistance to wage increases is weakened by the knowledge that they can pass it on to consumers by price increases. Thus there is no limit to the process spiralling inflation.

So long as the trade union structure of any given country resulted in a rate of wage increases higher in relation to productivity than that suffered by foreign countries this meant a well-known sequence of a periodic and increasing weakening of our balance of payments, and led ultimately to devaluation or to "floating". This particular threat is certainly quite absent in those countries which have a rate of inflation which is relatively smaller than that of their competitors. In these the balance of payments may be strong despite the rise in prices. In parenthesis it should be added that this *general* tendency to inflation in the fully developed world has been one of the main culprits in the worsening of the external situations of the poor areas of the world. The impact of this inflation on the international distribution of income has been profound and deplorable: it has meant that the immense gains in productivity have been pre-empted for the benefit of the rich coun-

tries of the world, while the poor could not retain those made in agriculture. Those countries whose balance of payments remained strong, therefore, blamed the foreigners for the inflation, their export grew apace and their imports lagged behind, both increasing the price level. This is the reason why the Germans, in the teeth of their fierce prejudice against tampering with the currency, in the end decided to revalue the mark. I shall return to this problem presently.

This instability might become aggravated and accelerated in the longer run. Once unions, in their wage demands, and firms in their investment and other decisions, anticipate further increases in prices, they will take defensive action by increasing their wage demands and prices respectively. This would accelerate and aggravate the process. There is some evidence that this has happened in Britain since 1970. (*The review body on doctor and dentist remuneration*, 12th report, Cmnd 4352, has introduced this reprehensible method into official income determination.) Should it intensify, the creep of inflation might become a walk, a trot, a canter and eventually a gallop. In the end it could cause unemployment and undermine the currency.

The Social Consequences

Secondly, "free" bargaining increased inequality; it resulted in a relative worsening of the position of the poorest paid and least aggressively organized classes of society. This is obvious not only as between the various classes of workers, but as between increasing sections of the top salaried and of the middle classes, BALPA pilots and doctors, and the lower paid, unskilled workers. Trade union action was successful in certain instances in increasing the share of certain privileged or closely organized groups such as tally clerks, dock workers and so on. The lower paid, the defenceless and the handicapped, despite the declamation of the unions, have not been protected.

The direct total social gain from "industrial action" was not merely negligible: it might well have been negative. Neither in Great Britain nor anywhere else have trade unions been able to increase the share of wages in total national income. The increase in *money* wages has been frustrated by rising money prices. These robbed the wage-earner (or rather his wife) of the expected gain; frustration and anger were the result. The indirect loss due to the resultant worsening of the balance of payments and the enforced slowdown of expansion was, on the contrary, immense.

A free for all in the labour market is incompatible with the achievement either of full employment or of a satisfactory rate of expansion of material

resources needed for a better, fuller, more civilized and humane way of life. In my opinion it is these largely neglected internal effects of the inflationary price-wage spiral which are of such importance and danger. In earlier textbooks this was handled merely as a question of equity and of the distribution of wealth and income, and it was pointed out that the pensioners, widows and orphans would be gravely menaced. The menace is now much wider; it is the savings, which in the case of many people are in terms of fixed money claims, which are at stake, and it is their growing anger at the rising cost of living which is the political danger. If in Germany the annihilation of the currency had not, in 1931, been seen as a recurrent threat, the terrible deflationary policy would never have been pursued and we should have been spared Hitler and the war. It is on the despair of the not so prosperous lower middle classes that potential dictators can rely. It is from this viewpoint that Mr. Powell is an ominous portent.

The problem of achieving monetary balance has baffled even a writer with the insight of Professor Galbraith. In his earlier books, especially in *American Capitalism*, he hoped to attain perfect equilibrium by matching the countervailing powers of great corporations against those of the trade unions. This obviously could not work because either employment was full, or fullish, in which case neither employers nor employees had reason to keep wages from rising; or employment was not full and then progress was retarded and immense potential production was wasted. In his *Affluent Society* he gave up in despair and called for higher unemployment as the only remedy. This aroused the ire and contempt of our "optimists", despite the fact that he advocated good pay for the victims of the policy. In fact it was a policy, much like that pursued in Britain after 1965, of high redundancy rates and wage determined unemployment compensation. In fact this policy proved futile in stemming the cataract. Professor Galbraith has lately become one of the most courageous advocates of an incomes and prices policy.

The Root Cause of the Crises

Why if 25 years of vain struggle have demonstrated the futility of the conventional methods of dealing with the problem was so little progress made? It was because no one would accept such a fundamental change. It was not accepted by economists because as far as they were concerned it would have meant that the whole of "positive" economics—the "scientific", mathematical or econometric method—would collapse.

In a case-by-case analysis, the uniqueness of historical occurrence would

have to be accepted. The economist would have to call in the political scientist, the historian and—horrific!—the sociologist. Both trade unionists and politicians shared in this revulsion. The former saw their influence menaced, the latter suspected a threat to their best excuse for failing to manage the economy in a satisfactory way.

It is only lately that the bankruptcy of the orthodox method of managing the economy through fiscal and monetary policy has been conceded first by central bankers and then by governments.

I summed up in my analysis in 1957 as follows: "It is clear that in this country a solution cannot come from a unilateral pressure on trade unions as it has come in Germany in the years between 1950 and 1955. Mass immigration and the financial weakness of the unions were the twin pillars on which the remarkable increase in investment rested and which subsequently permitted an accelerated raise in real wages without encroaching on the basis of the expansion by raising the share of wages in the total national revenue. Neither factor can in Britain be expected to help the achievement of stability without stagnation. The inevitable conclusion is that growth and stability are only compatible in a 'free system' if productivity rises sufficiently to meet trade union demands without the need for an increase in prices. At the same time an increase in productivity should mitigate the drive towards higher money wages as the rise in real wages accelerates, and dissatisfaction of the wage-earners with their income position is mitigated. Monetary policy cannot be expected to help in this respect: in the circumstances that prevail in Britain, and, probably, also in the US, it could only attain stability at the cost of ending growth."

"It is clear that a double-pronged attack on the problem is the only one likely to succeed. Investment must be increased to accelerate the rise in productivity (and thus in the ability to satisfy wage demands) and wage demands must be mitigated first to permit an increase in investment and subsequently (and to a much lesser degree) to keep them within the bounds of the increase in productivity achieved."

I added: "Neither can be achieved without the whole hearted cooperation of the trade unions. But such cooperation can hardly be expected if restraint is not imposed upon profits. Nor would it be equitable if the restraint on profits took the form of a mere dividend limitation, for the accumulated undistributed profits represent an enhanced claim on future earnings and, through their capitalization in the form of higher equity prices, also enable subsequent capital consumption without impairing wealth."

Here, then, we have a sufficient explanation of the emotional blockage of understanding which the Labour government experienced which other-

wise would be difficult to account for. For everybody concerned a global, impersonal solution would have been pleasing. It would not need individual and group responsibility towards the community, which is so difficult to obtain. It would not involve a conscious integration of victimized minorities whose exacerbated protest, and the backlash it evokes, has produced such grievous conflict in practically all countries.

Trade unions, both leaders and members, must realize that their altered status and strength, the immense improvements that have been attained, necessitate an acceptance of duties and responsibilities to the community. Trade unions are no longer the weak representatives of underprivileged poor. They are one of the most potent vested interests in the state though in the main they still stand for the less affluent.[1]

Collective bargaining no longer represents a desperate effort to obtain a rightful share in the national product by preventing the great corporations from increasing their profit margins through their market power, and thus obtaining a lion's share of the total. It was the fatal spiralling of costs and prices that gave small privileged minorities—mostly of the middle-class type such as doctors, pilots, petty managers, technicians, but also civil servants and judges, but also strong unions—an opportunity to snatch advantages from their less privileged fellow workers. No doubt some of this illicit gain is recouped by taxation. But that is not the whole story because the pension arrangements obviously follow salaries and in this context they become increasingly important. The distribution of income before tax worsened to the detriment of the lower paid and efforts to redress the situation in this way have had, up till now, only the result of making the situation even more acute, the cumulation even more dangerous. It is this "free" collective bargaining in the modern framework which creates these inequalities and which creates the classes of ill-paid workers, and not the other way round.

Feasibility of a Prices and Incomes Policy

The incompatibility of full employment, the human dignity and greater equality it embodies, and of stability without a conscious agreement on incomes has been demonstrated over 25 years, all over the world. The ques-

[1] One of the intractable aspects of modern developments in this field is that the higher income groups, including judges, doctors, pilots and schoolteachers, have "integrated" themselves in professional pressure groups. As their numbers are relatively small and the services they render essential, their organization has resulted in furthering inequality and the creation of an atmosphere of conspicuously successful blackmail which is only too obviously contagious. It is reported by *The Times* and *Business News* that the remuneration of part-time chairmen increased 91 per cent between 1968 and 1969, that for non-executive directors by 22 per cent.

tion is how to overcome the tremendous obstacles which manifested themselves during Mr. Wilson's whole administration and contributed (if not brought about) its defeat. The success of any attempt involves the creation of an ambiance in which considerable sections of the population will not feel done down. It also involves more specific conditions in which wage negotiations can be conducted rationally. It must equally persuade and convince the people affected that their co-operation would benefit not merely the country, but themselves.

Let us first discuss the latter. Of the two essential narrow preconditions the first is to find an equitable system for determining wage and other incomes, or rather income (including "top" income) differentials.[1] It is on the resistance against change in these, and its opposite, the bitterness of being diddled of due reward, of being left behind and ill treated, that much of the initial impetus to leap-frogging has come. The second is that machinery has to be devised which can be accepted as equitable, and effective to implement the policy.

On the broader canvass success would seem to depend on being able to accelerate the rate of expansion of the domestic product, and to secure its more equal distribution. It is at this point that, in my opinion, conventional Keynesian optimism has broken down, and where, if we are to get a workable mixed economy, socialist measures aiming at a basic change in social power relationships are essential. Apart from the moral imperative, economic reasons alone demand that justice should be seen to be done. A reconsideration is overdue if we are to avoid periodic upheavals both in the international monetary field and internally.

On the one hand an effective incomes policy demands very much more government intervention than has been contemplated hitherto. This is so because if the government is to obtain their willing cooperation, reasonable assurance most be given to the trade unions, not merely that equity and sacrifice will be temporary, and that it will not be in vain, but also that the restraint on wages, on which the restoration of uninterrupted prosperity depends, would, in the due and not too distant future, yield positive results in accelerating the increase in living standards. This assurance cannot be given credibly without comprehensive institutional arrangements to put some coherent and self-consistent plan into effect. This is far beyond anything

[1] The scepticism of the Permanent Secretary of the Department of Employment and Productivity (*The Times*, May 21, 1970) about the possibility of an incomes policy is quite comprehensible if perhaps somewhat unfortunate. It shows that a department based on *sponsoring* a vital vested interest cannot be expected to *sit in judgement* over policies affecting that interest. It will wish to conciliate and retain confidence and goodwill. The implications of this on the machinery of government are as obvious as they are important.

contemplated by liberal Keynesians, or even by Professor Galbraith, let alone by the Conservatives however much they altered course. To say that the trade unions should accept any rate of increase in productivity, however bad the managements, however backward, however unwilling they are to increase their commitments and to study and introduce new methods of production, would be asking for the absurd. It would be equally absurd if trade unions were to acquiesce in the hardship of the low-paid workers, if they were to accept changes in taxation which impinge on the worker more than the affluent circles of society, in the name, however well meant, of the argument that it is needed to restore incentives and to reward efficiency.

It is a change in attitudes rather than strictly economic manipulation that is needed for individualistic or mixed economies for a *steady* advance towards a better life. There is no evidence that the limits of taxation have been reached or indeed such limits exist. There is evidence that income inequality and conspicuous consumption remain rampant and it is this rampant character of economic inequality and conspicuous waste that renders the economy so vulnerable to further wage demands, necessitating in turn further sharp action to keep it within bounds.

The question is, how national income could be much more equitably distributed; how the wage structure could be modernized; how monetary equilibrium and our relative competitive position can be preserved without creating unemployment and under-employment of our productive capacity. The vital conclusion of this paper is that it cannot be changed by industrial action. To a very large extent the fate of the "Western" economies depends on the quality of trade union leadership and the enlightenment of governments. The crisis of modern capitalism has not been brought about by slump and unemployment but by concentration of economic power and full employment.

PROMISE, DARLING!

(Short story)

by

BORIS PALOTAI

She made herself up carefully for the visiting time. The layer of powder covered up the sleepless nights, the lipstick rounded the curve of her lips pressed thin by the last few years.

She read Zoltán's postcard over and over again. She knew the sequence of words by heart, nevertheless she read on; the cramped small letters would not release her. "My only one!" He had never addressed her like that before. Shy and modest by nature, he entrusted his tenderness to his gestures and looks. His gestures had been walled up by solitude, his looks struck against an iron door. "My only one, I'm counting the days..."

The long-sleeved pullover hid his pointed elbows and his elongated neck. Twenty minutes. What can be crammed into twenty minutes? By the time they'd found their voice, they'd have to part, with the guard's warning steps rapping into their half-formed words; all that they had to say would come rushing out of their throats inured for too long to silence. Twenty minutes wasn't enough even for that...

She sighed. The street too seemed to sigh. The moaning of signboards, the wailing of overhead cables accompanied her to the tram stop. The street itself had been taking part in her life ever since Zoltán had been dragged away. The asphalt, the trees, the flagstones, the roofs, the telegraph poles.

But now she should be feeling happy! The postcard is in her pocket. She had been carrying it for two days, the glossy paper cracked with much folding. And soon she would see him. She would press his face into her hands, his skin warming up under her fingers, she would feel the fresh scratch on his chin—he always cut himself shaving—darling, my darling, I never believed for a moment... these four years... it can't last very much longer, can it?

She caught herself speaking aloud. Pressing a handkerchief to her mouth she looked out of the tram window. The autumn was beginning to crumple

the leaves on the trees. How much did Zoltán see of the autumn? A patch of sky carved up by iron bars. Autumn and spring could come in at the hole of a window. A grey band. A blue strip. A fluff of a drifting cloud.

She had only seen prison cells in films. She would suck an acid drop in the meantime and snap at the woman sitting in front of her to take off her hat!

Her heart began to race again. "Sell my gold watch," Zoltán wrote. "Buy a lot of fruit and fuel with the money."

The gold watch lay hidden in his drawer. Through how many anxious days they went ticking, she with this erratic heart of hers, the watch with its regular tick-tocks warning her to be patient.

She had made a chocolate cake for Zoltán. She had licked out the pan, cried, tasted the cake, her tears mingling with the sweet flavour. She had got the chocolate on the black-market. She had poured goose fat into a jam jar. Cracklings in the fat. She had gone out for almonds to Aunt Teréz in Óbuda. Her son too was in prison; he had been in the International Brigade in Spain and had come home with one leg.

Parcels of up to four pounds were allowed. Four pounds. Twenty minutes. What could she cram into four pounds and twenty minutes? She had been packing and unpacking; a few ounces more and the parcel would be rejected. The conversation too had to be rationed so that it went into the niggardly allotted time. Zoltán mustn't learn that she was living from hand to mouth. She painted spots on plastic tablecloths; bunches of grapes, lace patterns. She had spotted eight tablecloths in order to buy goose fat. The co-op refused to accept the scarfs. What they wanted was serial production, not those fancy things. Once in a while she got translations from Miklós. "I'm all right, darling. Of course I can manage on my salary. Géza and his family are looking after me."

Suddenly she found herself in front of the heavy gate. It was only seven. She had come an hour too soon. The pavement was black with women. They must be feeling like she did. The same aggressive impatience: to be near him, at once, now! To shrivel up the distance.

There were Ágnes, little Mrs. Moravecz, Mom Novák, Mari Zubori. They were all there, a whole hour early. Ágnes, her face mottled with excitement, held an Album of Smiles, a series of photos of their baby daughter.

"You don't want him to see your eyes red with crying, do you?" Mari admonishes her and breaks out crying herself. Fighting her tears back she cries angrily as if scolding herself.

"We got married four years ago today," little Mrs. Moravecz says, showing the date engraved on her wedding ring. "Oct. 17, 1947. We were

on our honeymoon in Tihany. He disappeared from the pier while I had gone to fetch a cardigan from the hotel."

"Vitamins are not allowed in," Mom Novák says in a whisper. "I mixed the vitamin tablets with the sweets. They're those round drops, red, blue, pink, no one'll notice the few yellow ones among them."

"I can't wait any longer, I must go to the toilet... Where can I find one?" a woman in a windbreaker complains.

"I was a married woman for two days."

"...a diabetic. I was so strict about his diet..."

"My sister-in-law calls me from public phone boxes. Her phone's tapped."

"Ira, have you made yourself up?"

"I don't want him to see how haggard I look." She grabs the skirt belt. "I've lost this much. I'm as thin as a rake." Her feet ache from too much standing. She has been on them since the early morning, getting ready. She now remembers that she had had a quarrel about something with Zoltán on their last evening together. Why should it occur to her just now?

"A rake!" little Mrs. Moravecz chuckles and catching herself jerks her hands to her mouth at once. She laugh? Whom all the house calls poor Icuka? And grandma speaks of her as "that poor unhappy girl." The laughter breaks out from under her palms and runs over her face. If she could think of something sad... but what? They turned her out of the flat. She went back to live with her parents in that shop converted into temporary lodgings. Now at last! The tears prick her eyelids.

They are lined up; the end reaches as far as the corner. The church-clock strikes the hours with rapid, voluble peals. The gate is flung open. A big, dreary courtyard. What should a prison-yard look like? In that Italian film... Zoltán's suit will have become threadbare. He'd been wearing that overcleaned, seedy grey jacket frayed at the elbows when they'd come for him. He grudged wearing his nice new suit.

She wanted to think of something that hurt and soothed at once. But the pain seemed to have gone numb somehow. She puts her arm through Mari's, who munches on a roll. The group is divided into four lines; she is at the end of her line.

"They'll call you by name," Mom Novák the prison expert says; her husband had been imprisoned several times during the Horthy regime for incitement, she knows the various prisons inside out as she does the markethall.

The one in the windbreaker presses her thighs together hissing. "The nervousness has gone to my bladder. How can I go in and meet Papa like this?"

"He's never seen Andris. He was born at seven months, the day when he was taken away." Ágnes hands round the Album of Smiles.

"I'll go down to Dunapentele. There at least there's no political screening."

It begins to rain. "That's all we needed," a woman grumbles spreading a handkerchief on her head of hair the colour of spun candy and taking a swig at a bottle.

"Rum?"

"Not tomato juice."

She would like a gulp too. She is cold, her face wet with rain, her tits harden with the cold. She has been waiting for this twenty minutes. How many minutes is four years? She will work it out at home. Zoltán will be looking for confidence in this wet face of hers in vain. Had she been let in at once she'd have flown right into his arms...

Mrs. Imre Tusák, Mrs. Zoltán Izsóf, Mrs. Gáspár Verebes.

Mari nudges her: "Get moving!"

Mrs. Zoltán Izsóf, she utters the name loudly as if trying to wake herself up.

The line lurches forward; right away, darling, it's only seconds now, no chance of jumping the queue or breaking away, I'm here, coming, it's a few steps only and I'll become all fingers and the air I breathe, I'll inhale you and carry you home in my lungs; what's that extra visiting time, please, parcels allowed, I have no worries, look at me... Where are you?!"

She is standing in a long hall, an iron bar and a wire netting in front of her. She clutches at the bar with hands to keep her legs from slipping from under her, turning her head this way and that. Yes, there he is, she already can hear his voice, yes, that's him!

The floor creaks under the thudding feet of the guard: "Speak!"

"Ira... my darling..."

Zoltán's face is cut into squares by the wire net. His arms pinned behind him, his pointed Adam's apple jutting out from his skinny neck.

"Do say something, darling!"

Why doesn't he wipe away his tears? His nose is wet too. And he's just standing there as though he'd been treed like a shoe. The others the same way... they all have their arms behind them.

"I'm well... and waiting for you. Mother's well too. They're all well." Her voice got stuck in her throat. She must speak, to make use of each one of the stinted minutes. "Nothing to worry about." Zoltán has lost four teeth, his mouth has sunk in. His hair is thinning, his scalp scaly. If only she could rub it with tonic... "I love you just as much. More! You'll see!"

"By the time I'm out of here... you're young and beautiful... if you find somebody... it's so hard to be alone."

"I've got you! We'll start everything anew! We'll live like..."

"...if you find somebody..."

"Did you get the parcel?"

"I've eaten from it. Cracklings..." He licks away the tears from the corner of his mouth.

"I thought I could hug you to myself."

"Darling..."

"I can't even hold your hands."

The guard walks up and down between them. His big protruding ears seem to pull his eyes to the sides too.

"Poor Mother..."

"Since I received your card her blood pressure's gone back to normal."

"What about you..." He waits till the guard turns his back. "Have they been harassing you much?"

"Talk about yourself."

"I've been in hospital. They jabbed a lot of injections into me. Harassing you a lot?"

"Don't worry about me."

"Your job... I suppose they... I mean soon after..."

"I can do all sorts of things!"

"Sell my gold watch. Sell my books too."

"There're so many things I can do, I'm telling you..."

"The whole lot. I don't cling to objects any more. I don't cling to anything. Only you... you alone..."

The guard's boots are smeared with tallow. Must get some shoe polish. Shoe polish, petrol, soap powder. Electric light bulb. Refill for the Parker. All these expenses...

"Have you been in hospital?" she asks frightened. She is frightened at not having been alarmed before. Can one get used to suffering so quickly? Or is it a subsconscious avoidance of fresh pains?

"As you can see I'm here, I'm well." Zoltán tries to smile. His eyes remain grave as if he wanted to see if he can succeed with this running nose and tear-stained face of his. "Promise that you'll sell the gold watch. First the watch, then the books. I just can't bear for you to be running about driven from pillar to post and being humiliated. For my peace of mind... such as it can be... promise, darling..."

Out in the street the demand was still echoing in her ears, "Promise, darling!" She promised. They both fell silent afterwards. What she still

had to say she was unable to say. The bars, the guard... Through bars, without hands... Inside her skull there was, it seemed, another made of tin, knocking against the first and rolling the half-formed words away. She cast a stealthy glance at her watch. The minutes were dragging by. There were still five long minutes to go. "Take very good care of yourself, darling!" What a vacuous sentence! How can he take care of himself? Never mind. It made the time pass. Next time she'd make notes on what to say. She also forgot about the boy who left an envelope with the concierge every month, addressed in a neat schoolboy hand: For Irén Izsóf, with a hundred forint note in the envelope. She spent the last two minutes crying. One day she'd tell Zoltán that she'd cried with relief, almost with abandon. The tears washed out of her the compulsion to speak when she could think of nothing except that she had to say something. Can one ever confess a thing like that?

In one hand a milk bottle, a cardboard suitcase in the other, she is taking dirty washing to the laundry. She struggled with the translation till midnight. Clamp cheek gripper, drilling tower, derrick platform. She did not know these technical terms of barrage construction in Hungarian, let alone in Russian. She dreamt that Zoltán had looked through the text, his hands behind him, unable to turn the page. His mother crumpled up her handkerchief and all she said was: I always washed his hair in camomile when he was a little boy.

Two letters from Zoltán in two months. Full of longing, resourceful tenderness. At the end, by way of farewell, the loving careful reminder: sell my books. You can get enough for them to brings us both peace. Buy a winter coat on the *Nyugat* volumes, of a good material that won't wear out easily at the elbows if I put my arms through yours.

Jutka pretended to be engrossed in looking at a shop-window to avoid to acknowledge her. It would serve her right if she hugged her in the busy street.

"Ira!"—She stops dead, pushes in the top of the milk bottle. She cleans her finger on her cheap loden coat. She swings backwards and forwards on her feet like a rocking chair. She woke up this morning with the thought... She isn't awake. She didn't hear the rustle of the paper as it dropped on the linoleum through the slit of the letter-box. She didn't feel the ripped cotton of her slippers with her soles.

"Ira!"

It is not the voice confined within four walls. It mingles with the din of passing cars, screeching brakes of trams and the shufflilng feet of pedestrians.

Suddenly she wheels round and dashes for the source of the voice.

A pair of arms fasten around her shoulders, starved, greedy arms, enfolding her, milk bottle, case and all.

"You're here!" She snuggles her face into his palm. "It's you... Now I know for certain it's you!"

The steam in the bathroom is pierced through by Zoltán's jutting bones. His shoulder blades are like a pair of carving knives. My love... your tummy's so concave! Your knees are just like two knobs. Let me rub those horrible knobs!

Her mouth is on one well-lathered knee. Showering them with kisses she scours and dries the knees. Then she hands him his gold watch. "Wind it."

They are standing in the room in front of the book-shelves. She tries to behave as if nothing had happened. The *Nyugat* volumes were not exchanged for a winter coat. In her mind she is ready to answer, to argue, to soothe him.

Zoltán scans the close-packed lines of books with narrowed eyes. The cigarette jerks up and down between his lips. He takes two steps letting his eyes run across the book spines. He bends down, stands erect again.

"Can I bring you something to eat?" She only asks for fear Zoltán might be overwhelmed by emotions. He is so much overcome and engrossed in studying his books...

"What would you like?"

Zoltán shakes his head.

He's going to start it again: "I did ask you... and you did promise!"

There is silence, their breathing can be heard.

At last Zoltán speaks. "One of the Dickens' is missing."

Translated by László András

CULTURAL POLICY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

A respect for Hungary's achievements and a restrained but proud consciousness of them is an organic part of socialist patriotism. One who is not proud of the achievements of socialism, who does not fight to make them recognized and who is not proud of the fact that Hungary is in the forefront of human progress is not a true patriot.

Patriotism Today

Since the reality of socialism cannot be divorced from more than a quarter of a century of our national existence and since socialism is not only the present but also the future of our national existence, anti-socialist patriotism is an impossibility. To be a patriot today means actively participating in the work of the people building socialism and working for the realization of the socialist goals: a better and fuller life for the people.

It is possible to feel concern for the country and for the masses in various ways: by underestimating everything that the people have so far built or having a realistic high regard for it. It is impossible to be on the side of the socialist homeland "in general" while abusing every concrete achievement and denying what is valuable, what is socialist. Anyone who does that offends the people. We are proud of the fact, as communists and as Hungarians, that in an historically short time we have eliminated a centuries old economic backwardness and that we have achieved our present material and cultural level.

Second part of the report "Peaceful Coexistence and Ideological Struggle" delivered by György Aczél, Secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, at the National Conference on Information and Culture, Budapest, January 1973. The first part was published in No. 51 of *The N.H.Q.* It should be noted that we have incorporated in the form of footnotes those parts of György Aczél's closing speech which complete the study.

Positive attitude to patriotism and to socialism are inseparable.

Patriotism and socialism are intertwined both in principle and in practice and it is our task to enrich them and make them more inseparable, so that all the love which ties the citizens of this nation to this land, to this people, to its past should also be a love of socialism. And in reverse: that all the enthusiasm, pride and consciousness which the struggle for the greatest cause of humanity, Communism, evokes in us should merge with patriotism and, enriching it, should also be a pride in our people and nation. Our goal is to ensure that national pride and love of the homeland should mean inseparably the same as the service of the noblest cause: the cause of humanity, of socialism.

Hungary has not achieved her results unaided. Apart from the hard work of the people, the help of the Soviet Union and the cooperation of the brotherly socialist countries has played a great part. We profess: proletarian internationalism is an organic and inseparable part of socialist patriotism. Although socialist construction is being carried out within the framework of nations, its fate is inseparable from the cooperation and the close ties between the forces of socialism on an international scale. Anyone who does not recognize or understand this, who does not wish to accept that the rapid development of the productive forces the scientific-technological revolution demands the speeding up of the economic integration of the countries of the socialist community, will sooner or later come into opposition with the requirements of patriotism, with the service of the national interests. One who cannot be a patriot in a modern, progressive manner will sooner or later—irrespective of his intentions—find himself in opposition to the national interests.

To love the homeland is only possible, today as ever before, by making sure that the nation does not fall behind the requirements of history and progress, by serving simultaneously the fate of the country and the cause of human progress.

The true patriot is always on guard that his nation—in the words of Endre Ady—should not fall through

The merciless giant sifter,
Not having pleased Time.

It is a serious mistake, one that leads to nationalism, to overestimate our national peculiarities in the building of socialism, to give an excessive value to our own achievements and to regard our own experiences and methods as a model for others. Justified national pride is not a consequence of the exceptional role of a "chosen people", but an awareness that in our own

field, in the battleground entrusted to us, we faithfully serve our great international cause, the cause of humanity and socialism. This is important because if we overestimate the peculiar nature of our conditions and the methods which are appropriate to them, we rob ourselves of the benefits of the experience of the other socialist countries, of our brother parties. The value of these experiences is based primarily on the common laws governing the building of socialism, which means that the experiences of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries bore fruit for our own work as well. By disregarding this, we would make ourselves poorer and would endanger the correctness and the reliability of our answers to new questions. The justified national pride which helps in working for advancing humanity must not become national conceit that can easily sidetrack us from the road of human progress.

In other words, the margin between socialist patriotism and anti-socialist nationalism must be drawn in various directions. The key question, the watershed is always the relationship to the genuine interests of the nation, the cause of socialism and human progress. The type of national pride which takes no cognizance of our socialist present and only refers to the traditions of the past, even if it is the past of revolution and progress, has little to do with patriotism these days.

But we shall not let the appreciation of our national past and of our socialist present be opposed the each other. No one in the course of history has done more for the respecting of the values of our national past than socialist Hungary which has accepted the gigantic task of eliminating every burdensome legacy of our national past, our national backwardness. Precisely for that reason we are only rightful heirs to the progressive national past.

The more we do to deepen the national self-knowledge of our people, to shape its realistic national consciousness, the more we can face the requirements of the present. There is no genuine social patriotism without respect for the progressive traditions of the nation. The historical anniversaries of the recent past, the anniversaries of King Stephen I., György Dózsa, Sándor Petőfi and Imre Madách, helped a far greater number than ever before to develop a realistic, genuinely historic national pride, as an organic part of socialist patriotism.

The anniversaries clearly demonstrated that our socialist régime is the guardian of every value in our national past. There has been a merging between the revolutionary and the national, and between the revolutionary and progressive past of the nation and its present, as never before. It is now

that, for the first time, 1848* and 1919** are becoming equally organic parts of the national consciousness of millions.

Besides our increasing national self-knowledge and growing socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, there are still present in our public thinking and in certain debates in our scientific and artistic life the extremes of nationalism and national nihilism. They recur time and again in various forms, always strengthening each other.

The newer forms in which nationalism appears in Hungary are also connected with the opposing of the country's national and international interests and its momentary and long-term interests. Our nationalists utilize this by building on the remnants of bourgeois nationalism in the people's consciousness. The propagandists of softening up also take advantage by attempting to make the economic integration of the socialist countries appear contrary to the interests of the nation. They cast doubt on the fundamental principles on which our international commitments towards the socialist countries and primarily our relations with the Soviet Union are founded.

Internationalism is not some sort of outward "acceptance of obligation" as contrasted with the national interest: this alliance is in our vital national interest. It is the existence of the Soviet Union and the help it has given us that has made it possible for us to develop our national existence in the mainstream of progress. Everyone upholding the interests of his country, whether communist or not, regards this alliance as of the greatest importance.

It is well-known that the point of view of the Hungarian Party is unequivocal in this question: there is no anti-Soviet Communism, nor is it possible. A patriotism which is contrasted with proletarian internationalism, with the international cooperation of the socialist countries and which is opposed to the Soviet Union is a complete absurdity. We are convinced that the policy which contrasts the narrowly interpreted national interest with the international interests of socialism is equally harmful for the working people of every socialist nation, whatever language they speak.

In earlier years it often happened that the "concern" felt by Hungarian nationalism for the future of the nation in general, and in particular for the fate of the Hungarian population beyond our frontiers, attempted to throw doubt on the policy of the Party. It is necessary to emphasize that there still are manifestations of this phenomenon. The Marxist-Leninist principles relating to national interests and to the question of nationalities are among the general laws of the construction of socialism and we regard it as our duty to fight for the realization of these principles and to keep order in

* The date of the freedom fight against Hapsburg rule.
** The year of the Hungarian Republic of Councils.

our own house. We base ourselves on this firm principle when we evaluate the question of national minorities within the framework of overall socialist development. We endeavour, in cooperation with our neighbours, to ensure that the existence of the national minorities should not be a divisive factor, but a link between us. With a sense of internationalist responsibility towards our people, our nation, we raise these questions always at the most appropriate forums and reject the irresponsible demagogy which, in opposition to the Party, the government and socialism—and, incidentally, also harming those whom it wishes to defend—attempts to voice at times a brand of a nationalism which it regards as justified. It has to be emphasized: there cannot be any justification for allowing the re-emergence of nationalistic, chauvinistic views.

A distortion that emerges time and again in connection with the evaluation of the nation's present and future and its interests in a debate that has not been free of extreme manifestations, is known as the "populist-urban" conflict. It occasionally becomes more voluble and is even given a platform in some places.

We maintain that the populist-urban debate is an artificially inflated conflict but it is present in our cultural life as a clique-forming factor and a false reaction to often genuine problems. The nationalist passions—which appear in an extreme and damaging form especially in the second, third and fourth ranks of the "populist" wing—are often linked to the question of the nation's "destiny". These people raise the issue of the national minorites as well as the population question and the problem of suicides as if these were the consequences of the chosen—socialist—road of social progress to solve these problems, thus completely disregarding everything that has been done in these fields. The advocates of these views ignore the fact that of the vital questions of destiny affecting the Hungarian people, the solution to the uncertainty of fate of the landless peasants before the Land Reform, the three million beggars and the elimination of the industrial, urban and cultural backwardness has been the work of socialist Hungary. This group is in many ways incapable of maintaining an ideological independence from the conservative nationalist section of the "populist" movement: its passions often show a lack of understanding of the whole historical transition which is occuring before our very eyes and which, parallel to socialist transformation, causes the decline and disappearance of the old traditional peasant way of life.

It is in this context that one hears certain nostalgic voices regretting the "warming human community" of the old shared barracks of the agricultural labourers. There are those who would protect the people from

the increasing comfort of their flats and who speak in this connection of the sad disappearance of community life. All this can, of course, evoke in some people the vision of national death, but only if they identify the national existence with a backward way of life which is destined to disappear. Only those can blame the forces of social progress who regard the old exclusively as "good". Can someone who is concerned for the people because of progress feel concern for the nation and the interests of the people?

But the trend which displays its indifference to the nation is just as dangerous and it is just as aggressively present in our intellectual life.

The determined and consistent stand against national indifference and nihilism is given special topicality and importance by the imminent danger of imperialist softening up tactics availing themselves of the theories of convergence. On the so-called "urban" wing there are people whose often voiced modernity, which consist of empty snobbery and a superficial imitating of fashion, means nothing other than their wish to overcome provincialism by a different brand of provincialism, i.e. the adoration of the West. Behind this type of modernity there is an extreme, petty individualism wanting to liberate itself from every community responsibility.

Only recently a weekly published a statement which rejected—and was allowed to reject—national values as "so-called national pride" without receiving a proper response.

There are other, less open, manifestations of this phenomenon, and even people of goodwill often forget this. After all, if they speak only in general of the scientific-technological revolution and keep silent about its differing realization under socialist and capitalist conditions, if they speak only in general of urbanization and not of socialist urbanization, if they speak only in general of modernity without speaking of the requirements of up-to-dateness dictated by our conditions, if they ignore the fact that the socio-economic processes of our period are determined by those laws and conditions which differentiate the two world systems; if they forego analysing phenomena from a class point of view, then they are figthing not against nationalism. Rather, by denying the future of the nation, they cast doubt on its socialist future and thus, together with nationalism, they come into conflict with progress and socialism. The difference between the two trends embodying these false extremes is merely apparent.

Behind the occasionally erupting nationalist passions of the populists there are not infrequently anti-Soviet ideas of a "third road" socialism. The other group's "transcending" above the nation today means primarily

a capitulation before the manipulative tendencies of the capitalist cultural world market. Their indifference to the action merely hides a disinterest in social progress and in the building of socialism.

As usually happens, the advocates of both these false alternatives think that they have discovered in each other their own justification, while in fact both are equally far from the true interests of the Hungarian people building socialism. In reality they are not enemies of each other but of the building of socialism in Hungary. That is why a consistent struggle, a sharp ideological debate must be fought on the basis of socialist patriotism and internationalism against every manifestation of nationalism and national nihilism. In this field, too, the struggle must be, naturally, primarily against views and not against persons.

Cultural Policy

It is an undeniable fact that in socialist Hungary culture has reached the masses to an incomparably greater extent than in any period in the past. The country-wide spread of television and radio, the rising number of newspapers bought, the figures referring to the publishing and the sale of books, facts that can be quoted from every branch of art prove: valuable, high-standard art in Hungary is no longer the privilege of the few; modern socialist and classic art is no longer an "élite culture".

L'art pour l'art is not manifested any more in theoretical articles but in the works and publications themselves, without even openly using the expression. Yet culture in socialism is not for itself but rather it is a force serving the development of people, communities and socialism. Culture is part of the indispensable human conditions of socialism and it has an increasing role in the shaping of the consciousness, principles, circumstances of life and taste of socialist man. Our goal was, is and will remain: to enable the widest masses to acquire to an ever increasing extent every cultural value of the past and present.

The comprehensive long-term plan for the development of popular education to be worked out now touches not only on the conventional sphere of "adult education"—houses of culture, amateur ensembles, libraries, museums, the dissemination of knowledge—but also extends to the whole of our cultural and intellectual life. Science must take part in the working out and solving of these tasks, just as education, the arts and the mass organization have to.

Our society has developed to a point where there is a strong demand

for a new, socialist way of life and for the development and socialist interpretation of community norms.

We reject the capitalist "consumer society". We do not live and work merely for what we can buy, but rather consume—and hopefully always more and better—in order to live an intelligent, healthy and full life for the benefit of ourselves and the whole of society. It would be a mistake to overestimate the standard of living, since we still have much to do in this direction. But there is increasing emphasis on creating and realizing the socialist demands on life which take shape on the basis of the improving and, one hopes, ever faster improving standard of living. It is not sufficient to voice ready-made prescriptions and general principles. We have to search for, find and solve under our concrete conditions these, in many respects historically new, tasks.

Those who fail to recognize that we are confronting a historically new situation are threatened by various dangers. They might find themselves in the blind alley of the bourgeois–petty-bourgeois thinking, accepting those ideas, customs and moral norms. It would be a mistake to restrict this danger to certain externally obvious phenomena; eccentric fashion, a few superficial commercial plays on television and *kitsch* in music and films. Besides these commercial variations, it is necessary to take note of the presence of bourgeois influences in the so-called higher spheres of culture. It would be underestimating the force of the bourgeois–petty-bourgeois influence to look for trash only in the area of pseudo-culture and the entertainment industry. It also appears on a higher level. One has only to think of the uncritical "dissemination of knowledge" of some adult education lectures or the fact that in their search for fame and "immortality" some good artists, painters, sculptors and writers "change their spots" from year to year in accordance with the changing trends of bourgeois fashions.

The defence against these phenomena is not to abolish the practice of making the contemporary, genuinely valuable creations of the culture of the Western countries available. The way in which we relate to them is of decisive importance. What is involved here is not merely the imitation of certain technical tricks or the following of certain technical trends, but rather the copying of certain behaviour patterns which ought to be criticized above all. These are understandable under bourgeois conditions but they cannot be understood or, more precisely, accepted here.

The artistic poses playing with the halo of "eternal scepticism" and the fashions which in an unprincipled manner praise or reject everything that is old, act in essence to preserve the bourgeois world, strengthening its

positions against the historically new. These tendencies are versions of "modern" conservatism which we must fight against from the standpoint of genuine social and artistic modernity, the truth of building socialism and of Marxism–Leninism.

The resolution of the November 1972 session of the Central Committee stated: "Literature and the arts are following the changes that have come about in social life and on the whole they are developing in the spirit of socialist ideology. At the same time the contradictions which exist in society result in ideological uncertainty at times; in some works the problems of our contemporary existence are presented in a deformed, exaggerated fashion and in others there is an indifference towards the vital issues concerning society and the people."*

It would lead to a mistaken evaluation of the present position of the arts to emphasize only one or the other side of this statement. The position of our cultural life is certainly contradictory. There are many achievements, perhaps more than are recognized in professional circles and by the press. Yet the more courageous defence of our own values, the less shy propagation of our own achievements cannot be neglected in the struggle for socialist culture. It has to be emphasized once again that in every branch of the arts significant achievements have been created in the past few years too.

It would be desirable if the conference of the artists' associations to be held in the near future would analyse in a profound, subtle and realistic way the achievements, problems, the ideological and aesthetic position of the various branches of the arts, giving especial attention to their relation to the reality and the requirements of our society.

It is necessary, however, to speak briefly, of certain general questions that affect the whole of our artistic life.

Within the direction of artistic life by the Party and the state there has been—quite rightly—an increase both in the scope and independence and in the responsibility of the creative workshops. There are many examples to prove that this feeling of responsibility is not always sufficiently present and also that it is not always connected with a consistent and carefully thought out awareness of the principles of our cultural policy. Thus, for example, we often meet views and practices which indicate a false, aristocratic view of art.

For the further development of art experimentation is necessary. This requires suitable smaller organs, such as studio theatres and art cinemas. But it is incompatible with the fundamental goals of socialist culture to

* Communiqué of the November 14—15 session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. pp. 30—31.

measure the development of socialist art by the increase in the number of works intended for the small forums and to "celebrate" the works written for the few and to contrast them favourably with those works which "speak to the masses about the masses" with the aim of "wanting to serve". In opposing "general understandability" and "mass demand" that were made a myth at the beginning of the fifties, this mistaken viewpoint in fact embraces their false opposite, i.e. incomprehensibility. When they try to push realist art to the periphery—using the tha taftc certain state organs, such as the relevant county, town and district authorities, fail to notice this—when they favour certain abstracts which appear at the level of modernist *kitsch*, they actually create a vacuum around art, alienating the public from truly modern art and—wantingly or not—send audiences and buyers to the *kitsch* industry.

We continue to be unwilling to interfere in matters of taste and style by orders. We support experimentation that is rich in content and is primarily socialist-oriented. But we take a most definite stand against the copying of yesterday's Western artistic fashions under the guise of experimentation. The orientation that is indispensable is not epigonism, it is not mere copying, but a tool for giving answers to the questions of our own reality with the greatest validity, the most thorough preparation and the widest horizon. For that reason the direction of artistic experimentation can only mean wrestling with the difficult material of reality, the achievement of new contents and forms appropriate to them, in line with the demands of the here and now, for today and tomorrow, for socialism.

The fact that we do not interfere by way of regulations in matters of taste and style does not mean that we regard the taste of the masses as a private matter.

Radio and television have performed, and we hope will continue to perform, great services by letting a great many valuable works reach the masses. The statistics referring to our libraries, publishing and book buying show how the correct value propaganda of our means of mass communication has increased the reading and buying of the classics and of today's humanist, socialist works. It is fashionable these days to cast doubt on this significant achievement. The superficial and summary "criticism" of radio and television programmes cannot lead to the overcoming of the undoubtedly existing shortcomings. On the contrary, it may well bring about and strengthen an attitude which, basing itself on "the right to self-defence" and at times unjustifiably exceeding it, might reject even the truly serious criticism.

In our view it does not restrict the scope of these organs if we maintain that their task is not workshop experimentation in the narrow sense but the

continuation of their positive practice of establishing connections between art and the audience and developing into a forum which increasingly shapes and awakens demands. In this connection, however, they must experiment. They must find out how to make the largest volume of valuable artistic and educational material most effectively reach the widest public. It is in this respect that television must be a workshop and it should not desire the laurels of a small-circulation journal or studio theatre.

Nor is everything in order as regards the social-ideological responsibility of the workshops. A few years ago three concepts were used for making our cultural policy more easily understandable. These were: the "three T-s"* support, tolerate, prohibit. One might add "recognize" and "inform" and some other concepts as well. The orientating principles, naturally, have to be realized on the basis of the concrete analysis of the individual works and not merely schematically. Genuine evaluation does not tolerate schematic categories—not even if these are phrased in a more exact form—but the essence, i.e., that every forum transmitting the creations of art and culture must base their selections on the principles of our cultural policy, is unmistakably manifest even in this simplifying slogan.

It is precisely this unmistakable essence that does not get expressed at times.

Of all these requirements the consistent realization of support remains the most important. The goals of our cultural policy, which serve the interests of the working people, can only be realized through help *via* encouragement and incentives for socialist creative work of a high standard. We possess various means to achieve this end, but what is most important is that the cultural workshops and their leaders, and the communists working there, all those who want to serve the people and art, the meeting of the two, should use the means of encouragement more courageously and with a greater sense of responsibility than hitherto.

The duty which our Party places on us Communists, applies both to Communist and non-communist leaders in the sphere of art and culture: here, too, leadership means service!

The cultural activity of the mass media which speak to the widest masses and of criticism which can orientate the creators and the audience alike with its value system and value judgements have an especially great responsibility for the more consistent realization of "encouragement" in line with our socialist goals and the principles of our cultural policy.

Our publications often try to expand the boundaries of what can be published, thinking that what makes them interesting and what serves art

* In Hungarian, this is an alliterative slogan: *támogat, tűr, tilt* (The Editor)

or the artist is if they push what hardly reaches the threshold of publicability in front of public opinion, and at times the widest public opinion, or even goes beyond it. Our workshops occasionally provide opportunities for careerist sensation-seeking, daredevil "outspokenness" instead of giving more scope and providing incentives by orientation, encouragement and commissions for genuine artistic standards, socialist culture and socialist realist, realist humanist art.

The principles of our cultural policy are also distorted when tolerance is shown to works of genuine artistic merit by passive forbearance even where respect for the author and the work would require patient, principled debate. The goal of tolerance is not rigidifying our cultural life or passively registering that this or that artist belongs to the category of those with this or that ideological or artistic weaknesses.

Tolerance means a principled debate which has to help the artist to overcome in his creative work ideological and artistic uncertainties and those aspects that are alien to our socialist principles and life. Patient, principled debate is needed to help these artists to advance to the creation of socialist values that can be supported unequivocally. That this is possible is shown by many examples from recent years.

The starting-point must be that genuinely creative minds are always searching and thinking, they are occupied primarily by the people, the fate of the country, and truth and not their own prestige and vanity. For that reason they can respect a frankness which searches with them while arguing with them. Therefore, consistent and courageous, principled debates which show respect to the other side also by frankness are, in the final analysis, smoothing the road for a firm alliance notwithstanding temporary frictions and resentment: despite the temporarily and partially different point of view, the common devotion to the cause generates trust.

There are many misunderstandings (or "misunderstandings", either for comfort or for "market" considerations) concerning "tolerate". As a matter of fact the word was used to refer to elements that can hardly be defined in the categories of art, i.e., entertainment, such as thrillers and pop-songs. "Tolerance", however, must not mean that the proportion of such works should be expanded at the cost of genuinely valuable works or that there is no need to take cognizance of their bearing on behaviour and their taste-forming role.

A further concern of ours is that in recent years the ties linking fiction, drama and the film to reality, to life have loosened somewhat. At the beginning of the sixties literature and art made better use of contemporary possibilities. They raised the central questions affecting the people, the working classes, with greater artistic force and social validity. The writers were moved

by socially significant questions and conflicts and the subjectivity of the creator followed the motions of life and expressed itself by identifying with them.

Nowadays, quite frequently, several contrary examples can be found. The artist projects his own subjective—and occasionally insincere feelings of uncertainty onto reality and thereby makes something a central question that is not central even in his own life. He fails to notice what is socially significant; yet by grasping it he would enrich himself and his art and would also find a wider and truer contact with the public and the community.

I merely mention films as an example. What was the reason for the success of our films inside Hungary in the 1960s? They provided an artistic picture of our reality which helped us to confront genuine questions waiting for solution and they also helped self-knowledge and promoted social activity.

Social validity—naturally—not only did not hinder the development of artistic forms of expression but, to the contrary, in these same years remarkable new solutions as to form were created. The strength of the analysed ideas was so great that the works avoided cheap didacticism and spoke with great artistic force about our reality.

The fundamental reason for the success of our films abroad was that they gave a valid picture of the achievements, concerns and experiences which were common to the other socialist countries too. As regards the capitalist countries—especially among those with left-wing sentiments—there is today more interest than ever in life in the socialist countries, in the development of socialist man. After all the manipulated information, they felt at last that, from us, they received a valid picture of the socialist world. This was the basic reason for the success of our films in the West. The people felt that they would become acquainted with socialism in practice through the socialist countries frankly confronting their past and present, their demands and reality, artistically expressed.

In asking why there are no similar successes today, one has to seek the answer once again in the direction of the sensitivity shown towards genuine social issues. The new questions of socialist democracy, the rapid transformation of the way of life both in the villages and cities, the changes in the thinkig of the individual and of the community, in workshops and in factories, the new questions affecting the working class: literature and the arts must draw upon and reflect these to a much greater extent. This is also in the interest of socialist art.

It is not intended to go into a detailed analysis here, even less to give

concrete advice to writers and artists, but what is probably involved is the fact that as a result of the development that has taken place life has become more complex. The conflicts appear not as open fronts, but rather in a more hidden, deeper and more complex manner and it is more difficult to grasp them. What is more, they probably cannot be grasped with precisely those artistic means which were suitable for depicting the counter-revolution, the consolidation or the socialist transformation of the villages. Precisely as a result of the increase on a society-wide scale of the "yes" answers given to the fundamental questions of socialism, it is no longer the "for" and "against" fronts that are characteristic but the dynamic growth and changes and shades of the "yes" answers and the way in which they are interpreted in the relationship of different classes, strata and individuals and within the classes, strata, groups and individuals.

Art, however, will interpret the new, more complex, more internal forms of conflict mistakenly if it answers by privatization and the shunning of public activity, if the artist looses his awareness that art is fed by life, by the everyday experiences of the masses, if he loses the faith that he can influence and help with his own means. In the history of art privatization has never been the result of life being depicted in a more intimate way or that it occurs within a larger community, but it has always depended on the point of view, sensitivity and social commitment of the artist. Apparently private and intimate problems and conflicts can also be approached from the side of the community, within the sphere of social interrelationship and in a public manner, thereby making them public matters influencing millions. They can also be approached from the standpoint that these are personal matters. This, however, is irrelevant not only from the social point of view, but also, and just for that reason, artistically as well.

The private confessions of Sándor Petőfi, Endre Ady, Attila József and the great creators of world literature have become in their intimacy public matters affecting millions. We should take note of what it is that receives a truly great echo in our contemporary lyric poetry (which, incidentally, has some fine achievements, too) and also of the fact that there are signs of a cleavage between our publishing practice and criticism on the one hand and the public on the other.

In discussing the partial and relative problems of our literature and film-making, the implication is not what is said by many people: there are no *Twenty Hours** or *Cold Days*** either in literature or in films. In this form this statement is open to misunderstanding because it appears as if we were

* A chapter of Ferenc Sánta's novel *Twenty Hours* was published in No. 17 of *The N.H.Q.*

** On the novel and the film see Tibor Cseres's article in No. 32 of *The N.H.Q.*

mourning some golden age and as if all our endeavours were directed towards recreating it. This is not, however, what we expect from our artists, but something different; different in the sense that in recent years our society has changed, developed and has to be characterized by conflicts of a different type. It would be more precise to say: let our artists utilize the contemporary possibilities offered by our world and life at last to the same extent that they used to do.

I repeat what was said at the Tenth Congress: in order for our artists to come closer to the masses, they must get closer to life.

The basic principles of our art policy have not changed. We continue not to expect a lacquered reality, apologetic illustrations or immaculate model heroes. We continue to require valid art of a high standard which is based on the Marxist world view and an acceptance of public and social responsibility, and which is committed to the cause of socialism and progress: this is the requirement of socialist reality.

It is obvious that the viewpoint of our artists is decisive in such important questions as the portraying of our life in a realistic way, together with its contradictions and difficulties or showing it in a pessimistic spirit which turns its back on the struggle; as well as the depicting of the contemporary life of the working classes and, connected with all these, the relationship between art and the public.

Here is a concrete example. The depopulation of a village—like any other subject—can have various artistic interpretations. One is that which would be valid for the thirties, though the film was made in the seventies. It can be expressed by creating a mood of decay. And it could have been expressed as the painful labour of a necessary development which, however, gives birth to a new life. Then, in our opinion, it could have been an artistic work of significance.

No one wished to resuscitate the so-called positive heroes of the years of dogmatism who were formed to conform to daily political models but the public opinion of a socialist society rightly requires the depiction of the hero of our age, contemporary man who, though occasionally stumbling and at times even agonized, finds his way and is able to carry out newer and newer tasks. Public opinion rightly requires that art should keep pace with changing reality. We take note of this and we have to think through and discuss these important questions with a sense of responsibility. Our literary and art criticism was analysed in detail in the document published by the cultural policy working group. I would give special emphasis to one question. Many misunderstandings arise from the fact that our literary public opinion and our literary and art criticism disregards the fact that the literature and art

of our socialist state is not identical with socialist literature and art. If one forgoes this differentiation, the fronts become tangled. When the state confers the Kossuth Prize on someone in appreciation of the humanistic and artistic merits of his work, this is an expression of the regard of our state and our literary public opinion. But it should not follow from this that Marxist criticism should refrain from pointing out the possible limitations of the world view and of the humanism of the artist, or such features that cannot be reconciled with Marxism.

Our state and its cultural policy will naturally continue to express its regard for every humanist, even if not Marxist, value. But no one has ever said that this makes those values socialist, Marxist, or that criticism can lay down its ideological weapons.*

The Responsibility of Communists

In ideological work, in cultural policy, there is no need therefore for a change in direction as regards the principles, the fundamental conception. The statement of the November session of the Central Committee applies in this sphere too. It said: "The Party continues to follow the proven main line of the Tenth Congress and all its basic decisions regarding principles."

* I repeat—in agreement with the contributions to the discussion— that our cultural institutions should also be forums for the education of the people, providing an aesthetic experience.

It would be mistaken to believe that popular education simply means that a given institution "exerts an influence on the people". This always has to be coupled with the endeavour that the spontaneous, cultural activity of the people should also be a factor in the mutual relationship. We have already achieved some results in this field. As is usually the case, however, distortions have also appeared.

For example: we support and will always support the amateur movement. But certainly not in order that the amateur companies should perform absurd plays which are not given room in our theatres, but so that spontaneous cultural activity should carry, express and disseminate the culture of the people, the genuine cultural values.

We are pleased that the casts of our films often include well chosen non-professional actors. But the fact that someone has not graduated from the College of Dramatic Art is no guarantee in itself that he is a better actor than someone who chose this career as his profession.

We must always bear in mind that the cultural amateur movement is an important means of expressing the people's need for community. It is no accident that the workers' choirs and the workers' theatrical groups found a home in the working class movement from the outset. Today too people are seeking and are endeavouring to utilize in their place of work, where they live, in their schools the forms of community life. A choir, a theatrical group, etc.—these are also communities. Either we satisfy people's need for companionship—also in this form—or our ideological and political antagonists will take advantage of this demand and create petty bourgeois sham communities. That is why I agree with the appreciation that was expressed concerning television's "Fly Peacock" programme and movement. I am certain that the cooperation of the workers' choirs and television will be just as successful. It is these initiatives that finally convince me of how mistaken, petty and narrow horizoned is the view which holds that people only want *kitsch*, cheap entertainment.

As regards the relationship between professional art and the people, let us take for our programme the words of Attila József: "It is not at a secondary school level that I will teach all my people." This contains respect, the awareness that the people are not at an "elementary school" level. That is why every view and initiative—however delicately expressed—based on the belief that the people are back-

The Central Committee also stated, however: "There are shortcomings in certain areas as regards the execution of the resolutions of the Congress, what is more, in places the execution is not in the desired direction and manner."

The problems that appear in our ideological and cultural life naturally have objective causes and factors, or at least causes and factors that are not directly related to our activity. Capitalism is struggling with very serious symptoms of crises in its ideology, way of life and culture, but it exists and exerts an influence. However great our achievements, we still cannot say—because it would be deluding ourselves—that we have entirely eliminated from one day to the next the semi-feudal, bourgeois ideological legacy of Hungary's history. The divisions in the international workers' movement also influence our ideological life. These are the objective conditions of our contradictory age.

The extent to which these factors can influence our ideological and cultural development and the extent to which we can influence them depends on the internationalist endeavours and achievements of socialism and the workers' movement and in our own area, first of all and decisively on us.

In the ideological and cultural sphere the primary condition for improving and raising our work to a higher level and for carrying out the resolutions more consistently is for us to understand and make others understand that

ward is doomed to failure. We have not established the studio theatres and the art studios for the purpose for which many would now wish to utilize them: to become select forums for exhibitions which "the people in any case do not understand."

On the other side of this question I also refer to Attila József: let us teach the people but as teachers and at least at a secondary school level and not as remedial teachers teaching mentally handicapped children.

I would also add culture and the arts must constantly learn from the people—in the final analysis they have always maintained themselves from the people's strength, life and endeavours. Today certain artists seek "the eternally human" in pure biological existence, they think they find it where man is still just an animal, in the world of instincts. At the same time occasionally they cannot express what is truly human—because it is contemporary and of the people—for which life itself offers examples. In Komló recently two of the miners who were saved went back despite being restrained, and saved twenty-two of their fellows, while they themselves perished. Is this not "human"? It is obviously that and "eternal" because it provides news of contemporary man. But the exploration of this human depth is much more difficult than the cheap serving up of some sort of purely biologically "eternally human" and it presents a more difficult and challenging artistic task than the "production" of schematic positive heroes.

Dogmatism discredited the new human being, his depiction in art, by proclaiming his presence as a general phenomenon. Today he is often discredited here by the failure to notice him, the refusal to believe it when we come across him in life.

Not even today can we find in everyday life such outstanding, impeccable positive heroes as schematism wanted to see and make others see. But those who are attentive—and creative artists must always be such men—could perceive in everyday people, who are often mistaken and who carry their errors with them, a multitude of new characteristics, often still co-existing with the old ones, that are the features of the new type of man. To perceive and artistically express this is certainly not schematism. This is the timely task of socialist realism, the art which takes genuine contradictions and inter-relationships into consideration.

ideological life is also a sphere of the class struggle, what is more, one of its unchangingly important spheres and that cultural policy is an organic part of the general policy of the party.

The work of building socialism supposes constant, planned and goal-directed ideological-moral educational work. This requires the concentrated utilization of the means of education, propaganda, agitation, mass communication, science, culture and art. We have never regarded the intellectual sphere as an ideologically neutral area where individual tastes and inclinations manifest themselves without barriers and controls. Intellectual life is an important sphere of the ideological class struggle and it is especially important that the party's leading and guiding role should be realized here, too.

There has to be a growth in the responsibility of the cultural organs, workshops and of the communists working in them. That is why the Central Committee found it timely to repeat in essence the resolution of the Tenth Congress: "In accordance with the spirit of our guiding principles relating to cultural policy, there must be an increase in ideological and political responsibility and in the artistic requirements of the creative workshops, readers' departments, publishers and editors."* It is also called with repeated emphasis on every cultural forum—including the mass communication media—to support and propagate more decisively and with greater initiative the values of socialist culture and more consistently realize the principle that cultural products which are inimical to socialism, which endanger the interests of the people and which are artistically worthless should not be published or performed.

The Central Committee gave added emphasis to the requirement of increased responsibility by not linking it on this occasion with a mention of independence. It is not that anything changed as regards principles. The consistent realization of principles, however, today demands primarily an increase in political and ideological responsibility.

Many words have been spoken since the Tenth Congress about the responsibilities of the cultural workshops and certain things have happened to strengthen them. As regards the near future, I wish to stress the development and general practice of an interpretation of responsibility which at every level of leadership concentrates primarily on its own responsibility. The view and attitude which expects everything from above or from somewhere else and which can only complain and protest but does not undertake determined and principled decisions and actions within its own sphere must be eliminated. We must put an end to the often almost laughable situation where associa-

* Communiqué of the November 14–15 session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. p. 31.

tions, forums, Party and state organs at various levels and their Communists criticize, as if they were outsiders, undesirable phenomena which it would have been their duty—or their responsibility too—to bar, or where they criticize others on other levels for things that they should themselves work harder to prevent.

In connection with the issues of our cultural and ideological life, the question often emerges in this form: what are the Central Committee and the central organs doing or planning as regards this or that phenomenon? The question is often justified. The central leadership has its own responsibilities in determining the objectives, supporting and controlling their execution and in making clear who is responsible for what and it is certain that there are shortcomings in this sphere, too.

The Party, however, is not identical with the apparatus of the Central Committe and the Party guidance of cultural and ideological life is not identical with the activity of the apparatus. Party leadership will be realized in this area too when every Party organization, every Communist and every leader consistently carries out in their own field the decisions and statements of the leading bodies and decide as regards individual, specific question in the spirit of Party decisions and according to their own communist convictions.

The Political Committee recently approved a report and made a decision regarding the development of the standard of work at the level of the Party branch organizations. This states that a considerable percentage of the leaders of cultural and artistic life are Party members. (And there are a great many non-party members who profess themselves to be socialist and even Communist.) Under such circumstances it is obvious that the question: "What is the Party doing?" cannot be addressed merely to the central organs but every Communist leader and Party member working in the field of science and culture must pose the same question to himself, too.

The resolution mentioned above regarding the Party organization working in the cultural field—while emphasizing their achievements—states: "In the case of several Party branches there is a tendency to expect every action against the anti-socialist, bourgeois phenomena in cultural life to come from 'above'. The question of their own responsibility does not arise in them sufficiently in connection with the critical comments. On occasion the branches respectively their secretaries become temporarily influenced by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views and sometimes become participants or justifiers after the fact or mistakes committed by a given cultural workshop."

The basic principles of our cultural policy are firm. The practice of fifteen years proves the correctness of the principles which were also reinforced by the Tenth Congress. But if in the course of their realization

political and ideological responsibility is not sufficiently manifested, if with the knowledge of certain Communist leaders or Party organizations a book can appear which is irreconcilable with our internationalist principles, if journals not only publish politically harmful articles but these articles are not even contested in debate, if a respected natural science association organizes a social science conference that is virtually an ideological adventure, if the evaluation of Western scientific trips and publications is often uncertain and if in these and similar cases the central leadership has to intervene: then today indeed the main task is to increase the political and ideological responsibility of the workshops, of the party and state organizations that are in immediate charge of them and of the communists and leaders who work there.

It must not be forgotten that the transgressing of principles is not harmful only in itself but also in its indirect destructive effect. Many people draw the conclusion from these phenomena: "So this can be done, too." For many people mistakes are not mistakes but encouraging precedents.

Nor must it be permitted that the relevant organs should enforce the principles with some sort of "pangs of conscience", with hesitant indecisiveness, at times almost apologizing and even pointing upwards. This is not even the worse case, because more frequently they do not intervene but endlessly postpone or pass over or sweep under the carpet the cases waiting to be dealt with.

To make mistakes—on occasion—is possible and they can be corrected. But one must not fail to make decisions, evading the issue or passing the responsibility to others.

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Various leading bodies and organs of the Party endeavoured to give direct aid in the execution of the resolutions of the Congress by means of specific resolutions and statements on a whole range of questions.

Among the long-term and very complex tasks contained in the guiding principles for science policy it is the launching of the suitable directed and coordinated research work of the National Long-Range Research Plan that at present requires the greatest concentration. Besides this, efforts must also be focussed on working out the middle-range social science plans at a suitable, high standard and in a manner in which politics needs and can utilize it.

The development of science and the enforcing of the positions of Marxism require that the statement of policy by the cultural policy working group which outlines the relationship between freedom of research and the responsibility of publication, should be realized to a much greater extent than hitherto. The heads of the various learned publications, the heads of the

Academy of Sciences' institutes and other research institutions and university departments are personally responsible for what their colleagues publish at home and their contributions in the Western bourgeois organs.

In the cultural sphere the May 30, 1972 resolution of the Political Committee must be carried out. This drew attention once again to the responsibility regarding support and prohibition and pointed out that the publishers must, by way of greater initiative and more dynamic workshop activity and giving prizes, grants and commissions, improve the subject compositions of contemporary literature. They must encourage works which contain valid information, which express a healthy attitude of life and which educate in good taste even in the sphere of entertainment. They must exclude those works which would tend to lower tastes or preserve bad tastes by taking a differentiated account of public demand.

The Agitation and Propaganda Committee made it clear in connection with the evaluation of the position of the central and provincial periodicals that the task of these journals is not simply the reflection and a passive publication of the literary process but rather clarifying, orientating and differentially supporting, in the spirit of our cultural policy.

The October 1, 1971 session of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee issued a specific guidance for the improvement of the programme policy of theatres. On a different occasion it analysed the situation of Communist writers, artists and Party organizations in the field of art. The statement "Some issues of our literary and art criticism" can only be effective, however, if its main message, the need for a modern interpretation of positive idealism, of the advocacy of the interests of the proletarian revolution, of belonging to the people, of socialist realism, of realism and the other basic categories of Marxist aesthetics and criticism will be in the focus of the research plans of the research institutes and in the centre of the constructive debates of periodicals and if the periodicals and newspapers create the foundation for improving and further strengthening Marxist criticism by means of careful selection of future cadres, by education, workshop activity and carefully thought out planning.

The November session of the Central Committee judged it necessary to re-examine the economic system of regulators in the cultural and artistic sphere, "to ensure that the growing state support should aid unequivocally those works which are important and valuable for socialist society". The execution of this task will be our joint work and, I believe, it is right to call attention to the fact that even the most satisfactory system of regulators cannot be effective if it is not matched by the consciousness of those people who are primarily responsible for socialist culture and if they do not con-

sistently enforce the principle that in socialism culture is not a commodity. Here are, therefore, a whole score of specific, determined tasks which we have to execute in the near future.

Beyond the statements mentioned above, the Central Committee set two connected tasks which are decisive from the point of view of cultural and ideological life and the building of socialism: the development of our educational system and the working out of the developmental plan for our system of popular education. The realization of the resolution on educational policy is task for the next decade but it is only the first phase making the resolution known and ensuring its uniform interpretation that we have successfully achieved. The task now is the working out of specific measures. Our County Party Committees determined their tasks and the educational organs have begun the execution of the resolution on the basis and in the spirit of the resolution of the Central Committee. Measures are now being created for the lessening or elimination of excessive burdens, for the development of school democracy, for making the work of the teachers more independent and for other important tasks.

I wish to emphasize that the realization of the county and central tasks is inconceivable without the disciplined and exemplary work of the District Party Committees, the branch organizations, the school party organizations and Communist teachers. Several debates and, in places, even reservations point to the fact that every time when a specific measure is announced or a task is determined we have to explain concretely in the schools the most important points of the resolution, without beginning a new debate on issues which have already been decided by the Central Committee. Advocacy by Communist teachers is indispensable for making teachers not only understand but also accept the essence of the resolution.

In the execution of the resolution a great role will have to be played, besides the Communist teachers, by those in charge of the educational administration and the County Councils. The government recently decided on placing the occupational secondary schools and the vocational schools for skilled workers into the sphere of authority of the Councils. The Councils should prepare themselves for this great and difficult task. We must not forget throughout the various phases of carrying out the task that the goals of all this is educating youth to social ideals and morals, ensuring the present and the future of socialist society.

The elimination of the mystification of marking and of the chasing of averages, the reduction or elimination of excessive burdens, the placing of professional and ideological training and further training of teachers on better and sounder foundations all serve these very same goals, the goals of socialist

education. We must not forget that education in the schools cannot be realized without the help and the deeply felt responsibilty of the whole of society, the family and institutions outside school. The school and the family are not substitutes for each other in the educational process. They are communities that assume and supplement each other and it is only their harmonized, combined effect that can ensure the shaping of the new generations into men of the socialist community.

We cannot advance in this field if the communist parents cannot show an example not only in public life but also in their private lives, in the school community and everywhere, if they cannot, at the price of however much internal struggle, act as communists.

Besides the tasks for the further development of our educational system, the Tenth Congress nominated the area of popular education as the other decisive sphere where significant further development is needed from the point of view of the socialist development of our public thinking. As is well known, the November session of the Central Committee set us the task of working out the plans for the further development of our system of popular education. Despite every achievement, popular education—because its roots in everyday life and society are even wider and deeper than that of the educational system—is one of the most difficult areas of our cultural and ideological work. It is perhaps here that the burdens of the harmful legacy of the past are heaviest, it is perhaps here that there is the greatest need for taking cognizance of the structural changes that have taken place in society. The changing way of life, scientific and technological developments, have a direct effect on the means and methods of popular education and it is in this area that it is most difficult to coordinate the work from the organizational aspect. For that reason the working out of the conception of long-range development of our system of popular education is a task that requires wide-scale and complex cooperation but at the same time it is one of the most important tasks from the cultural point of view.

The task of Party members, party organizations and communists is to give more help to our comrades working in the mass organizations and to orientate them more intensively and directly. "We must continue to remember," said the November statement of the Central Committee "that we are living in a phase of socialist development when the role and the independent, responsible work of the Patriotic People's Front, of the Trade Unions, the Communist Youth Union (KISZ), the mass organizations and mass movements is becoming ever greater and more important."* In order to reach our goal, the execution of the resolutions of the Tenth Congress, it is necessary

* Ibid. p. 35.

to improve the ideological, cultural and educational work of the mass organizations and mass movements. The role of the Trade Unions has increased and within the framework of the enterprise they are becoming increasingly significant forums of social-political life. The occasionally inward looking Party members and Party organizations must give greater attention to trade union work in order to make the Trade Unions increasingly become "schools" in the recognition and reconciliation of the most topical individual, group and social interests of "communism".

A significant part of our youth and precisely the most impressionable generations have grown up in the last decade and a half, in a non-spectacular, "easier" period. For them not only 1945, but 1956 and even the socialist transformation in the villages are history. For them there have not been much testing occasions for public action to emotionally and morally reinforce conscious awareness. The desire for action felt by youth growing up within the framework of school and university life and beside the workbench can be satisfied and must be satisfied according to the needs and requirements of contemporary society. In the interests of this goal the formal elements must be eliminated from the life of the youth organizations.

Socialist society has taught millions to think on a social scale. But there are still significant social strata which have hardly reached even the threshold of the demand for actual public and political thinking. Frameworks are needed to ensure that part of the population which does not yet take part in direct politics within an organized framework can engage in useful community activity. The relevant state and Party leadership and the managers of our enterprises must recognize better the buds of tomorrow's community morals and must not underestimate the initiatives which reinforce these. They should not focus on the person who takes the initiative but rather if what they start is good, they should encourage it much more bravely than in the past.

Finally, let us not forget that the Party is also a community! The Party must be the ultimate school in community sentiment, thinking and action. On the basis of Party democracy and its contact with the masses, the party organizations must be the strongest stimulators of socialist public life, they must by exemplary communities.

The tasks facing us demand from all of us, from the Party and especially from the Party organizations working in the cultural field, serious internal ideological and moral preparation. One of the shortcomings of the work of these Party organizations is that knowledge and interests are often *one-sided* and in general they are not dealing in appropriate proportions with questions of politics, and with economic, foreign and home policy.

It is important especially for Party organizations and leaders working in the cultural field to keep up more regularly and directly with the results of the Marxist social sciences. Without an up-to-date knowledge of society, wide horizons as regards cultural policy and an ability to orientate, the tasks facing us cannot be solved.

The same attention must be given to the elimination of shortcomings of this sort as to the overcoming of weaknesses in the field of Communist morals and conduct. In our cultural and scientific life it is a hindering factor in more than one place that the largely individual work creates rivalries even among Communists. Representing the interests of the community is on occasion replaced by tactics for the interests of certain cliques and instead of political work there is politicking. This is not only bad for nerves and wastes energy but in its effects it can poison the atmosphere of the work-place. It also loosens the unity of the party and undermines its authority.

The entire history of the workers' movement proves that the ideological unity of the party is indivisible from its ability to take united action. One is the prerequisite of the other. Without ideological unity there cannot be united action and vice versa. The ideological unity of the Party is not a state which, once reached, can be taken for granted. Party unity must be constantly guarded, which means that it must be constantly created and fought for during those phases of the struggle where many complex and new questions must be interpreted uniformly. The preservation and development of party unity also means that the Party is a voluntary fighting alliance: it is not obligatory to belong to it, but those who do must act as the Party acts.

After the counter-revolution, in a serious but relatively less complicated situation, the Party summed up the causes of the counter-revolution in four points. Unity was firm then as well but today we have to agree not on four, but forty or even four hundred questions. This can unavoidably bring certain differences in shading and emphasis but it must not be allowed that these should strengthen into separate opinions or stands against the ideological unity of the party.

The slogan "who is not against us, is with us" does not apply in this case. Inside the Party there is no policy of alliance. Within the Party there is ideological unity and united action, including Party discipline which, as I have said, starts with the point that the Party is a voluntary fighting alliance. As János Kádár put it at the November session of the Central Committee: "It is possible to raise questions or demand information at every forum of Party life, even to say that one does not agree with this or that,

but once we left the room where the debate was held, the Party resolution is obligatory. We keep, and make others keep, this elementary rule."*

All this applies to cultural and ideological life, to the Communists and leaders working in this field, to all of us. As does the last paragraph of the resolutions of the Central Committee, which I think is the most fitting conclusion to this debate: "The Central Committee is firmly convinced that on the basis of the forces of socialism, our important achievements, and utilizing our rich experience, the difficulties which arise in the course of the work can be successfully overcome, that the achievements can be increased and the shortcomings eliminated. If the Party organizations and the Party membership do their duty, act in unity and work dynamically with the support of the masses, then every condition exists for the full complementation of the resolutions of the Tenth Congress."**

* *A Központi Bizottság 1972 novemberi, az Országgyűlés 1972 decemberi ülésszakának főbb dokumentumai* ("The major documents of the November 1972 session of the Central Committee, and the December 1972 session of Parliament"). p. 21.

** Communiqué on the November 14–15, 1972 session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. p. 36.

COPERNICUS OR EINSTEIN?

by

LAJOS JÁNOSSY

I

The world is celebrating the 500th anniversary of the birth of the great thinker Copernicus. In connection with the appraisal of Copernicus we often find a comparison made between Copernicus and the great scientist Einstein. At first sight there seems to be a remarkable similarity between the achievements and the life of the two great men. We are, however, of the opinion that the similarity is an apparent one and that there is a very great difference in the role the two scientists played.

Let us first look at the similarities: Copernicus' ideas met with strong opposition and only after a considerable period were they accepted. Now many centuries afterwards these ideas form a fundamental and irrevocable part of our knowledge of the universe. Einstein also met with opposition at first, however, after a not too long period his views were generally accepted, although even today articles and views still appear which criticize Einstein's theory. These criticisms are dogmatically dismissed as "unscientific". Whether or not Einstein's achievement as a whole will survive in four or five hundred years' time is a question of pure conjecture; there are many scientists who are prepared to answer this question in a positive sense without any hesitation.

Our own view is that there is a considerable difference between the historic roles of the two great thinkers. To explain this is the main task of the present article.

II

The "system of Copernicus" which was formulated by Copernicus was not quite new in the history of human thinking. Some of the philosophers of antiquity already knew that the Earth rotates round its axis

and that it moves around the Sun. Even the diameter of the Earth and the order of magnitude of the distance between the Earth and the Sun had been estimated in the period of antiquity. These results were later forgotten and rediscovered by Copernicus, who was well acquainted with the work of the ancient philosophers.

The ideas of Copernicus met with great resistance. Part of the resistance arose because Copernicus' assertions contradicted the teaching of the Church. The contradictions, which arose from the story in the Old Testament according to which Josuah commanded the Sun not to set until the battle was finished, were difficult to swallow from the point of view of an orthodox interpretation of the Bible. But, apart from this, if the Earth is just a little insignificant member of the Solar system and an even more insignificant part of the whole Universe, then this moved mankind to a much less significant role than the one imagined from the religious stories concerning the creation of the World. It was difficult to accept this sudden degradation from the centre of the Universe to that of the inhabitants of a small satellite.

III

Apart from the general problems there are certain purely psychological factors which made it very difficult to accept the new point of view.

If we sit in a train we *see* that the landscape is rushing past us—although we *know* that in fact the train is moving through the landscape. It is difficult to keep all the time to the correct point of view. Even greater difficulty is experienced if we sit on a fast spinning roundabout. I remember such a journey in my childhood. The clear impression I had when the roundabout started its motion was that it was not the roundabout that started to move but the building started to rotate round us. Furthermore, it seemed that the building, together with the roundabout, were tilted suddenly. The latter impression is created by the action of the centrifugal forces. Whether one knows about this or not, one cannot help feeling that the whole system is really tilted.

One of my friends who accompained me on the roundabout asserted afterwards that he noticed that the roundabout had *really* tilted. This was obviously not so, but this assertion underlines the very strong impression gained by both of us. The same phenomenon is experienced when travelling on an aircraft. When the aircraft is moving along a bend it appears—looking through the window—that the Earth below has been suddenly tilted.

IV

Living on Earth we relate everything to the solid Earth. This is why we feel such horror in the case of an earthquake when the reliable Earth starts to move.

From this naive point of view we *see* that the sky turns round its pole in the course of a night and we *see* that both the Sun and the satellites move between the stars. It is very difficult to realize that not the stars and the Sun move but that the Earth rotates like a tremendously large roundabout and that the stars which are at very great distances do not move appreciably—they only *seem* to move because of our own motion. Great intellectual courage was needed to discover the real situation, which contradicted deep-rooted natural concepts and was also in contradiction with the accepted views of the Church.

Nowadays the astronauts have seen the Earth from outside and the photographs taken of the Earth from outer space have been transmitted to us and recorded. Thus we have the most direct evidence of the truth of the Copernican concepts. However, the latter evidence has produced excitement but no surprise. No one doubts in the twentieth century that the Earth is really a spinning ball inside the Solar system.

V

Einstein's contribution to physics is also enormous—there seems to be no doubt that some of his results will remain a permanent part of physics in the future. Nevertheless, there seems to be a very great difference between the achievements of the two great men.

Einstein's formulation of the theory of relativity caused a sensation all over the world. As is always the case with new formulations or new theories, at first there was a great deal of antagonism towards the new theory but in this particular case antagonism was mixed with admiration and surprise.

Max Laue wrote a monograph which appeared at the beginning of the century and which was one of the first works which helped in the understanding of the theory of relativity in scientific circles. In this monograph Laue says that the theory is much praised and much criticized by everybody, but it is significant that the loudest voices on either side understand nothing of the theory.

Looking back to this period it appears remarkable that a physical theory which deals with intricate problems of the fundamental laws

of physics should give rise to such strong emotions and to such publicity. The reasons for this fact are not rooted in the real physical content of the theory. The real cause of the great publicity and excitement the theory gave rise to are connected with ideological conclusions which were attached to it.

At the beginning of our century many of the accepted ideas in society and in everyday life changed radically. The First World War produced an upheaval which made people doubt values which had been firmly accepted before. In the midst of the destruction of accepted social forms and human values it was very exciting to hear from a great scientist that not only in everyday life but also according to science "everything is relative". Thus Einstein gave support to the very widely shared view that many facts that we had taken seriously before cannot really be taken for granted. It is this assertion made in connection with the theory of relativity which caused its real popularity. Such popularity would have been quite unimaginable had the theory simply asserted a certain fundamental feature of the laws of nature.

Looking in this way at the events taking place at the beginning of our century we see that the great upheaval caused by Einstein's theory was not caused by its real contents but by a popular interpretation of the results, which interpretation in my view has very little to do with the real achievements of Einstein, but which interpretation fell in strongly with popular views which arose in connection with the great social changes taking place in that period. In this view the great sensation that arose with the publications of Einstein was caused rather by the fact that it contained views which were just in the process to becoming popular. Copernicus, on the other hand, voiced views which contradicted contemporary ideology.

VI

The above criticism does not intend to diminish the achievements of Einstein in the field of physics, in particular that of theoretical physics. I merely want to point out that the great scientific achievements have to be separated from the ideological upheaval which they created and which has really nothing to do with the real contents of the theory.

I hope to give a positive appraisal of the theory in another article. Here I want to mention one—wrongly interpreted—result of theory, which result seems even to imply that perhaps Copernicus' achievement seen with modern eyes is less important than it had appeared at first sight.

An incorrect argument apparently based on the theory of relativity can be summarized as follows: if "everything is relative", then we can only say that the Earth and the Sun move *relative* to each other—and thus it is only a trivial difference of point of view whether I relate the motion of the Earth to the position of the Sun or alternatively the motion of the Sun to the position of the Earth. According to this view, it appears only an "arbitrary choice of the system of co-ordinates" whether I take the Earth to move round the Sun or the Sun to move round the Earth.

The above statement is, however, quite incorrect. Analysing the real laws of nature we necessarily come to the conclusion that the Earth is moving round the Sun, the orbit being determined by the gravitational attraction. The fact that one can describe the movements making use of different systems of coordinates has nothing to do with the real physical connections which exist independently of whether or not we attempt to describe them with the aid of one or other type of convention.

The system of Copernicus is thus firmly established and the theory of relativity—interpreted correctly—does not change anything of the fundamental concept.

MAGDA SZÉKELY

JUDGEMENT

Time collapsing like citadels,
on the day of the last Account,
the same kinds mount on both sides.

One banner for good and bad,
the constricted on the constricters
surge unrestricted, montage.

Yet striving senselessly,
every shape would be discrete
self-complete, impermeable.

Ambition there is a vanity,
no way to avoid the void,
withdrawn is the buoy of sin.

Evil falls from the proceeders,
the far-off unfit lose their flame,
their memory remains in the dust.

The good just those burdenless ready
in line to start the travail.
From a summons the frail bridge arises.

If someday they are fulfilled,
they'll flood from beyond without cease,
from radiance released to new radiance.

This poem was awarded the Hungarian Writers' Association Robert Graves Prize for the Best Poem of the Year for 1973—an award Mr Graves had founded out of his Hungarian author's royalties in 1969. Previously awarded to László Kálnoky, 1970, Zoltán Zelk, 1971, and Dezső Tandori, 1972.—Editor.

PERPETUAL MOTION

Oh, I would return to your womb, I'd restore
my eyes, so they could be blinded in the magenta core of your body
my mouth, so it could melt in the depth of your toothless quietude
my fingers, so they could diffuse in the throbbing roads of your
branched veins
my mind, so it could dissolve to matter in your blood's shoreless stream
But you returned your body to the earth, your quietude, the throb of
your blood, diffusing in your branched veins,
now you sit in immobility's immense room,
washed to a phantom in the sludgy pace of time,
a slack spectre, in vain I wring the universe for you,
who no longer bursts your body from water, stone, or stars,
but your cells smoulder in the depths of my cells, see you can never
fade out of me,
as longs as you revolve in the eternal space's endless eons,
I bear you on the infinite moving waves of finite matter.

Translated by Laura Schiff

A DAY AT EDMUND WILSON'S

by

IVÁN BOLDIZSÁR

This is the second half of the third tape. April 22nd or is it the 23rd, I can't really remember and it does not matter, it's a Friday in 1966, and I am in Wellfleet on Cape Cod, Edmund Wilson's house. The fact that I got here, onto this thin little peninsula looking for a place between the Atlantic Ocean and the American continent seems to me almost unbelievable. Cape Cod reminds of Tihany, it is haunted by writers and artists, and in summer by holiday makers as well.

(Morning in Boston.) That morning, still in Boston, I woke pretty late, I had tried to get some real sleep. I thought I might get into town and stroll down Pilgrim Street, but I did not manage, I packed, and wrote a letter, but I did not even finish that. Then I had to get going to the Atlantic Monthly. Of course I fell for it once again actually believing that what they say is near-by is truly not very far away. I walked for twenty minutes midst budding magnolia shrubs and trees. The weather was mild and I left my overcoat at home. My conscience pricked me, I was late once again, but it did not matter, it turned out that Mrs B., my landlady in Boston, had made a mess of this, as of much else, this time though it worked out all right. She had said eleven to me, and half past to Edward W., Editor Emeritus of the Atlantic Monthly. This meant I still had five minutes to wait, I spent them browsing in the lobby, and found an interesting article on pornography in the February Atlantic which I thought I would be able to make good use of later. I collected more than a thousand articles of that sort in four months, clipped them, underlined them, drew a frame around them. A thousand isn't even an exaggeration, I filled a cabin trunk with them, which is still up there, in the attic, unopened.

(At the Atlantic Monthly.) Mr. W. was an old gentleman of, say seventy,

This is a chapter from a forthcoming book, the second volume of an American diary to appear under the title *Amerika évről évre* (America Year by Year).

his brow was somewhat knit when I went in, he softened up a little when he saw The NHQ., dog doesn't eat dog, that surely applies to editors of magazines as well. Or does it? He put me to the test. "Hm. . ." he said, he had a Hungarian acquaintance, a close friend of his wife, someone who belonged to the old world, he was sure I did not know her. "Ida. Ida Bobla, that's her name". He stared at me over his glasses, why, I wondered, didn't he get himself a pair of bifocals? His eyes asked, what manner of man are you, you Hungarian?

I soon worked it out the lady could only be Ida Bobula who had worked at the old Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. She was a student of Hungarian pre-history and achieved a certain notority with her bold theories on Hungarian–Sumerian kinship. She told them in Boston she used to be the Deputy Minister. Let her, if it makes her happy, I certainly won't reduce her to the ranks, after all she could have promoted herself to Minister with the same effort, couldn't she have? When W. saw I knew her, he softened up. What would the dear old lady say about me, I wondered, next time they took tea together?

The usual conversation about Hungary, the customary stupid, uninformed, ill-intentioned, absurdly impossible questions which always make me want to laugh and cry at the same time. I felt particularily sad right then, the man who asked was the highly respected editor of one of America's leading magazines. He asked me if I would get into trouble back home for talking to him. No? A smile of connivance, "I see. You would not report it. Is that it?" There was no need to do that? All right, he won't press me, he knew I *had* to say that, he could read between the lines.

Another time I couldn't have cared less. Let him worry. What's it to me what he thinks. But it's worth explaining a basic thing or two when the man you are talking to is the editor of the Atlantic Monthly, even though he has got one foot in retirement. I got down to it. Look here Sir, I am not asked to report a word about this trip, not to anybody. I shall write about it, if I so please, in dailies, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, I shall tell of it on radio and television, I might even write a book about it. And there, I said, throwing that in casually, I shall say what the editor of one of the most respected American magazines imagines things are like in Hungary. He didn't bat an eyelid. "Well what?" He hadn't taken my bait yet, but he was sniffing at it. Imagine, I said, that you came to see me in Budapest, and I asked you then how the police in America were doing in their fight against bootlegging.

"But prohibition has been dead and gone for years!"

He was well and truly hooked. I thanked him for interrupting me. In this

imaginary Budapest conversation I'd answer, I said, that I knew, Sir, you had to say this abroad, since the FBI had obviously bugged this place.

He interrupted again: "This is an absurdity."

I did not say a word. He kept silent as well for a moment or two then he chuckled. "I get you. There are no 'bootleggers' in Hungary anymore. Am I to believe then that yours is no longer a Communist country?"

That is when I should have switched on that pocket tape-recorder instead of doing so later, at night, getting it all down from memory. If I could get his voice down as well I would transfer it to a hundred tapes or more when I got to Budapest, and I would make every diplomatist off to the West, every businessman, sportsman, writer, artist, every invited friend or relative, and every simple traveller listen to the questions put in the course of this conversation when they signed for their passports. ("I'd make them"—that's a good story on its own.) What can you say if someone asks you if Hungary is a Communist country, more exactly if it was *still* one.

If I had been speaking in the Hungarian political jargon I would have had to say then: My dear Sir, you are somewhat confused. Hungary is not a Communist country, because a Communist society has not yet grown into existence there. Then he'd ask nervously, what then is Hungary, and if you answered: a socialist country, you would have to swallow your words straightaway, after all we haven't built socialism yet, we are only on the way to socialism... At that point you might as well stop, since he didn't get a word of it, not that it interests him, that sort of language would only heighten his conviction that Communism is something terrible, and that you can't talk to Communists.

Nor, as a matter of fact, did the editor of the Atlantic ask that. For him and for 99.99 per cent of Americans Communism equals War Communism and Stalinism. That one per cent of a per cent, the exception, includes American Communist Party members and some liberals who have travelled in Eastern Europe, but not the Kremlinologists, they get things even more confused, though in a different way. War Communism and Stalinism is saying too little, what most Americans actually mean by Communism is the image, as reflected in American propaganda, of the most Spartan and severe War Communism, and of the personality cult years when Beria was most rampant, and let us not kid ourselves, the Mindszenty business and the Rajk trial are part and parcel of that image. True, they are aware that "something has changed" in recent years, but they can't quite make out what has changed, and how.

What the Boston editor asked, and a hundred or a thousand new and old friends and acquaintances, opponents and adversaries from coast to coast

asked as well, on my first, second, third and fourth trip to the U.S., showing sympathic or hostile, or just plain interest, was what a country is like which they call Communist, where the Communist Party is in power, which has embarked on the road to socialism, a country which does not correspond to their petrified notions. There in Boston I was able to answer with the experience of seven weeks in America to back me. I did not start, as I had done at first, with the Twentieth Congress, since they had no idea who had held it, and where. I did not say that an end had been put to compulsory deliveries in agriculture, since they did not know that there had been any. I did not say anything about the hundreds of thousands who travelled West each year to spend their holidays there, they would have laughed straight in my face if I had done so. I did not proudly quote figures showing how production had grown, since not a soul was interested in them. I did not tell how many English, American or French plays were performed by Budapest theatres, since they had not seen most of them either. I did not report on nation-wide public debates, since American public life is different, the country is different, patriotism is another thing, and literature plays only a mini-role.

(Who is afraid, and where?) All this can and must be told when in the company of serious men, in the discussion following a lecture at a university, or after dinner, when they settle in armchairs in the living room, crouch on poufs or simply stretch out on the rug, looking at the stranger from another world in eager anticipation. But a common base must be established first, a launching pad from which we can take off, that's the least, lacking a common language, with words and terms so mixed up that it would take ten conversations at a minimum to get clear of the undergrowth. At times like that *épater les bourgeois* often hits the mark. I answered Edward W. by something I discovered in New York the previous week. This, like so much else, I owe to dear old Annette R., to her friendship, circle of friends and hospitality. When I left her place she would not let me go, not on the subway, and not on my own.

"What on earth are you thinking of? It's past eleven! They will mug you and you can call yourself lucky if you escape in one piece."

I am not a coward, I protested.

"If you stay in New York for a couple of weeks you will discover what fear is" she answered. There were roughly a round dozen in the room and they all agreed. I had to laugh out loud. If I placed that scene in a play they'd boo me off in Budapest, for writing such ugly propaganda. Two took me down to the cab, one of my new friends came all the way to where I was staying.

That scene gave me my cue. I turned towards Mr. W. and, slowly, articulating clearly, so he would not think he had misunderstood my English accent or intonation, I said:

"People are less afraid in Budapest than in New York."

A short silence. "Are you pulling my leg?"

"You pulled my leg a minute ago when you spoke of writing reports. Aren't you afraid to walk the streets of New York alone at night?"

"I am indeed, unfortunately in Boston as well, lately."

Nobody is afraid on the streets in Budapest at night. I told him that our teen-age daughter thinks nothing of coming home alone from the theatre, the pictures, or a party. She is not afraid and we do not worry.

I knew already what the repartee would be: "But in New York or in Boston no one is afraid that..."

I cut in rudely and finished the sentence: "...the police rings at dawn and takes them away."

"There you are, you know what it's all about. We are not afraid of that."

And neither are we, I answered, and all that remained was the trifle of getting my words believed. That can only be done if one does not conceal or deny that there was such a thing as a door-bell neurosis at one time, that one was afraid oneself, that innocent men were taken away, condemned, imprisoned and executed. But all that is over and done with. It is precisely that which is gone. If the man you are talking to, or those who listen to you in a college lecture room, or your dinner companions believe you and only then, you can go into details.

That's what I did at the Atlantic Monthly. I felt that we got closer to each other with Mr. W. while talking, a mutual budding sympathy, so to speak, was growing between us, asked how come he knew none of this. The idea of a "tourist-passport", and the dollars that went with it, arrested his attention. "Why do you keep that secret? Why don't you tell all the journalists from other countries that get to Budapest?" By way of an answer I asked if the Atlantic Monthly kept archival files? Of course. Could we then go to the library and look at clippings and agency reports referring to Hungary for say the past five years?

(Magazines and tractors.) "There's no need to go there, I'll send for them." He picked up the house-phone and gave orders. While we waited I was able to ask a few questions myself. What is the Atlantic Monthly? Who writes the paper, and for whom? Who are the proprietors? Oddly enough he answered the last question first. The owners of the McCormick tractor works held the majority of the shares. It was a family business, the founding father left his shares to his daughter and grand-child. Three Boston gentle-

men owned a packet of shares each, and he held a few himself. When he took over the editorial chair in 1939 they printed 25,000 copies, now it was 225,000. I offered my congratulations, he deserved them, he published T. S. Eliot, Hemingway, Edmund Wilson, and Mary McCarthy, as well, the last-named's former wife.

I would have liked him to expand on Edmund Wilson since I was going to see him that very day, but Mr. W. had really got going. He wanted to answer every one of my questions. The magazine was edited by a large, carefully selected staff. Everyone has to write an article, paragraph, piece of criticism from time to time. "We did not introduce that awful *Time* style. You can't say someone wrote this or that article there. Some collect the material, someone writes it up, a third staff editor checks and fills in. Then a senior editor takes over, reads it, annotates it and sends it to a fifth who rewrites the lot. You don't believe me?"

I did, all the more so since I had seen it with my own eyes. My friend M. had shown me the manuscript bundle at *Time* from which that week's cover story finally emerged, two printed pages, that is say about a dozen typed ones, but the bundle which M. took from a drawer and elevated like some sort of sacrificial animal was as big as the fully grown volume of an encyclopaedia. There's nothing like that at the Atlantic. There every author was that in fact, not only name.

Their aim is to comment on politics from both sides and to provide good literature. "You might ask, what is good literature. Literature that lets you see life clear and whole. To argue and discuss, to give the other side of each question as well, sometimes to issue a special number that throws light on a question from a number of angles, to get right down to the bottom of it, and of course, to make money." There's something worthy of respect there. What editor of a literary and political magazine in Europe would admit that making money was one of his chief aims. I told him that. He was astonished. "Don't you edit The New Hungarian Quarterly for money?" I said I was paid a salary every month. "No shares?"

Will I start explaining that there is no stock-exchange in Hungary, and therefore there are no shares either? I was on the brink of losing courage again, I was wondering whether I should answer, and if so what, when he suddenly realized what he had been saying. "Of course. There are no shares in Hungary, everything belongs to the state, then you must be a state official."

Coming a cropper again. It would have been simpler to say I owned a packet of The N.H.Q. shares. No, I am not a state official. The only state officials in Hungary are those who correspond to civil servants in America.

He seemed to be thinking. "Look, there's a reason why I was put off socialism all my life. I always have a sense of horror when reading Dostoevsky. Do you know that story of his about the three generals who are not soldiers but wear uniform? That is what really gives me the creeps, the fact that all these people in your country who aren't even soldiers, are subjected to military discipline and carry military rank."

I could feel my grey hairs standing on end. Here's one of the most cultured and best-informed men in the United States, in charge of a liberal periodical. He tries to be understanding, the Atlantic Monthly after all barely dipped its feet in the Arctic Sea of the Cold War. This "in your country" is worth a basic course in Americanology. That Dostoevsky lived in the last century and was not even Hungarian does not mean a thing to him. If I had been on a cruise with Mr W. I'd probably get into the argument but I'd probably never see him again. That's why I was satisfied just to put him right. Government officials do not carry military rank in Hungary, nor in any of the other socialist countries. He does not surrender easily. It's not easy to get out of the warm feather bed of mistaken and irresponsible ideas.

"All right, but whichever way you look at it, you are a government official."

"Right, and you are on the staff of a tractor manufacturer."

All of a sudden he was right on the ball. "In other words what you are saying is that the state interferes in the running of your paper as much as the tractor works does in mine."

I do not know how much say the McCormick lot insist on but for the sake of peace I agree: that much.

His face lit up: "O.K. Then we are quits. There is no difference between us."

I did not go to America to make converts. I ought to call it a day. I did not want to get mixed up in new arguments, to overshoot the mark perhaps, leading to hostile feelings. That is why I did not tell him that it was not the same thing at all whether the management of a large factory expressed its wishes concerning a magazine, or those in charge of a state with the aims of which I agreed. Nor do I say, the hell with it, I'll accept his language as a thinking aid, but even then I'd sooner be a government official than on the staff of a tractor factory. All I asked whether the tractor people would not stop publishing the magazine if it lost money over any length of time?

"But it doesn't lose any" he answered, right to the point. He knew that he did too, that is why I said that time: yes, it's a draw.

We had forgotten that we had called for another round. His secretary came in, carrying a large folder. "Here's the Hungarian file." Americans know all about efficiency, she had an elderly lady with her, looking like a headmistress. She was in charge of the Eastern European stuff in the library. I turned towards Mr W.: a moment ago you were surprised you had never heard of trips to the West. Well let's have a look which American paper reported on this and when?

He looked at the lady from the library. She slowly shook her head. She was familiar with the material all right but she did not remember anything of that sort. How many articles appeared on Hungary in the past five years? She pointed to the bulky files: about two hundred in each, that's a thousand all told, some of them agency reports, most of them dated Vienna, but many from Budapest as well, articles by special correspondents, interviews, or comments. But not one, to the best of her knowledge, told of hundreds and hundreds of thousands travelling to western countries every year.

"Unbelievable," Mr W. said. "How do you explain this? Perhaps no one told them."

I would not think that for the simple reason that numerous American journalists did me the honour of looking me up in the editorial offices of The New Hungarian Quarterly. I make a point of drawing the attention of every single one of them to tourist passports. Every one of them looked doubtful at first but I managed to convince the lot that I was not putting a fast one over. When saying good-bye I remarked every time, thinking I had nothing to lose, that they wouldn't write a word about it. Everyone of them insisted they would. Whatever did I think of them?

"And what do you think?" Mr W. asked.

Some did not write about them, as soon as they were out of the country they saw the world in the old light and started to worry they might be accused of having had their brains washed in Budapest. The others reported things faithfully but an editor blue-pencilled it.

"Why do you imagine that? Don't you tend to think the worst of people."

That wasn't exactly a noble thought. I felt entitled to ask in reply: Well, wouldn't you have blue-pencilled it?

Mr W. returned the ball in fine style, restoring an incipient friendship. "Fortunately I do not edit a daily."

(Wilson and Molnár.) Agatha appeared at that intimate moment. This sounds as if I suddenly switched to a Vicki Baum novel, though all I did was to report that Agatha Fassett had come to fetch me. She was Hungarian "of course" and many in Budapest knew this. Agatha had written a beautiful

and important book on Béla Bartók's American years. Early on, at lunch, I talked of the conversation that had just passed since I had clean forgotten what I ought to know about her besides the Bartók book. She is somebody's something, I thought to myself, but it was only at the paprika chicken (why do American Hungarians think that they must always serve a paprika dish to visitors from the old country?) that I realized that this somebody was Béla Illés, the well-known novelist who spent the years between the wars in the Soviet Union, and returned to Hungary in the uniform of a Red Army officer. What is the connection between you, I asked, as it were as an aside.

He was her brother. Béla was the older by twenty years, their mother was forty-two when Agatha was born. She had not seen Béla since 1935 when she had visited him in Moscow. She found it difficult to imagine Béla in uniform, she had heard the story that he had got to Budapest with the fighting forces. Cross my heart, had I really seen him in the uniform of a Red Army colonel? A major's first, I said, then in that of a lieutenant-colonel. He was right there in front of my eyes as we talked. I told her that her brother's name was the first I saw on a poster in Budapest, after the siege. "Major Béla Illés talks on literature in the *Fészek* Club" that's what it said.

"The *Fészek?* That's more like him", she rejoiced. "He made a bee-line for the *Fészek* of course, to play cards."

Well, not to play cards right off, first he arranged for the premises, which had remained relatively unscathed, to be renovated. Then he fixed up a soup kitchen there chiefly for writers, artists and other "selected Gypsy lads" ("God, how long it is since I heard those words" she said) and for everyone else as well who was hungry and wanted bread and soup. It's possible that he played cards as well, later.

I heard from Agatha Fassett that it was true that Edmund Wilson was learning Hungarian. The story had gone round Budapest. He had become a literary legend amongst those few who knew his name in Hungary in the middle 'sixties. He had been to Budapest where he had called at the offices of The N.H.Q., but I happened to be in Mexico at the time.

Yes, it is true. Agatha was one of his teachers. Another was Zoltán Haraszti, a Hungarian scholar on the staff of the Boston University Library. Why is he learning Hungarian now that he was almost seventy? I could barely believe my ears: so he could read Ferenc Molnár in the original.

"Just imagine, not Petőfi or Ady, nor János Arany or Madách or Attila József, but Molnár of all people. You try and talk him out of it."

Later, still that night, I tried to, before I withdrew to the guest house to

dally with my pocket tape recorder. Wilson was unshakeable, he loves Molnár and there are plays of his he could not enjoy in English. *Úridivat* for instance. I said *Úridivat* was not enjoyable in Hungarian either. But I was not at the Wilsons' yet, I had to hurry at the Fassetts' to get there, being barely able to question her about her relationship with Bartók. She complained that the Hungarian translation of her book was bad. Where she spoke of a cab the Hungarian translation mentioned her car. The difference was not a crucial one but still... Anyway, this time her car was there, and she took me to the bus terminal, where I got a bus for Hyannis, which must not be confused with Hyannis Port that is famous because of the Kennedy family.

(A discovery made in the car.) For weeks to come my status rose in everyone's eyes when I told them that Edmund Wilson had come in the car to Hyannis to meet me. I could see that "who'll believe that story" look on the faces of many new friends, mainly university people so that, in the end, I grew to be proud of the honour myself. I do not know why I imagined Edmund Wilson to be tall and spare, he is of less than middle height, with a face as red as a polished winter apple. He did not look fat but still pretty heavy and his blue suit flapped on him, as on a man who had just undergone a radical slimming diet. (He had.)

He stood next to the car and waved, he recognised me straight away, true I was carrying a copy of The N.H.Q. the badge of my craft, just in case. His wife was in the car, and when we put my case in the boot, she got out as well. I looked at them and I could barely control myself. I almost burst out with the discovery I made. I was able to add a fact to the history of American literature, and I owed that to being Mary McCarthy's guest at dinner in Paris a couple of weeks earlier, stopping over in Paris on the way to America. Even those who know no more of Wilson than his name, and if all they know of Mary McCarthy that she describes how a pessary is fitted in *The Group*, her best-known novel, know that they were once married.

How odd the biological currents are that flow through men, their unconscious emotional tastes, their deepest instincts unknown to themselves, or kept concealed from themselves! Elena, Wilson's wife, could have been Mary's sister, her older twin sister, I'd say if that did not sound impossible. The same tall build, wide shoulders, slim hips, but womanly figure, firm, slightly rounded calves. The same 'thirties hairstyle, combed to a side, short at the back. And what is most important, strikingly similar features, wide cheekbones, large mouth with beautifully arched lips, a daring nose and exciting and excitable nostrils. Elena is of mixed Baltic German, Russian and Polish descent. Late at night, after a few whiskys, the old

gentleman whispered to me that she was a countess. All in all she is tougher than Mary McCarthy, with only half her charm, but even so an attractive woman.

This is only half the discovery. Edmund Wilson on the other hand could be the older brother of Mary McCarthy's present husband, James West, who is an American diplomatist in Paris. Their build is identical, West has a round head as well, his skin is smooth, though not as shiny as Wilson's, he is prone to put on weight as well and—and this is surely the most important—both men have lively eyes. Perhaps others noticed this double resemblance as well? I do not think so, and I am sure the four of them are unaware of it. I mentioned my observation to Mr and Mrs West in Paris a few years later, they gave me an odd look, not at all pleased, for a minute or two it seemed that our friendship had suffered shipwreck. Both of them protested in the other's name. Mary did not care particularily that her successor looked like her, perhaps it even flattered her vanity, but Edmund and Jim?—impossible. West had only seen photographs of the new Mrs Wilson. But she is a female sergeant-major, he called out. Let's make it captain, I said, and that concession carried us over from the cliffs of protest to the calm bight of friendship.

The conversation did not really get going in the car, Wilson sat in front, next to his wife, who was driving. After a while he asked her to stop. "I'm deaf, I can't hear you properly", he said and came and sat in the back, next to me, but I was not able to establish contact as fast as I usually seem to manage. Perhaps I was inhibited, or I tried to appear to be a more extraordinary man than I am, and one seldom gets away with this. What I hoped for was that this unelected yet chosen president of the American republic of letters should not feel sorry for the time he devoted to an unknown Hungarian writer. Contact was finally made, the circuit, as it were, running through Hungary, and that thanks to me putting my foot in. I thought he had just looked in, spending a day or two in Budapest, but he had been there for a whole month, in April 1964. What did he do? "Nothing, I lived." Whom did he meet? Neither Illyés, nor Déry, nor László Németh, nor Weöres, nor Vas—well who then, for the love of Apollo? He liked that Apollo, and first looked at me then with those mischievous, almost conniving eyes, that I was to get so fond of in the course of my day there.

"You would say *ah naypail*", he answered. Elena turned her head round for a tenth of a second, as if imploring me, and this made me think that something very important was involved. "*Ah naypail*, don't you get it?"

Of course, of course I got it. Edmund Wilson met the people in Budapest and he said this to me in Hungarian *(a néppel)*, what's more winking at me,

putting it in quotes. But what did he see? What did he like? What didn't he like? His article on his Hungarian journey was about to appear in the *New Yorker*, they had sent him the proofs, he'd show them to me at home. He knows a fair bit about Hungary, and a fair few Hungarian words too. I found this out bit by bit, and enjoyed myself immensely while doing so.

(Why bull?) We played a game, I pointed at things outside and asked him: What's that? of course in Hungarian. He replied: *fa* (tree), *kút* (well), *bokor* (bush), *gépkocsi* (motor car). I corrected him, *gépkocsi*. He turned his head to one side, then he nodded graciously: that's right, *kép*, that's picture. And how do you say image? That's *kép* as well. "No difference?" In a more abstract sense, I said after giving the matter some thought. He asked me then if I thought him dull-witted, since I only asked nouns and the names of objects. Don't I dare to ask verbs? As far as he knew Hungarian is rich in verbal structures. One thing led to another and we ended up talking about his attempts to read Madách's Tragedy of Man. "He's already tried twice..." Elena said.

"And I did not make any headway! It was no use looking up every word in the dictionary. I understood what I read and yet I didn't." And he felt he had to read it, even if it broke his back.

"Read it in English, I've told you that already," Elena said.

Wilson was close to wife murder. "And I told you the translation was bullshit. Well isn't it?" The question was addressed to me. No one could respect dear old Mr H. more than I do, an (unrequited) lover of Hungarian literature, who devoted half his life to the translation of the Tragedy, staying up half the night, trying to find the *mot juste*, he did too, and yet... "Well, is it bullshit or isn't it?"

In my embarrassment I switched from the problems of Hungarian to those of English. Why did American demotic choose precisely the excrement of bulls to express what is useless, rotten rubbish succintly in one word? Why not that of cows or horses? Was there any difference between the excrement of cows and bulls anyway?

The fever of etymologizing seized Wilson straightaway. He had never thought about this. Why, how is it said in Hungarian? Just like that without specifying the animal of origin. He showed surprise since he was getting to know Hungarian as a language rich in images. Yes, but this single syllable explodes like the crack of a whip, and it also expresses disgust. Here I am, defending this word which I hound back home since it impoverishes the language. This does not satisfy Wilson. "Isn't it even used in connection with horses?" It is, but then we usually say horse's lemon. "Horse's lemon! That's splendid. I'll use that. Look, that's what I was thinking of when

I said the language was rich in images." He went on in the same breath: "Well, what do you say? Will I read Madách in translation or will I struggle with him?" I proposed a compromise, read them together, with Hungarian text and the translation side by side... He did not even let me finish. "I had enough sense to think of that myself. How else would I have I have known the translation was bullshit? If I read that way, I get constipated."

(Wilson's Americanism.) He said he had a house in Talcottville, in Upstate New York, a family inheritance. Many Hungarians live in that area, that's how he came to be interested in Hungary in the first place. At that time, back in 1966, Talcottville went in one ear and came out the other, since then I have found out that this was the setting, and the subject one might say, of *Upstate*, the last book Wilson published in his lifetime. If I had paid closer attention then, between Hyannis and Wellfleet, I would have noticed that Wilson got back to Talcottville every chance he had, he mentioned that his great-grandfather on his mother's side, bought it from the Talcotts, who had founded it. "And do you know what they were looking for there? What I am looking for as well: freedom." I did not ask him what kind of freedom since I did not know Wilson's Americanism well enough yet at the time, I thought him a new kind of humanist and cosmopolitan, who wrote a book on the Iroquois and another on Lenin, who gave voice to the Canadian unease in connection with the U.S. in another, who wrote about Pushkin with one hand and defended the Marquis de Sade with the other, who what's more learnt Hungarian because he already knew French, German, Italian and Russian and who immersed himself in Biblical Hebrew when he was almost seventy, and on top of it, by way of comparison and as a sort of five-finger exercise, in Modern Hebrew as well, so he could read, understand and interpret the Dead Sea scrolls. Since I took away enough books, which he signed for me, to form a small library and read them too in the past five years, and *Upstate* as well, the summing up of his life, I know that he interpreted freedom in the same way as his ancestors who had barely recovered from puritanism. I'd say he loved freedom as Pál Vasvári did, the 1848 revolutionary; Americans would say Jefferson.

(Ady on Cape Cod.) Months, or even years after first starting to learn Hungarian Wilson got to know that Zoltán Haraszti in Boston whom Agatha had mentioned already. He worked in one of the university libraries and was a connoisseur and collector of old and rare books. Haraszti had drawn his attention to Ady. What did he read to you first? "Elena, stop the car."

Elena did. Wilson sat up straight, he just about stood up in the car,

then he started, with a better accent than those few words a moment ago: *"Bíbor palástban jött Keletről—a rímek ősi hajnalán..."*

That's all he knew but that was enough to make me gape. Hats off to Haraszti for going straight for the real thing, Ady at his truest self. Double or quits, he must have thought. Either Edmund Wilson likes it or he doesn't. But if he knew him he was not taking much of a risk. "I did not like that *bibor palást*, that purple cloak very much at first, but then I forgave him for it later", E. W. said. "The ancient dawn of rhymes, *rímek ősi hajnala*, you see you can't say that in English, it's nauseating. But in Hungarian it's genuine. I envy you for that. Is there an equivalent for genuine in Hungarian?" *Valódi, igazi, eredeti, hamisítatlan*, I rattled off.

He touched his wife's shoulder. "Look, I told you it was worth learning this language. Again and again I see the word *'genuin'* in German papers since they haven't a word for the thing in their own language. Go on with the poem. Do you know it?" I would have felt ashamed to my dying day if I had had to say no. *"Jött boros kedvvel, paripásan..."* He interrupted. "There. That's it. That's what I wanted to hear. *Paripa* is an old-fashioned but powerfully poetic word for horse. Something like steed. There isn't another language in the world that could express the fact that someone was galloping on horseback so succinctly and onomatopoeically". Onomatopoeically? "Can't you hear it? Men are deaf to their own language. The sound of hoofs is in it, and so is the rhythm of a gallop." May I write that he said this. "Well won't you publish the whole conversation?" The lovable, malicious old rake. He deserves that for the remark, and for the question.

"Ady's language is biblical" he said later. "I liked that". And what I liked was that he noticed. He told me that Haraszti and Agatha Fassett once got into each other's hair over Ady at his place, becoming so heated that Haraszti suffered a heart attack and they had to call a doctor. "It was only after going to Budapest that I realized the Hungarians weren't all so hot-blooded and impulsive."

The view was very much like that on the Balaton road between Aliga and Siófok, along the old road of course, the genuine one. Flat, with the water shiny when you see it between the fir trees and the small houses. Here every house, including the most expensive and pretentious is a timber one. And the road? The less said the better. My heart always aches in America, even the second-rate and the fifth-rate roads are as wide, and the surface is as smooth as... There is no standard of comparison since our new Vienna road is already beginning to break out in pot-holes. That's what I got down on tape, back in '66. The new Balaton road, yes that is up

to standard. But I'd sooner there were fewer and worse roads in Hungary rather than have as many cars as in America.

We passed by villages, the signposts showing not only names but the year of foundation: 1815, 1767. 1640 was the oldest. I felt terribly old and wise, all of a sudden Edmund Wilson also seemed younger. A boy was thumbing a lift at the side of the road, Mrs Wilson stopped and picked him up. He wasn't wearing an overcoat though spring was cool that year on the coast, no case, only an airways bag. E. W. got into conversation with him straightaway. He was going to Wellfleet to look for summer work. As early as this? The season was still a long way off. He wanted to fix himself up quickly in a motel or restaurant, then he'd go back to High School. I asked Wilson in French if I could put a personal question to the boy. For instance, ask him who his father was. "If you take care to make your accent even more Hungarian." I took care. Even E. W. was surprised to hear the father was a bank manager in Hyannis. "Won't he give you any pocket-money?" The boy, barely sixteen, if that, sat up straight like a recruit facing his C.O. "He would do so all right. But I won't accept it." He motioned that he'd like to get off. We stopped. No thank you, and no good-bye, but I was the only one to notice that.

Another mile and we were there. The Wilsons owned a two-part white timber house, built in 1840. They settled me into the smaller one, double-bed, a great many books, separate bathroom. "Why don't you stay a week?" Mrs Wilson asked.

(Exams and Tests.) A few minutes later I went over into the main building. Perhaps it would have been more politic to leave them on their own for a while. How nice to stay there for a week, it could possibly be worth more than being on the road the whole time, I thought as I stopped in front of the white painted door. Oil paint of course, not whitewash, that's an English tradition the Americans still carry on. But perhaps a short stay in each place would be more rational all the same, and more condensed. A man who can wait a week just simmers, and the answers to questions put and overheard can be postponed to another day.

Two rooms filled with books, literally filled, naturally lining the walls, but also piled on chairs on the floor, on small tables, spread out in front of the desk like accumulated laundry about to be sorted on washing day. The inner room is the one Wilson works in, with an armchair next to the window where he does his reading, and there, at its side, on top of a largish heap of periodicals. No. 21 of The New Hungarian Quarterly. That was good going, it had only come out in the middle of March, and it is naturally sent by "pedestrian mail", travelling by ship, and not by jet. I could not

conceal my joy. There was the journal, in the hands of the reader, of THE reader, the very man it is meant for, one of the great explainers and interpreters of the age, the man to whom those whose business it is to inform others, look for information. And he reads it, what's more, he did not put it there to please me. Just to make sure I asked him, emphasizing every word.

He winked. "Not that I haven't done that sort of thing in my time. Those are the good deeds of literary compassion. But I read yours, look for yourself, if you don't believe me." I interrupted and taught him a Hungarian word. *Tamáskodni* = to Doubting Thomas. He almost clapped for joy, and took a note straightaway. "What a Biblical Nation yours must be, to think that little St Thomas joined your language as a verb." Wilson loves to test and examine, he asked me straightaway if I knew why he called Doubting Thomas Little St Thomas? Because Thomas Aquinas was Big St Thomas I said, and added that I had translated Chesterton's St Thomas book into Hungarian. Wilson was a natural sceptic. I could tell by the look of his nose that he was being a Doubting Thomas. The *viva voce* ordeal when I sat for the *érettségi*, the Hungarian Grammar School Leaving Examination had been easier than matriculating with Professor Wilson. He poured himself a whisky and inclined the spout of the decanter towards me but he did not insist when I shook my head, the while he asked: "And what would arrest your attention if you saw St Thomas eating?"

You wait, you old tease, the ball was in my court, and I'll place my backhand right out of your reach. If you dined at a refectory table and sat on a low and narrow bench, they'd have to carve out a semi-circle for you as well to let you get at your plate.

I passed the exam with flying colours and I was allowed to step from the being-sniffed-at porch into the lobby of friendship. I was rewarded on the spot: he went on with the sentence that had been interrupted by the Doubting Thomas interlude. "Have a look at that copy of The N.H.Q. you can see it's been opened, the pages have been turned. It is easier these days to establish the virginity of the copy of a magazine than of a girl." He picked up the *New Yorker* galleys, holding them, glancing at them, savouring them as a poker-player does his deal. He had discussed in his article how difficult addressing someone was in Hungarian. Not the distinction between you and thou, it was a pity that had been lost in English, if he could do anything about it he would put it back in. He had liked to court in French when young, just to enjoy that intimate moment when one switched from *vous* to *tu*. "What's difficult in Hungarian is that the formal mode has three variants: *ön*, *maga* and *kegyed*."

No one uses *kegyed* any more.

"You're wrong." Will I answer, dear Sir, it's my native language and I speak it tolerably well. I preferred to stay quiet. Elena interrupted. "Perhaps, you can't be sure. . ." He shushed her.

"You're wrong. I heard it in Budapest on a number of occasions. I was addressed that way myself."

His memory was playing tricks. He'd obviously read it in some old author, perhaps in one of Molnár's plays, but even he would have used it sarcastically only. No, no, it was I who had got it wrong, he did not know why I tried to mislead him. He put the galleys down on the table, I did not ask for them, I felt a crack developing in my respect for him and my interest in him. By evening we had both forgotten that interlude, he gave me the galleys and asked me to pencil my remarks in the margin. He had a great deal to say about forms of address, he was right to discern the left-overs of the cast system. *Kegyed* figured there as well. I put "*kegyed* is dead" next to it, and not in pencil, there were a few other minor errors as well. I gave them back next morning, before leaving, without saying anything. Seeing it in print, while still in America, I noticed the practiced hand of an old corrector of proofs at work, altering as little as possible, yet taking out the sting of the objection.

(And Petőfi as well.) This time I let him pour me a whisky. He showed me his Hungarian books. Ady, Petőfi, but only a small selection. "He is the Hungarian Burns." That was a declaration, not a question. If a cat is a tiger as well, I said. "Go on, Burns was a great poet." And cats are very beautiful animals. And Petőfi was more than a very great poet. If this turns into another *kegyed* business again I won't talk to him about the Hungarian language any more. It wasn't worth getting all heated up. He was consideration itself, his interest stimulated one to answer and prompted one to go on thinking. "If not Burns, then who?" He was not examing any longer, his look was keen, that of a man stalking game. Burns as well, and Victor Hugo, and Shelley, and Heine, Benjamin Franklin if he had written verse, and La Fayette if he had died in battle. To put it simply, in Petőfi's own words:

> *Rómában Cassius valék . . . Párizsban Desmoulins Kamill,*
> *Itt is leszek tán valami.*
> Cassius in Rome . . . Camille Desmoulins in Paris.
> Here I shall perhaps be someone as well.

"Aren't you exaggerating?" No. "Do you think I'll ever be able to enjoy Petőfi in the original?" You'll be able to read him, but not well enough to

enjoy him. "Fidel si, Yankee no"; he called out, and we dived straight into the Caribbean from the banks of the winding River Tisza. He is surprised that I had never been to Cuba. "Isn't this a must for Hungarians? Isn't Fidel an example for Hungarians?" He didn't wait for an answer, he caught on straight away that he made the mistake which he had accused liberal American intellectuals of in the car. He called it *monolithicism* and said that it was a neologism. If I had thought of the word "last" in English, I would have told him that there was a Hungarian expression covering this: to use one and the same last.

We went on looking through his books in Hungarian or on Hungarian subjects. He had Gárdonyi's *Stars of Eger* in Hungarian, and in the English version published by Corvina Press as well. The room was full of Corvina books. Wilson took each field he was working on seriously. But how many subjects was he working on at the same time? He did not know. "One can only work systematically if one does not make a system of it." That's real honey to my ears, a retrospective self-justification for half a life's habits. Unfortunately he is wrong. Here's the Országh dictionary, the smaller, olive-green edition. He doesn't miss much. "Who's that *Ny*, to whom it is dedicated? Is there such a name in Hungarian? I looked in his own dictionary and didn't find one." I didn't. I know who Ny was. His eyes lit up. "A woman, of course?"

We started to talk about women. "I love women." He said he kept a diary. "A real one, not one people write up afterwards, knowing everything. Of course, it's easy after twenty years." He really made notes everyday, and not only about politics. Other things as well, including *that*. What?—I asked, looking innocent. He answered, even more innocently: "For instance that I took tea with a lady."

It could be that this had nothing to do with the subject of our conversation but Mrs Wilson suggested right then that we should go and look at the ocean. I started off, out through the gate, but they pounced on me: surely, I did not mean to walk? Why, was it far? "No", they answered, and we piled into the car. I had forgotten that no one, nowhere walks in America. We were down at the sea-shore in five minutes. I got out, there it was; that fantastic, salty, sweet, spiced, watery, clean smell of the deep. It was as if I were not thinking but hearing these contradictory adjectives. There I was with my father, in Trieste, on the shores of the Adriatic, for the first time in my life, I was ten, my report in my first year at Grammar School had been good, and that was the reward. Or was it in Abbazia? I can't remember the town, only the sea, and my father's voice, and that I asked him how it could be sweet if it was salty. Take a deep breath and smell it, my father

said. Later, at night, he pressed a note-book in my hands. Keep a diary, son. I've done so since, perhaps not as regularily as Wilson did, or as he said he did.

I was very quiet. He asked me what I had been thinking about. I told him, and this made me much younger again, and him much older than the fourteen years between us. It was a good feeling, it made me feel closer to him. We just stood there, on the sea-shore. It would be good to spend a week or two there in the summer, with my wife. Wilson spoke, making it seem that we were already finding a common wavelength: "Why don't you and your wife come in June, if I remember right you said that your wife would be in the States by then?" We were on one of the headlands of Cape Cod, you could at the same time savour the immensity of the ocean, and the closed composition of the bay. An exciting combination, making the ocean even more boundless. Dry land was not in sole charge between the bay and the ocean, a chain of ponds linked, and divided the two large water surfaces. Wilson no longer examined, but merely instructed. He explained that they were ponds, like fishponds, and not lakes. On the way back, in the car, he explained, that Thoreau had written a book, the Wellfleet Oysterman, I ought to read it if I could get hold of it, it would firmly place the landscape in my mind. I am afraid I haven't read it yet, it's a joy to come still.

(The Young and the Eighteenth Century.) I had another try at suggesting a walk on the way back, but Wilson didn't feel like it, or his legs weren't up to it. So back into the car, and then we were back in his study. We talked about politics a bit, but we soon returned to literature. Politics would keep till after dinner. "It's better with a drop of Pouilly Fuissé. How do you like it? I order it a few cases at a time." I did not want to admit it was my favourite French white wine, he might imagine I am trying to praise his taste. I asked him instead what he was working on. He said he had finished a play on life in a provincial college. Why did he write about the young? "Who should I write about? The thirty and forty year olds are uninteresting the world over. They lived through the war but they don't know what it was like. The post-war years spoilt them, and the Cold War castrated them. This is true of every country, believe you me, I have travelled enough." I believed him, and while at it I praised his travel books and travel diaries. I envied him the title of one of his books, if I remember right he published it at the end of the 'fifties: *Red, Black, Blond and Olive.* It makes you think of things.

He stopped me. "All right, but don't let us mix up things. We're still talking about the young. Or aren't you interested any more in my reason for

writing about them? I do it because they are so old-fashioned." He waited to see what the effect was. The paradox was not quite worthy of him. He went on and explained: "Because they are such an 18th century lot." We had come home, we were in Edmundwilsonia. I have done my home-work Sir. I had read his brilliant memoirs *A Piece of my Mind: Reflexions at Sixty* when I was still a long way from that age. Now, when writing up these 1966 notes and tapes, my sixtieth birthday is behind me as well. I remembered what he had said about himself, something like this: Increasingly, as time passes, I am inclined to feel that, as an American, I belong to the 18th century.

He liked being quoted almost verbatim. That was his way, tosuspect things, that was obviously why he was more important as a critic than as a writer of fiction. "What fascinates me is the longing for freedom and the rationalist irrationalism of the young. Freedom at any price but at the same time they form groups, packs and communes and tie each others hands and minds much more tightly than those would have done against whom they revolt."

I remarked that the eyes through which he saw the world and his own country were much more American than I had thought, "What, did you only read the title of *Red, Black, Blond and Olive*? Don't you remember the profession of faith right at the end?" I felt duly contrite, but I did not remember. He was surprised since he could tell from The N.H.Q. that I wrote travel diaries myself. What he had said was that he had written his last book on travel abroad, he intended to devote the rest of his life to that one and only and principal aim which he had been most passionately interested in earlier as well: the life and letters of his country. When I heard that there, in his old-fashioned timber house, holding a tumbler of bourbon, all I thought of was that these were beautiful words and I said to him that every travel book in fact served this purpose. I added something I mentioned in an earlier section of this travel diary, that I was not discovering America but I had become the Columbus of my own self. When abroad one still searches for one's own country always, or else one stays a bored tourist. Now that I am typing these words about one's most passionate interests, about the one and only and principal aim, about country, life and letters, I catch myself becoming aware that Hungarians as well could have said this early in the 'thirties, at the start of the village research movement, since most of us turned to what we called, teasingly, in Széchenyi's words, "that homely country" only after a detour abroad. Pity I did not think of it at the time, I could have talked about the village research movement to E. W., and we could have discussed the concise beauty of *csúnyácska*, that

diminutive and more than diminutive of which homely is a merely lexical equivalent.

(Who loves what in America?) A ring at the door bell. "The girls are coming," Wilson said. First I thought he meant his own daughters, the fruit of some earlier marriage, one of many, but no, it was the neighbours. A young American, and a Canadian woman writer who was staying with her.

Marie-Claire Blais had large eyes and a small sad, pale face, with a respectably high forehead. It was her colourless hair perhaps, and her mousey way of dressing that made me think of a pre-war Budapest concierge's daughter, who was sent to secondary school, which made her both proud and unhappy. "A genius", the old gent said again. "She is only twenty-five and she has already written four novels." She lives in Montreal, of course she knows my friend there Naim Kattan, the critic and philosopher. I loathe this cliché but I can't help it, so here goes: it's a small world. Kattan has even written on her.

I asked this French Canadian girl my usual question: what does she like best in the U.S.?

"The Wilsons."

That makes it easy.

Mrs Wilson interrupted without being asked: "The great open spaces, the distances, the hugeness of the area, freedom."

Is that all the same thing?

She did not answer but continued instead: "What I like is that there are no class differences."

The young American and the French Canadian girls protested. Edmund Wilson remained silent. We argued about the concept of class for a time, the role of money, and dollar consciousness. E. W. only smiled, than he said: "The year before last we spent a month at the American Summer School in Salzburg. Whenever there was a Round Table on the American way of life they invited me but I sent my half Russian, half German wife instead. Let her defend the American way of life. She does it well, it's her chosen country." Elective affinities?—I asked actually saying *Wahlverwandtschaften*, the title of Goethe's book. "Yes. Haven't you ever thought of that. One loves more, and criticizes less what one has chosen for oneself than what one was born with."

Elena explains the absence of class differences by the fact that people sometimes have a lot of money, and sometimes very little. "I said to Edmund the day before yesterday, that there were only 102 dollars in our account. What would happen to us? I was in despair."

And what happened? The two visitors laughed. Edmund Wilson was

given the National Book Award, and five thousand dollars with it. "All right, but what if he had not got it right now? I don't know what we would have done," Mrs Wilson protested. I think I know. She would have taken out her Credit Card and gone off into town, buying whatever her heart or eyes desired without paying a cent in cash, a refrigerator, a television set, and a car if she liked, and half a grocer shop to go with it so they would not die of hunger or perish of thirst. She could even have bought another house. Mrs Wilson turned that argument in her favour as well. She said cars and refrigerators were only valued in Europe because there were few or none of them there, in America they meant nothing, no one talked of them because they were accessible to everyone. It was precisely that which she called the absence of class differences. "Another reason is" she explained, "that those who were down did not feel inferior." Protest all round again. She forgot about money. Money, money, that was all that counted, and no one did who did not have any.

Mrs Wilson did not give in. "In France as well and they are less prosperous and have less freedom." The Canadian lady novelist protested furiously. "Whatever you say, they are not as money conscious there. It simply could not happen that they add that a man gets 30,000 a year when they report he's been appointed to a new post." The young neighbour spoke up then. "People here buy a house, dress, travel, vacation all in keeping with what they declared as their income to the tax people. That's a fact."

"The American dream is dead", Wilson said, "but there is still such a thing as an American miracle. A lot of people still believe they could become millionaires at any time." The two young women contradicted. "Not the young." Wilson was glad to be contradicted. "There you are", he turned towards me, "it's that sort of thing that I wrote my play about."

It's part of the nature of such arguments that they must remain incomplete. I do not remember what association of ideas led us to MacNamara. How could it be that Kennedy's friend was now Johnson's Secretary of Defence. Both husband and wife were puzzled by the fact that one of the best minds of the country should be the brains behind the escalation in Vietnam. Mrs Wilson thought it would be worse still if someone else were in his place, perhaps that was the reason he stayed on. That is every collaborator's self-justification, but it has never proved to be valid. I would have liked to go on from MacNamara to the war in Vietnam but Wilson would not play. We all agreed, on that, there was no sense in wasting time on the subject. He'd ask me instead what they thought of Kennedy in Hungary.

He nodded as if he knew the answer in advance, and he did too, they

liked him better in Europe than in America. What they liked him for was precisely what had turned people against him in the States, his good sense, his wit, the more abstract parts of his speeches, the care he spent on chosing the right word. Kennedy was not himself an intellectual, but just about all his friends were, and he as well frequently behaved as an intellectual would. E. W. did not forgive him for being the man who after all started the war in Vietnam. That was one point where he did not act as an intellectual, I interrupted. "It was exactly there that he did. A true statesman would have known that the notion of a military adviser was contradictory in itself." A true intellectual knows that as well. "There you are. That is precisely the point. But he acted as a statesman would over the Cuban crisis. He was satisfied with the essential: to avoid war. He did not insist on making a 'victory' out of it at all costs."

Sparks were flying when we argued about the Warren report. I mentioned that there wasn't a man in Hungary who believed in it. Wilson nodded with satisfaction and looked at his wife. Elena worked herself up into a fury. "These stupid European clichés. You can't imagine an attempt at someone's life without a political conspiracy. Why do you listen to your own habits and suspicions and not to the report of an independent commission?" There was no need for me to answer. Wilson took over. This was obviously just another instalment in a long-drawn out conjugal dispute. He used his well-known analytical powers to deal with the statements made by the Warren report in turn, rejecting every one of them. His wife could not bear to listen to him. She sooner went out into the kitchen to fix something to eat. I could only approve of that. I listened to Wilson, I enjoyed his theories, but I had to establish in the end that he had not said a thing we had not worked out in Budapest for ourselves, except one: the Warren commission did not even have a chance to examine the President's car, the FBI took that away straight after the assassination and quickly rebuilt it. I must say though that Edmund Wilson was the first American who dared to say to me openly that he did not believe in the Warren report.

(National identities.) We had hamburger for dinner, with asparagus, potatoes, and a special condiment, apple, almonds, garlic and honey all preserved together. It sounds terrible to enumerate like that but the taste of it was out of this world. We argued about Pearl Harbour while at the dinner table. There I had to agree with Mrs Wilson. Wilson had been a pacifist in forty and forty-one as well. He had opposed America's entry into the war against Hitler. This disappointed me, and I told him so, but he pretended not to hear. In his view the American government was somehow involved in Pearl Harbour, even if they did not provoke it outright.

I stopped at the second glass of French wine, showing great self-restraint. Wilson did not. He was getting more cheerful and voluble all the time, I was hard put to it taking note of everything. I naturally did not use a pencil, what I do is to place each new idea in a situation (I hope I shall be excused for discussing my working methods). He first said that if I want to find out what's really wrong with America I ought to try and pay tax, that is go to an inland revenue office and talk to someone there about what I put in my tax return and what I did not. I said I had some idea, an income tax blank and the attached instructions were amongst the first things I saw in New York, thanks to my good friend Lewis Galantière. At the next glass he got back to his house in Talcottville. He liked to stay there because people there knew each other and knew how to communicate with each other. Communication, the magic word of our times, thus stepped onto the stage of our conversation, not with a television screen, camera or microphone, but in 18th century Puritan gear. Then I heard another word that was older, and out of fashion: gentlemanliness. That's what Wilson loves in Upstate New York and misses elsewhere in America.

National identity was the next subject. I felt myself at home again, and thirty years younger. Wasn't this our own "What makes a Hungarian?" movement and struggle against Nazi and Pan-German pressure and oppression? But why does Edmund Wilson search for American national identity, what is the standard of comparison, who is this directed against? He laughed and pretended to be cross; "Why, have Hungarians got a rhyme and reason for everything?" He could put it that way if he liked, but it might be better to say that we Hungarians were a generation older than our contemporaries in the west, older by a generation's experience and disillusion, and perhaps for that very reason we were a generation ahead in our hopes.

Then he talked about the "standard of comparison". Compared to themselves, to their past, to the American dream which he loathed. Jefferson's America was the basis of that, but they lost that somewhere. "I'll tell you where tomorrow." His tongue thickened but his wit still sparkled. Literature was Wilson's starting point, that is where he looked for what is best in the American national character and American tradition. This made it possible for him to do his best work on Henry James. I told him that his essay made me like and really understand that truly American writer. I drank another glass to give me strength, but that was really the last one, and told him that I first came across his name in Paris in 1946. "Only, in forty-six? Where did you live until then?" That's when I read his hatchet job on Somerset Maugham and shouted with joy. At last there was an authority I could refer to back in Hungary when arguing with those

who went into raptures about this pseudo-writer. "Not my best work" he said, and every writer in the world would say that if you praised one of his minor works. No, the best was what he wrote on Henry James and what he said of H. C. Earwicker's dream in Finnegan's Wake.

Over and beyond literature he looked for the essence of America amongst the Indians, and far from the big cities, not amongst the philistines of Kansas, Illinois and the like, but in the old settlements on the Eastern sea-board. There is no such thing as a village in America, just as there are no peasants, but traditions are kept up by a region or a section of society, and popular traditions in America were urban, I thought.

I did not want to close the day without saying at least something of that book of his which fascinated me most, and yet not much has been said or written of it in recent years. The more interested university students showed themselves familiar with Edmund Wilson's name, some had read an article or two, many knew he had been Mary McCarthy's husband, but not two in a hundred had heard of *To the Finland Station*. And yet, in 1940, Edmund Wilson undertook no less than to describe Lenin's road to the revolution, to power, to the Finland Station in St Petersburg where Lenin arrived coming from exile in Switzerland.

I asked too late. The old gent was tired, and the Pouilly Fuissé had had its effect. "We'll speak about your Lenin tomorrow," he said. Why, isn't he yours any longer? I asked back. "Who wrote *To the Finland Station*, you or I?" We laughed, shook hands, and went off to bed. Elena took me over to the small house. She said that Edmund was then settling down to write.

The sky was a magnificent crystal blue next morning. I had slept for nine hours, they had not called me, and so we had to hurry to be in Hyannis in time for the Boston bus. On the way, in the car, Wilson pulled out an envelope from an inside pocket. It had arrived by that morning's mail. There were Hungarian stamps on it, but even without them I would have recognized that grubby Hungarian air-mail paper. The letter was from Dr. Sarolta Kretzoi, a charming woman and noted scholar, Reader in English at the University of Debrecen. *Kedves Ödön bácsi!* it started, and "Dear Uncle Edmund" does not really reproduce the true meaning, let alone the flavour, of this very Hungarian form of address.

I decided that by way of return for the argument about *kegyed* I would send him a book and sign it to him in a manner that was old-fashioned already in 1848.

P.S. Dear *Ödön bácsi!* I forgot to say that *Kaján* in *Ős Kaján* came from Cain. I always meant to write, but I put it off until it was too late.

But perhaps he knew without having to be told.

ISTVÁN LAKATOS

YOUR HUNDRED FACES

(Parts of a cycle)

When the hills and valleys become dark grooves
in the long-playing record spun by the evening

and under the hard needle of the moon
a faint twelve-tone music begins,

and the trees and shadows of the trees design
a lattice of light on the black lawn,

or the landscape glimmers as though under water,
cool and dim behind the steamy window,

then, when my wall reveals the moon,
half a circle shown as on a screen,

I know it is your turn to come: my pulse, the silence,
the silken sound of light announce you:

My inverted smile, my grating teeth,
the words I cannot say...

yes, it's every evening after ten
when the loom inside the skull unwinds its film,

at once, in the immeasurable silence
that which was dark becomes still darker,

that which shone is now more shining,
only the caffein seethes along my veins,

as you step out of the half-light
you are your self again,

the indestructible one whom I could love
with a love that knows no other love,

yes, this moon-traced face is your real face,
lovely as music strayed into the light,

oh, to brim over with my love for you!
always to be consumed in your fire

which will never burn away, with this,
this distant, restless face

ever changing while love busies itself
achieving your perfection.

***

Your face grows now, fills all the sky, the distant
land, the water, mist, rock, the shore

are merely background to your face;
your new face peers into my face,

if you could see your own eyes now
you might comprehend my love for you,

this face about to slip past the horizon
summons up to consciousness

all that your face can conjure from the deep
country of my soul.

***

And if it's hopeless a hundredfold,
if pride, hurt dignity, or fate decree

that I can never coax a sign, a gesture
beyond the extremity of my loneliness,

beyond reality or metaphor,
beyond what one can bear or the heart can say,

beyond all common sense, the possible
or the impossible, it shall continue

as I began, whether you wish it so
or wish it not, I'll keep you

beyond yourself, beyond myself
you'll raise me after all

because I have no other way, nor have you,
even my X-rays show that you are there.

my bitterness and my delirium
are ennobled into truth,

beyond shame, beyond desire
you stay with me as pain—

***

Tick-tockless stillness of a watch, your eyes
forever closed by lava: under the ashes

their Pompeian smile can never fade,
as at the last they were, they shall remain.

Translated by Daniel Hoffman

BERENICE

While I worship you, obsessed
sigh my love and your loveliness,
your every spite can dissect,
your stiff reserve can debase.

Yet the moment I recognize
my faith in you is a dream,
objectify your breast, your thighs,
your lips, your lap to a poem,

and make in verse a shelter
for your smile to glitter each word,
and fasten a tress in the welter
of stars and a sign, Berenice,

and mix in dawn's red fire
the carmine of your lips
to quicken the hues of desire
illusion and hope to life,

and dare to say it was all
a mistake, stand alone,
from then I'm no longer thrall
to your evil sway of my soul.

Translated by Laura Schiff

SUNDAY MASS

(Short story)

by

ISTVÁN SZABÓ

At ten o'clock on Sunday morning Fábián was wandering aimlessly around the courtyard with Emmi: both were wearing their Sunday best, but as yet they had nowhere to go. Fábián felt bloated with the heavy scrambled eggs, and the thought of a glass of beer kept running through his mind. In the kitchen, his aunt, Aunt Reza, was rattling the dirty dishes; outside, there was the cleanly swept courtyard, sprinkled with curling designs. A few experienced old hens strolled up and down, sometimes pecking the ground: not for something to eat, but from habit.

Emmi pinched a bit of lint from the boy's suit.

"Let's walk back over there."

They passed the delapidated shed, rotting on its crutches, and the collapsing hay rick, and had hardly arrived under the trees when Fábián handed Emmi the pack of cigarettes.

"You louse," the girl said after the first contented puff; "you've already had three, and all I can do is watch."

"They know *I* smoke," said the boy, teasing. "I've smoked since I was fifteen."

"Sure, because you're a man, and a man can do anything, even if he's only a fifteen-year-old brat. But he's a man! That's how it is here, isn't it." Emmi smoked the cigarette as if she were gleefully destroying her deadliest enemy; her deep drags would have done credit to a manual labourer. "I'm sick of this. I don't like sneaking around. I'm going. Just as soon as I can pack."

"Móki," Fábián pleaded, using Emmi's surname, "you must understand."

"I *don't* understand. I don't even want to."

"We aren't the only ones concerned. Think of them. Just try to hold out as long as we're here. For my sake."

Emmi's round, candid eyes were fixed on Fábián. All his life the boy had envied that look, the pure invincible strength of blue eyes: his father's eyes had cut like the crack of a whip. He took hold of the girl's arms, but the soft familiar body was rigid, like an implacable idol.

"Let's not be foolish," he told her. "We can find a way out."

"Like this, right? On the sly." Emmi squinted, holding up what remained of the cigarette. "You wrote your relatives there were two of us coming. You might also have written that I smoke. You own up to it in Budapest; why not here? By the way, don't think your aunt doesn't know. The first evening she went rummaging through my handbag."

"That isn't true. She wouldn't do such a thing."

Emmi smiled a mature, grown-up smile.

"Do you know so little about women? A woman's handbag," she reflected "is like... like her identity card. She knows all about me."

When Emmi threw away the butt, Fábián stepped on it to keep the parched summer grass from catching fire. "Do I have to watch out for that too?" He led Emmi back toward the yard with dispirited politeness, thinking about their argument of three days before, continued on the train and the bus: he had asked, even convinced Emmi not to smoke in the village, because in the eyes of the people at home smoking was identical with loose living. To them, a woman who smoked was suspiciously cheap, worthless. "They have stubborn ideas," he had explained, "old-fashioned ideas. You can't change them overnight. This is a strong community we're going into, the deep water. We have to adapt. It takes more than a week to teach an old dog new tricks." And later, "They'll be watching us," he had warned the girl, "especially you. You have to win their respect. I want them to say nice things about you."

Emmi had agreed not to smoke in public, and had even kept her word; but from the moment they arrived her spirits had gone down and down: in company she became silent, withdrawn, and only perked up a bit when from time to time she could disappear for a while. Perked up? Rather, she deceived herself with a false satisfaction that lasted five minutes, while the real, weightier question continued to make both her and Fábián miserable. At the end of the second day, Emmi had begun to grumble in earnest.

"I thought you were the kind of person here at home," she said sadly, "who could make everyone accept me. For what I am."

"Me?" said Fábián, smiling. "Not me. You don't know your intended. I tried twice to make a haystack, and the next day both fell apart. I'm nothing here at home. It's a good thing no one realizes that in Pest. But they're finding out there too."

"Just don't be nothing to me," the girl said, "whatever they say, anywhere."

Fábián looked with admiration into the dark blueness of Emmi's angry eyes.

"You're very beautiful, Móki. Know why? Because you know you are. The strength of beauty comes from there, from inside. There's no way you could hide it..."

That had been yesterday evening. Then, this morning, early, his aunt had taken Fábián under interrogation, while they were having the first, small glass of brandy. Emmi was still in the other room, dressing.

"Are you two married, or are you not?"

"We're not."

"Then what was that female doing in your bed?"

Shocked, Fábián looked into the old woman's eyes. They were blue and sharp, like the eyes of all his father's people.

"Aunt Reza. Is there a bus into Keszthely on Sunday?"

"What do you need a bus for today?"

"Because we're leaving."

Bent but still strong, the old woman straightened: her eyes narrowed to the size of two blackthorn berries.

"I ought to box your ears," she said sternly, "the way your poor father would. Forget I even spoke."

"My fiancée is not 'that female'. And use the familiar when you speak to her."

"And if I do? You're going to marry her?"

"I am."

"Fine," the old woman said, and she poured Fábián a second, stingy glass of brandy, "but you two certainly rush things."

A stupid grin froze on the boy's face, but as soon as Emmi appeared he hastened to change his expression. He lit up, but it was impossible not to notice how wistfully the girl watched the cigarette burning between his fingers.

What should he have said? "No great loss. Go ahead and smoke: we'll just sit Aunt Reza down on one of the kitchen stools." Perhaps. But the silence in him had been stronger, as if, unknowingly, he had been on the old woman's side. He had given the girl no sign to encourage her to light up.

As he walked Emmi back from the garden, the savage August sun shone down on them more and more strongly; the hens had wisely withdrawn into the shade, where they found something to occupy themselves in preening their feathers. The curling figure eights in the courtyard had dried

up, and small puffs of dust rose under the young people's feet. Over the houses and trees the church bell was ringing clear and steady: children, little girls dashed by flashing between the stripes of the fence. Behind them came the slow walking adults, the men and women of the village.

"Let's go," Fábián said, because even without looking he could feel his aunt's sharp, demanding, disapproving stare from the kitchen window. His movements stiffened under it. "Come on. Everybody's going."

"Listen. Do we have to?"

"No, we don't have to. But I want to."

"Will you always be this religious when you're home?"

"No. No more so than I am in Pest."

"Well then?"

"I want to say hello to everyone," Fábián said. "The whole village will be at church."

"But do we have to go in?"

The boy nodded.

"Yes, we have to go in. It'll do us both good to be seen. Especially you."

"Why? Because it's proper?"

They continued to lean with their elbows on the wobbly, rotting fence and acknowledged the greetings of the adults who passed by on their way to church. Fábián could see that as they nodded or spoke, the villagers cast a rapid, searching glance at Emmi, the strange new face; but their stiff expressions told him nothing. He himself was almost ignored. Even the younger men, his old drinking buddies, greeted him with an awkward "Hi" and a too formal smile: any other time they would have stopped by the fence to ask questions, joke around and talk politics. Now they didn't even say: "You here?" To which Fábián usually answered: "No, this isn't me. It's my kid brother."

"Give me a weed," Emmi said.

Fábián unhesitatingly offered her one, then lit one himself. With determined bravado, the two of them blew smoke out toward the pavement. In the meantime a man came up the street, a young boy at either side; behind them trudged the woman, alone. They nodded; Fábián and Emmi nodded back.

"Why do the man and two children go ahead?" Emmi asked, looking after them. "Why does the woman walk behind? Do they think women are so insignificant?"

Fábián stared at the far side of the street, at the familiar row of houses with their sun-drenched walls. He tried to answer deliberately.

"No, that isn't why. The woman watches out for the man and children.

She's always stronger, though it doesn't seem so. She takes care of them every second."

The stream of passers-by had begun to thin out, as more and more people disappeared into the church. Fábián stepped away from the fence.

"We ought to be going too."

Emmi crushed the butt.

"I'm not going."

"Móki, don't be silly. We have to go." He put his arms around the girl's waist, playfully, trying to lead her to the church door. "Come on, you'll see how beautiful a village mass can be. If only for the stew. My aunt is cooking Sunday dinner specially for us."

"No," said the girl. "You have to kneel."

"Of course you kneel! Is that such a big thing, to kneel down once or twice? It's worth it."

Emmi's clear round eyes looked up at him sharply.

"Is that all it means to you?"

"That's all. That's all," the boy repeated; "I want to say hello. I'm home, I want to see everyone. That's all it means."

"Why? Because it's proper?"

For a few minutes they just stood there beside the fence. The street by now was deserted. Aunt Reza, however, had come out to empty a large basin of dishwater, and she noticed with surprise that the two young people were still deliberating in the yard.

"What you're trying to show," the girl was saying, "is what a decent woman I am. I even go to church, so people won't think bad things about me."

"That isn't true," Fábián said vehemently. "I want to show them you."

"Me? Me they've already seen." Emmi imitated the gestures of smoking; and there was this, too, in the motion of her hand: We've already given the game away, so what's the use?

At that moment Aunt Reza came waddling over, her blue eyes questioning them.

"Children, you're late for mass."

Fábián waved his hand. Emmi said nothing.

"My dear child," the old woman said, "you get this renegade off to church. You'll govern him anyway, so you may as well start now. He's just like his father. Another heathen. Now run along to mass."

Emmi suddenly burst into tears. Alarmed, Aunt Reza stepped over and took the girl in her arms.

"Now, now. What is it, dear? Has someone hurt you? Has this Lucifer said something?"

With her right hand she gently stroked Emmi's shoulder, but with her left, her left fist, she vehemently threatened Fábián: You devil! I'll settle with you later! The boy stood pale and defenceless before the judgement in his aunt's unsuspecting eyes. The worst of it was that he couldn't cry. Not only was crying forbidden, but he had long ago forgotten the pleasure of tears.

Translated by Carl Eriksson

TÊTE À TÊTE WITH THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

Lajos Faluvégi talks about his life and ideas

We harbour vague enough ideas about finances. For us money is not "a general measure of value", but all sorts of coins and notes, which are being revalued, devalued or floated all the time, and although it is stable in the shape of the forint, we have always too little of it. We do, of course, suspect that money points to terribly involved socio-economic processes. Visiting the Minister should enable us to find out everything. Nevertheless, I am not asking you to initiate us into the mysteries of finance, but from your key position how do you see us, that is, society?

In short: sometimes too dynamic, sometimes too cumbersome. And not moderate enough. All this comes from our traditions, our opportunities and our abilities.

Somebody told me: the Minister of Finance is the critic of the economy. Do you agree with this formulation?

You have been given a wrong lead. In no area of our life can the roles be divided mechanically into critics and those to be criticized. In all position everybody has the right and the duty to evaluate—that is recognize and criticize—both his own work and that of others. At the most, the Minister of Finance, as master of the state's household, needs—and has the opportunity for—a broader view over the economic processes.

Due to the abolition of the fundamental injustices in society, to the right political ideas, to a more elastic management of the economy, to the ties of the people to their country, to their diligence, their ambition and to numerous other circumstances, we have achieved in material things—and generally in living conditions—a level which is worthy of recognition even by international standards. I believe that the communist promise

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made at the time of the Liberation, that we shall "make up for centuries" has in essence, been fulfilled.

You are certain to agree fundamentally with what I have said so far. I am not so sure that you will have the same opinion about what I am going to say now. I see a contradiction in the interpretation of this "falling behind by centuries". Society, and institutions and individuals within it, mostly demand an account for only that side of the postwar programme which referred to the rise in the standard of living; unfortunately they seldom consider that we can only live as we work. The load-bearing capacity of society depends on us, on our work. The load-bearing capacity not only of the individual but of society as well has its limits, and individuals must accept this when they present their demands to society. Today demands grow immeasurably faster than the material conditions necessary for their realization. "We are running miles ahead of our possibilities", and as Minister of Finance I feel this much more.

This sounds so frightening that I don't even dare to write it down.

Do please write it down. After all this is not a problem which concerns the government alone. And the conclusion from this is not that we should be more modest in the future. Except for over-grandiose and exaggerated ideas—which also exist—demands should not be reduced, but the foundation for their satisfaction should be created through the expansion of production and the raising of its efficiency. But we are reluctant to say precisely what must be done, beyond some generalities. The habit of placing orders and presenting bills is far more wide-spread. Although everybody recognizes in theory that priorities have to be established in the satisfaction of requirements in line with our possibilities, everybody thinks of himself when speaking of priorities, and of others, when speaking of moderation. Even the bulk of the speeches and questions of Members of Parliament are directed to the provision of goods and services in the broader sense. The exploration of the phenomena of putting a brake on more efficient management, the discussion of overall conflicts connected with production, the requirement of quality do not figure in proportion to, and on a level worthy of their importance, even in this area of public life.

It often occurs to me that one of the principal causes for the paucity of our financial means may be the high ratio of the population not participating directly in production. In Budapest alone every fifth person is a pensioner, there is the same number of children and students, there are tens of thousands of transport workers, retailers, doctors, teachers, officials of institutions and public authorities, researchers, poets, inspectors, firemen—nor would I omit myself and my colleagues either from this hastily compiled list.

There are places where the ratio of administrative employees is too high, but it is just as likely that elsewhere it is too low—in relation to what has to be done. But this is by the way. It appears to me more important to note that you are looking for the answer in the wrong place. It is wrong to consider those who do not participate directly in production as "dependents". The number of those who do not work in material production is indeed high, and is permanently on the increase. It is the same in the whole civilized world, including those countries where high capacity machines replace tens of thousands of office workers. In the countries which are industrially more advanced than we are, the service or tertiary branches employ proportionately more people than we do, and yet they can afford it. It is not the structure of employment that causes our difficulties but rather the low standard of organization and relatively low industrial and agricultural productivity. Here "we are running miles behind our possibilities".

This is then the explanation for the fact that we are stumbling all the time into rules issued by the Ministry of Finance. To what extent can this work be considered intellectual creative activity?

This is team-work; it is difficult to demarcate the personal achievement of any individual within it. The range of my duties is rather wide. International activities use up a lot of time; more conferences than necessary; putting an end to certain procrastinations...

Like securing accomodation for literary periodicals threatened with eviction. You dealt with that...

There are many such similar matters which should not be part of my work. But let me continue. Most of my work is simple or more complex professional routine work. I rank among intellectual creative activities the scientific analysis of facts and the elaboration of new economic ideas. All that may substantially modify social processes. Recently I had such a task in the preparatory work for the new system of economic management.

How far do you consider the criticism levelled at the new economic mechanism well-founded?

Let me summarize my own views. The reform set free great creative energies through decentralization. But a system of decision-making has evolved in which temporary partial interests may occasionally get the upper hand over long-range and community interests. We devoted more energy to the elaboration of a modern system of delegation of authority than to the maturing of the content and best forms of control. In the new situation the danger of arbitrariness is still present. The practice of separation from

the real processes manifested itself before in rigidity, in the infinite exaggeration of ambition; today in the exaggeration of elasticity: in improvization. In my opinion we should devote much more attention to clarifying the details of the perspectives of social progress, and thereby advance in practical questions as well.

There is a conspicuous element in the curriculum vitae of our Minister of Finance. According to what was published on your appointment, you have worked in the same place for twenty-five years. It may be assumed that you have risen from the lowest position to the highest. There can be few similar careers not only in Hungary, but probably in the whole world.

This is something that is merely interesting. It has importance only inasmuch as I am well-acquainted with nearly all the employees of the Ministry, their work and duties, their good and bad human qualities, and of course the people there know me at least as well. This "acquaintance" goes back even further than you mentioned since I entered the service of the State Salary Office during the war.

How did you come to leave that office?

In my youth I was a sportsman and played soccer tolerably well. The Ministry of Finance team needed a centre-half and I was invited to join.

I could now risk a play on words...

I see what you mean. No. I was far from standing either in the "centre" or "half way". The extremes following Liberation did not leave me untouched either. Do not forget: political plans are always prepared and followed by economic measures. It was a great thing to be present at the creation of socialist finances, the birth of the forint, the nationalization. In the critical years I took part in the execution of mistaken decisions as well. In the meantime I acquired a great deal of experience: useful as well as burdensome.

Did not the fact that you had to follow a new concept in the old place make your situation more difficult? Presumably, it was mostly with the same people with whom you had committed the mistakes, against whom you acted, and whom you hurt and who hurt you.

I have fought and am fighting in my own field of action for what is new. Your question suggests the answer. Among my contemporaries almost everybody who has been active in public life has to wrestle with this burden. As far as I am concerned, I am trying to turn the disadvantages into advantages in my work. I am very careful to rise above pettiness, not to hurt sensitivities, and to guard against even the slighest suggestion of any kind of personal bias. The extent to which I succeed in this can be better judged by my staff.

A minister is a rather important man. It derives from his situation that he inevitably meets with—to put it mildly—exaggerated respect for authority.

I have been working in this building for so long that this does not cause me any trouble in my everyday work contacts. As far as my wider environment is concerned, the majority of people undoubtedly believe that special treatment is due to a minister. For instance, after my appointment several people asked me: "And where are you going to live now?" "Now you will do your shopping somewhere else, won't you?" There are many who simply refuse to believe that in Hungary the ministers and other members of the leadership have no special shops, nor do they officially enjoy any sort of special privileges. No advantages are due to being in a leading position, but there is no denying some are offered. The remedy has been known for a long time: to keep alive the consciousness of being permanently in danger and the refusal of unjustified advantages.

The legends are probably promoted by the fact that a few leaders in lesser positions conspicuously permit themselves and their families quite a lot. Not only in material things. I imagine that the material aspects of this behaviour belong to the competency of the financial authorities.

Our inspectors are not idle, and they work in accordance with the strict rules of the Government and of the Ministry. In the course of their investigations they mostly meet with honest management, administration according to the rules, persons above reproach. But this is natural and does not deserve a mention. I should rather mention the difficulties. The finance organs are submitted to many attacks, and this is not surprising. My intention now is not to defend the ministry's officials—though they do deserve recognition in general—I am only answering your question.

At one time we thought that in socialism the importance of taxes would diminish. We therefore neglected the elaboration of the relevant theoretical questions and the training of specialists. One might add that young people do not dream of being taxation officials. In word: the staff could be better trained; but irrespective of this, they would need more support from the local state and social organs. Where, for instance, the members of the municipal councils and the leaders of the agricultural cooperatives have clean hands, the ministry official can do his job undisturbed. But I know cases where the situation of the taxation official became impossible, it was he who became isolated, because those against whom he took a stand proved to be stronger. It is well known that part of the manipulations would not be possible at all without the blindness or collaboration of our officials. We removed a few of our people from the counties because it was proved that they had given assistance to dealings that could not be

permitted. Yet I know that several among them were not really guilty. Because the blindness and corruption mentioned can only occur where it is inadvisable to oppose higher authority. Where there is a bad atmosphere, there can still be found "relatives", in the sense described by Zsigmond Móricz.

But is it not possible to put an end to this sort of local custom through the strength of our laws and our declared morals? After all, these represent the greater force.

This is an obvious truth, which is constantly confirmed every hour of our daily life. Constantly, but not a hundred per cent. It would be illusory to believe that there is no room any longer for the personal abuse of position office or privilege, and that a mere decision would be sufficient to put a final end to them. The contradictions of society and of the economy cannot be approached through the four rules of arithmetic. One must not suppose that if we substract from the mistakes and worries, the remainder is reduced.

It is not reduced?

It diminishes and grows at the same time. Every solution contains new contradictions—mostly of a higher order. The conflicts are being reproduced, always in a different form, with a different content.

I judge social phenomena according to the directions which they take. If I find that a problem, however grave, moves however slowly, towards mitigation, I am hopeful. But it is precisely due to the tendency of the phenomenon that I am worried that the acquisitive instincts scheming in the interest of private gain, mostly through damaging the community, have come to the fore to such a great extent.

We disagree in our judgement of the perspectives. Undoubtedly, many people exist in one stratum of our society—we may perhaps say, in the middle generation—who truly pursue the instruments of comfort. Some people make great sacrifices for this, they work long hours, in certain cases they truly drive themselves, but it is not society they damage. On the other hand there are others who in fact cheat the community, abuse their advantageous situation and force others, their staff, partners, customers, or those who must rely on them, to make sacrifices. Both attitudes are opposed to our principles regarding the socialist way of life, but we must not fight against them in the same way. But this is not what we are talking about now. There is a sort of explanation for the impatient will of the people mentioned "to live better". Their life has consisted of a series of self-denials, and they wish to make up for what they missed because of the war, reconstruction, the difficult years. They wish to give their children all that they were unable to receive. Now that the country has achieved a standard of relative well-being, they wish to acquire within

a few years all that is acquired in the lifetime of a generation in quieter times. The young people are, on the whole, different. They scorn, almost despise, the desire for acquisition. They set more value on the quality of life, the humane community and interpersonal relations. When talking of the direction of progress, this has to be mentioned. And this is why I am optimistic.

I also have high opinion of young people. The question is whether society helps them sufficiently to maintain their innocence? The monthly income of a professional man at the beginning of his career is around two thousand forints, while a flat costs hundreds of thousands.

Unfortunately, I cannot deny this. I can only repeat what everybody who reads a newspaper knows: the government is aware of the gravity of the housing problem and urges and forces construction with all the means at its disposal. It was only recently that it voted a further thousand million forints for this purpose to Budapest and a few large cities. It unceasingly seeks ways for the extension of new benefits—loans, contributions by the state and by the employing enterprise. I know that it is no consolation to those without a roof over their heads that we are building flats to an extent beyond our means, and more, each year. But the multiplication of dwellings is not purely a matter of money. At this moment, however much we increased investments, we would be unable to speed up the pace significantly. And this is not due only to the limits of the capacity of the factories manufacturing prefabricated houses and other branches of the building industry. The preparations, the clearing of the building sites, the introduction of utilities (the laying of water-, sewage-, gas-pipes, electric cables) the planning of the investments necessary for the extension of the networks, their requisition and mounting do not only demand huge sums but also time. Most of the money that the government has now voted is devoted to these purposes. The elimination of the housing shortage in the cities will require—according to my estimates—two five-year plans. In the villages the situation is incomparably more favourable. Hovels are disappearing, one after the other, and rows of roomy, healthy, beautiful stone houses are being built. Yes, it will be necessary for a long time to come for dwellings to be built also out of the financial resources of the population; naturally in settlements that we should not feel ashamed of in 2000 either.

How do you interpret the statement that "under socialism culture is not a commodity"?

I do not consider this slogan a happy formulation. I hasten to declare: not as if I regarded culture a commodity. But I feel that the statement

in question—as it is fashionable to voice it nowadays—contains only part of the truth. This sentence is too simple: it lacks the complements necessary for its exact interpretation. Culture is not a commodity in the sense that there are different laws and regulations in force for its production and distribution from those that apply to the production and distribution of consumer goods. Culture cannot be excluded from the system of economic management. This means on the one hand that the amounts devoted to the support of culture are produced through work and economic management, and on the other, that these sums must be treated economically in the area of culture as well. Even if we know that the improvement of public taste or even the value of a work of art cannot be expressed in forints, we can nevertheless not place culture outside the sphere of economic management. This is, of course, a contradiction which can only be solved by the social progress of the distant future. Some people interpret the notion of "not a commodity" in such a way that if the values of culture are inestimable, we should not "estimate" the input either. Let me remark that knowing the costs of some theatre or film productions, I have the impression that those who think: "let it cost what it will"—do not besiege the financial fortresses of culture entirely without success.

It is not difficult to sober down those who chase castles in the air. But what shall we tell those who do not take exception to the necessity of economic management but to its methods? To those who complain that for financial reasons, in order to increase revenue, worthless books are published in large edition, and bad plays are produced?

I shall answer with a question. Tell me, does a single valuable work remain in the author's drawer in Hungary only because its publication or production is not good business? The complaint would be justified if art were the loser and not the beneficiary of the present economic system. The revenue derived from entertainment is enjoyed mostly by publishing, by the film industry, the theatre, the fine arts, music and the cultural press. It is not the pursuing of profit, the compulsion of profitability that stimulates the publisher to publish, entertainments, but the fact that these works have a ready sale. Why should we be ashamed that cultural requirements vary, and that the entire population of the country, every stratum has to be supplied with reading matter and theatre programmes accordingly? The state has its instruments to stimulate the advance of desirable artistic accomplishments and to assist in the continuous reduction of differences in taste.

Do you then consider the publishing and programme policies to be adequate?

I lack both expertise and competency to judge this but I have a few

comments from the aspect of finance. In allocating public money the leading organs of society establish the amount with which they are able to support literature. This represents an "average norm", it is the task of the publishers to differentiate. The publishers make very uncertain use of this instrument. The price of books written as routine, merely simulating a social message, is sometimes lower than that of outstanding, important works—if their author is a living Hungarian writer. It is true that differentiation means taking a stand, and if this is reflected in the price of books, it is a qualification. The attacks, debates and other inconveniences inevitably following from this qualification can be avoided through the application of the principle of "equal price", but the realization of our ideas of cultural policy is harmed through this practice.

And what is your personal relationship to the arts?

I like literature, music, the fine arts. As an interested layman, I am neither systematic nor methodical, but if I have the time, I seek these forms of relaxation. I would not like it if the everyday worries and little annoyances "washed out of me what I consider important." Having to read a considerable amount of specialized literature, I have little time nowadays for longer books; before falling asleep I only have sufficient strength for poems or short stories. Apart from my personal interests, I have some ex officio reading duties as well. I therefore read more criticism than creative writing, of the crop of books those which take one closer to Hungarian reality today.

Tell me in conclusion: what would you like to do most if you left your present office?

I would find something to do. I would either do theoretical economic research or look for a very practical job. Let us say, at an enterprise which had to be "put to rights." I thought about this when my candidacy was being discussed. How was it put? "There are no permanent offices here. You can stay in your position as long as you work well, as long as your work is considered successful by society."

Then let me wish you further good work and thank you.

ÉVA KATONA

SURVEYS

GÁBOR VÁLYI

THE CULTURAL POLICY OF SMALL NATIONS

A Unesco seminar in Finland

Savonlinna lies several hundred miles to the north of Helsinki at Lake Sainaa. It is the oldest town in Eastern Finland. Though the town itself was only founded in 1639, the building of Olavinlinn, a large baronial castle on a rocky island, was already started in 1475. The castle is now being got ready to serve as a tourist attraction, an open-air stage is being erected in the court-yards, and booths selling souvenirs, beer and refreshments will go up in the sombre vaulted corridors, to the annoyance of Finnish youth and protectors of ancient monuments. In 1812, in the seventieth year of Russian suzerainty, the town, and its 275 inhabitants, became part of the Grand Duchy of Finland. It has 25,000 inhabitants today and has become a major industrial and educational centre. The beauty of the natural surroundings, summer music and winter theatrical festivals, and well-built hotels and sanatoria attract visitors by their thousands.

The Finnish National Commission for Unesco, Section for Cultural Affairs, there arranged its international seminar. The Cultural Policy of Small Nations—Cultural Independence in a Changing World—was the subject discussed.

Those giving the papers as well as those who spoke in the ensueing discussion all dealt with problems that had already figured on the agenda of the Unesco Conferences for Ministers of Culture arranged in Venice in 1970 and in Helsinki in 1972*. A mere year had gone by since the Helsinki *Eurocult*, and yet everyone at Savonlinna spoke as if cultural progress had totally changed in that one year, as well as the preconditions for cultural contact between nations. There were no ministers or official delegations representing states at this seminar, everyone there spoke for himself alone, represented only himself and expressed his own personal view. This had its effect on the atmosphere and the mood as well, but this was not the cause of the change.

The first volume of *Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies*, published by Unesco in 1969** still formulated the position most cautiously. "Each country has a different general concept of the action which public authorities should take in the cultural field", going on later "...State intervention must not have a harmful effect on the freedom to create..." This publication summed up the strident debates at the Round-Table for experts which took place in Monaco towards the end of 1967. Many politicians concerned with cultural subjects and experts who attended still doubted the justification of a cultural policy, arguing that states or politicians had no business to interfere in the cultural field, that every kind of inter-

* See Iván Boldizsár: "Helsinki—Prelude to Europe" *The NHQ* No. 48.

** Cultural Policy—a Preliminary Study p. 9.

ference limits creative freedom, and is therefore noxious.

In Venice* it was already said that "the Conference recommends the Member States (1) involve creative artists in the formulation and implementation of their cultural policies; (2) explore means by which creative artists can be helped to develop their talents;" The representatives of various governments there agreed to recommend that Unesco "give greater emphasis in its cultural programme to matters of cultural policy..." (Resolution No. 11)

Finally in Helsinki*, in 1972 "the Conference unanimously recognized that cultural development was an integral part of overall development and that its cultural policy was an essential factor in each nation's social and economic development... The role and responsibilities of the public authorities in cultural policy were recognized and reaffirmed."

These passages show that significant progress was made in the recognition of a need for a cultural policy between Monaco and Venice, and then between Venice and Helsinki. The position argued by the socialist countries right from the start, that cultural policy formed an integral part of their general political programme since, as far as they were concerned, social progress was unimaginable without the implementation of a systematic cultural policy, proved increasingly acceptable.

Those who attended the *Eurocult* meeting frequently referred to "the spirit of Venice", not only in the course of their conversations, but when addressing their member delegates in committee or plenary session as well, looking on it as a first break-through in the direction of furthering cultural cooperation, showing great joy when the Minister of Culture of Finland, in his closing address, already spoke of a new notion "the promise of Helsinki."

Though the work done at Savonlinna, in the summer of 1973, took place in much less high-falutin' circumstances, there is no doubt that this as well was a step towards making the promise of Helsinki come true.

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At the Savonlinna seminar, be it at its plenary sessions in the gymnasium of a girls' school, surrounded by many windows and wall-bars, or at the discussions of the working groups midst the narrow benches of the class-rooms, "the promise of Helsinki" referred not only to the implementation of the *Eurocult* recommendations, but much more so to the cause of European security and cooperation. This increased the sense of responsibility felt by participants, everyone spoke, argued and discussed in such a way that one could feel that a mutuality was involved, not only Helsinki had its effects on Savonlinna, but what was said there referred back to the pacification of Europe. The Finnish press reception reacted to what was said in this spirit, addresses were reported in detail and recommendations were printed in full.

Over and above the cultural policy of small nations, the cultural position of national minorities in Scandinavia, that of the Lapps in the first place, also figured on the agenda, and so did the educational and training problems of developing countries. I do not, however, intend to discuss these two latter in what follows since they are not so closely linked up with Hungarian cultural problems.

Heikki Kirkinen, a professor of history, and Rector of the University of Joensuu in Finland, the Chairman of the Seminar, said in his introductory address: "When a small nation cannot choose its own and original cultural services, but has to offer mass culture services produced by foreign nations, such as films, papers, music, etc., the nation is no more culturally independent or free

* Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies. Final Report, p. 19.

* Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Europe. Final Report p. 7.

nor is this democracy. It is compelled to eat nourishment planned by others, though it cannot digest it.

From a worldwide point of view, cultures of small nations bring a valuable and enriching element to the world's culture. If for instance the same western mass culture is spread all over the world, the same papers are read, the same serial films are watched, the same pop music is heard, the same pictures are drawn, and people have the same hobbies, this means that we become poorer in a way."

Leif Wilhelmsen, a historian, one of those in charge of the Norwegian Cultural Council, sounded a more cautions note. He denied that any small nation in Europe "is being exposed to conscious cultural imperialism, in the sense that cultural means are being used for political ends." He admitted however that "the small countries are particularly vulnerable... because their populations are too small to form suitable markets for a national mass production to meet the competition from imports... Even in France, so conscious of its cultural heritage, de Gaulle complained of what he aptly termed 'coca-colonialisation'... In important areas this pressure is so strong that native production of cultural goods has stopped or at any rate declined in favour of importation and the foreign influence determines the form and content of what is still produced." He summed up his position as follows: "Theoretically there are two obvious and opposite ways of trying to redress the balance between national and foreign culture. One is to let the process take its course without influence, letting commercial exploitation of popular tasks determine the development. The other is to forbid or ration cultural imports, thus giving national products priority. Both these ways are completely alien to Norwegian thinking and traditions and have never been seriously argued by responsible politicians. It has always been taken for granted 1) that the country should have a cultural policy which favoured national values, and 2) that this favouring should be positive, assisting Norwegien activities, not negative, shutting things out."

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I spoke after Professor Wilhelmsen. I said that, "I do not find the term 'small nations' very appropriate because it has been wrongly interpreted in the press of several countries to mean that the small nations, without exception, should immediately join forces against all the big countries to safeguard their interests. There is no such tendency or danger in our cooperation with the Soviet Union. Since the end of the first world war the Soviet Union has thrown open the doors to Hungarian culture in a way that never happened before. She publishes our best literary works in hundreds and thousands of copies, not only in Russian but in many other languages of the Soviet Union; Hungarian films are shown to millions in the cinema and on television; young Hungarians in their thousands receive scholarships from the Soviet Union to study in the universities there. So we do not have to protect our interests from every big country. This differentiation—'small nation'—is unfortunate from another angle too, because any country, quite irrespective of its size, could create a cultural masterpiece of world-wide significance. The Finnish Kalevala, Dutch painting, the great masters of twentieth century Mexican art and the Hungarian composer, Béla Bartók are all examples of this.

There is some point, however, in using this category in the case of small countries with languages that are not, widely known like Finland or Hungary, where the language is only spoken by a few million people. This is a handicap, because it means that it is more difficult to translate our literary works, our films are not dubbed so much and the whole culture of the country does not integrate quite so easily into international cultural trends. It is therefore particularly important for these countries that the nations of the world follow this principle, which is

their right and their duty, of enriching one another's intellectual and cultural lives, thus contributing towards strengthening peace and international relations. That is why the Hungarian delegation, among others, emphasized the principle at the World Conference of Cultural Ministers in Venice and at the meeting of European ministers in Helsinki.

We feel that in order to put this principle into practice cultural policy has to be a state action, whether its aspect is international or national. In our opinion every country is responsible for promoting international cultural relations and mutual advantages, without interfering in one another's internal affairs, according to the principle of equality and respect for each country's laws and customs. It is also part of international cultural policies that works of art from small nations should be included in the main currents of great cultures. We made several suggestions at the conference in Helsinki with this aim in mind. One such suggestion was that every country should make a list of books, plays and films they consider suitable for translating and performing abroad, and then the other countries could select primarily from this collection and use state resources to promote the translation, publication and production of these works. I am quite aware that this relatively minor thing would not be simple to carry out.

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At earlier official meetings with cultural delegates from western countries, I often heard the view that, although they were cultural emissaries and government officials, they had no influence on the publishing houses, impresarios, exhibition organizers, and art galleries that function as private enterprises, or on the television or radio networks that would enduce them to show an interest in our culture. These same colleagues never failed to allege that the representatives of the socialist state were obstructing the course of free cultural exchanges, whenever we refused to accept one of their proposals, or wanted some amendments made. If we examine the real consequences of this attitude the disparity is striking. Hungary translates far more works from the literature of western countries, in all sorts of fields and buys many more films from them than they do from us. Under such circumstances, it is hypocrisy to talk about the freedom of cultural exchanges without creating the true conditions for reciprocity of disscussing the real problems. It is my opinion that the value of cultural exchange, and the development of human relations, cannot be measured in statements, but in terms of whether they serve to promote a rapprochement, mutual understanding, and respect between the nations of the world. I believe that exchanges should not be ruled by business viewpoints, but by cultural policies that would ensure advantages to the popularization of worthy but hitherto unknown values, like Hungary's rich poetry for example, and would preclude the possibility of connections ever being used for dishonest purposes or for the propagation of inhumanity and nihilism. The improvement of the cultural atmosphere is considered to be as important a task for the government as ecology or, I might add, public security, a thing that tourists visiting Hungary from some countries find most enviable."

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Addresses were followed by a day's discussion in three working groups. That is how the recommendations and propositions of the seminar came to be formulated. The most important from my point of view, were the following:

The international Unesco-Seminar at Savonlinna dealing with cultural policy of small nations presents to the Finnish National Commission for Unesco, to Unesco and to all, the following statement:

—No culture is completely independent, but all cultures are mutually interdependent.

—Today more then ever culture should

play an active role in the development of society.

—Imperialism and colonialism have used and are still using culture as a tool of oppression, thus making culture into a mere object for trade, which is produced more or less according to the principles of economic gain.

—A large part of this culture consists of a pseudo-culture, with elements that idealize violence and cause alienation from everyday reality.

—Thereby the development of national cultures is suppressed and the opportunities of different social groups participating in cultural activities are largely inhibited. Inequality of participation is a fact not only within many nations but also among nations.

—Certain positive developments in world politics (such as the European Security Conference and the treaties restricting the use of nuclear weapons) provide increasing possibilities of cultural co-operation.

—All people have the right to receive at least a primary education and cultural services by the language and other means of expression of their own culture.

—All nations should be guaranteed the right of criticism and of restrictive measures on abuse of culture.

—Unesco should increasingly consider the measures to further the cultural research work of small nations.

—One of the guiding principles in the work of Unesco should be the recognition of the right of all nations to determine their own cultural policy and to decide what kind of culture they wish to receive and integrate in their own culture. The increased technical means of mass communication such as satellites etc., makes this all the more urgent to point out. Unesco should strive to bring about an international agreement on this question.

—Cultural exchange between nations should be based on equality. One of the primary tasks of Unesco is therefore to promote it. Special attention should be given to the spreading of information about the cultures of developing countries and of small linguistic and ethnic groups.

—Unesco should prepare a program of cultural exchange and cooperation as a complementary to the development strategy for the second development decade of UN. This will require research on the international distribution systems, the production and content of culture, as well as an analysis of the connections between culture and development of society.

—Unesco should propagate culture promoting peace and international cooperation and make known national cultures of developing countries engaged in a liberation struggle.

Phrases on the acceleration of the rhythm of progress have become a commonplace by endless, often boring repetition, it must be said nevertheless that five, or even three years ago we would not have dared to imagine that, at a Unesco seminar in 1973, attended by lecturers from Finland, Sweden, Norway, a number of developing countries and one socialist country, this kind of discussion should take place, and such recommendations should be accepted.

The Savonlinna seminar shows that public opinion, youth in particular—the bulk of the Finns who attended were enthusiastic young people under thirty—,is convinced that the time has come to bring into being international cooperation that will serve to enrich every nation. It knows what must be done to bring this about, and why and against what one must fight, and it is prepared to undertake this noble tasks.

The unpolluted water of the lakes of Finland, the patriarchal peace of the sauna, and the shining light of a Midsummer's Night that takes man closer to his neighbour were not the cause, but the reflection, of that determined mutual understanding which here found expression in the cause of peace.

JÁNOS BOROS—LÁSZLÓ RAPCSÁNYI

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF ANCIENT HUNGARIANS

Radio Budapest recently transmitted 13 weekly thirty minutes programmes by János Boros and László Rapcsányi, two members of its staff who travelled from Western Siberia across the European territories of the Soviet Union over areas from whence one of the last waves of the great migration —including the ancestors of the Hungarian nation—had rolled westwards. The following is a short account of this journey—with a microphone.

We are still at the very beginning and yet we cannot help thinking about the end. How shall we tackle all that is ahead of us? And how shall we get it all through to our listeners at home? We did our homework honestly, reading and rereading all the historical, archeological and ethnological manuals we promised ourselves to read. One forgets all one learns at school, and this goes for the social sciences as well. True enough, we talked to the best of the Hungarian experts, but it is an old story that the most important notes are always left at home, or they stay lost, however, much one looks for them when they are most needed. Childhood longing and a curiosity natural to journalists have awakened in us the desire to travel. There we are in a Trans-Siberian jet. Twenty minutes past midnight.

We took off not long ago from Vnukovo Airport near Moscow. It's June, and 82 °F—the mercury will sink to 24 °F, 8 below freezing point, by the time we land in Western Siberia, and it will be by four hours earlier than at home right then. There is no need for anthropological knowledge to recognize that many of our fellow passengers have a more or less pronounced Mongolian appearance. Everybody sleeps quietly, no one pays the slightest attention to the small Tungusian boy yelling happily and kicking wildly against the side of the cabin. Altitude: 33,000 feet. The ocean of time we endeavour to swim over extends over 5,000 years. We are the only two passengers who are awake, and try to explore the dark of the night.

The Urals are the natural demarcation line between Europe and Asia. They are more than a 1,000 miles long, little more than hills and never a serious obstacle to the tribes living on either side. Migrants steadily trickled across them. The forest zone secured suitable shelter and nourishment for tribesmen who fished, hunted and collected their food.

The Uralian Language Family

Sometimes our plane flies lower, the earth can be clearly seen. Hardly noticing it, we have already crossed the Urals. Here, on the east slope, begins one of the greatest lowlands of the world, the Western Siberian Plain extending over 1,000 miles. Our next target is Tyumen, the centre of one of the main natural gas and oil fields. We are delayed by the fog and have to wait half a day until at last the airport of Hanti-Mansiisk is ready to receive us. We take an old IL-2 plane, leaving room for only a few local passengers with quantities of luggage. Sitting on benches, we turn our back to the windows. Rusty-red moorland lies below. All the waters of the Western Siberian Plain are carried into the Kara Sea by the Ob-Irtis river system. Rivers and rivulets are entangled as magnetic tape might be. The river Tura points the route, then the Konda, and at last the vast expanse of the Irtis is in sight.

The soil of the airport is yellow sand; another plane stands there, some 330 feet away. The old AN-2 was sent from Hanti-Mansiisk to fetch us—it is said to be the safest aircraft in rainy weather. The picture

is completed by a small boy, whose job is to carry the luggage between the two planes. We have only one hour and a half to fly before we land in the capital of the Manysi National District, one of the most thrilling stations of our journey. In thought we go over some of the chapters in the history of the Hungarian language. Hungarian is the native language of some 15 million. Our nearest cousins are the Voguls—in their own vernacular, the Manysi—and the Ostiacs or Hanti. According to the 1959 census about 6,000 Manysi live in this National District between the Ural and the lower reaches of the river Ob. The Hanti live in this region as well. Their total number along the tributaries of the Ob amounts to 19,000; 77 per cent actually speak their native language. Literacy was brought to both peoples by the Soviet system in 1931–1932. The term "Finno-Ugrian" has been replaced in linguistics by "Uralian affinity", a term supposed to be more exact, and—since the relationship between the Finno-Ugrian and the Samoyed languages has been elucidated—applicable to a wider range.

The Samoyed peoples are one branch of the Uralian group, the Finno-Ugrians the other. The Samoyed branch now includes four living languages only: the Nienietz (25,000) in the tundra regions of Northern Siberia, and a few hundred Enietz and Nganassan near them. The Samoyed or the Selkup people (ca. 4,000) live further south in the region of the Central Ob.

The Finno-Ugrian branch can be subdivided into Finno-Permians and Ugrians. The Finno-Permians include the Baltic Finns, the Lapps, the Volga Finno-Ugrians and the Permians.

The Baltic Finns, in turn, include the Finns (4.5 million) living all but exclusively in Finnland, the Karelians (170,000) in the Karelian-Finnish SSR, the Ishores (1,000) west of Leningrad, on the southern shores of the Finnish Gulf, the Wepse (10,000) east of Lake Ladoga, the Wotes (a few dozen) near the Ishores, the Estonians (1 million) in the Estonian SSR, and the Livs (500) in the Latvian SSR.

The Lapps are scattered all over the northern regions of Norway, Sweden and Finnland, on the Kola Peninsula and in the Soviet Union.

The Volga Finno-Ugrians consist of the Cheremiss (500,000) in the Mari SSR, and the Mordvines (1,300,000) in the Mordvinian SSR.

The Permian peoples include the Udmurts (600,000) in the Udmurt SSR, and the Komi (400,000) in the Komi SSR and the Komi-Permyak National District.

The Ugrians are subdivided into the Ob-Ugrians, the Manysi (Voguls) and the Hanti (Ostiacs). They live in the northern part of Western Siberia, in the Hanti-Manysi National District, and are not quite 300,000 altogether.

The other branch of the Ugrians consists of the Hungarians (Magyars), ten million of whom live in the Hungarian People's Republic and another five million in limitrophe countries and scattered all over the world (major groups of Hungarians can be found in the USA and in Canada).

Thus, languages belonging to the Uralian language family are spoken by roughly 22.8 million today, 62 per cent of whom speak Hungarian, 20 per cent Finnish, and the remaining 18 per cent the idioms of the different Uralian peoples. More than half of the people belonging to the Uralian language family live in Central Europe, one fifth in Northern Europe and one fifth in the European part of the Soviet Union.

There is no need to be a linguist to become aware of the affinity of the Finno-Ugrian languages. Just compare the words standing for the most ancient notions of man, such as the parts of the body or some objects within the natural environment:*

* Since this does not claim to be a scholarly article no attempt was made to transcribe into phonetic script. Transliterations of non-Latin scripts were left in the Hungarian version since an amateurish attempt to produce some sort of English equivalent would only have confused and obscured the issue.

Heart — *szív* (Hungarian), *sem* (Vogul), *selem* (Komi), *sulem* (Udmurt), *süm* (Cheremiss), *sedej* (Mordvine), *cade* (Lapp), *sydän* (Finnish)

Eye — *szem* (Hungarian), *säm* (Vogul), *sem* (Ostiac), *sin* (Komi), *sin* (Udmurt), *selme* (Mordvine), *calbme* (Lapp), *silmä* (Finnish)

Arrow — *nyíl* (Hungarian), *nal* (Vogul), *nal* (Ostiac), *nyl* (Komi), *nil* (Udmurt), *nölö* (Cheremiss), *nal* (Mordvine), *nuoli* (Finnish), *njuolla* (Lapp)

Hand — *kéz* (Hungarian), *kat* (Vogul), *ket* (Ostiac), *ki* (Komi), *kit* (Cheremiss), *gietta* (Lapp), *käsi* (Finnish)

Fish — *hal* (Hungarian), *hul*, *kul* (Vogul), *hul* (Ostiac), *kol* (Cheremiss), *kal* (Mordvine), *kala* (Finnish)

Hundred — *száz* (Hungarian), *sat* (Vogul), *sat* (Ostiac), *sa* (Komi), *su* (Udmurt), *südö* (Cheremiss), *sado* (Mordvine), *cuotte* (Lapp), *sata* (Finnish)

Winter — *tél* (Hungarian), *täl* (Vogul), *tal* (Ostiac), *tel* (Komi), *tol* (Udmurt), *tele* (Mordvine), *dalve* (Lapp), *talvi* (Finnish)

Bile — *epe* (Hungarian), *tep* (Vogul), *sep* (Udmurt), *säpä* (Lapp), *sappi* (Finnish)

Butter — *vaj* (Hungarian), *woj* (Vogul, Ostiac), *vyj* (Komi), *üj* (Cheremiss), *voi* (Finnish)

Stone — *kő* (Hungarian), *käw* (Vogul), *kew* (Ostiac), *kö* (Udmurt), *kev* (Mordvine), *kivi* (Finnish)

Hanti-Mansiisk

Very few Hungarian linguists and ethnographers have ever travelled in this region. We are flying at an altitude of 990 feet, an endless marshland lies underneath, and it is hard to imagine, how man can make a living here. A hill emerges from the reedy bog on the horizon—it is the capital of the National District: Hanti-Mansiisk. It was only after having landed that we realized: all the complications in getting here were due to the rains producing a bottomless sea of mud. The plane is at the end of a narrow plank—the linguistic relations are on the other. A touching encounter. "The delegates of the Hungarian Radio are heartily welcome on the ancestral Yugrian soil!" After greetings we mount a four-wheel-drive vehicle which, with the engine roaring, bravely overcomes the obstacles of the muddy road. We are received by a modern city with its paved roads as by a harbour after a storm. The Manysi and Hanti are together called the Ob-Ugrians, since they live along the river Ob. As shown by linguistic studies, contemporary Hungarian has more than 500 roots in common with the Manysi and Hanti. No doubt, they are the closest linguistic relatives of the Hungarians. It is remarkable, that both the Manysi and the Hanti originally lived on the European side of the Urals and only migrated later to their present home. On old Russian maps the region on either side of the Ural is named Yugria, and many scholars share the view that the these people—i.e. the Ob-Ugrians—moved to the Asian side of the Urals at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. For a long time the Russians called the Urals *Yugorskiie Gore*, that is the Ugrian Mountains. The word "Ural" is of Vogul origin. The Vogul word "ur" means "mountain" or "summit". When Siberia was conquered by the Tsars and the Cossack hetman Yermack fought against the Tartar Khanate of Siberia, he found many Ugrians as well among his enemies.

Our new friends told us the history of their peoples in a great deal of detail, including all the critical periods. We diligently record ethnographic data and pieces of folk music on tape. The bear, whose role was so important in the ancient Hanti-Manysi religious cult, is still regarded by the old as a respected totem-animal. Some decades ago

Soviet scholars came across an occasional bear feast and filmed the associated rites. The young of today evoke the customs of their fishing and hunting ancestors from what their fathers and grandfathers tell them; the fanciful traces of a vanished cult are revived in their songs, in the singing oath and singing curse and in the lamentations for the bear. Their old musical instrument with five, seven or nine strings comparable to the Finnish kantele is still skillfully handled; though unable to read music, the singers know the old melodies very well. Folklorists tell us, that the text of a song indicates precisely whether it is a man or a woman singing it, since the same notions or adjurations are used differently by men or women. The text of one of their singing oaths, given here in rough translation, shows many similarities with oaths of other peoples, but we found it especially interesting, since the text and the melody together were of a specific Ugrian character: "I swear by the sky, the earth, the fire and the water—Heaven should punish me—the earth should swallow me, the water should sink me, the fire should burn me, I should never see the shining sun, nor my son and my daughter, nor my animals, if what I am going to say now is untrue."

The Hanti-Mansiisk museum contains ethnographical objects of unique importance: Caskets and equipment of the shamans, tents and masks made of birch bark, ritual remnants for the bear ceremony, the usual implements of fishermen and hunters, and even the ritual bit of a bear's coat, which —according to tradition—the suspicious husband handed over to his wife if he thought he had good reason to doubt her fidelity; if she was faithful, she accepted it, but if not, she admitted her misconduct, being firmly convinced that the bear would tear her to pieces if she told an untruth.

Some ethnolinguists believe that, towards the end of the second millenium B.C., the Ugrian community of the woodlands and steppes of Western Siberia came under the influence of cattle breeding tribes. The ancient community fell apart, the southern Ugrians joined the extensive zone of the Scythian world. At that time, the history of languages already distinguishes proto-Hungarian and proto-Hanti-Manysi groups.

To the Polar Circle

We left our Hanti and Manysi relatives to meet our linguistic "cousins", the Zyrians or Komi. There are about half a million Komi altogether, most of whom live in the Komi Autonomous Region, in the river basins of North-Eastern Europe. They are divided into several dialects, and we had plenty to do when we recorded all the information on their history and ethnography. We are now on the shores of the river Wichegda, more than 700 miles long. Together with the other big river of the area, the nearly 1,500 mile long Petchora, it is the main waterway of watery Komiland. It is June, and the last morning frost occurred just a few weeks earlier, on May 28th, to be precise. The trees along the road are all covered in vernal green. In the three months to come, our friends said three seasons will follow one another. The nine months of winter begin on September 9th with the first morning frosts. You can almost see the grass growing. The sun actually shines for seventeen hours a day. At midnight there was enough daylight to read the newspaper on the shores of the Wichegda.

The ancestors of the Hungarians never moved so far north, so close to the Polar Circle—it was the other branch that migrated in this direction. Finnish linguists and archeologists are more frequent visitors in these parts, coming to see our Finno-Permian brothers living along the rivers Petchora, Wichegda and Sisola.

We learnt there that the Hanti and Manysi, i.e. the Ugrians who formerly lived in the western parts of the Urals, found rich huntig fields here as well, on the shores of

the Petchora. The decorations on the axes and sickles of the Zyrians, i.e. Komi, are evidence for an important role played by the Ugrians in their evolution.

The Peoples of the Kama Basin

Every journey is a new attachment to the world. While still under way, we decided to attach every item of the radio programme to a river. These river valleys were actually historic stations along the way of the migrating Hungarians. Their names were familiar to us, either from school or from books, but now we established a personal relationship with the Kama, the Bielaya, the Ufa, the Dyoma. The Kama Basin crossed by some three thousand rivers and brooks, is a most important area in Hungarian prehistory. This is the Ananino Culture named after the village of Ananino in the Tartar Republic. Finds show warriors clothed in the Scythian style. The 1,300 miles long Kama is one of the main rivers of the region it was not by mistake that it was considered in Antiquity to be the upper flow of the Volga. The Kama Basin is five times the size of Hungary and some scholars hold it to be the original home of the Finno-Ugrians. By now, the river has been transformed into a mighty source of hydro-electric power—dams with their large pools of water have utterly changed the landscape. Here, the graves show highly developed trade. Next to the Kama, archeologists have found Persian pottery and silverware. It is supposed that the Tissagetes mentioned by Herodotus when writing about contacts between the Scythians and northern tribes may be identified with the Ananino population already mentioned.

The Kama Motor Works now under construction will be operating in partnership with twenty-eight enterprises from other countries to become one of the most important industrial plants of the Soviet Union. Among the workers we find not only Russians, but Bashkirians, Chuvash, Tartars, Komi, Mordvines and Cheremisses as well. The Kama Motor Works are built in what might well be the very heart of the Finno-Ugrian ancestral homeland.

Bashkirs and Hungarians

Our anthropological knowledge often showed its gaps in Bashkiria. What we thought to be Bashkir turned out to be Tartar or Russian, while the genuine Bashkir is often mistaken for Russian. Bashkiria is populated by nearly one million Bashkirs, speaking a language that belongs to the Kipchak branch of the Turkic language family. The traditional occupation here was the breeding of horses and camels, in Tsarist times, illiteracy ruled the roost.

Usually, anthropologists trace back the evolution of the Hungarians to Bashkiria. In the small graveyard of Lugoskoy one of the most important finds was unearthed; dating back to the transition between the Iron and the Bronze Ages, belonging to the Ananino culture. The skulls discovered here are indicative of an ancient Indo-European population with a certain East Asian influence. Finds comparable to the Lugoskoy and also to Ostiac skulls were excavated in the Danube Basin as well, for instance in what is today County Zemplén, dating back to the Magyar conquest of Hungary (end of the 9th century). This, however, is no evidence for the common origin of the Hungarians and the Bashkirs since in those times, when the ancestors of the Hungarians were living in what is now Bashkiria, the Bashkirs themselves were dwelling far to the south. The Bashkir people is of western Turkic origin, Professor C. A. Macartney agrees on this point with Hungarian and Soviet scholars. Hungarians have for a long time lived together with Turkic peoples—with the Volga Bulgarians, for instance—but had developed their identity by that time. Some scholars have nevertheless tried to prove

their Turkic origin as against Finno-Ugrian descent. The Turkic aspect of Hungarians can be barely discerned even at the time of the conquest, let alone in our days. Even in those times a Turkic lineage was limited to the ruling class. This fact is explained by some Hungarian scholars by the ancient custom of rulers and leaders who married the daughters of ruling families from neighbouring tribes; and since the Hungarians mostly lived amidst Turkic tribes, the wives always introduced Turkic blood into the ruling families. The warriors, i.e. the middle class, were mixed, with considerable Pamirian influence; this, again, refers to Indo-European contacts.

Neither the Mongolian nor the Turkic origin of the Hungarians is demonstrable by anthropological evidence. The Hungarians however presumably played a role in the ethnogenesis of the Bashkirs, there are many traces showing that some of the Hungarians have remained in the East, in the original country called Magna Hungarian in the Middle Ages; and this country may well have been on the territory of present Bashkiria. Moreover, the Hungarian splinters may have come from the West, that is from the Volga region, into Bashkiria during the great Mongol invasion (13th century). Traces of this migration can be found in names of tribes, families and places. Probably most of the Hungarians who remained in the East have become absorbed by the Bashkirs who, to that extent, can be considered as relatives.

We approached Ufa, the capital of Bashkiria, from the steppe. The river Bielaya meanders at the foot of a hill. We cross a big iron bridge to reach the town. Small houses are standing on the hillside, most of them made of timber; the larger buildings are on the top, they too are not exactly up-to-date. The fine equestrian statue of Salavat Yulayew, Bashkiria's national hero, stands on an elevation, next to the television tower, a striking counterpoint. The main street is over 12 miles long, with rows of modern, many-storied houses on both sides.

Next to St. Petersburg and Moscow, the name of Ufa occurred most frequently in Russian and West European 19th century literature. Ufa was the town of the banished. Leaders of different movements and progressive-minded young noblemen fighting Tsarist despotism were sent there. Ufa, or as the Bashkirs say: Öfö, has grown up in revolutionary struggles.

Our daily work starts at eight, in the morning, with the Moon coming to fetch us. Yes, the Moon, that is, Ajdar in person, a young Bashkir, with East Asian features and a round face, who always kept smiling even when afraid that we were going to be late somewhere. He severely kept us to our programme.

One of the most thrilling problems for Bashkir archeologists is the alleged affinity between Hungarians and Bashkirs and the discrimination between finds belonging to one or the other of them. It is almost natural that scholars differ, and much still remains to be excavated. Irrespective of differences of opinion, however, one cannot help feeling that one is on the right track when trying to find the home of our ancestors, known in history as *Magna Hungaria* in this region. The life-sized male and female human figures in the museum, decorated with jewels found in local graves, might be just as well attired in the well-known garments of our ancestors. The ear-rings, necklaces and bracelets are all familiar, we have seen their counterparts in Hungarian museums, in graves dating back to the Conquest or not even as long ago as that. Sometimes we feel as though everything were confused and mixed up, then again all seems to be clear in respect to the route taken by the Hungarians. At any rate, we keep on speaking about it. We crunch *sheksh*—these very special Bashkir sweets, we eat stewed beef with potatoes and noodles in an abundant broth, we take photos and make drawings of the lace-like carved window-frames on the

old wooden houses—and we don't stop asking questions. We learn the traditional customs of the *sabantuy*, the ploughing feast, the celebration of sowing, but we prefer not to take part in the archery and riding contests. The traditional Bashkir wrestling, *krösh*, includes more surprise turns than judo. Here too, the rival must be brought down by a single hold. The struggle for fame and glory takes place within view of the whole village. We most liked a funny game, when a young man takes the haft of a spoon in his mouth, then an egg is put into the spoon, and the contestant has to run over six-hundred feet without losing the egg.

Friar Julian

For many the Volga region is the site of *Magna Hungaria*, the original home of Hungarians. In the Hungarian public mind it is attached to the name of the Dominican Friar Julian. Two Dominicans, Friar Julian and Friar Ricardus, set off before the accession of King Béla the Fourth of Hungary (October 14, 1235) to find Hungarians who had stayed back in the East. Julian did not commit his experiences to writing, it was Ricardus who described them in a report to the Holy See. The Ricardus report is found in seven codices and is a fundamental source for Hungarian prehistory. Before starting on our journey we already made up our minds to devote a special broadcast to the activities of Friar Julian. From our point of view it was a question of the utmost importance whether Julian actually crossed the Volga, and whether it was the eastern or western shore of the river where he met those people who, as Ricardus reports, understood his words, and whom he also could understand.

From here, from Bashkiria, the Hungarians continued their wanderings southwards; the Volga, known also by its Turkic name of Etil or Itel, is one of the chapters of their migration. The large river is an obstacle and at the same time a waterway, horses can swim across; cattle can be tied to inflated goatskins and so taken over to the opposite shore.

This is already the battlefield of prehistory, according to Professor Károly Czeglédy of Budapest University. So many ingenious theories have been worked out about the further itinerary of the Hungarians, their mixing with other peoples or their eventual long stay in the Caucasian region, that the clash of opinions, each supported by bulky volumes, has been justly called a battlefield of scholars.

The Kuban is a new river, and a new chapter. Its source is on the northern slope of the Caucasus and it flows westwards, parallel with the vast range, until it reaches the Sea of Azov. The Caucasus between the Caspian and the Black Sea is, in terms of history and ethnology, one of the most interesting regions of the Soviet Union. The nations and peoples who live there speak some fifty languages, and medieval authors had good reason to call the Caucasus the "Mountain of Languages". Is it true that our wandering ancestors lived in Cis-Caucasia at one time? We put this question to practically every scholar we met, ranging from Professor C. A. Macartney of Oxford to Professor Artamanov, the former Director of the Leningrad Ermitage. The role of Professor Artamanov is particularly interesting, since he was in charge of the excavations at Sarkel, one of the fortified cities of the Khazar Empire. This area is now covered by a vast power reservoir, the Sea of Cimplyansk. During the excavations, Artamanov said, they found marble columns and fragments of capitals of Greek origin; Sarkel was a densely populated city and a rich trading centre. At the beginning of the 9th century the history of Sarkel became interwoven with that of the migrating Hungarians. The ruling class of the Khazar khanate had overthrown the previously dominant Turkic tribe. It is well-known Professor Artamanov went on that the ruling class of the Khazars, eager to

maintain its independance, adopted the Jewish faith and not the Muslim or Christian one. This may have been one of the reasons for the outbreak of a civil war, whereby the tribes in revolt called on the Hungarians, in those times wandering on the other side of the Volga, to help them. Owing to this uprising, Professor Artamanov concluded, the Hungarians appeared on the right bank of the Don, but the struggle ended with the victory of the actual rulers. So the remains of the Hungarians and the insurgents, the Khabars, were forced to retire westwards.

Meotis

We are visiting an antique city of ruins: Tanais on the shores of the Sea of Azov, where the Don flows into the sea. For us this is a legendary and highly romantic region, playing an important role in Hungarian prehistory. It is the fabulous Marsh of Meotis, the scene of the saga about the Mythical Stag. In the 12th century the chronicler Simon Kézai described this miraculous event as follows "And it happened one day, that Hunor and Magor went hunting, and in the wilderness they met a stag that ran away, and they pursued it into the marshland of Meotis." Hunor and Magor, the two mythical ancestors of the Hungarians here in the marshland found the daughters of Dula, King of the Alans. They raped the girls, who became their wives. The motif of stag hunting can be found in the Vogul and Ostiac sagas as well, and the man or men tracking the stag always become the ancestors of a people.

We fly off from Rostov on the Don, and soon we cross the frontier of the Russian SSR. Underneath there is an endless plain furrowed by several rivers. Our plane flies over the Ukrainian SSR, towards the main river of the country, the Dnieper.

It was here, on the shores of the Dnieper, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos wrote, that Árpád, who led the conquering Hungarian, was raised on the shield as newly elected Prince of the Magyars. The chroniclers recorded a tradition according to which Árpád's grandmother Emese saw the *Turul*, a mythical bird of prey, in her dream, and conceived, becoming the ancestress of the House of Árpád. The descent from a bird is a typical totemistic notion. *Turul* is a word of Turkic origin which may have been pronounced tohrul originally and probably meant falcon or hawk. Rising against the Khazars, the tribe of the khabars joined the seven Hungarian tribes in this region near the Dnieper, called Lebedia.

The road and the railway coming from the Ukraine are guided by valleys up across the Carpathians. One cannot mistake the way. Over the last mile, the railroad runs through a tunnel, but we pass the crest of the Carpathians by car, on the old road over the Col of Verecke. In Hungary the Col of Verecke is part of the collective consciousness, a legendary site in the history of the nation. In the year 896 the main forces of the Hungarians under the leadership of Árpád, may have entered Danubian Basin there. Others came through the Transylvanian passes or by way of the Lower Danube in the south. The number of the conquering Hungarians is estimated at half a million.

At the end of our long journey we stand at the shores of the rivulet Latorca in the Transcarpathian part of the Ukraine. At the sight of the speedy current we remember all the rivers we have crossed. Our tapes and our note-books records the views of more then fifty scholars—Hungarian, Soviet, English, French, Finnish, Turkish.

The views of scholars dealing with prehistory differ even on highly important, basic questions. Let us see what they had to say about the location of the common Finno-Ugrian original home:

Artamanov, Mihail Illarionovich, archeologist, Leningrad: In the southern part of the Ural, on both sides of the mountain range.
Bader, Otto Nikolaevich, archeologist, Moscow:

In the Ural region, in a wide sense.

Bartha, Antal, historian, Budapest: In the Volga–Kama region, extending to the Urals.

Erdélyi, István, archeologist, Budapest: Partly in, and westwards from, the Urals.

Gulya, János, linguist, Budapest: In the Kama Basin

Hajdu, Péter, linguist, Szeged: The Finno-Ugrians crossed the Urals 3–4,000 years B.C., mainly into the Kama region.

Halikov, Alfred Hassanovich, archeologist, Kazan: Between the Central Volga and the Ob or perhaps the Yenissey.

Harmatta, János, linguist and archeologist, Budapest: In the neolithic age: between the Volga and the Oka.

Kálmán, Béla, linguist, Debrecen: The central part of the Urals, on both slopes.

Kanivetz, Viachislav Ilyich, archeologist, Siktivkar: On the territory bordered by the Volga, Kama, Vitchegda, Petchora and Western Siberia.

Lakó, György, linguist, Budapest: To the east and north of the Volga bow, with occasional raids to the eastern slopes of the Urals.

László, Gyula, archeologist, Budapest: In Central Russia, in the Oka region.

Ligeti, Lajos, linguist, Budapest: On both sides of the Urals; the ancestors of the Ugrians lived in the eastern, Asiatic parts.

Litkin, Vassily Ilyich, linguist, Moscow: The ancestors of the Finno-Ugrians lived in the Kama–Petchora region.

Meinander, Carl Fredrick, archeologist, Helsinki: The original Finno-Ugrian population lived on the territory between the Gulf of Botten and the Ural, in ethnic groups of that were linguistically related.

Moshinskaya, Vanda, archeologist, Moscow: Soviet scholars differ on this subject. My husband, Tchernetzov, believes that the original home of the Finno-Ugrians included also the eastern side of the Urals, Serebriannikov thinks it was in Central Russia, while Kladnikov is for the territory of the Baltic countries.

Tóth, Tibor, anthropologist, Budapest: It reached as far as the Ob.

Listening to all these, we were on the verge of losing our faith in scholarship. At first sight it seemed inconceivable, that all of so many different opinions could have a scholarly foundation. Then we remembered what Professor Károly Czeglédy told us: "The nature of this material is such that the time has not arrived for definitive conclusions to be drawn: scholars belonging to almost a dozen disciplines have to answer very old questions indeed, and make do with most incomplete information in order to obtain a picture of what you were trying to find out."

TIBOR FRANK

A LEAP BACKWARDS: LESLIE STEPHEN IN TRANSYLVANIA

It was George Meredith who first made him a literary hero, and then his own daughter, Virginia Woolf. He is Vernon Whitford in *The Egoist*, the *Phoebus Apollo turned fasting friar*, and he is Mr. Ramsay in *To the Lighthouse*. Sir Leslie Stephen (1832–1904), however, is appreciated by literary history not so much as a model, but rather as himself an eminent man of letters: one of the most outstanding philosophers, critics, essayists and editors of his day. His *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* and *The English Utilitarians* are recognized as major contributions to the study of English thinking, while the *Dictionary of National Biography*, of which he was editor for many years, is a basic work of reference in libraries throughout the world. What is more, perhaps, his mountaineering sketches and critical essays are still enjoyed by the ordinary reader.

In paying tribute to this "muscular freethinker" (G. Sampson), it will probably not be out of place to remember him, too, as a just and penetrating critic of the social and political conditions in Hungary immediately before the 1867 Compromise with Austria. Stephen was one of the few enthusiastic travellers to approach "the limits of civilization", and he ventured to visit such an out-of-the-way corner of Europe as was Transylvania in 1866. He did not go alone: it was James Bryce who shared his pleasure and the fatigue. A celebrated political thinker and historian, Bryce was himself a keen observer of contemporary politics and society and we have some of his letters to complete the story of the Transylvanian trip, so eloquently described by Stephen in *The Cornhill Magazine* of November 1866.

The two friends were certainly not the only ones to investigate South-East Hungary in this period. John Paget, author of *Hungary and Transylvania*, a travel-book surprisingly popular in the 1840s and 50s, married a Hungarian baroness and had been a resident for decades by this time at Aranyosgyéres (Cîmpia-Turzii*), a small country-town near the city of Kolozsvár (Cluj). It was in 1865 when the most thorough description of the region appeared in London *(Transylvania: its Products and People)*; this was the record of a long Transylvanian trip by one Charles Boner. Even *The Theological Review* found the topic worth writing about: in 1869 it published a report by John James Tayler, a Unitarian minister, on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the proclamation of religious freedom at Torda (Turda).

Nevertheless, the history and the present problems of this part of the Continent were unfamiliar to the British public. Stephen was obviously right when he said: "The sound of Transylvania has indeed something unpleasing about it to English ears. Its geographical position is probably rather vaguely defined to most persons, and every one will not be very clever whether it is a dependency of Austria, Turkey, or Russia. Still the name has a certain smack of the Danubian principalities and the Eastern Question." Stephen, however, was straightforward enough to add: "Such, at least, to make a frank confession, was the position which it occupied in the mind of the present writer not very long ago. The name had

* Ever since the peace treaty of Trianon (1920), Transylvania belongs to Rumania. We indicate therefore the place-names also in Rumanian. Where the original English text refers to the German name of a town, both Hungarian and Rumanian equivalents appear in brackets.

been stowed away in a kind of lumberroom of the brain amongst various geographical terms, which had had some hazy meaning at school, but which have long ceased to hold any definite position."

The journey started at Vienna. It was a momentous time to go there: the Austro-Prussian war had just come to an end. The Austrian Empire was shaken and apparently dying. Its internal affairs had again made headlines even in the British press. Public opinion had become emphatically divided, though not as much as in the revolutionary times of 1848–49. There was still a feeling of hatred in the air towards the despotic rule of the Austrian Monarch, and the exiled Governor of revolutionary Hungary, Kossuth, could still rely upon a number of supporters in the British Isles. Nevertheless, genuine enthusiasm for Hungarian freedom and independence was a thing of the past and defeated Austria was as much pitied by a large section of British society as conquered Hungary had been two decades before. To this was added a growing fear of the emerging power of Prussia and the concern of the Roman Catholic subjects of the Queen about the fate of Austria—perhaps God's mightiest earthly realm. Quite apart from the British public's views, Her Majesty's Government was more than ever before willing to maintain the balance of power on the Continent, and considered Austria as the only suitable means of checking tsarist Russia's European aspirations.

Stephen was well aware of the real situation. "You used to talk great nonsense sometimes about the needle-gun;" he wrote to an American friend on September 20, 1866, "but this I will admit, that to say that the needle-gun was the cause of the Austrian defeat is like saying that Americans are a degraded race because they chew tobacco universally: i.e. it is mentioning only one of innumerable causes. The administration was rotten, and the generals were bad, and the officers bad, and the troops bad, and the whole people discontented. If the war had lasted another month, the whole Empire would have collapsed 'like a busted balloon', as the poet observes..." He must have known pretty well that the real causes of the Austrian failure lay much deeper, and his journey helped him to realize that Königgrätz was in the long run the result of the malfunctioning of an antiquated social, political and military system. In summing up the experiences of his investigations in the same letter, Stephen came to the conclusion: "My general result... is expressible simply, viz., that if there's a rotten, cumbrous, effete and utterly useless and tyrannical institution on God's earth, it is this same Austrian Empire." The travellers stayed a short time at Pest-Buda (as the Hungarian capital was then known), where they paid a visit to Baron Joseph Eötvös, Minister of Education in both the revolutionary government of 1848 and that of the Compromise of 1867, presenting him with a letter of introduction from Arthur Stanley, then Dean of Westminster. (We have unfortunately no record of this interview, and we can only suspect that it played a prominent role in shaping the mind of the young Englishmen on the Hungarian question.) From here they took another train and crossed the Great Hungarian Plain. "No sight is more profoundly melancholy than that of a boundless plain, especially when not populous nor well cultivated," commented Stephen, and Bryce seems to have had the same feeling when he added in a letter dated August 13–15: "There is no such hole of wretchedness and poverty in Transylvania as in the great Hungarian plain through which we came by railway and where Austrian soldiers were packing into the train weeping Slovak conscripts..."

The two Englishmen felt as if they were travelling not only in space but in time as well. "The journey from Vienna to Hermannstadt (Nagyszeben, Sibiu), one of the chief towns of Transylvania, was accomplished in three stages, each of which seemed to lower us in succession to a more remote

period and an earlier stage of civilization," Stephen wrote. At the town of Arad they thought they were already nearing "the limits of civilization", and when starting again eastwards from there, they felt they had travelled "fairly back for a good fifty years". In general, Stephen considered a journey to Transylvania "a leap backwards for a century or two", taking him back to an "epoch when the feudal system was just melting away". He was right: serfdom had been abolished in Transylvania just twenty years before, by the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. The province, nevertheless, still preserved the imprint of an exceptionally dangerous social and economic policy, administered there by the Habsburg Government ever since the *Diploma Leopoldinum* of 1691, which brought about perhaps the worst situation in the whole Austrian Empire. The recurring vision of this utterly backward civilization was probably the travellers' most astonishing experience.

Basing his remarks on interviews with the local inhabitants, Stephen declared: "With immense resources, with unlimited mineral and agricultural wealth, every one tells you that it (i.e. Transylvania) is growing annually poorer. . . . There is no commerce, there is no money, there is no credit, and there are no means of communication with neighbours. In fact, next to denunciations of the Austrian Government, the favourite topics are amplifications of the cry for money and for railways. And both of these deficiencies are attributed to the government. . . " Bryce's letter of August 28–31 echoed the same theme: "The wealth of all this region in natural productions is inconceivable, but the want of communication makes it unavailable for commercial purposes. All the Hungarians declare that Transylvania is going back, and of course lay the blame on the Austrian Government."

Still, the travellers were enchanted by the natural beauties of the surroundings, and the picturesque scenery reminded them sometimes of their native England. Stephen was also very much impressed by the hospitality of the local inhabitants. The British guests, however, were much more interested in the social and political situation of the country, than in "the local wonders". They visited the picture galleries and small local libraries "as part of the day's work" and, "paying this debt of civility as a kind of toll or entrance fee, . . . were enabled to see something of what is incomparably the most interesting sight in any country, namely the people themselves". To bring home the image of different races and nationalities living completely intermingled, Stephen compared the situation in Transylvania with that of Ireland, though presenting a somewhat different variant of a parallel so very popular throughout the nineteenth century, in both Britain and Hungary.

It is impossible not to notice a strong sympathy for the Germans and the Hungarians as one of Stephen's characteristic features, a feature strengthened by remarks of an anti-Wallachian (i.e. anti-Rumanian) nature. This is probably due to the fact that he mixed chiefly with the German and the Hungarian population, who were—at this time at least—able and willing to make themselves appear "the two dominant races".

In contrast to the Germans (Saxons) living there, Stephen was surprised to discover in every Hungarian "an eloquent political orator", pronouncing, however, "exactly the same oration". ". . . From whatever point you start you find yourself landed in denunciations of the Austrian Government." "Illustrated in a thousand different ways and put in a great variety of forms, according to the command of language of your interlocutor, this was the invariable burden of his eloquence; the Austrian government is an impersonification of diabolic agency, and that in the worst form which diabolic agency can assume." The Austrian Emperor was at best compared with "the devil who makes you carry him". Austrian autocracy was even more intense in

Transylvania than in Hungary proper and we cannot be surprised to see that it aroused a greater degree of hatred. Stephen found the tone in which the events of the war were discussed characteristic. He pointed out that though the hostility among the people was not directly responsible for the defeat, it did much to make that defeat mortal. "The emperor's subjects in Hungary looked on with a gloomy satisfaction, and calculated how far his grasp would be weakened by his sufferings."

The *Cornhill* article gives us a fair chance to see how Hungarians were looked upon by Englishmen in the 60s of the last century. Stephen's ingenuity, however, also makes it possible to understand the attitude of Hungarians towards the British. In describing the faults and merits of Boner's book on *Transylvania*, Stephen also discusses its contemporary reception by Transylvanian people themselves. As the book shows some tendency towards the Austrian approach to the situation, and a want of sympathy with the cause of the Hungarian national movement, common opinion placed the author—as Stephen puts it—"in the *Index Expurgatorius*". This was due not only to the normally sensitive patriotism of the Hungarians, but "to a special sensitiveness to English criticism. An Englishman, of all nations in the world, is bound to sympathize with a people struggling for the possession of the ancient constitutional privileges of which it has been deprived by arbitrary power; he is specially to be condemned if he endeavours to damp their zeal, or to recommend anything approaching to a compromise." It is perhaps not without interest to quote this passage here as it reveals a characteristic way of thinking in Hungary concerning the people of Britain in both the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries. Bound up with it was not only a faith in constitutional liberty attributed particularly to Englishmen, but also a belief—mostly unreal and often quite naïve—in a "special relationship" which—Hungarians felt—ought to exist between the two countries—an outstanding example of "wishful thinking". It is remarkable to have contemporary English documentary evidence of this strange myth that haunted political thought in Hungary from the Revolution of 1848 right up to the Second World War.

Stephen seems never to have written about Hungary in his later years. For his fellow-traveller, however, the journey provided a far-reaching impulse. Not only did he return several times to the country, but —more than half a century later—the aged Viscount Bryce of Dechmont became one of the champions of the fight for the revision of the peace treaty of Trianon. It is a curious proof of the continuity of historical reasoning that he used a similar argument in a speech in the House of Lords in 1921 to that put forward by Stephen in the *Cornhill* article, recalling the Anglophile attitudes of those he had talked to in 1866. By this time, however, public opinion in Britain had been influenced by different currents of thought: R. W. Seton-Watson, Henry Wickham Steed and Harold W. V. Temperley, who investigated the country just after the turn of the century, became quickly disillusioned on seeing the arbitrary methods of Magyarization used by the Government—a policy which was also severely attacked by judicious statesmen and public opinion in Hungary itself. The experiences of 1866 had become outdated by the time of the First World War: it was probably around the time of the Compromise of 1867 and in the years that followed that, for the last time, serious political thinkers in Britain cherished illusions about Hungary. Nevertheless, Leslie Stephen's testimony is an important contribution to this *story of disillusionment*. He is not the attorney, only a witness in a long historic trial. But he is one of singular standing.

Notes

Leslie Stephen's "Transylvania" appeared in *The Cornhill Magazine*, Vol. 14, No-

vember, 1866, pp. 567–585. His letter to O. W. Holmes of September 20, 1866 was published in F. W. Maitland's *The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen* (London, 1906, p. 182). For a more recent biography see Noël Gilroy Annan's *Leslie Stephen: His Thought and Character in Relation to His Time* (London, 1951). In his later years, Stephen himself became the editor of the *Cornhill;* a study on "Leslie Stephen and the Cornhill Magazine, 1871–1882," by Oscar Maurer, appeared in *Texas University Studies in English*, Vol. 32, 1953, pp. 67–95. I have also consulted some of the basic handbooks of literary history concerning Stephen's activities.

The letters of James Bryce were published by H. A. L. Fisher, in his *James Bryce (Viscount Bryce of Dechmont, O.M.)* (London, 1927, pp. 122–129). His connections with Hungary were dealt with by Joseph Balogh in *The Hungarian Quarterly:* "Lord Bryce and Hungary: on the Centenary of his Birth" (Vol. IV, 1938, pp. 750–756), and also in *Budapesti Szemle:* "A magyar revízió angol előharcosa. Lord Bryce születésének századik évfordulójára." (A British Champion of Hungarian Revision. On the Centenary of the Birth of Lord Bryce) (No. 740, July 1939, pp. 39–48). I owe a great deal to István Gál's outstanding *Magyarország, Anglia és Amerika* (Hungary, England and America) (Budapest, 1945, see esp. pp. 59 and 258).

Remarks of a more general nature are based upon the present writer's unpublished Ph. D. thesis: *Magyarország az angol közgondolkodásban* (The British Image of Hungary) *1865–1870* (Budapest, 1973).

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

A MASTERPIECE OF POETIC INSIGHT

SÁNDOR WEÖRES: *Psyche.* Magvető Publishing House, 1972, 294 pp. Illustrated by Liviusz Gyulai's engravings

I

I have never seen the paintings of Elstir nor have I heard the symphonies of Adrian Leverkühn. Sometimes, however, I try to imagine the colours and lines painted by the former and the music composed by the latter. In doing so, I may seem arbitrary but not quite without good reason, for information on the life and works of these two imaginary great artists has been supplied by Marcel Proust and Thomas Mann, and it falls to me (the reader) to complete the imaginary works of art on the basis of their reports and analyses.

As regards Psyche or Erzsébet Lónyay (1795–1831), I know not only her characteristic artistic properties but also her works. I know little more of her life than what can be learned from her poems. Like Elstir and Adrian Leverkühn, she is also an artist created by the imagination. But instead of commenting on her work, Sándor Weöres, as well as giving a biographical sketch, wrote her poems; as if Proust had presented Elstir's paintings and Thomas Mann had published Leverkühn's scores.

Like Elstir and Leverkühn, Psyche also had a model. Sándor Weöres was inspired by Hungarian men and women poets of the late 18th and early 19th century. Poets who have been completely expelled from the memory and the history of literature, and whose poems are not included even in anthologies presenting Hungarian poetry. Their names have been preserved by literary encyclopaedias only, and their works can only be found in major libraries.

Sándor Weöres makes references to some half a dozen forgotten poets in connection with Psyche. There are various reasons for their "ommission" and I wish to mention briefly only a few. It is a phenomenon characteristic of the whole of Europe that romanticism discredited the poetry of the 18th century. (Poets such as André Chénier who for some reason or another had not been repudiated were classified into the category of the forerunners of romanticism.) It took quite a while to lodge an appeal against this verdict. Pope, for instance, only came to be revalued in accordance with his real merits in the 20th century; the discovery of 18th century French poetry has only begun recently and Tinanov's warning, emphasizing the importance of Lomonosov and Derzhavin, following the example of Mayakovsky and Hlebnikov, failed to bring about any special reaction. Similarly, the poetry of the 18th and 19th centuries (and very often that of the 20th century) was judged in Hungary from the aspect of romantic poetics, and what failed to correspond to it was im-

mediately rejected. To be sure, the poets referred to by Sándor Weöres did not belong to the main stream of Hungarian literature. Psyche, the imaginary poetess sent her poems to Ferenc Toldy (Schedel), the German born Hungarian critic. Toldy, who is not a fictitious character but perhaps the most influential critic during the romantic period in Hungary, replies to the fictitious poems by the fictitious poetess in a fictitious letter. The combination of fiction and reality is a characteristic method adopted by Weöres in connection with Psyche. An extract from the fictitious letter by Toldy reads as follows: "Such a confession in public by a poetess is quite unprecedented and shameless (forgive me for saying this, this is not my view but in general people would say this). This is not the refined language spoken by a high ranking lady. It is unprecedented except for the fact that the attitude you show towards the plight of our homeland is as cold as that displayed by almost the whole of our aristocracy. I mean your poetry, for there is not even a trace of this indifference in your life; we know of your frequent donations. You not only give, but you also give with reason, you consider thoroughly how much, where to and when to give. And you, the person making these sacrifices, fails to light even a candle on the altar of the homeland in your poetry at a time when our poets are sacrificing their hearts and everything they have on this altar." What Toldy says about Psyche's poems (incidentally, it is rather appropriate) more or less applies also to the forgotten poets in question. The fact that they fell into oblivion is, to some extent, attributable to the highly significant works of two poets at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries: those of Mihály Vitéz Csokonai and Dániel Berzsenyi, whose work did not lack the patriotic element demanded by Toldy. They did much of the things that make their contemporaries interesting. They were not, however, given fair treatment by literary history, although they have both been ranked among the foremost. These poets suffered mostly because of the expectations arising from the romantic cult of originality. Yet they exerted an immeasurable influence on 20th century Hungarian poetry. There is no major man of letters who has not been directly or indirectly influenced by them, including Sándor Weöres, but this, in general, has been overlooked by literary history.

One of the forgotten poets is László Ungvárnémeti Tóth, who has for long been regarded by Weöres as one of the greatest Hungarian poets. An interesting feature of the volume Psyche is that Weöres included a dozen poems by Ungvárnémeti Tóth and more than half of his tragedy Narcissus. (These are authentic contemporary works.) The confessions by Psyche (Erzsébet Lónyay) that are interwoven with autobiographical elements and concern her master, friend and great Platonic love, Ungvárnémeti are mere fiction even though part of the relevant data is authentic; for instance, the fact that Ungvárnémeti also wrote poems in Greek.

Like Elstir, Adrian Leverkühn and several others, Psyche (Erzsébet Lónyay) is not identical with her models. The models are essential to the extent that they call attention to a major opportunity offered by the Hungarian poetry of the early 19th century, an opportunity to be taken advantage of. Never have there been such heated debates on prosody in Hungary as in the late 18th and early 19th century; never have there been so many attempts at renewing the Hungarian poetic language as at that time. Psyche and her models are opposed to linguistic purism of any kind. Greek and especially Latin language and literature were a living tradition then (it is interesting to note that in Hungary the phrase Ça ira was first translated into Latin before being translated into Hungarian), but the poets were in the habit of borrowing words and expressions from the dialects, the spoken language and the living foreign languages for their poems. I hurriedly and under unfavourable conditions re-read the forgotten poets mentioned by Weöres and some others

as well partly because of Weöres and partly for other reasons. The conditions were unfavourable because a library is not quite the most suitable place for savouring poems. I possess no well-founded views, merely impressions. I do not know the order of their magnitude, they are genuinely attractive for they are so strange and unusual. They are interesting even if we consider only their deviations from the "canonized" conventions; the word order they adopt, their vocabulary and whimsically alternating poetic forms are so different from the conventional. One thing for certain is that the virtuosity of their rhyme technique is matched (except for that of the great poet Csokonai mentioned above) only by the best craftsmen among the poets of the 20th century.

As a result of Weöres' Psyche it is now unavoidable to re-read and revalue Hungarian poetry in the late 18th and early 19th century, and to examine it independently of romanticism. An examination of this kind may also facilitate a more correct evaluation of Hungarian poetry in the 20th century. Irrespective of the result of re-reading, it can be stated that due to his taking advantage of the technique and outlook of the forgotten poets, Sándor Weöres whose evaluation of Hungarian poetry in the 19th century has always been different from the "standard" approach, has created a unique masterpiece.

II

The Elstir and Leverkühn parallels may well be misleading, for Psyche is not a novel, though its epic character is beyond any doubt (for reasons to be analysed at a later stage). Parallels acting as crutches to be discarded as soon as possible are only necessary for indicating a creative process that has long been known from drama and epic poetry (and especially from the novel). It has been applied to poetry and carried to the extreme by Weöres. He has created a poetess living in the early 19th century. There are many ways of creating a character and drawing the profile of an artist who is the hero of a literary piece. The most concrete and, at the same time, the most intimate type of character-drawing is the one that goes beyond describing or analyzing the hero's works but also writes them as only the hero could have written them. A creative artist is characterized most perfectly by his works. The portrait of Psyche arises from her poems.

Sándor Weöres has assumed a thousand masks since the outset of his career in the early 1930's, ranging from Gilgamesh to the writing of fictitious Cheremissian songs. This is how he characterizes himself: "I disagree with modern people like Gomringer and Mon who are always consistently and theoretically modern. I would like to rank among those who, like T. S. Eliot, follow their best bent without sticking to any poetic doctrine, their endeavour is to achieve maximum value; people fighting stubbornly against their own slackening and dispensing with break-away or limiting theories of any kind. Sometimes they are traditional, sometimes they are innovators; sometimes they are intelligible, at other times they are unintelligible, depending on what corresponds most favourably to what is to be expressed."

I must mention at this point that Weöres is one of the Hungarian translators of The Waste Land and he wrote a poem entitled Submerging Saturn (Merülő Saturnus) to say farewell to T. S. Eliot on the great poet's death. Weöres borrowed the title of his volume published in 1968 from this poem. One of the series of this volume was the first ten Psyche poems. Their number increased to over eighty by 1972, the year that saw the publication of Psyche. In an article written in 1973 Weöres said that one of the antidotes to slackening, a closed in outlook and to running dry poetically was an attempt of the Psyche type and he also referred to the example set by Pessoa.

This is what I wrote in 1970 when the

poems by the Portuguese poet were first published in Hungarian: "Thanks to the Hungarian poetry of the 20th century Hungarian readers find it easy to accept Pessoa; perhaps easier than their English, French or Russian counterparts." I mentioned three Hungarian poets: Attila József (1905–1937), who needed things to be taken notice of and to identify them with themselves; Lőrinc Szabó (1900–1957), who complained of the individual being enclosed within himself, a fact which renders changes impossible. I quote a few lines from his poem Prisons (Börtönök). It is hoped that even the translation in prose can reveal some of the poet's passion and despair:

"To be enclosed forever in one body?
To be always I? Never someone else?
Nowhere any real change?
How can you tolerate this?"

The third poet I referred to was Sándor Weöres. I meant not only the Psyche poems included in Submerging Saturn, but also the changes in form and character that are common to his poetry as a whole.

When introducing Pessoa I relied on Weöres. Now in discussing Weöres let me use the Portuguese poet who can also write in English. This is all the more natural since Weöres made references to his Portuguese colleague in one of the notes attached to Submerging Saturn. Pessoa's poems were written by four "persons": Pessoa himself and the variations of his person: Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis and Alvero de Campos. The poems by Weöres were written by Weöres himself and Psyche. The question arises: What is the new element in this? Ever since the beginnings of literature poets have often preferred to be disguised as mythological or historical figures. This applies to Weöres who, as I have mentioned, has so far assumed the guise of Gilgamesh, Medea and Orpheus. The difference is as radically new as when the tragedy writers began to "invent" new subjects and new characters instead of elaborating the well-known (mythological or historical) subjects and staging the well-known (mythological or historical) figures. Irrespective of the way Weöres interprets Gilgamesh, Medea or Orpheus, the stories and the characters have a dimension that is the common property of European culture and which can be used as a foundation. In the case of Psyche or Alberto Caeiro the poet has to perform the foundation work itself. Commenting on Corneille, Voltaire remarked that a new theme of tragedy can be invented but the point is that it is very difficult. In the same way, it is the degree of difficulty that distinguishes the Gilgamesh interpretation from the creation of Psyche.

Presumably, the example set by Pessoa encouraged Weöres, but only to the extent making of another: it justified a process that differed from the traditional one. However, the crutches of the Weöres and Pessoa parallel must also be abandoned, because they have no more in common than that they are two poets engaged in writing sonnets in an age that ignores sonnets. Apart from the differences in terms of language and poetic tradition, the fundamental difference between them is that Weöres is attracted by myths, while Pessoa dislikes them.

In one of his works Weöres writes: "Paradoxically enough, the person bravely assimilating any external and foreign influence that has an appeal to him and to which he is attracted will somehow assume a strange colour. However, the one aiming at originality will shape the same profile as the others. He takes pains in setting a profile for and narrowing down his personality, and what is left in the end will be a realm of desires... this is approximately what originality boils down to: I am the only such man in the whole world. And the multitude of the "only such man", the millions of this brand will be very much alike or the same. On the other hand, the person having the courage to assimilate influences and styles will be able to colour them in a thousand

ways and the styles will, in turn, render him colourful. As a result, something that is unlikely to have existed is established..." This sounds very much like a heap of commonplaces. The same idea has been formulated either in this or in another manner in the 20th century and earlier, both in Hungary and abroad, by very many people. Yet this is one of those commonplaces that are worth establishing and making accepted time and again and to individualize through it. To be very exact: as if there existed two concepts of the personality. One endeavours to reach the personality through separation and isolation, while the other wishes to have access to it through acceptance and transformation. One is in search of what is constant, the other seeks the variable that can assume as many forms as possible. The requirement of impersonality is nothing but a variation of seeking the personality. The more actual or imaginary personalities a personality is capable of identifying itself with, the richer it is. This is how it will become and will remain its own self; for Weöres leaves no doubt about the fact that he considers every writing a piece of one's autobiography, a point he emphasized in the spring of 1973 while commenting on Psyche. He referred to Shakespeare's plays as autobiographical pieces in this connection. Thus Weöres shares Gorky's view who also cited the great English dramatist in his letter to Kaverin in 1924. It is only the level of the concreteness of the autobiography that varies.

III

It would be a useless venture to try to discover the extent to which Psyche is the concrete autobiography of Weöres. Any such attempt would inevitably lead to gossip that is ill-mannered and impossible to verify, rather than to the domain of criticism. However, one of his critics, Balázs Lengyel, is right in saying that Psyche is one of Weöres's most personal writings.

The poems were written by a "poetess of the past". Almost every poem is addressed to someone and each has one or more concrete stories to tell. The poems give the impression of living speech. Most of them take the form of letters or fragments of a diary. Their metre is varied, moving along the very wide scale of the classic tradition that is still alive. This is what accounts partly for the virtuosity of the Psyche poems. The general poetic experience of the past century and a half is that the description of what is really personal takes the form, in the majority of cases, of references and images governed more or less by a law of their own. In most cases the number of metaphors and the extent to which the piece is personal are in direct ratio. As intimacy and a personal tone have come to the fore; direct speech is pushed into the background. Psyche describes a new kind of intimacy with the help of the old poetic forms and in the language of the old technique.

However, these forms and technique can be regarded as old ones only in classic poetry; for it was only fairly recently that they took root in Hungarian poetry, during the period in which Psyche wrote her poems, or somewhat earlier. The expressions and special idioms of the language were not yet rigidified; the struggle between the language and metre is felt very clearly in respect of both Psyche's presumed models and the poems of the imaginary poetess. Since then the Hungarian language has been profoundly polished, and has become extremely elastic. Without this development the Cheremissian or French songs by Weöres or his Shevchenko and Narekaci variations would be impossible. The Hungarian language has lost its awkwardness and roughness and its apparently incidental character. The special brilliance of Guttuso is that his lines often spring to life right in front of our eyes, and we are inclined to tell the painter to take care not to drop his brush or pencil, for he appears to be holding them in such an awkward fashion. Weöres, rightly described as some-

one in complete command of the Hungarian language, one who can play any tune on it, realized the danger involved in maturity and returned to a period in which the recreation of the Hungarian language and poetry was the order of the day. Acquainted with the lyric poetry of the world and an enthusiast for 20th century European poetry as well as the poetry of the ancient East, Weöres assembles a language that existed in its elements and was just being shaped into a coherent unit in the late 18th and early 19th century, and this is the language he uses for Psyche. In these poems a woman speaks; she tells us, outraging the hypocrites of any period, what is most important for her and what constitutes the basis of her system of values. She speaks of her love affairs, of making love, of her family and her meetings; whatever happens to excite her at the given moment. This is how her speech is characterized—in her own words—by Weöres: "when possible I avoid using the conventional word; instead I prefer the one pointing in several directions and that is why they think I am awkward and what I say is beating about the bush."

Psyche expresses herself quite consciously, but free from any theory. What she observes or what happens to her is readily expressed in poetry. In one of her epistles to an old flame she recalls the memories of their love-making, asks for money (by the way, as it turns out from her autobiography, she never accepted money from any of the men during her stormy love affairs) and speaks of Beethoven with an ironically humble attitude and impish admiration. During her trips of adventure she came across Goethe who frightened her, yet she translated one of his poems; she also met the already mad Hölderlin whose name she failed to remember. This is how she wrote about him, with implacable sincerity and self-awareness, ten days after their meeting. She said that she had come to like the miserable fellow "though, unlike the simple furniture dealer, I would scarcely have enough patience to lead him." She could not forget his poems and said, "It's no use denying that I liked them very much: I can hear such poems only in my dreams, and by the time I awake, nothing is left of them."

Erzsébet Lónyay "was born" in 1795. She took up writing poetry in 1808. Eight years later, following some stormy love affairs, being tired of life and disappointed, she married her former fiancée, Baron Max Zedlitz, 24 years her senior. Her adventures thus came to an end. Although her husband voiced no protest, she gave up writing poetry as well. She took it up again only in the second half of the 1820's, describing "mostly mere ideas in four lines, concise, simple and oldish sketches even though she was only in his thirties," writes Weöres in the epilogue of the volume. Three of these poems are especially interesting. One of them is the reply to Toldy's criticism quoted earlier in this study; aware that she is in the right, she writes proudly but not in an offending style. The second is about the reaction by some of the members of her family to the industrial revolution in England, while the third bears a resemblance to Shelley.

Weöres likes the poetess of his imagination, he assumes responsibility for her and takes her seriously. He regards her as a great poet. He identifies with her, but at the same time keeps her at a distance. The latter follows from the structure of the volume, which is a collection of poems closely related to one another, yet each is an independent piece in itself. Independence and interdependence are equally essential. Each poem taken separately gives the impression of being a complete piece even though lacking the support of the others. But when taken together, they modify one another. Not only in the sense that the different pieces making up a volume in general modify one another because one serves as an interpretation for the other, but also in terms of genre. If the pieces make up a whole poem, they tend to become a work of an epic nature even though

they retain their lyrical character. Thus they become individual chapters of the novel of one's life, assuming the part of an episode in this process. Each separate poem depicts the experience and judgement of the present at any time, but when they are together, the isolated period make up a coherent flow of time. Through the act of recollection and re-judging, we gain factual and emotional information regarding Psyche that we did not learn previously. Changing times bring about changes in values. Weöres keeps distance by bringing Psyche's here and nows face to face. There is another major difference between the poet and the heroine created by him: what matters to Psyche is what happened to her, while the importance for Weöres lies in the fact that he has assumed responsibility for those events, and he has saved them by turning them into poetry.

After all this I am only sorry that we cannot give a taste of this unique—and untranslatable—masterpiece of Hungarian literature.

LÁSZLÓ FERENCZI

TWO NOVELISTS

FERENC KARINTHY: *Ősbemutató* (First Night). Szépirodalmi, Budapest, 1972. 261 pp.

This book is an unusual venture for the writer and the publisher. Ferenc Karinthy's first novel, written thirty years ago, *Don Juan éjszakája* (The Night of Don Juan), and his latest short novel, *Ősbemutató* (First Night), have now been brought out in a single volume. Despite the three decades that have elapsed between writing them and the different themes, there are more common features than divergent ones. The casually witty prose style is shared by both—it may have provided the idea of publishing them together.*

"The Night of Don Juan" is the story of a "retired" gallant grown tired of making conquests, a man who has come to value the pleasures of the table higher than those of the bed. Outwardly he is still an attractive male, but inside he resembles a henpecked husband more closely than the man he used to be in the halcyon days of his legendary youth. Now things happen to him that he never would have believed possible: a female portrait seen on a miniature arouses his frantic passion, and he, the one-time conqueror, is devastated by a female Don Juan—for whose sake he even learns to crochet... And the depths of depravity, the biggest blunder: he does the unthinkable, he gets married. At this point, however, the young Don Juan, his former ego, appears to him (realistic and surrealistic elements blend in the novel), to call him to account for a life unworthy of his reputation.

The list of his crimes is long: he has not given a serenade for six months, he has not seduced a woman for another six, he spends his nights regularly in his own bed and he

* For reviews of earlier works by Ferenc Karinthy, see *The N.H.Q.*, Nos. 43 and 46.

could probably no longer fight a duel even if he wanted to. "Sir, you've got married. Sir, you've become a good-for-nothing philistine, a man to whom the janitor bows and holds open the door; you have a bank deposit, you have subscribed to the local gazette, honourable townspeople are your friends, and you entertain high hopes of being elected to the City Council. Sir, I hardly dare say it to your face: perhaps you would even like to beget a child."

The punishment befits the crime: his friend seduces his wife, and having been cuckolded he must leave the city.

Writers with a tendency towards satire have always enjoyed carrying a legend to absurdity. This time the basic theme itself has helped Karinthy, for, if one accepts Don Juan as a real flesh-and-blood man, the character of the knight who has become weary of his adventures and craves only rest becomes quite plausible. The author built a very witty and enjoyably humorous novel on this basic character and situation. What has, however, prevented him from giving more than high-level entertainment is that he concentrated too much on making the rather bold Don Juan portrayal authentic, and did not pay enough attention to developing the character sketch in depth. In this way the notion—which could have provided the idea for an excellent satire—did not carry him further than a prose comedy.

"First Night" is set during and directly after the premiere of the first play written by the hero, a poet. The play meets with considerable success in a provincial theatre and at the banquet following the performance the author meets the leaders and artists of the small town. The initially cheerful mood of the party soon deteriorates into petty intrigue and quarrels, the usual bickering of people who know each other too well and are consequently extremely bored by each other's company. A young actress saves him from the dullness of it all, but the attraction that has suddenly flared up between the romantically inclined girl and the poet lasts for only a night, and the morning brings the bitter surprise that the writer who was fêted only the night before has been completely forgotten by the town.

The description of the banquet is certainly the most successful chapter of the novel. It is a splendid portrayal of provincialism, showing how a grotesque company of local potentates and artists—whose "powerful talent" does not take them farther than the city limits—meet day after day to play their own little comedy that has nothing to do with art. The "juvenile" lead, who has run to fat, speaks of his one-time successes; the dramatic actor, who had to leave the Budapest stage because of the scandals associated with his name, runs down colleagues who have taken his place, and his wife tries to calm him down only as long as she herself remains sober. The fading, but once pretty, ingénue dances with an endless stream of chatter from one "important" man to the next; although she has not even a walk-on part in this particular play, she behaves as if she alone had carried it to its triumph. Karinthy knows how to create living figures with just a few sentences of characterization. Here at the celebration everyone wants to play the lead, each recites his or her respective "lines" without waiting for the cue, but no one is able to command even the most fleeting glance of admiration, for in this group everyone refuses to play second fiddle.

The poet whom they are supposedly honouring and entertaining does not know where to look for comfort. Everyone who speaks to him comes forward with his own unique interpretation of the play. One of the leading city officials congratulates him on his valuable contribution to socialist culture, the Bishop, who has also been invited to the dinner, stresses the profoundly Christian and Magyar message of the play (it is in fact a historical play with a medieval Hungarian king as its hero), and the beautiful, snobbish wife of the most distinguished professor at the local college says she is well

aware of the fact that he has depicted today's petty bourgeois philistine type, but, naturally, "ironically transposing it to the past".

A particularly interesting feature of the novel is that the poet utters a few sentences which sound familiar from Karinthy's earlier writings expressing his own artistic tenets. In his opinion even today the theatre of catharsis in the Greek sense is the only one worth following, as opposed to the theatre of stylish alienation and the intent to shock, which he regards as cheap and mannered. He calls for naturalness and poetic simplicity against their artificiality and affected sophistication, and insists that not only performing artists adopt the creed that one is to sing what is in the score. The championing of some of these methods and principles is discernible in "First Night". The poet who feels disappointed and deceived starts to write again—perhaps a new play—under the impact of the previous night's experiences. This is the playwright's catharsis.

It speaks well for Karinthy's sense of proportion that he closes this last chapter with a humourous turn, a scene of self-irony, thus saving it from sentimentality. He is an author well aware of the fact that it does not make a piece of fiction more effective if the writer is moved by the fate of his hero.

ZSUZSA VATHY: *Adjál nekem vasfogat* (Give Me Iron Teeth). Magvető, Budapest, 1973. 231 pp.

Zsuzsa Vathy made her début in 1970 with a volume of short stories written with unerring taste and with a surprising sense of style and proportion for a beginner.* Her second volume, "Give Me Iron Teeth", a collection of three short novels, is different from its predecessor in genre, message and method alike.

* The volume was reviewed in *The N.H.Q.*, No. 43.

The hero of the short novel "Dracula" is a young writer who is trying to get over a chronic creative crisis. He leaves his accustomed environment and flees to a small town, hoping that the new place will renew his creative energies. But his style of life and his occupation are so foreign to the local people ("writing is not work,") that they see him only as an eccentric. Thus, despite the change of scene, he finds tranquillity only in his dreams. By accepting his own identity, Dracula is necessarily cast out from this concentric community, which simply refuses to accept anyone or anything that is different (this probably accounts for Vathy's less than fortunate choice of title: whatever is unusual shocks them as the vampire of the films). His landlord, an out and out petty bourgeois, formulates his general abhorrence of artists in the following terms: "And all those educated people, artists and graduates —do you know what sort they are? Just fools... It is not money they keep hidden away in their chests, certainly not that! They are not hiding gold, but their certificates of insanity!" Even the policemen on their night beat stare with a complete lack of understanding—in fact suspicion—at the writer lying, dreaming in the grass on the river bank. To their minds, decent citizens with somewhere to stay should be in bed asleep at that time of night. In this situation Dracula's efforts to make people who are by nature insensitive to them, understand the problems and beautiful torments of creativity are, of course, hopelessly naïve. This complete indifference and lack of understanding drives him back to his fantasies and visions, and he becomes like the balloon people who appear in his dreams: "They always come alone as if they were born with a balloon around them; when they take a step, the sphere walks with them; when they turn round, it revolves with them; and if they run, it becomes a ball rolling around them. And when they meet they cannot get close to each other, for the balloon is between them."

Surrealism is a natural medium for Vathy, her characters move above the clouds with a sense of assurance even without wings. Of the three short novels, "Kir" seems to be the most earthbound. The narrator of the story is a young sociologist who spends his time when not preparing questionnaires, in a very real environment, dealing with everyday little problems and fleeting relationships at his place of work. But there is something confused and uncertain in whatever he does, he is vague both in his actions and in formulating his aims. Although Kir himself, whose name provides the title for the short novel, appears only on a few occasions, we are nevertheless constantly aware of his presence, as everything and everybody relates to him. He had been a universal prodigy, his classmates had always looked to him for everything, and he still exerts a profound influence over them, so much so that the narrator expects him to provide a solution to his own problems, which are no longer on the scale of ordinary student problems. Kir is, however, unable to live up to such expectations, for he himself does not see clearly the world about them. Gradually his role becomes less and less realistic; he is no longer looked on as a real living person, but comes to be regarded as a symbol of lost childhood hopes and thwarted present. In this way the novel produces a peculiar shift in meaning: through the insertion of a completely realistic element—Kir's appearance—an unrealistic text is produced with a symbolic impact. But the fact that he can no longer rely on Kir, disappointing as it is, has a liberating effect on the young sociologist: now he is forced to size up his own situation and that of his associates: "...we would all like to do something else, we are all waiting for something. We are all old enough to feel uncomfortable in the world and young enough not to care too much about it." This has taken him one step ahead. He has progressed further than Kir and further than Dracula who escapes into his dreams. Even though he has no guarantee of anything, his sober realism at least suggests the possibility of change.

The third novel, "Anish and Anidi", is set in a fairy-tale framework. The beginning is bright with unclouded happiness: the boy Anish and the girl Anidi are in love and live together in carefree pleasure. One morning she receives an unexpected and mysterious invitation to a tour of the world and the Festival of Sea Monsters. The only trouble is that the invitation is addressed to her alone, without mentioning the boy. The girl, though reluctant to leave her lover for even a short time, is persuaded by Anish to go. One should not miss an opportunity like this, he tells her. Anidi reaches the end of the world, an unknown city where the fundamental law of life is: one must live in tranquillity, without concern for anything, and above all, one must not speak of the all-powerful Poseidon, the one who signed the invitation.

The town has very strange inhabitants. There is Caroline who collects her teardrops, and has already accumulated more than a hundred thousand—that is her job. As a matter of fact, she has something to weep about: hard as she tries, she cannot find herself. Ronald is a painter. He rarely paints anything, but then he paints until he discovers that there is absolutely no sense in what he is doing. According to the rule of "you must not be concerned about anything", they receive Anidi kindly enough, but without showing any real interest in her. Anidi, however, would like to live fully, she would like to have meaningful human relationships, and the clearer she sees the impossibility of her wish in this environment, the more she longs to return to Anish. That is why, when she meets a boy, Suomi, from the neighbouring town who, like her and Anish, longs for happiness, she spends all her time with him, unconsciously seeking for consolation for the absence of Anish. Their friendship gradually grows into love. The pangs of conscience and this new feeling of uncertainty

make Anidi unhappy again, for she still considers she belongs to Anish.

The foregoing is, however, much closer to an interpretation of the novel than to a description of its plot. The story is told throughout like a fairy-tale, things are transposed, suggested rather than stated in so many words. For instance, for six days Anidi and Suomi bathe again and again together in the sea; Anidi finds her sobbing alter-ego, the faithful Anidi, in her room; a big fire destroys the city and Anidi refuses to flee—this is the symbolism for love and guilt feelings.

There is also room for another interpretation—a more ironic one. The unshared invitation is not the cause of Anidi's separation from Anish, only an accidental chance of which the girl takes advantage. She herself has said: "I cannot love anyone who is really good to me," and this self-analysis hardly covers up the self-justification: it is not my fault if I leave you, if I love someone else; I am not to blame: it comes from a virtue—my universal love of people.

The irony, the mocking, humourous tone and the pseudo-naïve story all fit into a pattern. We are not surprised that the cars are parked unconventionally, hanging from hooks, or by learning of Columbus' house where he wrote the leaflet "You Need America".

The title of the volume "Give Me Iron Teeth" evokes the mood of folk-tales in the reader, it has the air of a riddle and can be interpreted in various ways: it provides a stylish frame for the three short novels.

László Varga

INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN STUDIES

László Országh: *Bevezetés az amerikanisztikába* (Introduction to American Studies). Tankönyvkiadó. Budapest, 1972. 189 pp.

The author has for many years been a leading figure in English and American scholarship in Hungary. As the compiler and editor of excellent Hungarian–English and English–Hungarian dictionaries, he has deservedly gained international recognition and respect. His dictionaries are among the best: linguists, translators and others use them every day. Országh is not only an organizer and artist in the field of practical dictionary compilation—with Géza Bárczi he directed the compilation or definitions for a modern comprehensive dictionary of the Hungarian language in the 1950s and 1960s—but he is also a renowned theoretical lexicologist. However, philology is only one of the fields—albeit an important one—of his activities. His work as a literary historian has encompassed English and American themes right from the beginning. His Ph.D. thesis dealt with the history of the study of American literature. It was published in 1935, as a pioneer project even by international standards. Later Országh wrote a book on "The Origins of the English Novel" (1942) and one about Shakespeare (1944). He recently published "History of American Literature" (1967). As head of the Depart-

ment of English at the University of Debrecen, Professor Országh was the leader and inspirer of research in English and American philology aiming at new results and a sound philological foundation. He still edits the Debrecen yearbooks *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* (Studies in English Philology).

His latest book is foreshadowed within his own works by the "Introduction to the Bibliography of the Study of the English Language and Literature" *(Bevezetés az angol nyelv és irodalomtudomány bibliográfiájába)*, published in 1944, an excellent compilation of annotated bibliographical material. The present "Introduction to American Studies" also focuses on carefully selected bibliographical data. This is complemented, however, by rich—though concisely formulated—informative material which provides sure guidance in the various areas of American studies and American culture on which they are based. The bibliography comprises largely English-language material, but, where appropriate, the author goes outside this to cover the major Russian, German, French and Italian contributions to the field, also including, of course, the more noteworthy achievements in American studies in Hungary.

The two longest chapters in the book treat the literature of the United States and the problems of American English. The author, however, has a wider conception of the sphere of American studies and consequently devotes a separate chapter to American history and also discusses topics such as education, libraries, cultural foundations, the mass media, the fine arts, music, philosophy, religion and folklore. The chapter headings in themselves, however, do not indicate sufficiently the scope of the volume, for within the individual chapters we find discussions of other important topics as, for example, the problems of the life and culture of Negroes and Indians, in the chapter on American history.

As the author himself mentions in his preface, American studies is a relatively new —though already very extensive—field, whose borderlines have not yet been accurately drawn.

One can certainly accept Országh's decision not to cover the branches of natural science which explore and classify the physical resources of the United States—though some of these, especially geography, make their influence felt time and again in the spheres of intellectual culture. More questionable is his omission of some of the social sciences, such as, for instance, sociology and psychology, which often have an immediate bearing on the development of linguistics and literature. Each of these could have been given a brief chapter, with a few book titles and explanatory notes to highlight the major areas of contact.

The introductory part of the chapter "Literature in the United States" provides an outline of the major stages of the development of literature during the last three hundred years. It discusses the most outstanding writers and gives the titles of the most important monographs and collected editions for each author. This is followed by a bibliography of source materials—periodicals, encyclopaedias and bibliographies—for the study of American literature and an account of the histories of literature and of volumes of selected text samples. A separate sub-chapter discusses the bibliographies of the individual literary periods and another the monographs on the different literary genres. Criticism and literary history also receive appropriate coverage. There is a separate brief chapter on research regarding reception and contact with other literatures. Under the heading "The Phenomena and Factors of Literary Life" there are topics such as publishing and book distribution, the writer's role in society, biographies and diaries, periodicals, and the theatre. (At the same time "Drama" is also discussed under the classification of literature by genres.) Information is everywhere given in the form of annotated bibliographies, with the author discussing as far as necessary at the beginning of each sub-chapter the literary phenomenon in ques-

tion and the historical conditions under which it developed.

The chapter on "The American Language" quite clearly deviates from the general method of the book which always focuses on the bibliographical material and endeavours to interpret it and make it more utilizable. Not as if the chapter in question did not provide the necessary bibliographical information, but it goes beyond this to a much greater extent than any other part of the volume. Here the author provides a descriptive-analytical discussion which, though concise, aims at completeness, not only of topics such as the meaning of Americanism, the general characteristics of American English and its regional variations, the interrelationship between language and national consciousness and the study of American idioms, but also of the divergences between American and British English. This topic is treated almost on the level of a small textbook on the subject. The chapter deals with orthography and punctuation, pronunciation, accent, stress and cadence, as well as modulation, grammatical structure and style. The bibliographical data are given almost as supplements to the scientific descriptions at the end of each section within the chapter.

This is undoubtedly methodologically inconsistent with the methods it follows in its other parts. Nonetheless, this is an inconsistency that one cannot help welcoming, for this chapter provides the Hungarian reader with the first scholarly description of American English in comparison with British English.

This work by László Országh is not merely an important and timely textbook but, hopefully, it might be the beginning of a new period in American studies in Hungary, which will make the more systematic and profound study of this branch of scholarship possible. Országh's approach of always examining linguistic and literary problems within the context of a culture as a whole, may serve as a valuable and stimulating example for other fields of modern philology as well.

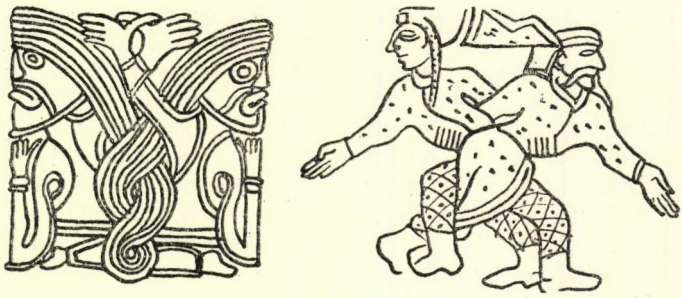
LÁSZLÓ KÉRY

THE ART OF THE NOMADS

This fine illustrated work, published with the assistance of Unesco,* deals with the art of the nomadic tribes who once inhabited the plains and forests of the country known as Hungary today. With other things as well, the arts of these people tell of their migrations and the influences they underwent or exercised, they provide information on their way of life, history and mythology. "This book", the introduction states, "has grown (...) out of meditations, misgivings and *eureka.*" And he knows "how little we know of the past" and that one cannot be sure of having grasped the *whole* of reality, since an important part of this past may have disappeared with its objects, either because these were of perishable matter or because they have not been found yet.

On the other hand, all that has come down to us from those ancient peoples—

* Gyula László: *L'Art des Nomades*, Editions Corvina, Budapest. (in French; also in progress in English; joint edition of Corvina with University of Miami Press, Coral Gates, Florida.) We took over Dominique Arban's article from *Informations Unesco* No. 646, 1973.



The motif on the left, figuring on a hilt of a sword, is a stylized Nordic representation of two wrestlers. It symbolizes the Indo-European notion of the battle between good and evil, light and darkness. On the right is an Oriental replica of the same motif.

strap buckles, metal plates, cauldrons, jewelry, swords, curb bits, stirrups—has been discovered in *necropoles:* one may well wonder what men in the future will think of us if they know only our cemeteries, with just a few military badges to show status in an otherwise unknown society.

From the Scythians to the Hungarians

The art of the nomads... A layman who goes through this changing world makes memorable discoveries page after page. He takes part also in the meditations which have led the author to those "eurekas" whose wonders he allows us to share, especially since this true scholar willingly displays the inevitable blanks in his knowledge, and since he argues with other archaeologists who are not ready to share his opinions.

Before approaching the strictly local aspect of this long archaic story, let us recall, as the author does, that the civilization called "Eurasian" borrowed many myths from the common treasure of humanity which were taken from there by the most ancient Hellenic civilization as well. Greek deities like Apollo and Dionysus had first been gods among the hyperborean "barbarians". And these ancestral tales of Eurasia spring from the same fears, the same conjurations, the same "trials": a monster devours young girls, a hero slays the dragon, animals are clairvoyants and soothsayers. But let us return to the tribes and the craftsmen who dressed and decked out the horses, women and tombs of the ancient Avar–Magyar land.

Of course the figures—and also the style applied by the craftsmen—derive from the mode of life. The art of hunting tribes, for instance, contains hardly any mythical elements. The beast and its fight with man in pursuit are the themes of all ornaments. Owing to the fact that those men led an existence involving swift action and confrontation, the reproductions testify to an active and thrilling "reality", where deer, eagles, and panthers are the most frequent motifs. The life of cattle raising tribes is likewise dominated by the animals; but the life of sedentary and contemplative tillers of the soil, conditioned by the weather which destroys or ripens their crops, adds one more motif: the animals that live in the vicinity of men are projected amongst the stars of heaven.

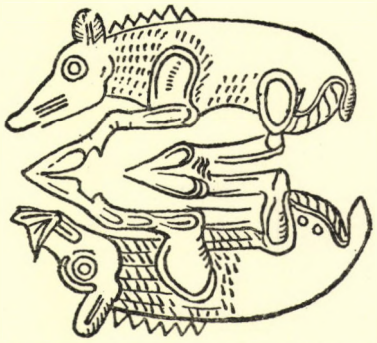
The image of animal ancestors

Long before the period of migrations one can find in Hungary "figurative representations of personified myths": anthropomorphic and zoomorphic idols. As early as the Bronze Age very fine castings blend the

This falconer on horseback decorates a silver dish found in the Urals. Specialists attribute it to a Magyar master, for the combination of the drawings of a harness and quiver are an example of the Magyar ornamental style. The Magyars who lived on the banks of the Volga are known to have split into three groups: one remained on the site, another migrated towards the territory of presentday Hungary, and a third made for the southern slope of the Caucasus.

art of the steppes and that of the Caucasus. Following which a style peculiar to the Danube basin took shape: it is distinguished from the art of the Scythians or the Romans by the serrated edge of objects and jewels. Interlacings are frequent. Those tribes of the premigration period put the images of their animal ancestors in the graves of clan chieftains either on their clothes, the harness of their horses or on their weapons. The fact that only the most sumptuous tombs have contained such representations is proof, the author says, that "a zoomorphic art is closely related to the world of beliefs and to primitive rites".

Before the advent of the Avar empire the Danube basin served as a passage for a number of Teutonic tribes—Quadi, Vandals, Ostrogoths and Visigoths, moving from the shores of the Black Sea and permeated with Scythian and Sarmatian traditions. The Gepides gradually came to be dominated by the Huns. Charlemagne destroyed the power of the Avar khagans, a fact which led to Carolingian colonists and furthered Slav immigration into the Danube basin.



This gold plate representing two wild boars, a male and a female, was discovered in a Scythian sepulchral mound. The two animals herald the idea of the couples that will later play a very important part in Germanic zoomorphic ornamentation. Here in fact we see two animals, while later it will be the "developed image" of one and the same animal.

The non-figurative came first

A short survey like this cannot go into all aspects of this so very crowded book. What the lay reader can remember of it is rich in information and meanings. For instance, the fact that the "abstract" drawings were, in the arts of those tribes, prior to figurative representation. Well, the "interlacings" which predominate in most of these drawings were (in the second Germanic period) based on zoomorphic representation: animals placed side by side—or very tangled—always in pairs; really there were not two beasts, but a single one, shown from both sides, forming the "developed image" of one animal. The winding, labyrinthine lines representing this body were not the animal, but its entrails. Moreover, certain

The motif of the bull-headed horse is found practically everywhere in Europe. Here is an example borrowed from the ornamental style of the Germanic tribes of the north.

of these belts or straps end in a single head. We know the route covered by the Huns from Central Asia into Europe. Witness some distinctive marks called "cricket fibulas" which, before reaching Europe, were used by the high-ranking military in China. Round bronze mirrors, large bronze cauldrons also originated in Central Asia. Other ornaments prove that Hun goldsmiths established workshops all the way from Korea to the river Rhine.

Gyula László's work discusses also the knowledge these peoples had of goldsmithery, casting in bronze, the blacksmith's trade, bone-carving and pottery, as well as the introduction into the Danube basin of very fine Rhenish glassware.

It cannot be known whether the migrating tribes had any notion, any idea, of an organization of the world, an "order", a system. But legends and tales still exist—first of all that of the two hunter brothers.

The adventures of the two brothers are almost universally dominant as "an explanation of the origin of the nation": Cain and Abel, Remus and Romulus, Tartar and Mogol.

In ancient Hungary this motif is the battle of two predatory animals for the possession of a hind. Christianity interpreted it as the assault of sins upon the Christian soul. But in the Hungarian legend the deer symbolizes a woman who is to become the magna mater of the nation. In the most archaic legend the hind was assaulted by only one animal, but "the second brother seems to fit in very naturally" when two tribes unite or when a double kingship is sacralized: that was the case of the union of the Avars and the Magyars.

This is a book rich in information and illustrated by photographs the colours of which virtually let one "feel" the material, leather or bronze, of which the objects were made.

DOMINIQUE ARBAN

IMMORTAL FOLK ART

GYULA ORTUTAY: *Hungarian Folklore.* Essays. Budapest, 1972. Akadémia Publishing House, 420 pp.

This book is not only a collection of the works, translated into English, of a world-famous Hungarian ethnographer, folklorist and politician, but also a historical work about an important phase in the life of the Hungarian peasantry. It should also give foreign readers some insight into the intellectual development and changing consciousness of progressive Hungarian intellectuals during the last few decades.

The essays span three decades and cover various topics. Besides presenting the ethnographic approach of Gyula Ortutay, the folklorist, they also show the political views of a statesman whose life-work represents the dialectical unity of theory and practice.

As an introduction, to delineate his scientific and political views, the author includes the article he wrote in 1961 for the Paris *Combat*, and which appeared in Hungarian as his introduction to the volume *Halhatatlan népköltészet* (Immortal Folk Poetry). This introduction provides a guide for the entire book. The fact is that the youthful Gyula Ortutay, who started to collect and publish folk-tales, folk-ballads

and folk-songs as a university student was of the same mind as later the mature man, the Minister of State, professor and academician; it has been his creed that it is not enough to jot down and publish the beautiful works of folk-poetry, nor is it enough to work out a scientific explanation for their interconnections with the background that produced them and to analyse their aesthetic values; one must also come to know the living and working conditions, the life of the peasants who made and passed down these creations. Moreover, a political stand must be taken in support of the peasantry, actively helping them to emerge both economically and culturally from their centuries old backwardness.

This is the leading motive that unifies the essays in this volume. Already in the early 1930's the young Ortutay was among those who opposed the false peasant romanticism which painted an idyllic picture of Hungarian peasant life and failed to see poverty and suffering beyond a setting of fancifully decorative superficialities. In this way Ortutay regards not only students of Hungarian folklore s as his predecessors, but also the political economists who worked for the economic and cultural elevation of the Hungarian peasantry, among them Samuel Tessedik and Gergely Berzeviczy, of whom he draws impressive portraits in the volume.

The book is divided into three main parts. The first of these treats universal problems of science and science policy. The second deals with folk-tale research, and the third contains biographies and reflections on the history of science. Ortutay's basic approach to the life of the peasantry is, however, a thread that runs through all three parts. This approach is already evident in the first longer essay, *Folk Life Study in Hungary*, which appeared in the original Hungarian in 1937 as a separate volume published by the *Magyar Szemle Társaság* (Hungarian Review Society).

Although the essay starts with an analysis of the problems of comparative ethnography, it soon tackles the political problems of contemporary Hungarian society, raising primarily the vital problems of the peasantry in the 1930's. This study provides an insight to present-day readers into the way in which progressive intellectuals would have liked to alter the life of the Hungarian poor peasantry in the 1930's. A few of the participants in this heroic struggle, which could produce only partial results in those days, are still alive, others fell victim to fascism and the Second World War. The change for which different groups of intellectuals fought in the thirties could come to pass only after the war—as part of the complete transformation of Hungarian society and agriculture. This essay is a valuable historical document recounting a struggle which, following a great many half-successes and failures, triumphed in the end. The study presents such important action programmes as the Agrarian Settlement Movement of Szeged, the Youth College of Arts in Szeged, the Sickle movement and the political and scientific campaigns by Hungarian writers and sociologists.

Other papers in the first part discuss important questions relating to various historical periods, partly ethnographical problems and partly questions of science policy. In *The Role of Rural Schooling in Hungarian Peasant Culture*, for instance, published in 1962 Ortutay writes about this highly important topic, describing its actual accomplishments and suggesting its tasks, also exploring the historical background of rural schooling and its effects on folk poetry.

The third essay, *Hungarian Peasant Life*, takes the reader back again to the Hungary of the pre-war years, the period when it was originally published as an independent little volume. The research techniques and considerations outlined in it are more fully developed in Ortutay's later books, among them in the *Kis Magyar Néprajz* (Little Hungarian Ethnography) which was published a number of times and in several places even outside Hungary.

Between East and West

A different period and a different group of topics is represented by the essay *Between East and West*. This paper, which was first delivered as a lecture at the Budapest Ethnographical Congress (1963), explains the special position of Hungarian culture, particularly folk culture, which functioned during its history as a bridge between East and West, and then describes the responsibility deriving from the challenge of this peculiar geographical and cultural position.

The lecture *Recent Internal Migration in Hungary—An Ethnographical Research*, originally given in 1947, is devoted to science policy as well as to the topic suggested by the title. It gave rise to concrete ethnographical research in the 1950's and, as a result, a number of significant ethnographical studies were published.

Principles of Oral Transmission in Folk Culture (Variations, Affinity) is probably the most important paper in the volume, especially from the point of view of the theory of science. It has appeared in several languages and stimulated considerable discussion among scholars both in Hungary and abroad. In this study Ortutay examines the major problems of folklore research and looks for universal laws governing poetry passed down by word of mouth. The development of oral poetry existing in a number of versions and variations and its assuming the form of definite types and genres, presents problems which have fascinated researchers ever since folklore studies came into their own. This particular article marks a very important stage in the explanation of the process and it is regarded as the most accurate formulation of the laws governing it. Some concepts introduced in this study—for instance "invariant" and "affinity"—have become internationally accepted in ethnographical research terminology.

Ortutay's *Questionnaire for the Collection of Nativity Plays* also belongs to folklore research in the narrower sense. The group of intellectuals in Szeged among whom Ortutay started his ethnographic activity (he alludes to this group in several papers in the volume) began to be interested in Hungarian folk drama in the thirties. They were especially interested in the practical application of such traditions in the national theatre. Ortutay himself collected folk-customs which contained the elements of a play, and in 1956 he systematized the considerations according to which such dramatic customs ought to be collected. Whereas earlier researchers strove merely to record the words and the tunes with maximum accuracy, Ortutay calls the attention of collectors to the need for a precise description of the choreography of movements, the objects and "props" and for observing the social structure and function of the performance, as well as the development and organization of the dramatic groups and the role of individual initiative in creating the performances. This study has had far-reaching consequences inasmuch as it resulted, beyond university field studies, in more extensive scientific works, and has proved to be an important element in Ortutay's activities as a professor. Another paper belonging to folklore studies in a more narrow sense is *Jacob Grimm and Folklore Studies in Hungary* (1963).

The second part of the volume contains essays on the study of folk-tales. This part of the volume acquaints the reader with the development of the personality-research method, which foreign ethnographers often call the "Hungarian method". Following Ortutay's initiative, other folk-tale scholars have also adopted this approach, and it is the method followed in the series *New Hungarian Folk-Poetry Collection*. The personality study method, as suggested by Ortutay from the outset, can best be observed through the repertory of outstanding creative personalities from among the people. Thus Ortutay was interested from the beginning in studying the knowledge and gifts of talented storytellers. These problems are discussed in the introductions to several collections of tales

edited by Ortutay; for instance: *Peasant Tales from the Nyír and the Rétköz*, 1935; and *Mihály Fedics Relates Tales*, 1941 which was the introduction to the *Új Magyar Népköltési Gyűjtemény* (New Hungarian Folk-Poetry Collection).

The third study in this part of the book was written as an introduction to the first volume of German-language folk-tale series edited with an ethnographic approach. This series has been published, on the joint initiative of the late Wolfgang Steinitz, a German academician, and Gyula Ortutay, at first by the publishing house of Rütten und Loening and later by the Academy Publishing House of the GDR. New volumes are still being added to it and it is internationally regarded as one of the most scholarly folk-tale series. Ortutay has continued to play a leading part in the editing of the series. In this particular paper Ortutay attempts to reconstruct the antecedents of Hungarian folk-tales from historical sources, deeds, documents and place names, since, as it is generally known, complete folk-tale recordings began to be taken only about two-hundred years ago. In this paper he summarizes the history and methods of Hungarian folk-tale research and gives a concise comparative and aesthetic analysis of Hungarian folk-tales. (The Hungarian Folk-tale, 1957).

The third part is a series of portraits of the most outstanding personalities of Hungarian ethnography and folklore research. Each of these sketches is a veritable little masterpiece and together they encompass the whole of Hungarian ethnography.

Folklore and peasant life research

Students of folklore and material culture, folk-music and popular beliefs, as well as the writers and economists who aimed at bringing prosperity to the Hungarian peasantry, all have a place in this gallery. The portraits follow in the temporal sequence of the activity of the scholars treated in the studies. Two significant personalities of the 18th century, Samuel Tessedik (already mentioned above), who founded an agricultural academy, and Gergely Berzeviczy, the writer and economist, head the list. These are followed by masterly essays about the lives and life-works of the great 19th-century folklorists János Kriza, János Erdélyi and Lajos Katona. A separate study is devoted to Arnold Ipolyi, a 19th-century scholar who explored the primitive religion and folk beliefs of the ancient Hungarians, and whose book about Hungarian mythology is, despite its methodological errors, an inexhaustible treasury of Hungarian folk beliefs and customs. Similarly significant essays treat the ethnographers who investigated material culture and the researchers into the peoples of distant continents, as well as the pioneers of Hungarian ethnographic exhibitions (Balázs Orbán, the two Hunfalvys, János Jankó, Ottó Herman).

The last three papers in the volume discuss researchers who are no longer living but who were well known personally to the older contemporary generation. This list includes Lajos Kiss, who died a few years ago and whose books about the life of the poor man and poor woman of Hódmezővásárhely are regarded as standard works of Hungarian ethnography.

A brief study pays tribute to Béla Bartók, recalling the making of ethnographic recordings for the Hungarian Radio, which Bartók and Ortutay did together. Three men directed the musical recordings: Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály and László Lajtha; Ortutay was in charge of the folktale recordings, as well as being responsible for the organization of the entire project. The warmth and intimacy of personal contact give added colour to this portrait, just as they do to the last essay of the volume on János Honti.

It is no mere accident that the volume closes with this tribute to Honti. János Honti was born in the same year as Ortutay. They started their careers together, and until

Honti's early death (he was killed at the age of 34, a victim of fascism during the last days of the war), he was Ortutay's friend, colleague and debating partner. He was a scholar of international renown. In this essay, first given as a radio lecture in 1955, Ortutay recalls the unforgettable friends with whom he started his career: János Honti the folklorist and Miklós Radnóti, the poet, who failed to live to see the realization of their plans and aims. Thus, more than a culture-historical evaluation, this closing study is also a moving personal testimony and a farewell to dead friends.

This is a fine and rich book; one suitable indeed for showing Ortutay's original, inventive and successful scientific techniques and philological results to the English language reader.

The piece about the story-teller Mihály Fedics, this versatile, psychologically authentic, and sympathetic analysis of a creative peasant personality, and the splendid chapters about Hungarian lyric verse and ballads will almost certainly be of great interest to the foreign reader.

The English translations were edited by István Butykai, Arthur Whitney and Imre Gombos.

TEKLA DÖMÖTÖR

THE TUMULUS PERIOD: EQUESTRIAN CULTURE

NAMIO EGAMI: *The Beginnings of Japanese Art*. Weatherhill, New York—Heibonsha, Tokyo, 1973. 32 colour plates, 172 monochromes, 178 pp.

Professor Egami's book was first published in Japanese in 1966 by the Heibonsha Publishing House as the second volume of the twenty-five volume series on art history, *Nihon no Bijutsu* ("Japanese Art"). Since then it has had several editions in Japan and finally in 1973 it reached the international book market in English, within the framework of "The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art." Judging by its popularity within Japan and the growing worldwide interest in Japanese culture, the book is likely to become a success among English language readers.

The publisher's main aim with this art history series is popularizing. The book sums up the latest results of research in a concise and clear style. Understanding is facilitated by rich illustrations, chronological tables and many fine photographs.

Professor Egami (born 1906) graduated in 1930 from the Department of Eastern History at Tokyo University. He went on several study trips to Europe, the Near and Middle East and Asia. He is a famous specialist in the history of Eastern archeology and East-West relations and has had many awards bestowed on him. His best known work, published after the Second World War, is "North Eurasian Culture."

The authors of the supplementary chapters are: Teruya Esak, Professor of Ar-

cheology, Keio University, Tokyo ("Art before the Tumulus Period") and Ken Amakasu, Lecturer in Archeology, Tokyo Women's Christian Collage ("Aspects of Yayoi and Tumulus Art".)

The book is 178 pages long and consists of ten chapters which trace the development of Japanese art from the third millenium B.C. to the seventh century A.D.

The readers of Japanese specialist literature know that the periodization of the earliest periods of Japanese cultural history is a much debated subject. This applies especially to the beginnings. It is a well known fact that the ethnic and linguistic origins of the Japanese people have not yet been solved and have been the subject of lively debates especially in recent decades.

The earliest period of Japanese cultural history is generally termed *Mudoki bunka* ("Culture without clay pots") and sometimes "Pre-Jomon culture." The first volume of the series on art history dealt with this period. (Egami's book is the second volume). This is followed by the Jomon, Yayoi and the Kofun periods, which were originally archeological terms for these periods. I do not wish to discuss here the various problems regarding periodization but will provide only a short survey of the *Kofun Jidai* ("Tumulus Period") on the basis of Professor Egami's work.

The Tumulus Period (A.D. 300–700), which follows the Yayoi Period (200 B.C.–300 A.D.), is of decisive importance in Japanese history. This was when agricultural production and the use of metal tools, which had begun earlier, became general. The cultivated areas became larger and irrigation techniques developed. The extensive development of the forces of production, by creating a class stratification of wealth and society, in the final analysis prepared the way for the development of the Japanese state. Unified statehood resulted in profound changes also in the sphere of culture.

After this, the author, instead of dividing the Tumulus Period into the traditional three eras (i.e. 4th century—first era, 5th century—second era, and 6th century—third era) divides it only into the Early and the Late Tumulus era. He separates the two eras in time; Early Tumulus era: from the final 3rd of early 4th century until the middle of the second half of the 4th century; the Late Tumulus era continued until the second half of the 7th century.

First the author describes the shape and the layout of the interior of the burial mounds of the early Tumulus era. Then he points out on the basis of finds in the burial vaults (mirrors, swords, beads, stone bracelets, hoe or wheel shaped stones, etc.) that a large part of these are not utensils. Rather, as with the finds of the preceding Yayoi period, though prepared with the much higher technology, they had a marked flavour of magic and religion. While, for example, the bronze mirrors of the burial vaults in the previous period came almost without exception from China, now many are of an original Japanese make, which gradually became independent after the early imitation of Chinese models. This is especially worthy of attention, as it is a very concrete and illustrative example of how culture in part derived from China gradually became Japanese and how a new, national culture developed on the foundations of an alien culture. Naturally, one can only speak of the beginnings here since this period was—as the Japanese title of the volume states, *Nihon Bijutsu no Tanjo*, literally translated: "The Birth of Japanese Art."

At the same time Egami is not only an archeologist but also a perceptive social historian. He does not stop at the description of archeological finds and their mere comparison. He uses these objects to find out about the condition and development of the world of human beings in the 4th century. The graves suggest the disintegration of the one-time village communities and the gradual development of Japanese class society.

"During the Yayoi period, mirrors and bracelets had been the personal possessions of individuals. This and the fact that the bronze swords, spears and *dotaku*, which had been the symbols of religious or magical authority in the agricultural communities of the time, disappeared completely in the Tumulus period can perhaps be seen as an indication that the power of individuals and of clans over the agricultural community had increased significantly. This extended clan influence led to the development of local regional governments so powerful that they could have *tumuli* erected for influential individuals of their family members. Although the magical and religious traditions of the Yayoi period persisted to some extent into the Tumulus period, a social change had, it seems, occurred. Where there had been only scattered, classless agricultural communities, there now developed sources of political authority centering on individuals or families. This marks the emergence of a class society in which the symbols of social authority inevitably changed from those appropriate to an agricultural community to those appropriate to an individual or a family." (pp. 38–39.)

In the Late Tumulus era the monumental graves built on the plains, represented by the tombs of the Ojin emperors (end of 4th century) and the Nintoku emperors (beginning of 5th century) resemble continental mausoleums with their keyhole shape. The real difference, however, emerges when comparing the accessories in the graves from the Early and Late Tumulus era. While in the former objects of a magical and religious character are found, the latter mainly contain weapons, everyday utensils or their stone imitations. Even later, besides the eating utensils, articles of personal adornment and equine trappings, there are clay figures depicting men, animals, dwellings, weapons, etc., the *Haniwa's*. These objects —which show a great resemblance to the old Chinese burial figures—in Chinese *Ming ch'i*—testify that the contemporary Japanese had similar ideas to those on the continent concerning afterlife. However, Professor Egami does not restrict himself here either to a mere comparison, until now general, with Chinese and Korean archeological finds. He extends the sphere of comparing Japanese finds to the contemporary North-East Asian nomadic peoples and demonstrates the surprising similarity of archeological finds:

"The weapons, equine trappings, articles of personal adornment, and so on (which are known to us not only directly but also via the *haniwa*) are almost identical with those of the equestrian peoples of northeastern Asia—the 'barbarian' tribes to Chinese—who were active in Mongolia and the northern and northeastern districts of China during the Wei, Chin, and Northern and Southern dynasties periods, from the third on into the fifth century. The culture of these northeast Asian tribes was a mixture of those of the equestrian peoples who dwelt in northern Eurasia at the time and of the Han people in China. From Chin times (263–420), there was a large-scale migration of the people of northern Asia to the area on either side of the Great Wall of China, some founding the states known as the Sixteen Kingdoms while others established the kingdoms of the Koguryo and Puyo peoples to the northeast of China. As a result, a Sinicized version of their equestrian culture came into being and spread over a wide area of the Eurasian continent from Koguryo in the east as far as Hungary in the west. This culture is not unrelated to the so-called Scythian equestrian culture. Indeed, it is likely that the latter formed the foundation on which it developed, but so strong was the influence of Chinese culture to the east and so diverse were the forms it developed in different areas that it came to differ considerably from Scythian culture. Moreover, it prevailed over a far wider area than the Scythian culture, and its sphere of influence extended in the east as far as Korea and Japan." (pp. 58–59.)

The theory of the "barbarian cultural sphere" (in Japanese *Konzukukei no bunkaken*)

which extended in the west to Hungary and in the east to Japan, might appear overcourageous at first reading. At any rate, in the Japanese history of science it is—apart from one or two attempts—an entirely pioneering, significant discovery. Let us now take a look at the Hungarian connections of this theory. It is not the north Chinese original homeland theory of Erik Molnár, concerning the cohabitation of the Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed peoples[1], that I wish to revive here but rather to cite the views of some well known specialists in the field of research into Hungarian origins concerning where and how the Hungarian ancestors lived between the critical third and fifth centuries, designated by Professor Egami as the time of the "barbarian cultural sphere". To put it briefly, the concrete historical possibility did exist for some sort of direct or indirect contact between the nomadic ancestors of the Hungarians, some of whom went to the Japanese islands and others to the west, to the Carpathian basin.

The linguist Lajos Ligeti summed up the results of the research into the origins of the Hungarians in 1943:

"As regards their origins, the Hungarians are neither a Mongolian nor an Indo-European people but a new, strong growth of the Ugrian peoples that developed in the north-east of Europe. The Hungarians began their independent, separate existence about 1,000 B.C. on the European side of the Ural mountains. They spent approximately fifteen hundred years in this first Ural homeland. In the last centuries of their existence there, they moved to the northern side of the Ural mountains, which can easily be crossed, and there they changed their earlier forest dwelling, plant-gathering ways for the west Siberian, more modest form of the nomadic horseman way of life.

"In the 5th century A.D. a Turkish migration moving from east to west reaches the west Siberian settlements, around Tobol-Isim, of the, by then nomadic horsemen, Hungarians. The Hungarians join the Turkish peoples searching for a new homeland and from that time for almost five hundred years, up to the time of settling in the present Hungary, they lived in the neighbourhood of the Turks and in alliance with them."[2]

The historian György Győrffy says in his study published in 1958 concerning the location of the Ugrian—among them Hungarian—tribes in the 5th century:

"Another great problem concerning the migration of peoples about 463 is whether the Ugrian tribes started from the eastern or the western side of the Ural mountains, in other words whether their original homeland was on the Asian or European side of the Urals."[3]

Professor Károly Czeglédy in 1969 summed up the results of research into the migrations of nomadic peoples in relation to the Hungarians of the 4th and 5th centuries as follows:

"According to the facts at our disposal, the Hungarians living in the wooded Steppes around the Volga did not take part in the move to the west by the Huns, thus they did not move down to the open Steppes before 370 B.C. On the other hand, they had some sort of relationship with the Onugrians, who arrived in Europe immediately after the disintegration of the Hun Empire (about 463 B.C.). We have to deduce this from the fact that in several European languages the Hungarians are called Onugrians."[4]

It is obvious from these quotes that the question of the territory inhabited by the nomadic Hungarians and their relationship with the Onugrians is not finally cleared up even today. What is certain, however, is that the Hungarians of the 5th century already lived a nomadic life and took part in the great migration of the peoples in the Steppes about 463. Further, that the cohabitation with the Turkish peoples who arrived from the east, from the Asian areas, and which lasted several centuries, was a basic determining factor in their history. This is so much so that the historian Gyula László today

maintains that "the Hungarians integrated from what had been two peoples, . . .one coming from a wooded area and the other from the Steppes." Further, he emphatically states that "of the two main branches of our origins, the Finno-Ugrian branch is better known than the Turkish branch leading towards Asia."[5]

Although it as yet not known which nomadic peoples might have moved in the course of the 3rd–5th century from the Mongolian, Northeast Chinese, etc. Asian territories to Japan and similarly there are many question-marks as yet regarding the "Turkish branch leading towards Asia" which has a determining importance in the history of Hungarian origins, it can nonetheless be said without exaggeration that one cannot deny—simply as a historical possibility—that there might have been a direct or indirect connection between the peoples from the steppes, some of whom moved to the east to the Japanese islands and some to the west, coming into close contact with the Ugrian Hungarians, at the time of the frequent nomadic migration of peoples. And even if today—lacking convincing proof—we merely assume this, we immediately understand the true cause of the strange identities and similarities in the archeological finds—the, as yet not sufficiently known, historical background from the Steppes.

In connection with the comparison of archeological finds Professor Egami writes:

"It is noteworthy that all of these features are identical with the cultures of the peoples of northeastern Asia. To take an example from men's clothing, the jackets with pipe-like sleeves and the baggy trousers used for riding were worn with a leather belt with a buckle from which various ornaments were hung. Precisely the same type of clothing was found everywhere from the northeastern districts of China and Korea in the east to southern Russia and Hungary in the west." (p. 59.)

The study by complex, comparative methods, of the weapons, clothing, etc. of the nomadic warriors of the steppes can elucidate many more debated questions of Japanese history. In the same way as, for example, the researches of the Hungarian scholar, Katalin U. Kőhalmi, carried out in the same direction, have greatly increased our knowledge regarding the light horsemen ancestors of the Hungarians at the time of the conquest of present-day Hungary.[6]

The penetration of the nomadic tribes into Japan—as stated by Professor Egami at the end of this chapter—not only resulted in a sudden fundamental change in cultural history but also, according to this hypothesis, played a decisive role in the development of the first unified Japanese state, the Yamato Empire. The invading nomadic tribes subjected the islander *wajin's* and from their gradual amalgamation came about the Japanese people.

"However, they were probably not due to any voluntary decision by the *wa* people —the men responsible for the Yayoi and early Tumulus cultures—to introduce this new culture. It would seem likely that a body of men invaded northern Kyushu from the continent via Korea, bringing the culture with them and going on to conquer the Kinai district, established the Yamato court, and play a central role in the building of a unified nation... Skilled though they were in conquest by military force and government by political means, they were obliged to rely on the men of the *wa* where economic matters were concerned. It was this that brought about the intermingling and blending of the two peoples and the emergence of a new nation in Japan. This is important to understanding Japanese culture as a whole." (pp. 62–63.)

The reason why I have quoted Professor Egami several times at length is that here we are dealing with an entirely new scientific theory of great importance. We can only understand the pioneering significance of this hypothesis by briefly comparing it with the views of other Japanese scholars of the Kofun period (Tumulus period) which have

been generally accepted up to now. In the twenty-three volume summary of Japanese history which appeared in 1962, the historian Seita Toma classified the *Kikajin* settlers—largely handicraft workers—according to their origins and divided them into those originally Korean or Chinese. He did not even mention the possibility of the inflow of people from the Steppes through the Korean, Chinese etc. territories.[7] In the most thorough, thirteen volume series on Japanese cultural history, published in 1957, the archeologist Yukio Kobayashi still writes that riding was the custom of the ruling, aristocratic peoples who came to Japan from South Korea. He emphasized that in the beginning the horse was an imported article, naturally together with the rich equipage finds which turned up in the course of archeological researches.[8] Against this, Professor Egami in his new theory points out that with the horses came those Steppe people who later formed the ruling class of the unified state which developed.

It is certain that Professor Egami's new theory will be a subject for lively debates for a long time to come even in Japan. Many more concrete proofs and many-sided research is still needed before the world of scholarship will accept the new theory as a scientific discovery. What is certain, however, is that the new hypothesis by this respected scholar is an incentive for the employment of complex comparative methods in the field of various specializations.

For example, in the field of the study of folk music we can immediately better understand the finding by the Hungarian composer-scholar-teacher Zoltán Kodály concerning the eastern origin of the five tone Hungarian tune, often quoted by the Japanese music scholars in the course of comparative research into Japanese folk songs which are also five tone in Japanese "goononkai"; pentatonic scale:

"The Hungarians are today the furthest branch of the thousands-of-years-old tree of the great Asian musical culture whose roots are in the soil of the nations living from China through Central Asia to the Black Sea."

Kodály did not regard his work on Hungarian folk music as a "final summary" but only as the "opener of further fertile researches".[9]

Further, in the field of linguistics we can come closer to giving the right answer to the still unsolved questions posed by the Japanese Professor Susumu Ohno concerning the problem of the old Japanese language's "*boin-chowa*" (vovel harmony). Why is it that old Japanese vowel harmony essentially agrees with that of the Ural–Altaic family? And in what manner was Altaic adopted? When did Japan become Altaic in language? etc.[10] Once it becomes possible to give satisfactory answers to these questions, we shall be much nearer to the solution of the still unsolved problem of Japanese linguistics, the origin of the Japanese language.

Finally I should like to mention a minor but concrete example from my own field of specialization, comparative research into ancient Japanese literature. In the ancient Japanese chronicles, the *kojiki* (712 B.C.) and *nihonshoki* (720 B.C.), one of the best known Japanese legends concern the *kusanagi no tsurugi* (the kusanagi sword) with which Yamato-Takeru-no-Mikoto saved his life from dying in the flames in the desert. On the basis of international comparisons it has been discovered that the motive of this Japanese miraculous sword—though there is a Chinese parallel as well—has the same, Scythian, origins as the legend still well known in Hungary concerning Attila's sword, the "sword of God". We know from the description by Herodotus about the sword cult of the Scythians which survived in the mythologies of the various Steppe peoples and having spread in a direct or indirect manner, can by now be found in the folklore of peoples from very distant territories.[11]

It appears from these examples that Professor Egami's work is not simply a fine popularizing work of Japanese art history.

Rather, with the new theory of the "nomadic cultural sphere" it convincingly popularizes among scholars within this speciality a complex comparative research method whose possibilities cannot even yet be perceived.

Up to now we had thought that the migration of the nomadic peoples moved from east to west. Now Professor Egami and the researchers following him are endeavouring to prove that the people of the Steppes penetrated from the Asian territories regarded till now as "the east" to the islands even further to the east, the land of *Nippon* ("the root-origin of the sun") or, with a little literary exaggeration, "the Land of the Rising Sun."

The increasing participation of Japanese scholars in the research concerning the Steppe area closely connecting Europe and Asia and the even less known history of nomadic migrations will probably throw light not only on the "white areas" of Japanese history and culture but indirectly it will greatly contribute to our knowledge concerning the origin of other peoples of nomadic origin, among them the Hungarians. And in the course of research into the one-time great common original homeland, the world of the endless Steppes, there could develop the wide-scale international scholarly cooperation of the present-day successors, for which great vistas are opened up by the theory "of barbarian cultural sphere" of Professor Egami's book.

ISTVÁN HALLA

NOTES

1. Erik Molnár: *A magyar nép őstörténete* (The prehistory of the Hungarian people.) Budapest, 1953, p. 32.

2. Lajos Ligeti: *A magyarság őstörténete* (The prehistory of the Hungarian people.) Budapest, 1943, pp. 5–6.

3. György Győrffy: *A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról* (The ancestors of the Hungarians and the conquest of their homeland.) Budapest, 1658. p. 7.

4. Károly Czeglédy: *Nomád népek vándorlása napkelettől napnyugatig* (The migration of nomadic peoples from the east to the west.) Budapest, 1969, p. 11.

5. Gyula László: *Hunor és Magyar nyomában* (Following Hunor and Magyar.) Budapest, 1967, pp. 17, 51, 156.

6. K. U. Kőhalmi: *A steppék nomádjai, lóháton, fegyverben* (The nomads of the steppe, on horseback, in arms.) Budapest, 1972.

7. Iwanami Koza Nihon Rekishi, Vol. 1. Tokyo, 1962. pp. 272–316.

8. Zusetu Nihon Bunkashi Taikei, Vol. 1. Tokyo, 1957, pp. 225–226.

9. Zoltán Kodály: *A magyar népzene* (Hungarian Folk Music). 5th ed., Budapest, 1971, pp. 37, 7.

10. Ohno Susumu: *The Origin of the Japanese Language*, Tokyo, 1970. pp. 112, 142.

11. In connection with this topic, see an essay written by the author in collaboration with Masamori Mori: "Kusanagi tsurugi ni tsuite," in the volume "Kurano sensei koki kinen ronbunshu." Tokyo, 1973.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EUROPEAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS

The day after the first day of peace, librarians and bibliographers, scholars, historians and students of literature in the various countries started to collect, classify and catalogue the underground literary works, books and manuscripts, which for over a decade had been *verboten* and, if found, burnt by the fascists.

Although this work could begin in an organized form only after the end of the war, there was previously some scattered evidence of the existence of illegal literature.

Új Világ (New World), a newspaper founded in 1941 by Hungarian émigrés in the Argentine, carried in its June 27, 1942 issue an article entitled "The Underground Press in Europe", which reported on the existence of clandestine newspapers in a number of countries. It stated that several illicit papers were run in Belgium, and were spread, unknowingly, even by the nazis themselves; scores of underground papers were circulated in France—their presses often operating in the sewers of Paris; secret newspapers existed in the Netherlands, and some twenty were operating in Norway. The article made special mention of *Roj* (Struggle), one of several clandestine publications operating in Czechoslovakia, whose editor Jozef Skalda was executed after a year of underground work, but the publication survived. According to the article there were 150 illegitimate journals printed in the depths of virgin forests in Poland. Finally, the article mentioned that the title-page of an illegal paper appearing in Hungary, the *Igazmondó* (Truth-Sayer), found its way to the editorial office of *Új Világ*.

"This title-page shows a fat nazi greedily devouring food from a richly laid table while in the background an exhausted, starving Hungarian mother is embracing her emaciated child. 'Read it and pass it on!' 'Magyars know the Germans lie!' are the slogans printed on the front of *Igazmondó*."

In his book entitled *Les mouvements clandestins en Europe*[1] Henri Michel[2] supplies valuable facts and figures on the illegitimate press. According to Michel, the Italian *Unità* appeared in 30,000 copies and the *Italia Libera* in 20,000. In Denmark illicit papers were issued from 1941 on, some printed in official buildings under the very noses of the nazis. In March 1943 as many as 80 underground papers were circulated, some even sold, and by March 1945 their number increased to 500. The first clandestine Dutch publication was the leaflet entitled "Action des gueux" in May 1940. *La Hollande Libre* achieved a circulation of 50 to 80 thousand in 1940–1941. The Communist *Vérité* was distributed in 50,000 copies.

Let us present a few facts and figures from the chapter on the French resistance. The first leaflet *(la première feuille ronéotypée)* was *Résistance* published on December 15, 1940, during Nazi occupation. ". . . c'est peut-âtre la presse clandestine qui, dans la Résistance française, montre le plus d'originale vigueur", it says in the chapter. And in the last year of the war, the entire French illegitimate press reached a circulation of two million copies.

Although there were earlier attempts (in 1934 the *Deutsche Freiheitsbibliothek* was set up in Paris by the German Writers' Defence League with the express aim of saving the publications doomed and persecuted by the Third Reich, but during the German occupation of Fance in 1940 the collection fell into nazi hands and was destroyed), organized collection started only after 1945.

The first list of outlawed writers appeared in a special *Nachtausgabe* on April 23, 1933 in Berlin. To mention only a few names out

of the long list: Bertolt Brecht, Max Brod, Lion Feuchtwanger, Egon Erwin Kisch, Heinrich Mann, Thomas Mann, Franz Mehring, Erich Maria Remarque, Kurt Tucholsky, Arnold Zweig ... Bonfires for books were started in front of the Berlin Opera, and in various German cities. Having been declared "dirt", the works of the greatest writers were flung to the flames, and the list of names was growing. Marx and Lenin, Freud and Einstein, Voltaire and Heine, Romain Rolland and H. G. Wells, Barbusse and Gorky, Upton Sinclair and Sholokhov, Selma Lagerlöf and Martin Andersen Nexö were among the writers whose creations were sacrificed to the pyre. 250 members of a great generation of writers were silenced.

The Press of the Resistance

The *Catalogue des périodiques clandestins* (1939–1945)[3] is one of the major comprehensive works on the anti-fascist opposition press.

The French National Library compiled and published a catalogue of French underground papers. Julien Cain, the director of the library and an active participant in the Resistance, relates in the preface that the day after liberation a group of historians decided to trace and collect the documents of the war period as source material for future history writing. They focused their immediate attention on the type of material which is most likely to disappear and disintegrate—namely leaflets and newspapers. The preface reports the difficulties of the work: the clandestine papers lacked the names of editors and printers; and often even date and numbering were missing. It took years of research to establish these data. The methods of circulation (posting on walls, etc.) are reviewed as is the constant danger, the use of pseudonyms and the need for maintaining close contact with the population. The first part lists the periodicals distributed in France, and the second those outside.

HUNGARIAN BULLETIN

Official publication of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain

President: Count Michael Károlyi

Temporary address: 30, Connaught Square, W.2 - Telephone: PADdington 5583

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HUNGARY MUST FIGHT THE GERMANS

The French National Library Catalogue provided a reliable basic source for later, more detailed compilations. Reinhard Freiberg, a German researcher, wrote his dissertation *Die Presse der französischen Résistance*[4] on the topic, presenting the contents, form, technique and effectiveness as a news medium of the underground press of an occupied country. The dissertation shows how, despite sophisticated counter-propaganda, an élite guard of publicists were able to preserve the intellectual and cultural treasures of a people, and revive the doctrine of humanism.

On February 27, 1943 the *Új Világ* of Buenos Aires wrote: "Besides the everyday assassinations of Nazis and their lackeys there, another striking proof of resistance by the Belgian people is the fact that 150 illegal newspapers are published on the territory of little Belgium. By publishing the news of the Allies, these keep awake the self-confidence, militant spirit and faith in an approaching liberation of the Belgian people."

The actual number was well above this estimate, the inventory[5] of the underground press in Belgium listing 567 papers.

The preface points out that it is impossible to write an authentic history of the Second World War without detailed and accurate treatment and processing of the clandestine press. Jacques Willequet affirmed that the principal aim was to compile an inventory of the existing documents, and develop some kind of documentation, perhaps through "systematic interview", with the leaders and participants of the Resistance, and then recording, collecting and processing their statements.

The introduction by the compilers of the Inventory says that the full treatment of the clandestine press of the Second World War has not been completed in any one country.

The figures and facsimiles of the folio pages of the Inventory suggest wide popular resistance: the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the youth movement, the Independence Front, the Association of Friends of the Soviet Union, the Red Cross, the trade unions, the artist partisans, and many other organizations joined forces to rally the people against fascism. On page 83, under No. 357, an issue of *Szabadság* (Liberty) from 1943 is cited.

The anti-fascist press developed in various ways in the different countries, depending on the position of each. Because of the *Anschluss*, the Austrian dissident press soon found itself operating outside the borders. A bibliography of the Austrian émigré press was published as the 26th volume of the "Biblos-Schriften" series of the Austrian National Library, in 1960.[6]

In his preface Dr. Joseph Stummvoll, the director of the library, points out that the papers mentioned in the bibliography derive special significance from the fact that they were written at a time when it was forbidden to utter the very name of Austria. Breycha-Vauthier, the compiler of the bibliography, who now lives in Switzerland and is one of the founding members of the world federation of Austirans living outside of the country, stresses that, over and above its bibliographical purport, his work was intended as a historical and political contribution.

Although the interests of the various émigré groups were not identical in everything, their common lot forged them into a sort of unity, hence familiarity with these sources is interesting not only from the historical point of view, but also in their further implications. The bibliography contains 44 Austrian émigré papers issued in nine countries. Most of them—12—were published in the United States, nine came out in England, and eight in France, and two or three in other countries (Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Sweden), and finally one appeared in Uruguay.

A considerably fuller list containing the publicistic contributions of German and Austrian exile literati was published by the Deutsche Bücherei of Leipzig in 1969.[7] As Dr. Helmut Rötzsch, director-general of the library, has put it in the introduction, the bibliography wishes to emphasize in the 25th year of liberation the need for collecting and propagating the publications of anti-fascist exiles, for these writings safeguarded the freedom of expression under fascism and gave an important forward impetus for the development of a national literature in the socialist spirit.

The compilation was based on the concept of *Exil-Literatur deutschsprachiger Autoren* a definition which is broader and more precise than any other formulation (such as

Exil-Literatur, Emigranten-Literatur, Flüchtlingliteratur, Deutsche Literatur der Flüchtlinge aus dem Dritten Reich).

"The main chapter of the German literature of our times was written in these fifteen years," said Hermann Kesten, and in this main chapter the credit goes to the writers, politicians, scientists and artists fighting against fascism. There are 304 items in the compilation, first under countries (with 23 countries as headings—or rather 22, and the 23rd "Dislocated". The index of authors contains the great names of European intellectual resistance, with a number of Hungarians also included in this outstanding group. György Lukács, Sándor Barta, Andor Gábor and Pál Kéri are mentioned among the contributors of several papers *(Internationale Literatur*, central organ of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers; *Austrian Labour Information; Anti-Hitler Magazine)*.

These few works can barely suggest the almost incredible richness and ramifications of the European anti-nazi press. A great many publications of different nature provide an indication of the importance of this press. The bibiliography,[8] published in 1962, gives for each author, after the biographical data, the paper or periodical which published his writings; the eighth chapter of Soffke's inventory catalogue[9] deals with the periodicals; Wagner's book[10] devotes substantial space to the press (general characteristic of the exile press, independent, leftist-liberal papers; apolitical papers; papers of Marxist orientation); and the exhibition catalogue, likewise published in 1967,[11] contains a separate index of newspapers and periodicals, in which among the contributors to *Das Wort* we can read the names of Hungarians like Béla Balázs, Andor Gábor, Gyula Háy and György Lukács.

Literature in Exile—Literature of the Resistance—Art of the Resistance

Several attempts were made to create definitions and categories for this literature. The most frequent term in German is that of *Exil Literatur*, but the concepts "émigré literature" and literature of the resistance —or as these are formulated in various expressions—are also frequently used. Probably the tripartite definition formulated in 1969 may be regarded as the most precise.

Literature conceived in resistance—including the testament written at the foot of the gallows, the poem created in a prison cell, the news account composed in machine-gun fire, poetry written underground, and the essay which has to be interrupted and started again with every change of place while in flight.

The literature of resistance—a heading for all written work stemming from the experience of resistance.

Literature about resistance—including the works which were born of direct personal experience or the intellectual and moral

commitment of the writer—a very large part of the literature in exile.

All this is contained in the single term of *persecuted literature*, covering both exiled literature, or literature forced underground, and all anti-war or anti-fascist militant humanist literature.

The bibliography of persecuted literature is very rich. Bibliographies, bio-bibliographies, anthologies, monographs, correspondences and essays are included. Most of them appeared in the German language for Nazi fascism bore down on progressive German literature earliest and for the longest period of time.

The German Communist writers began directly, after the conclusion of the war, to explore persecuted literature; it was a mission that was theirs by right. One of the earliest publications of this kind was *Verboten und Verbrannt. Deutsche Literatur—12 Jahre unterdrückt*, an anthology edited by Richard Drews and Alfred Kantorowitz, both of them persecuted writers. The anthology contains an alphabetical list of the writers concerned, each of these main entries with a short biography and a short excerpt from one of the burnt works by the author.[12]

Special mention among the books about persecuted literature should go to the pioneer work of *Deutsche Exil-Literatur* published in 1962, the bio-bibliography of German literature in exile. Willy Sternfeld, one of the compilers, emigrated in 1933, and his co-editor Eva Thiedemann is a librarian at the Deutsche Bibliothek in Frankfurt am Main. They did their work on the basis of questionnaires sent out to a great many addresses throughout the world, most of which were returned filled out by the writers or their families. This biographical bibliography gives readers a long list of the greatest names of the European spirit. After the main entry, the bibliography of the writer, first the titles follow which appeared also in translation, and then the individual works in the sequence of time, and finally the periodicals in which the author concerned published. The appendix registers the series of books which came out in emigration, lists the works which appeared unsigned or under pseudonyms, names the various collections, and finally enumerates all the publishers of literature in exile.

Two library catalogues should also be mentioned, for these underscore the significance of special separate collections. There is a great need for these for amalgamation with the general collections is always pregnant with the danger of dissolution. *Deutsches Schrifttum in Exil* (1933–1950) is the title of the inventory list of the Bonn University Library compiled by Günther Soffke, which catalogues the 624 items of the collection according to topic (belles-lettres, fiction, history, politics, periodicals, etc.: emigrants as translators and publishers). Viktor Burr, the director of the library, emphasizes in his preface that the special significance of the catalogue is that the material inventoried in it can be loaned out.

Another important exhibition catalogue of the "literature in exile" is *Exil-Literatur* 1933–1945 mentioned before.[13] The introduction explains that the foundations for the special collection were laid down in 1948 with a few hundred publications. This figure has since increased to include over eight thousand volumes. Originally the intention was to provide a representative cross-section of persecuted literature through the exhibition of some three hundred works. Material was sent in from Zurich, New York, London and Paris. Erika Mann made a contribution of gifts, and Professor Berenson presented a large part of his private collection—books, letters and manuscripts—to the library. The exhibition was shown not only in the German cities, but, under Unesco patronage, also in several European capitals.

These bibliographies and catalogues are essential for the exploitation of persecuted literature; they provide the foundation and a great deal of assistance for further, more analytical, treatment. Of this latter type is the work by Matthias Wegner.[14]

Wegner asserts that even twenty years after the war insufficient information is available on persecuted literature, and what is known lacks analytical assessment. First he explains several aspects of the definition of emigration, and then deals with the following topics: emigration by anti-fascist writers; the development of the groups and organs of publication; the effect of exile on the life and works of writers in general; the experience of exile for Thomas Mann; the experience of exile in autobiographical portrayal and in the novel. The fifth chapter of Wegner's book deals with the aims and problems of literature in exile. In this part he devotes special sections to the problems of commitment and the freedom of literature.

An ambitious English-language book is also known among the works about persecuted German literature. The author, K. Pfeiler,[15] analyses the verse of German poets written in exile, quoting original excerpts, and points out that militant humanism and a sense of commitment are the main characteristics of literature in exile. This lyric verse wants to strike back at fascism and at the same time adapt to the conditions distinct from those of the homeland. The poems reflect a certain sense of resignation, but the dominant feature is the need to fight against nazism in Germany and against fascism anywhere in the world. Poetry is fighting poetry *(Kampfpoesie)*, he writes.

Beyond bibliographies, catalogues, and monographs with an analytical approach, we have a volume of personal documentation, a volume of rare value, available in Hermann Kesten's correspondence.[16]

Kesten left Germany in March 1933. After his sudden escape his books, manuscripts and correspondence were lost. And when he continued his flight in May 1940, from Paris, the Gestapo burnt all the material he had left behind. During the entire period

of his exile he corresponded, organized and tried to help. He wrote or received over ten thousand letters, but he was able to salvage and publish only a fraction of these. To mention some of his correspondents: Alfred Döblin, Albert Einstein, George Grosz, Erich Kästner, Klaus Mann, André Gide, Ernst Toller, Alexander Roda Roda, Franz Carl Weiskopf and Stefan Zweig. As he writes in his introduction, to publish letters written in exile means that one is forced to relive everything again, it is as if one sat down to a table with the dead, it is if one stepped back to the months of murder. These are hard letters to review, they are very painful, very tragic and very human letters, and among them those he exchanged with his wife are perhaps the most stirring.

While the exiled German writers fought against Hitlerism with acts and works, far away from their country, the underground press and literature developed in the nazi-occupied territories. The Amsterdam University Library published the bibliography

of the underground belletristic literature which appeared under nazi occupation in the Netherlands.[17]

This again contains some interesting arguments concerning terminology. H. de la Fontaine Verwey in his introduction calls "the prose and poetric works directly attacking the occupiers and their henchmen" as "illegal"; in his terminology "clandestine" is the type of "normal" literature which was written and published by people who refused to subject themselves to the conditions set by their encroachers. And since clandestine means in this sense "illegal" as well, it is easier to speak simply about "clandestine" literature.

The bibliography contains merely 700 titles. This high number, and the works covered by the data, stand witness to the courage and richness of the intellectual resistance in Holland. To give a few examples: *Gevangenislied*, the stories of Theun de Vries, Jacob Hattum's poems published in Utrecht, Mallarmé's "The Afternoon of a Faun", works by Molière, Villon, Baudelaire, Gide, Rilke, and Kafka; the Dutch translation of *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* by Oscar Wilde, or the *Le Silence de la mer* by Vercors (Jean Bruller), one of the most outstanding contributions to literature of the French resistance movement, which came off the press in 1941 in France and circulated clandestinely under the Dutch title *De stilte der zee* in Utrecht in 1944.

The nearly 800 pages long anthology entitled *Literatur and Widerstand* goes even farther than the above treatments of persecuted, dissentient anti-fascist literature. It is the first work which presents a general comprehensive view of European intellectual resistance across the borders of the individual countries, and in fact treating the literature of the countries oppressed by Nazism and fascism in close unity. The title—Literature and Resistance. An anthology of European Prose and Poetry[18]—expresses the contents of the book. The International Federation of Resistance Movements initiated and sponsored the edition and publication of the volume. Writers, poets and publicists from 20 countries are included in the anthology in the German alphabetical order of their countries (Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Holland, Italy, Yugoslavia, Luxemburg, Norway, Austria, Poland, Rumania, U.S.S.R., Spain, Czechoslovakia and Hungary). In the case of each country there is a few-page summary on its resistance and partisan movement, followed by excerpts of stirring literary works which provide authentic evidence of the strength of the intellectual resistance and on the moral greatness, stature and faith in man of the foremost representatives of European literature. Broniewski, Fadeyev, Fučik, Kedros, Machado, Thälmann, Quasimodo, Sigrid Undset and Vaptsarov—to mention only a few names. In the chapter of Hungary we find the names of Attila József, György Bálint, Gyula Illyés, Lajos Nagy, Andor Endre Gelléri, Miklós Radnóti, Béla Bartók, Géza Supka, József Nádass, Béla Illés and László Benjámin.

In these writings many genres are represented—poetry, belles-lettres, political comments, fiction—and while they display many different tones, forms and themes, their common feature is the emotion and resolution that fascist violence must be fought.

A worthy companion to this volume is the album[19] showing the art of the resistance. It presents the works of artists from several European countries: statues, paintings, graphic art; known and unknown works, the creations of well-known artists and of self-taught men; drawings, paintings and objects made in exile and often in concentration camps or underground. The 600 works are linked together by the cause, by the anti-fascist community ideal, the ideal of resistance. Fascism and war, the ghetto and the concentration camp seem to take on tangible form again as they are shown in the light of resistance. Side by side with the names and works of the most outstanding

artists—Picasso, Dix, Klee, Shahn, Siqueiros, Meštrović—we find those of the Hungarian Imre Ámos, Ernő Berda, Gyula Derkovits, István Dési Huber, Aladár Farkas, Béni Ferenczy, György Goldmann, Ilona Kasitzky, György Kondor and László Mészáros, anti-fascists all.

This anthology is one more proof of the statement made by Heinrich Mann in 1939: "Only international solidarity can save culture against the threat."

*

In the course of the last few years efforts were made to trace and treat the documents of the intellectual resistance in Hungary. According to surveys made after the liberation of the country, almost ten million books perished in Budapest,[20] owing to fascist occupation and Arrow-cross terror. As to the bibliography of suppresed Hungarian writings, we cannot report on a crop similar in richness to the works reviewed above. In other words, there are no special bibliographies on this group of topics. There are, however, a large number of publications which deal with some aspect of the problem. In these, the Hungarian underground movement, or anti-fascist resistance and armed struggle are depicted together with their literature. Such are, for instance, the bibliography entitled "Tájékoztató a II. világháború alatti magyar antifasiszta ellenállás irodalmáról" (Information on the Literature of Hungarian Anti-Fascist Literature during the Second World War) compiled by Andor Tiszay,[21] *Az antifasiszta ellenállási és partizánharcok válogatott irodalmának bibliográfiája* (The Bibliography of the Anti-Fascist Resistance Struggles and Partisan Battles,[22] and *Forradalmár elődeink* (Our Revolutionary Ancestors), which presents the militant lives of 160 anti-fascist fighters with annotated bibliographies compiled by Ágnes Bakó and was published in 1970 by the Institute of Party History of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Under this heading should also be mentioned the bibliography entitled *Kommunista röplapok* (Communist Leaflets) 1919–1944, compiled be the Institute of Party History, in two volumes in 1965.

In connection with persecuted literature there are some interesting addenda in several publications of the Institute of Literary Science operating under the aegis of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,[23] in bibliographies,[24] anthologies of poetry,[25] and anthologies of essays.[26]

It was for the quarter-century anniversary of the liberation of Hungary that the new two volume enlarged edition of *Magyar mártír írók* (Hungarian Martyred Writers) appeared, originally published in László Bóka's edition in 1946. The enlarged anthology was edited by Dezső Keresztury and Csaba Sik, and Magvető Publishing House published it under the title *"S két szó között a hallgatás..." Magyar mártír írók antológiája* (And the Silence between Two Words. An anthology of Hungarian Martyred Writers), in 1970. Similar to the method followed by *Verboten und Verbrannt* which presents German persecuted literature, we find here, in addition to the bibliographies of writers, poets, scholars and publicists who died as the victims of fascism, also excerpts from their suppressed, clandestine—and often unknown—works.

How important literature and the press are in the life of a country and of a people—especially in a period when letters can be and must be accessories to weapons—is eloquently illustrated by a work which came out directly after the liberation of Hungary. The very title of the series in which it appeared—*Az Új Magyarország röpiratai* (The Leaflets of New Hungary)—marks the historical change. The volume in question was written by Iván Boldizsar in 1946, in two languages, Hungarian and French—*L'"autre" Hongrie. Histoire du mouvement de résistance hongrois*—and it is a comprehensive work on the resistance movement, devoting a separate chapter to intellectual resistance, and to the *press and* tracts and leaflets.[27]

There are important addenda to our subject to be found in works published after the war in Paris about the resistance press of Hungarian emigrés, for instance, in the book by Endre Bajomi Lázár, the preface to which was written by Vercors, or in the work co-authored by Ervin Gyertyán, Imre Kelemen and Endre Bajomi Lázár.[28]

Apart from the *Anthology of Hungarian Martyred Writers*, one of the first books of this type which already definitely aimed to bring to light persecuted and underground literature was published in 1966 under the title of *A cenzúra árnyékában*[29]. A compilation of clandestine anti-fascist underground poetry was published in 1964, in the series entitled *M.T.A. Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek* (Notebooks of Literary History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).[30] A review aiming to survey the persectued press can be found in the last chapter of a work published in 1970 and entitled *Terjesztését megtiltom!*[31]

"Hurry my country, bring to light
The goodwill and high credit
Which German yoke and German guile
Plundered and buried."

these lines could be read by the tormented, humiliated Hungarians who hated fascism, on leaflets strewn all over the streets of Budapest. Then, a hundred years after their birth, these lines were more topical than ever. The poem was "Föl" (Up) by Sándor Petőfi and it was mimeographed and distributed by the partisans of the Hungarian resistance movement. Though the leaflet was sentenced "to be confiscated" it was possible to destroy either the poem itself or the emotions expressed in it.

Poems, choirs and song always played an important part in the working-class movement. Between 1955 and 1969 a number of volumes containing the illegal songs of the working-class movement, and other anti-fascist and revolutionary songs appeared, bringing to light some of this "lost" poetry. Some of the titles: *Magyarországi munkásdalok, Jöjj ifjú társunk, Munkásének 1991–1945*[32] and the volume entitled *Költők, dalok, forradalmak*, published in 1969, which was the first in Hungary to make widely available the international songs of protest.[33]

GYÖRGYI MARKOVITS

NOTES

1 Que sais-je? 946. Paris, 1965.

2 President of the International Committee for the History of the Second World War.

3 Preface by Julien Cain, introduction by R. and P. Roux-Fouillet. Paris, 1954.

4 *Technik und Positionen einer Undergrundpresse 1940–1944*. Ph.D. dissertation. Freie Universität Berlin, 1962, 317 pp.

5 *Inventaire de la presse clandestine 1940–1944 conservée en Belgique*. Compiled by Jean Dujardin, Lucia Rymenans, José Grotovitch. Centre National d'Histoire des deux Guerres Mondiales. Bruxelles, 1966. 192 pp.

6 *Die Zeitschriften der österreichischen Emigration 1934–1946*. Wien, 1960. 28. pp.

7 *Zeitschriften und Zeitungen des Exils 1933–1945*. Bestandsverzeichnis der Deutschen Bücherei. Compiled by Horst Halfmann. 80 pp.

8 Sternfeld-Tiedemann: *Deutsche Exil-Literatur 1933–1945*.

9 *Deutsches Schrifttum im Exil*. Bonn, 1965.

10 *Exil und Literatur*, Frankfurt am Main, 1967.

11 *Exil-Literatur 1933–1945*. Eine Ausstellung aus Beständen der Deutschen Bibliothek. Catalogued by Werner Berthold. Frankfurt am Main. 3rd ed.

12 Kantorowitz founded the already mentioned collection *Deutsche Freiheitsbibliothek—Bibliothek der Verbrannten Bücher* under the patronage of Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells and Heinrich Mann, in 1934 in Paris.

13 See page

14 *Exil und Literatur. Deutsche Schriftsteller im Ausland 1933–1945*. Athenaeum Verlag. Frankfurt am Main, 1967, 247 pp.

15 *German Literature in Exile. The Concern of the Poets.* University of Nebraska. Lincoln, 1957, 142 pp.

16 *Deutsche Literatur im Exil. Briefe europäischer Autoren 1933–1949.* Wien–München–Basel 1964. Kurt Desch Verlag (on the basis of the New York edition), 380 pp.

17 *Clandestine drukken op letterkundig gebied tijdens de Duitse bezetting in Nederland gedrukt.* 58 pp.

18 *Literatur and Widerstand. Anthologie Europäischer Poesie und Prosa.* Frankfurt am Main, 1969, published by the International Federation of Resistance Movements. University Press, Budapest, 799 pp.

19 *Kunst im Widerstand. Malerei, Graphik, Plastik 1922 bis 1945.* Published and introduced by Erhard Frommhols. Preface by Ernst Niekisch. VEB Verlag. Dresden, 1968. 583 pp.

20 *Magyar Nemzet* (a Budapest daily), May 6, 1945.

21 In: *Magyar ellenállási és partizánharcok a második világháború idején* (Hungarian Resistance Movements and Partisan Struggles during the Second World War). TIT. Budapest, 1969. Bibl. 80–126 pp.

22 Edited by János Harsányi, Andor Tiszay, Ernő Vágó. Tankönyvkiadó. Budapest, 1968, 54 pp.

23 *Jöjj el szabadság!* (Come thou, Liberty!). *Tanulmányok a magyar szocialista irodalom történetéből* (Studies from the history of Hungarian Socialist Literature). Edited by Miklós Szabolcsi and László Illés. 2 Vols. Budapest 1962, 1967. 750, 767 pp.

24 *Történelem, forradalom II* (History, Revolution). Bibliographical Guide for the Study of the History of the Hungarian Working Class Movement. Ervin Szabó Library. Budapest, 1969, 625 pp.

25 *A történelem futószalagán* (On the Assembly Line of History). An anthology of anti-fascist lyric poetry. Compiled by István Kerékgyártó. Magvető. Budapest, 1965, 703 pp.

26 *A toll mártírjai.* (The Martyrs of the Pen). Compiled by Sándor Mester. Group of Hungarian Exiled, Deported and Interned Journalists. Budapest, 1946, 239 pp.

27 *Tracts et journaux illégaux*

Dans cette situation particulièrement difficile le mouvement de résistance se scinda en deux parties:

1. D'une part, on organisa de petits groupes qui développaient leur activité indépendamment les uns des autres.

2. D'autre part, on entreprit d'organiser toute la nation pour donner naissance à une synthèse nationale des forces antifascistes.

Dès la fin du mois de mars on vit paraître les tracts et les journaux illégaux des divers petits groupes de résistance. Les tracts se chargeaient d'informer le public de la situation militaire et des atrocités commises par les envahisseurs. Pour comprendre cette mission et l'apprécier à sa juste valeur, il faut remarquer qu'à partir du 19 mars 1944 tous nos journaux avaient passé aux mains des Allemands et de leurs satellites hongrois. Seuls les journaux clandestins firent connaître au public que les Ca pathes eurent été franchis par l'Armée Rouge. On y donnait aussi des renseignements sur le sort des Juifs déportés.

28 André Lázár: *Hongrois de la Résistance.* Préface de Vercors. Paris, 1946. Ed. Bateau Ivre. 89 pp. — Ervin Gyertyán, Imre Kelemen, André Lázár: *Résistance et reconstrucion. La lutte du peuple hongrois pour la libération et pour la démocratie.* Paris, 1947. Ed. de la République Hongroise.

29 Györgyi Markovits, Áron Tóbiás: *A cenzúra árnyékában* (In the Shadow of Censorship). Preface and comments. Magvető. Budapest, 1966, 797 p. Illustrated.

30 Györgyi Markovits: *Üldözött költészet* (Persecuted Poetry). Banned, Confiscated, and Tried volumes and verse under the Horthyite Period. Academy Publishing House. Budapest, 1964, 186 pp. Illustrated.

31 Györgyi Markovits: *"Terjesztését megtiltom!"* (Distribution Forbidden!). Magvető. Budapest, 1970, 481 pp.

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ARTS

MARGIT KOVÁCS AT SZENTENDRE

Looking for the sources of modern Hungarian pottery, one arrives always at three names and their work: István Gádor, Géza Gorka and Margit Kovács.

Hungarian ceramic art owes them a great deal—and even to this day one cannot describe exactly for what one has to be grateful to these artists beyond the very general notion that they stand for "Hungarian pottery". Some steps have been undertaken to define their work with precision: many articles, essays and monographs were published. From these writings one can learn that the best Hungarian potters of the second generation after the three pioneers were the pupils of István Gádor, or his spiritual disciples, the pupils of his pupils—or one can learn how Gorka combined old Hungarian folk pottery traditions acquired in Mezőtúr in the workshop of Balázs Badár with the most up-to-date European glazing processes. How Margit Kovács revived in her art the peasant baroque and how this world of forms and the ideas behind it inspired her new work, and in what way all these were combined with what she had studied and made her own in Vienna, Munich and Paris. In Vienna her master had been Hertha Bucher, herself trained by the *Wiener Werkstätte;* then she had studied with German potters and sculptors and during her years in France, as a member of the staff of the Sevres factory, she had acquainted herself with French sculpture and porcelain.

All these well-documented writing could not substitute for direct acquaintance, which alone can lead to a true knowledge of art. So the permanent exhibition, the museum showing the work of these three great Hungarian potters, was inspired by a real need. They came into being within one year, in 1972–73. Gorka had meanwhile died and his works are exhibited in his own former home at Nógrádverőce; István Gádor's at Siklós, on the scene of the annual pottery-symposia. Margit Kovács has her permanent exhibition at Szentendre, in one of the finest baroque houses of this small town on the Danube, north of Budapest. The place is ideal for the purpose: the house was built towards the end of the 18th century, it belonged to a merchant and vintner, a burgess of Szentendre, and with its homelike atmosphere, stylishly rebuilt barns, roomy, cool and dry cellar, grey stone-paved and green lawn-covered patio, it is the ideal home for a museum.

The first room receives the visitor already with mature works: here is *Salome*, the series of genre-figures of the *Old Photo Album*, *The Weaver*, *Dish with Flowers*, the relief *Two Girls Went to Gather Flowers*, *Looking into the Mirror* made in Sèvres, some small sketches, a group of jugs and a few animal figures. These works are the fruit of twenty years, from the early 1930s to the middle of the 50s.

This audacious presentation is charac-

teristic of the museum: Katalin Petényi, the art historian did not restrict herself to a rigid chronological order in her arrangement. This slight irregularity proved useful in several ways: first of all, it corresponds to the atmosphere of the house which has become the home of Margit Kovács's works. When the visitor is already familiar with the house it becomes clear to him that this exhibition presents Margit Kovács's work in all its diversity. The first room and the following three convey the full impact of this intention with their apparent disorder and chronological irregularity. This manner of presentation allowed for a freeing of all works and put them in "their own place" in the white-washed vaulted rooms: they get light and shadow, space and background according to the requirements of their own nature.

Shaped on the potter's wheel

The first thing we learn is that Margit Kovács does not model her figures under the influence of any school and that she is certainly not following any fashion. Her sketches show clearly that she moulds her figures like a sculptor, she drafts their expression, bearing and gestures in plastic order, "irregularity" enters only after this phase when the original idea and form materialize. She does not model her figures as sculptors do, she shapes them on the speedily turning potter's wheel. The basic forms, the trunk and subsequent main forms are all shaped on the wheel. Of course there are parts of her figures which are modelled by hand: the face, hands and other complex parts are modelled after the wheel has stopped. But this is unimportant: the methods of modelling details do not change the basic order and structure of the works.

Sculptural works shaped on the potter's wheel in such large dimensions with such assurance occur only in Margit Kovács's œuvre but this is by no means the only form she applies. In the early years of her career, when she had been working in Vienna, Munich and Paris, she made modelled figures, such as the above-mentioned *Looking into the Mirror*, and *Bun Girl*. This interest in modelling did not diminish: although a virtuoso of the potter's wheel, she often resorts to the modelling tool for creating the sisters of the Bun Girl, for modelling her small statuettes and reliefs, *St George*, *Singing Girls*, *Sleeping Mother Earth and the Four Seasons*, a composition accommodated in the seat of the World Meteorological Organization in Geneva, and many more works, new and old. Apart from these there is an endless series of dishes: jugs, vases, basins.

What were the sources of this many-sidedness, the sources of the growth of her œuvre? I mentioned earlier that Margit Kovács had been the pupil of Hertha Bucher in Vienna; she continued her studies in Munich at the *Staatsschule für Angewandte Kunst*, under Karl Killer and Adalbert Niemayer; she then went on a study trip to Denmark and Paris. Nevertheless, the true inspiration of her imagination and art is Hungarian folk art and folk baroque figures and paintings.

All these influences exerted their impact not mechanically, one did not cover up or annihilate the other. They all merged and intertwined in her œuvre of which they form an organic part.

We know that Hertha Bucher had shaped her figures on the potter's wheel. She taught her pupils, however, not to imitate her but to learn to master their trade. They learnt from her the static laws of clay in the process of shaping, and the secrets of mixing and applying glazes. She did not train epigons. Margit Kovács is not her disciple. Her first figures shaped on the potter's wheel were made in the middle 30s. In Vienna her main concern had been exploring the possibilities of expressionism in form and content and experimenting with glazes.

These tendencies were enhanced in Munich in 1928–29. Karl Killer taught her sculpture and Niemayer pottery. Probably

owing to the impact of her Viennese experiences and expressionism Killer's influence proved the stronger—the *Potter's Wheel Figure* and *Primitive Trades*, a disk-shaped four-squared relief are evidence.

These works and others ensured almost immediate well-merited success. She presented her works first in 1928, in the Tamás Gallery, then the forum of modern Hungarian art, and acclaim was unanimous. Two years later she had a show in the National Salon of the Society of Applied Arts. The critics already compared her to István Gádor and Géza Gorka who had started much earlier.

She could have rested, but the basic feature of her personality and art is eternal movement, unquenchable curiosity and the aspiration to build up her art without respite. She went on a study trip, and worked in Copenhagen under Willumsen, in a pottery workshop. Then she went to live in Paris for one and a half years and worked and learnt in the Sèvres factory.

All the time she kept the autonomy of her individuality. Her experiences influenced her only in one direction. They ripened her art, and led her to an audacious project. In 1933–34 she followed in the steps of Hertha Bucher and began to shape her figures on the potter's wheel.

This was not only a change of technique: it meant much more, it brought maturity to the form and content of expression. This new technique opened a new, inexhaustible source of inspiration—or perhaps the new source, folk art, and folk baroque, required a new working method—it would be difficult indeed to tell now which influenced which. Anyway, she started her new period with her marvellously brisk "saints", Madonnas who became more and more "profane" in time. She created such gems as the delightfully playful *Guglhupf Madonna*, inspired by a holy picture at Maria Zell, the *Vanitatum Vanitas* mirror, *Shepherd*, *Salome*, *Nursing Mother* (in 1948), the *Weaver* (1953), the one- and several-figure variations of the *Mourner*, and the series of pot figures and pots from *Pitcher with Cock* to the jug *Fluctuat nec Mergitur* and *On a Camel*, to *Big Drinking Mug* —who could enumerate them in their hundreds?

This era of emancipation, technical perfection and audacious message refers not only to the works shaped on the potter's wheel. The same spirit animated her modelled figures and reliefs, and her extraordinary murals—her speciality—on which painting and etched "graphics" complement the effect produced by fired terracotta and the plastic rhythm of the protruding surfaces—all these different techniques being combined to convey the true essence of every work by Margit Kovács: they are fairy-tales.

GYÖRGY HORVÁTH

A NOSTALGIC SURREALIST

Endre Bálint's Retrospective Exhibition in the Budapest Műcsarnok

Endre Bálint, generally acknowledged as one of the most important and most original Hungarian painters, has lived an adventurous life. His life and art have followed a chequered, sometimes even stormy, course. It has indeed been an unrestrainable and tortured pursuit, sometimes victorious, sometimes full of doubt, of his self-realization; a permanent hunt after a lasting expression of his artistic vision. His work clearly shows all the consequences of his spiritual adventures and feverish experiments, from the influence of the École de Paris to Lajos Vajda's ideas who was his relative, his friend and his master, from Chagall to Max Ernst, from Cubism to Surrealism. And for this reason it is more than mere chance that all his works have a paradoxical character: they reflect a fascinating, strained unity of contradictions and extremes. Bálint is a thoroughly urban painter, and yet, to this day, folklore provides an inexhaustible source for his art; his learning and spiritual orientation are typically West European, the character of his art is, however, national or at least East European. One could go on at length enumerating these surprising "contradictions" that characterize Bálint, a painter who is both a Jew and a Christian, an avant-gardist and a preserver of traditions, a surrealist and an abstract painter, an adherent of artistic movements and an utterly lonely artist.

It is a contradiction in itself that this extremely impressionable man who ponders so keenly over other people's artistic expression and who is inclined to accept so many strange forms has been able to find his own personality and has succeeded in creating a highly characteristic form of expression that cannot be mistaken for that of any other painter.

How could one define the *constancy* of this changeable painting? His nature cannot be fully characterized by his behaviour inclined to nostalgies and dreams, or by his surrealistic associative ability and his preference for stylization and abstraction, which, in turn, somehow denies Surrealism. If we insist on an approach through the categories of the history of art, we might call him a nostalgic surrealist, but the meaning of this more or less clumsy definition cannot be properly understood unless we turn to the paintings themselves, and, sometimes, to the facts revealed in his biography.

Endre Bálint was born in Budapest, on October 27, 1914, the year of the outbreak of the First World War. His father, Aladár Bálint, was an eminent art and music critic; his uncle, Ernő Osvát, was the editor of the famous literary review *Nyugat*. In 1924 Bálint lost his father; and his mother, unable to look after her lively son given to roaming in the streets, sent him to the Jewish orphanage. These years till 1930 spent in the orphanage uniform are perhaps his worst memories. In 1930 he was admitted to the graphic department of the School of Arts and Crafts where he studied for the next four years. In 1934, at the age of twenty, he went to Paris for three months. His Paris experiences helped him to realize his true vocation; he bound himself irrevocably to painting.

On his return from Paris, he attended the art classes of János Vaszary (1867–1939) and Vilmos Aba-Novák (1894–1941), both fashionable masters of the time. At the age of twenty-two, he contraeted tuberculosis, and the renewed and serious attacks were to fill him with a constant anguish, with a fear of death which he has never quite been able to overcome. During these years he got to know the extremely talented Lajos Vajda (1909–

1941), a young painter a few years his senior. From that time on they were to be the greatest friends. In the summers of 1937, 1939 and 1941 they lived together in Szentendre, a little town near Budapest by the Danube, very popular among the artists because of its folk art and Orthodox relics, its enchanting position and Mediterranean-like architecture. The town's wonderful artistic treasures include several Baroque churches, many excellent Greek Orthodox icons and old tin crucifixes by the roadside.

Bálint first exhibited his paintings in 1935; his first one-man show was held in 1938. Between 1939 and 1942 he was art editor of the daily paper of the Social Democrats, the *Népszava*. He regularly wrote art reviews. In 1946 he became a member of a progressive group of artists widely known as the European School. In the course of the following three years he organized his exhibitions as a member of that school. In 1947 he spent seven months in Paris. There he took part in a demonstration organized by the "Réalité nouvelle", that is, by the international abstractionist organization. It was held in the Musée de l'Art Moderne in Paris. He also took part in the Surrealist World Exhibition held in the Galerie Maeght.

It was during that time that his first artistic period came to an and (1947–48). The first ten or twelve years were devoted —in a very loose sense of the word—to preparing himself as an artist.

In the period between 1948 and 1956 Bálint worked in seclusion. That time of quiet work began a new chapter in his painting, a chapter that was rich both in form and content. The folkloristic values found in Zsennye (South Transdanubia) and in Sárospatak (North Hungary), the noble and clear geometric motifs of a Swabian national costume book, and a true maturing of Lajos Vajda's artistic inheritance brought new elements to Bálint's art.

When in 1957 he moved to Paris, he came to a summarizing of his art on the bases of the previous seven or eight years' spiritual adventures and experiences. That time, towards the middle of his career, was the blossoming of his Paris period, which coincided with the true consummation of his art. Paradoxically enough it was here that his old motherland reminiscences, nostalgies, dream fragments, experiences and emotions of which his earlier paintings revealed nothing came to light. He now painted the childhood wonders of fun-fairs, hypnotists, the world of the circus ring and the gaping crowds. The odious stone monuments of the nearby churchyard, full of fearful mystery; the discarded wagon wheels and saddlery which he had observed as a little boy at the hauliers' yard; the Baroque houses and gates of Szentendre, the gingerbreads, the old signboards and mallets of the town appeared in his pictures. He covered his canvases and crackled old timbers with these objects and already with more abstract motifs, such as celestial bodies and angels. In Bálint's paintings the objects became symbolic, stylized motifs, combined without the least visual or intellectual convention. Bálint's system of associations became much wider by these bold combinations and formal condensations: there are wide ploughlands in the dead woman's shawl, and her apron is a meadow full of flowers, as well as a floral tribute ("Death in the Village"); there is the Moon floating at the bottom of the fisherman's boat ("Wondrous Fishing"); and a red cow is chewing the air on the pillared portico of the castle ("The Kiscell Museum"). The seemingly arbitrary formal variations do not add up, however, to chaotic disorder; they do not meet at random. The "Wondrous Fishing", the "Leprous Angel", the "Waiting People" are in fact masterpieces of composition of an architectural firmness and order, where flatly spread and floating forms are organized into patterns of geometric regularity. This rational composition, creating a visual logic of arbitrarily combined elements, lends a high tension to the paintings; it creates strict laws out of pure contingency.

Bálint's art is more of an emotional than of an intellectual character; it is not surprising therefore that his pictures speak mainly of the turmoil of sentiments. These emotions, however, can hardly be identified with the simple concepts of anguish, despair and joy, though they all represent themselves at the pictures' genesis. The impressionistic moods merely motivate the pictures, which are in fact always highly complex and contradictory expressions of some view, some situation and, at the same time, of a characteristic spiritual-ethical attitude. His tragic suspicions are at times mitigated by a mocking smile; his dark despair is dissipated by the moments of forgetful joy; his terror time and again dissolves in his unparalleled ability of taking delight in the world. Again, the dark scenes of existence, depicted as unbearable, are occasionally illuminated by some, almost supernaturally bright, visions. ("The Night", "A Vision in Rouen".)

After a period of undisturbed work, public activity and significant successes Bálint returned to Hungary in 1962. His Paris period did not come to an end with this return, his work thereafter can be regarded an organic continuation of the paintings created in Paris. Yet, some disquieting elements, emerging from the changed existence, began to be interwoven. New problems made their appearance; problems that somehow broke the strict order of Bálint's artistic world and confused its relative harmony. The "shift of style" came in 1964, though in this case the word must be understood with some reservation, since it did not bring a fundamental change in his view of life, in his motifs and philosophy. It was rather the texture of the paintings that underwent change; as if he were painting not on unbleached linen but on silk. Bálint's basic attitude became more defenceless and therefore almost romantic; the structure of his paintings seemed more softer and looser. The rich meanings of his associations became simpler, and all that were earlier expressed by a varied combination of motifs, now manifested themselves in a glimmering, crumbling fusion of the brushwork, with the crystal, moss, dripstone or root-like configuration that were produced by the randomness of the painter's technique ("Behind the Rubble").

At the beginning of 1969 the "post-Paris" period unexpectedly came to an end. Zsennye was the place of the renewal, where Bálint spent, with minor interruptions, half a year. There he passed the time with angling, with collecting folkloristic rarities and with painting. His art became more cheerful, more rustic and vivid, and at the same time much simpler. The change was due mainly to many new motifs, such as the clumsy churchyard angels, tin peasant crucifixes, the curved ornamental crests of the houses (Angevin fleur-de-lys). On one of his earliest Zsennye canvases there is a hot-red peasant Christ, stretching over the whole picture, whose wide open arms and backward pinned head speak of some ancient religious sentiment which, from that time on, remained an ever-recurring element of his numerous icons and monotypes. He is able to depict his Christ simultaneously as a heathen idol ("Hungarian Prometheus")—using gloomy, monumental effects, worthy of Goya himself—and as a Christian icon, as a "divine vision". At the same time, however, he can easily be lured away by the decorative beauty of form and colour. As a result, another aspect of his art emerges: a profane, trivial one, based on the so-called "servant folklore". The artist here uses some old pieces of wood and twisted bits of fence, he paints them in vivid colours or makes collages from them. These motifs irresistibly suggest the idea of transience and contingency, and so Bálint—in a sarcastic, mocking tone—contests the eternity of his harmonic, solemn pictures ("The Eighth Church of Szentendre").

Bálint's art, which in Paris had been a closed unity aimed at totality, now became wide open and restless, as if he found satisfaction in the details. Instead of the old sur-

realistic intricacy of associations, he sometimes took things as he found them, though, of course, "adapting" them to some extent, even if with one clearly defined meaning.

The contingent, mosaic-like character of this period ended in Berlin, where, in 1972, Bálint painted a galleryful of pictures within three months. These canvases are conventional in measure; they are highly balanced and quiet despite their unexpectedly vivid colours; there is no sign of the dramatic tension, the nostalgia and of the sarcasm which so much characterized his earlier paintings; these qualities gave way to a sober conviction. One feels a synthesis of the Paris and the Zsennye period: the well-known motifs are combined into each other in the old sematic polyphony, but all these are moulded by a serenity and simplicity which are the artist's recent discoveries. Bálint indeed tries to find a common denominator for past and future in his paintings: his old perceptions are adapted to his present understanding. As a result, a resigned harmony has emerged: an epically broad art in which the creatures of search and discovery live together in tranquillity.

JUDIT SZABADI

THE ISTVÁN NAGY MEMORIAL EXHIBITION

István Nagy (1873–1937) is one of the most significant masters of early twentieth-century Hungarian painting. Now that the Hungarian National Gallery is holding a memorial exhibition to mark the centenary of his birth, we can state with a certain degree of satisfaction that at last he does not have to be rediscovered again. This was generally the case at previous exhibitions of the same kind: his artistic pre-eminence was duly established, and then forgotten almost immediately. But in the last few years his painting genius gained its rightful place not only in the appreciation of art historians but also in the minds of the public that appreciates art.

If we examine the possible reasons for the earlier obscure and ignored position of István Nagy, part of the answer lies in the artist himself, whose troubled life was greatly responsible for the fate of his works. He was a prolific artist but his paintings were scattered in too many places. During his lengthy wanderings on foot from one village to the other in the Transdanubian region, on the Great Hungarian Plain, and in Transylvania he often knocked on the doors of relatives, acquaintances and complete strangers seeking shelter for the night, and in most cases he presented them his works as payment for accommodation. He was reluctant to arrange an exhibition of his own paintings because he was never satisfied with himself and his taciturn, inward-looking nature made him shun publicity and popularity.

Some people appreciated his artistic rank during his lifetime but most of his contemporaries—including eminent art historians—did not give him the esteem that he merited. He first attracted attention between 1910 and 1914, just before the First World War, mainly by his originality. Károly Lyka, the sensitive critic, remarked of him with appreciation:

"This man imitates nobody; neither in technique nor in rendering nor in seeing things nor in what is worth painting and

MARGIT KOVÁCS: GIRL WITH JUG (80 CM)

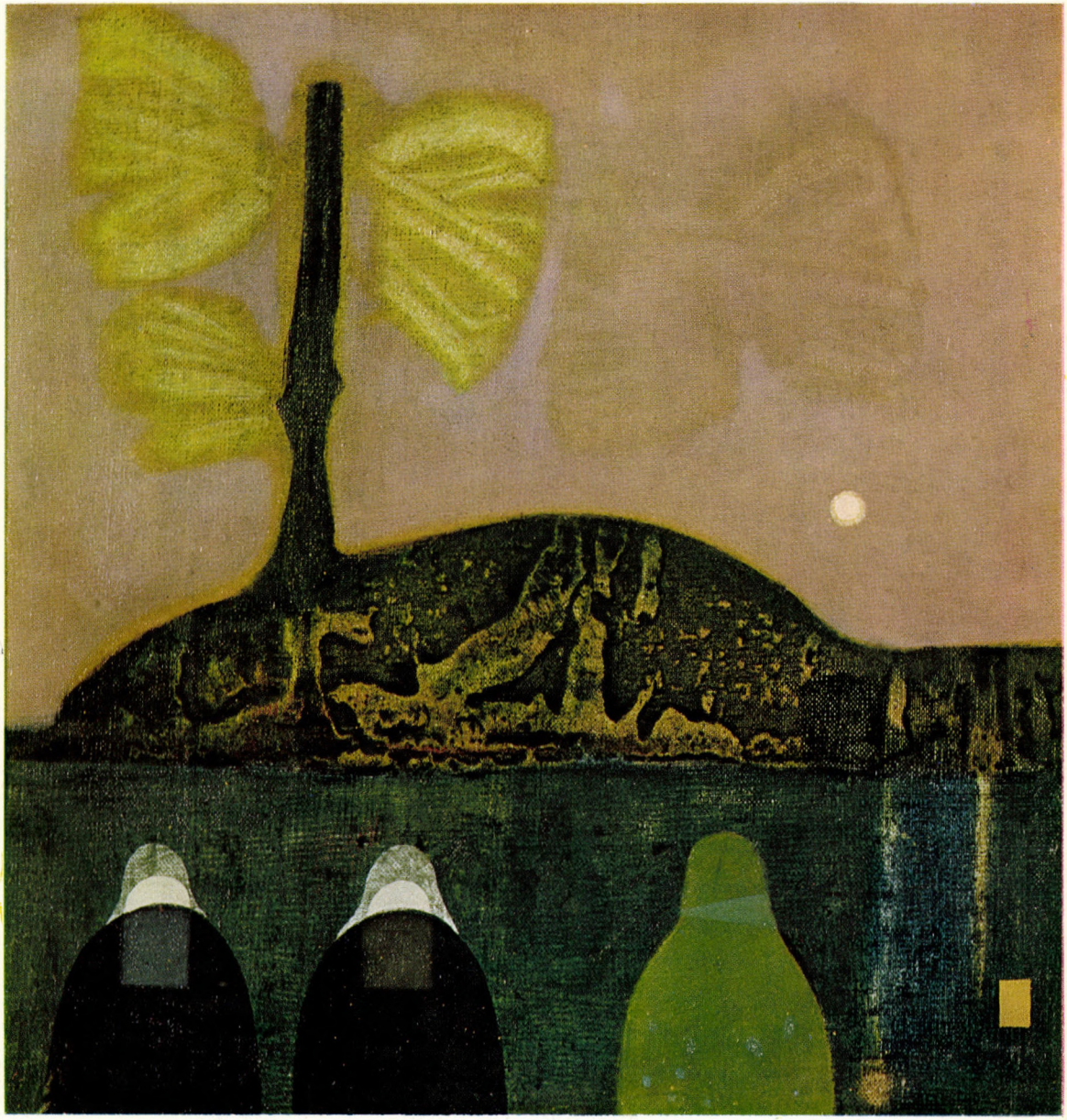
Photo: Károly Szelényi

MARGIT KOVÁCS: PEEPING ANGEL (120 CM)

Photo: Károly Szelényi

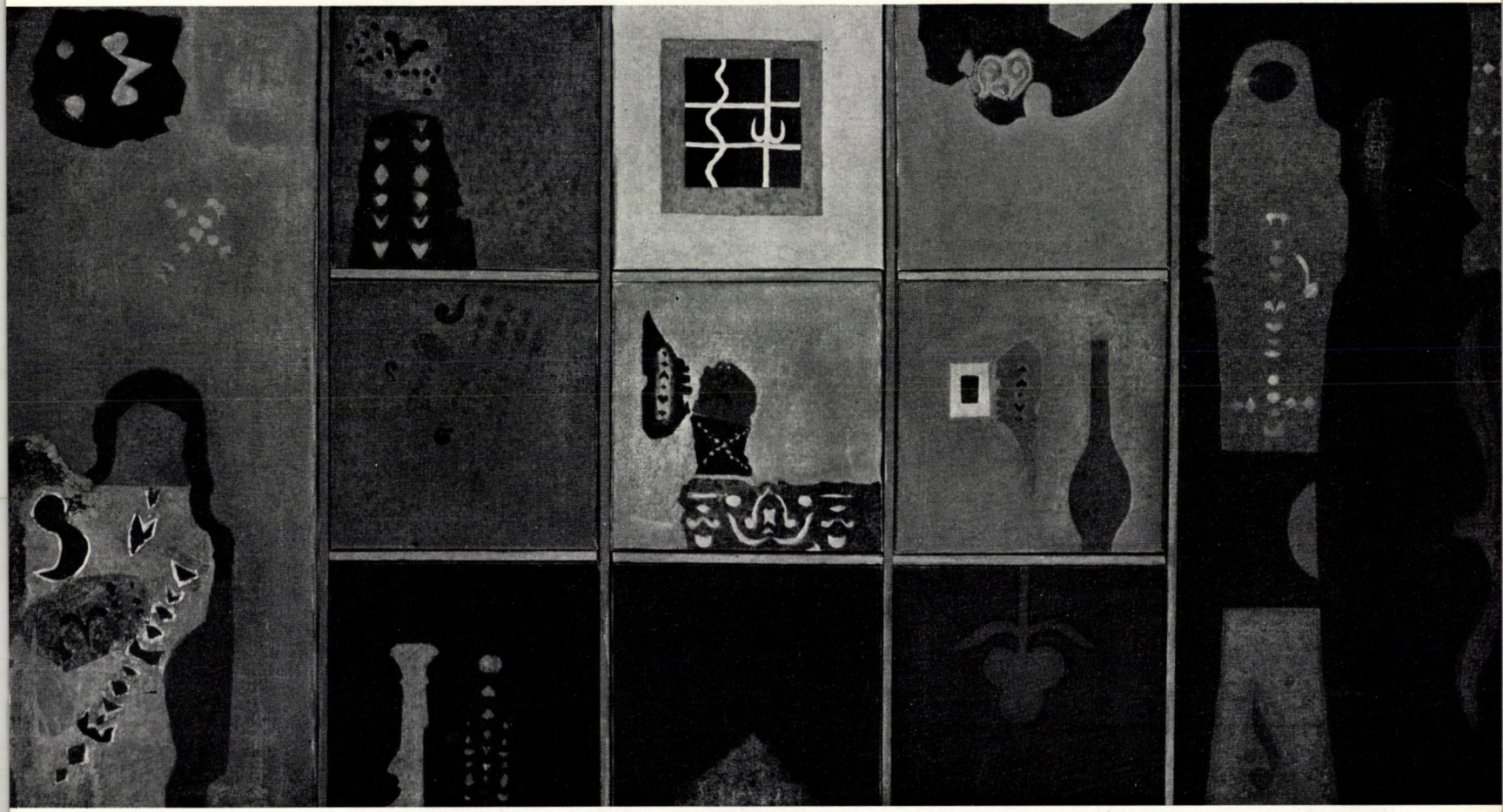
MARGIT KOVÁCS: SUNDAY (80 CM)


Szoptató



ENDRE BÁLINT: WAITING (OIL ON CANVAS, 37×35 CM, 1958)

Photo: Károly Szelényi

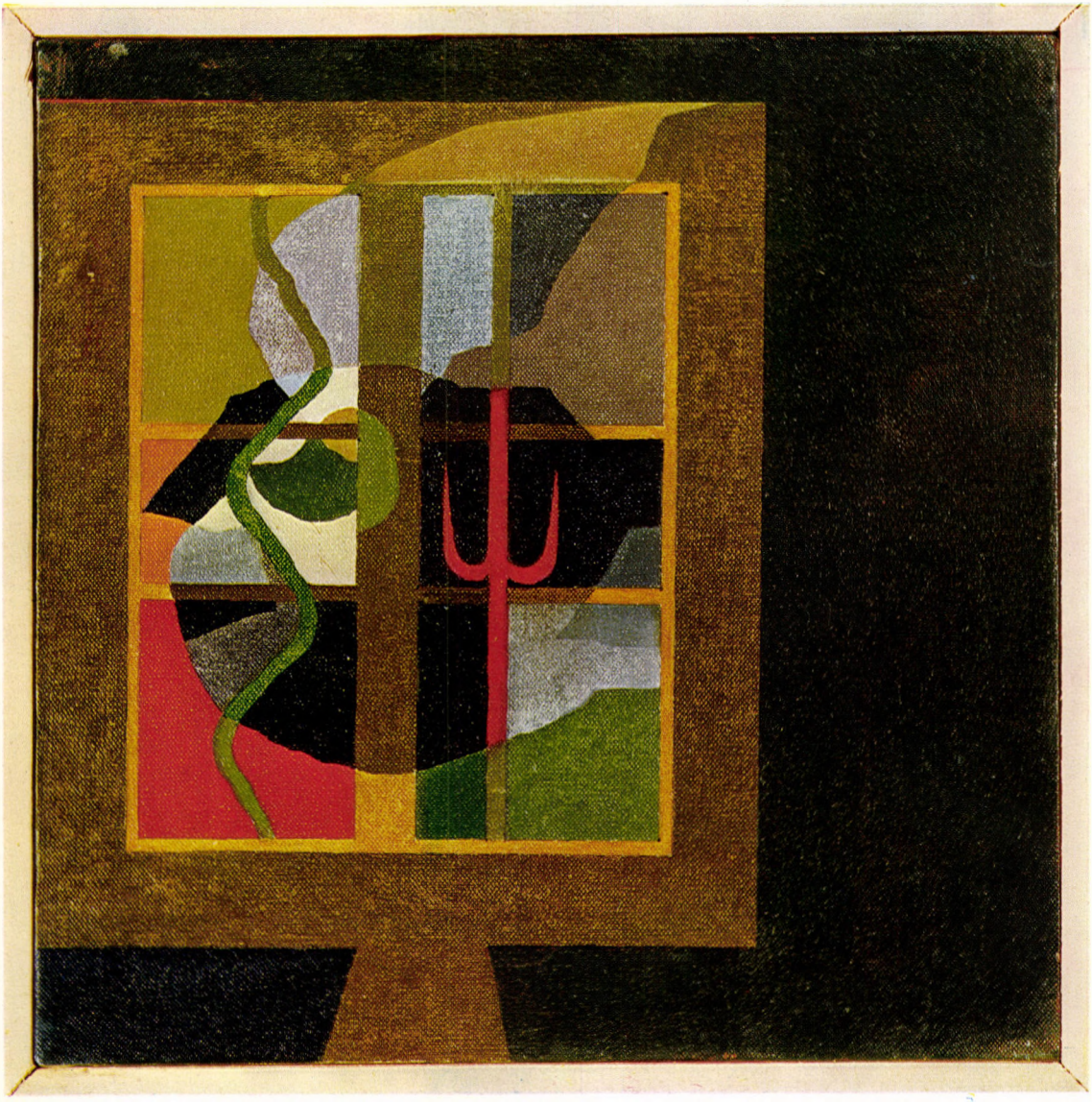


ENDRE BÁLINT: SZENTENDRE'S EIGHTH CHURCH
(OIL ON CANVAS, 90 × 200 CM, 1969)

Photo: Károly Szelényi

Endre Bálint: A Montage to Kurtag's Music (Collage, 83,5 × 27 cm, 1962)

Photo: Károly Szelényi



ENDRE BÁLINT: PICTURE SONNET (OIL ON CANVAS, 40 × 38 CM, 1972)

Photo: Károly Szelényi

István Nagy: Old Woman (Pastel on Paper, 42 × 29 cm, 1919)

István Nagy: Village in Transylvania (Pastel on Paper, 65 × 82 cm, 1927)

Photo: István Petrás

István Nagy: Horses Grazing (Pastel on Paper, 31,5×42,5 cm, 1932)

Photo: István Petrás

István Nagy: Brooding Soldier (Oil on Canvas, 43 × 32,5 cm, 1919)

Photo: István Petrás

what is not—not even in his perception of pictorialism or in his conceptions about art as such. These are, no doubt, important negatives so far and can be valuable positives only in the hands of a born genius because with their help alone he is able to express his personality to the full."

The war swept away the old order of the world and István Nagy had to be rediscovered at the beginning of the twenties. This process, however, confused him so much that he was later unearthed as a "primitive", as a "self-taught" artist and even as a Sunday painter. But the dilettante fashion of the thirties passed quickly and he remained what he always had been: a technically accomplished, out and out folkish but by no means "primitive" painter.

He was appreciated more highly after his death. A memorable essay was devoted to his art by the eminent painter and theoretician István Dési Huber. Official art history also tried to compensate for its earlier negligence. Dési Huber analysed the art of István Nagy not only with exceptional plasticity but also pointed out the social and historical causes which hindered his acceptance by the public.

"If one may use this word," he wrote, "a higher form of injustice asserted itself against him not because of sheer partiality or malignant hatred but simply as a result of the state of things in the given time. He visited the underground strata of society and brought back from the depth of its darkness the true face of the hard-working people, distorted by dust, dirt, pain and suffering. Obviously this sight was not a pleasant one for the eyes of those living on the sunny side of life; hence the consternation, displeasure and finally the cold indifference."

In the new era after 1945 the interpretation and integration of the art of István Nagy were put on the agenda but the cultural policy of the personality cult prevented the conclusion of this positive trend and everything had to be started all over again in 1957. Since then his canvasses have been shown at a great number of exhibitions and a scientific assessment of his work is well under way. The latest research in this respect brought to light some previously unknown collections which are quite important because their coming into existence had not been determined by aesthetic considerations.

István Nagy was not a born itinerant painter. It is enough to take a glance at his life story to realize that it was not a Bohemian temperament inherited from his ancestors that drove him irresistibly to wander about but rather an artistic resolve based on an inborn compulsion that forced him to seek always new surroundings, new faces and new impressions. The country lad of a well-to-do East Transylvanian Székely family recognized his predestined way of life and what it meant for him only after a number of hesitations and detours. His parents wanted him to be an educated man and after his primary education they sent him to the teachers' training college at Kolozsvár. There he started his drawing sessions in earnest. He was urged to go to Budapest and enroll at the academy there but he did not yet feel strong enough for this task. Having graduated from the college, for two years he was an elementary-school teacher in a small village at the confluence of the Danube and the Tisza. He became well acquainted with the life of the poor peasants of the region and selected from this circle the motives of his drawings. When another invitation came from Budapest, he no longer refused it. He spent two and a half years there at the School of Graphic Design, then for further studies he went to the Academy of Munich and the Julian school in Paris. He also toured Italy to see the works of the great masters for himself, but all of a sudden he left everything and returned home to work.

The next fifteen years spent in Transylvania were decisive in his artistic development. His early portraits painted under the influence of the well-known Munich portraitist Franz von Lenbach were characteristic of

strict observation, a good sense for individual differentiation and careful realization. His landscapes showed a similar approach. But some years later his artistic temperament no longer suffered the limitation of oil colours with tonality. In his paintings of darkening colours he followed Van Gogh's example with his thick, brusque strokes of the brush; then he turned to graphic art where he could experiment more freely with new technical innovations. In his charcoal drawings he expressed his visions with straightforward directness and fresh vigour; his method of depiction was concentrated more and more on the essentials and filled the compressed visual elements with dramatic expressiveness.

During the First World War he served as a painter of battle scenes on the fronts in Transylvania, Galicia and Italy. His canvasses of this period show close affinity with László Mednyánszky's vagrants, disabled soldiers and snow-covered corpses; though István Nagy never painted scenes or whole figures, only and exclusively heads. He showed a good sense of character in depicting his models and he did not shrink even from distortion in the interest of expressiveness. It is neither the soul nor an individual personality that calls to us from his portraits but a common destiny, inflexibility and discipline engraved on the faces as a collective mask.

Around 1920, after Transylvania became part of Rumania, he settled in Hungary and there continued his vagrant life. His landscapes reached the high level of his portraits: the light freely sweeping over the vast plains made his colours clearer and brighter, dissolving the gloomy blacks and the dramatic restraint.

He also finished a few first-class oil paintings in this period in the Great Plain but later abandoned this medium and technique, which satisfied neither his way of life nor his artistic conceptions. He always used models, worked out of doors and finished both his landscapes and portraits in a single sitting. His materials were charcoal and crayon. He painted rather than drew with them, instead of separate lines he gave an impression of tonality. The black charcoal produced innumerable shades in his hands, the colours of the world were supplanted by simplified contours and patches condensed into solid units. The delicate softness of the crayon, its sophisticated tone had no place in his work; here too he was after great summary forms and vigorous effects because he disliked any indulgence in transitive shades.

In 1925 he visited his native Transylvania and from then onwards he regularly returned there. His snowy landscapes were kept mainly in white and blue; he painted the deserted corrals and the reaping peasants of his home country too. His russet brown, dull green, broken yellow and soft grey shades were divided up and integrated into the full composition by rhythmically returning contours. This period extending to the end of the twenties was the very height of his career; his masterpieces reflected all the essential features of his earlier achievements: the solid pictorial structure, the decorative simplicity, the monumental effect, the unity of expressive and constructive elements.

Meanwhile he was still leading his unpretentious way of life but having lost his patrons want and misery became his constant companions. He went from one place to another, now even burdened with a family. They were staying in Serbia, his wife's homeland, when a new blow struck them: while trying to sell his paintings she was suspected of being a spy and the whole family was deported from the country. After being hospitalized for a nervous breakdown, the painter gave up his vagrant style of life on the advice of his doctors.

He settled in Baja in Southern Hungary and lived in this small, picturesque town on the banks of the Danube until his death in 1937. Most of his energy was consumed by illness and with the efforts of earning a living. He painted cold and dispassionate

portraits on commission and pictures betraying signs of decline; but at the same time he brought out his earlier works, improved them and even completely revised some. The manner of depiction of the new variations was more imaginative and bold, and compared to the picture as a whole, the dimensions of certain motives became extended and this technique gave tension to each of them. His childhood surroundings, towering walls of rock, barren slopes and rushing mountain creeks were as a fairy-tale world, mellowed by memory. The works of this final period might be seen as a decline. It has to be considered, however, that this strange Indian summer brought new qualities that can only be evaluated in their own terms.

István Nagy was a man of the people. He did not paint the peasant world as contemporary society demanded. His pictures broke loose from nineteenth-century "folkish" conventions: the silly peasant image of popular plays, the picture of idyllic poverty and the nationalist, romanticized doom mentality.

His artistic vision led him to the darkest and most backward places of the regions he had ever wandered through. With a true experience of life there he recognized a lovely, archaic world and identified himself with it, while at the same time feeling its anachronism to the full. He saw the landscapes around him, the fields, the animals like a peasant and saw the peasants through their own eyes: full of humanity and misery and strained with despair and warning—with balladic means and passionate, sudden omissions he made the chained emotions, the gathering storm ready to burst perceptible.

He was especially attracted by faces: barbaric men's heads, wrinkled old women, big peasant faces with hard and deep furrows engraved by the incessant struggle with fate and society. Without any sentimental individualism, and with a detached, expert objectivity he presented in them all the stifling, dark misery of the past, the archaic world before the rise of the middle class, the atmosphere of the battle against nature and that of hard and bitter labour. Despite all this, his works contain much beauty and tenderness. In a work of art the people for him meant not only disconsolate misery, but also the mark of humanity, a healthy force which represented the watershed separating him from a rejected and disowned world.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

THEATRE AND FILM

HUNGARIAN AND FOREIGN PLAYS

Ákos Kertész: Name-Day — Chingiz Aitmatov: The Death of the Race Horse — Gyula Illyés: Brothers — Gyula Hernádi: Utopia; "Antichrist" — Nathalia Ginzburg: The Advertisement

May and June witnessed the comparatively quiet ending of the Budapest theatre season. Nonetheless, those who have the Hungarian theatre's cause at heart are a little more cheerful than they were a year ago. There are some who even predict a new revival. This optimistic view is due perhaps to two overwhelmingly successful plays, both of which were reviewed in our previous number. "An Imaginary Report of an American Pop-Festival" was a great success in the *Vígszínház*, particularly among the young (the record sold out in a few days); the production has even created a stir abroad with its excellent beat music and dynamic, modern performance. Several foreign papers and journals have written about it. *Fiddler on the Roof* met with equally great success, though it appeals more to older people; all tickets were sold out for weeks ahead. Furthermore, neither of these plays is a classical or conversational drama. They are both new productions, imbued with a modern spirit and revealing a wide range of theatrical means of expression which had little in the way of native traditions.

"The original play is the soul of the national theatre," a Hungarian poet and theatre aesthetician said in the nineteenth century. This axiom cannot be invalidated by the ever emerging, good or even excellent productions: the continually and steadily high standard of our theatrical life is a matter, first of all, of contemporary Hungarian plays expressing contemporary Hungarian reality. That is why a new Hungarian play, Ákos Kertész's "Name-Day", produced by the Attila József Theatre, seems to be a most promising fact. Sitting in this suburb theatre's auditorium, one might imagine oneself to be in the auditorium of the Royal Court. "Name-Day" is a regular neo-naturalistic play given a regular, minutely accurate naturalistic performance. One could compare it perhaps to A. E. Whitehead's *Alpha Beta*, to give a new English example. A simile cannot, of course, be quite precise. Kertész's play is perhaps a somewhat less mature work, lacking the deep roots of tradition, while modern English drama, since Osborn's emergence, has developed a rich tradition in the imitation and transposition of everyday language. Kertész's dramaturgical conception is, however, in spite of the naturalistic means, higher than the static genre-painting of *Alpha Beta;* Kertész sends his public home with the Rilkean device: "Change your life!"

The scene is a flat belonging to a worker's family; the plot covers one day. It is the husband's name-day and they are expecting the customary guests: noisy drinking com-

panions with their wives playing modest accessory roles. Ilus, the hostess, takes a day off and sends her children away so that she can get on with the cooking and go to the hairdresser's. But a worldly neighbour intervenes and with her help Ilus goes through a metamorphosis. Her inner self brightens with the anticipated pleasure of the party: this colourless, spiritless, tired woman becomes a desirable and attractive young woman; all the more enchanting because she herself is aware of the change and feels happy about it. The husband is absolutely overwhelmed on his return by the transformation. Their long buried desire bursts into flames, but the passionate scene is interrupted by the guests' ringing. Ilus is happy and proud, she would like to tell the guests that from this day they would lead another life: they would be young, free and full of love. But alas, her husband slowly but unequivocally turns away from her. He becames ashamed of their newly reestablished relationship: in his circle it is fashionable to speak slightingly of one's wife and of matrimonial love. So he turns his back on Ilus and throws himself into endless eating and drinking, sing-song and banal anecdotes. The party becomes just like all the other name-days. Ilus at first hides her tears but eventually rebels and leaves the house: what on earth can she do? Bound by a thousand ties, she cannot make a free decision. Thus, after an unhappy night she returns at dawn and sadly puts on her Cinderella costume once more—her "prince" has played her false.

Be careful how you live, try to preserve your ability to dream, to see beauty, the real celebrations—Ákos Kertész warns the andience and, through them, anybody who, amidst the daily routine, under the spell of becoming better off, denies his inner youth and sinks into a petty bourgeois existence where even cynicism is grey and monotonous. The entirely satisfactory performance, the theatre's best production for a long time, does not cease to emphasize, in spite of all its naturalistic elaboration of the details, this bitter, but nonetheless hopeful, warning. Mari Szemes as Ilus gave us one of the season's most remarkable interpretations. She was able to shed within a few hours ten years and then become fifteen years older by the end.

Only five such opening nights in a season would guarantee the revival of the Hungarian theatre. Unfortunately, Ákos Kertész's play was perhaps the only one in the whole 1972–73 season to present the way of life a segment of Hungarian society on a high level. In my opinion, however, and as shown by the example of today's flourishing English play writing, the *sine qua non* of a richness in colours and genres, of an experimental writing that is rich in content and not *l'art pour l'art*, is this sort of basis consisting of realist plays founded on everyday life. This could be the starting-point for a continuous and varied national theatrical writing which can encompass all genres from truly modern historical plays speaking to the present to absurd grotesques and philosophic parabolas.

In a sense "The Death of the Race Horse", performed on the tiny stage of the Mikroszkóp political cabaret can also be regarded an original piece. It has been adapted by János Komlós for the stage from a novel by the Soviet-Kirghiz writer Chingiz Aitmatov. Komlós, in collaboration with stage director István Iglódi, has produced a peculiar stage solution. The elegic-lyrical tale of Tanabay, a kolkhoz farmer, and his wonderful horse named Gulsary (dandelion) is weighty with the drama of a historic period. Tanabay is living in a difficult age: he witnesses the Second World War and all the economic difficulties and political complexities of the age. But for Tanabay the answer comes naturally, because he loves his country, the land where he was born and the social system that he agrees with. He loves his work and regards it as the best in the world—in a word, he is steadfast and remains faithful even when his faithfulness entails

cruel sacrifices. Tanabay's friendship with his beloved horse symbolizes his harmonious contact with Nature and with his work, the value of faithfulness and generous devotion. When the aged Tanabay recalls his life by the side of the dying old nag, we bear witness to a full, examplary life.

As the adopters and interpreters wanted to avoid the extremes of a monotonous lyricism on the one hand and a forced, over-intensified dramatic character on the other, they had to restrict themselves to subtle, indirect hints on both, leaving the rest to the audience's imagination. This solution proved a great success once before, in the previous end of season's première "Dawns Are Quiet Here" by Boris Vasiliev, which was reviewed here at the time. The two performances had several features in common (Iglódi directed both). Iglódi again used a single symbolic décor element. In Vasiliev's play it was a net that served several purposes; here a simple white sheet becomes now a ceremonial, now a tent flap, now a horse-blanket, a gown or a conference table, or, in an extremely captivating scene, the same sheet expresses the heaving of sheep in labour beneath it. The stage representation of the horse is an exceptionally daring solution: Gulsary is acted by a long-haired, supple-limbed young actor. Although his voice is, of course, never heard, he takes an active part in the play: ardent emotions reveal themselves on his face and in his eyes: like his friend, Tanabay, he is also loving, suffering, steadfast.

A character's fate is outlined on the stage: the quiet but universally valid life of Tanabay, the modest hero of everyday life, who goes through a long succession of disappointments: his horse is taken from him, and, under false pretences, he is expelled from the Party; but Tanabay remains faithful to Gulsary even when they are separated and remains faithful to his convictions though some of the representatives of power abuse his confidence.

The regular premières of the 25th Theatre and the, already traditional end of season performances of the Mikroszkóp (which, during the season concentrates on its real function, political cabaret), reveal a promising perspective: avant-garde endeavours are no longer the preserve of amateur groups, but also emerge in the professional theatre. Sooner or later a fruitful interaction may develop between the avant-garde and the traditional-established theatre; an interaction of the kind which is one of the conditions for further development.

Two revivals also belong to the end of seasons's theatrical events. The National Theatre staged Gyula Illyés's "Brothers". Its Pécs première was reviewed in a previous number. Although the intellectual duel of the two sixteenth-century brothers, György Dózsa, the rebel peasant leader, and Gergely Dózsa, a meek humanist abhorring violence, was fought by two of the com- pany's most significant actors, the monumen- tality of the dimensions of the stage and of the actors' performance did not enhance the production. The intellectual tension of the intimate philosophical chamber-drama, built essentially on two characters, was somehow lost in the space.

The second revival may be counted, in a sense, among the premières. It does much credit to the Pécs National Theatre that the Hungarian capital has again borrowed from its repertoire. The 25th Theatre combined two, somewhat shortened and adapted, plays that had their first nights in Pécs: Gyula Hernádi's "Fourierland" and "Antichrist", both mentioned earlier in this journal. The choice of the theatre and the director's (Károly Szigeti) conception were governed by the same idea: the 25th Theatre's particular well-developed avant-garde methods are more suited to Gyula Hernádi (Miklós Jancsó's permanent script-writer who also has an entirely original style as a playwright) than the spectacular, but more or less traditional interpretative methods of the great provincial repertory theatre.

The intention can be approved of, the

conception is interesting; the whole enterprise was worthwhile (because, among other things, the greatest part of the young Budapest audience obviously did not go to Pécs to see the two plays). But considering that the performance concentrated on the conceptual core of the plays, partly because of the tiny dimensions of the stage and partly because of the company's strong intellectual orientation, all the already analysed conceptual shortcomings came to light; while in Pécs the large-scale spectacle had diverted the audience's attention. The young company of the 25th Theatre are deadly earnest about the theatre and their mission in it and their severe form does not bear any loose, ill-considered content.

The Pesti Theatre, the chamber theatre of the *Vígszínház*, offered Éva Ruttkai to its audience as an end of season treat. There is nothing frivolous in the above statement; after all, it was Suzanne Flont in Paris, and Joan Plowright in London whom the audience had "bought" when they bought their tickets to Natalia Ginzburg's "The Advertisement". For years now another actor has been playing a similarly excellent solo on the same stage: Iván Darvas has a never fading success with Gogol's "The Diary of a Madman". But Gogol's monodrama-version is a genuine masterpiece, while the Italian playwright has compiled a clever conversation piece out of much subtle observation and almost as much commonplace. This being the case, the spectator's experience is, of course, limited to narrower dimensions. Anyway, Éva Ruttkai, this great actress at the zenith of her career, has expressed everything in the figure of the unfortunate, lonely Roman woman that a great artist and woman of immense intuitive sensibility could project into it.

The end of season also witnessed the première of an American play: the Pécs National Theatre undertook the task of staging, for the first time in Hungary, Eugene O'Neill's *Marco Millions*.

JUDIT SZÁNTÓ

KARAGÖZ

A Turkish folk comedy in Budapest

Karagöz is the title of this year's production of the Theatre in the Round in the Exhibition Halls in the Budapest Városliget. The term refers to a type of Turkish shadow play going back to the 16th century. Karagöz the eponynous hero, is, as his name implies, black-eyed. He was probably a Gypsy. The play now directed by Károly Kazimir is not really a *Karagöz* play. That had been a kind of Turkish cinema well before the invention of the cinema. It consisted of the projection of the actions of coloured puppets made of camel-skin. What we see now is called *orta ojunu*, meaning space in the open air. They used to rope off an oval at fairs: the crowds gathered around the place and listened to the ribald comedies acted out by live actors. The *orta ojunu* originated from the Italian *commedia dell'arte* which was probably taken to Turkey by the merchants from Genoa and although it bore a resemblance to the Egyptian *Karagöz* it was not quite the same. One was acted by pup pets, the other by live actors; Kazimir has mixed the two.

The action consists of short jests, coarse

bluffs and pummelings. The link is provided by a humourous dialogue of the two main characters Karagöz and Hadjivat (Peshekyar and Kavuklu in the orta ojunu): the *muhávere*. It is something like a sequence in silent film-burlesques, such as Chaplin's, where the characters go through different adventures and their popularity justifies their appearance in new and different aspects: Charlie as a journalist, Charlie and the umbrella, Charlie as a dancer, Charlie in love, Charlie as a waiter... a dentist... a male nurse... a painter. The duo of Karagöz and Hadjivat is also reminiscent of Oliver Hardy and Stan Laurel who always try to do better and always get into a worse jam.

The individual episodes are centred round elementary needs: eating, drinking, love-making, money-making, avoiding work, escaping from the police. Their pleasure-seeking heroes incarnate the people's wish-fulfillments. In its time *Karagöz* plays had been farces, played in coffee-houses or market-places, and frequently prohibited.

The original *Karagöz* had been a patriotic genre which ridiculed the other nations living in the Ottoman Empire. In Kazimir's interpretation it has become a play in praise of friendship among nations. The Hungarian version of this Turkish farce makes the masses long for peace and coexistence in brotherhood. This is a beautiful idea, only it does not lend itself well to theatrical adaptation, and so the show is a little too serious, which is due as well to a curtain-riser by Sándor Weöres which proclaims human brotherhood.

Otherwise it is a high-standard and smoothly executed performance. A respectable team of experts had their part in the Hungarian adaptation of the *Karagöz*, starting with the late Ignác Kunos, the Orientalist who had been the first in Europe to turn his attention to the Turkish theatre; Gyula Ortutay acted as consultant, and the musical material was adapted by Tihamér Vujicsics and Árpád Ladányi: the former is an erudite and playful composer, well versed in this field, the latter has lived in Turkey for some time. Both accomplished their task with playful ease, knowledge and imagination.

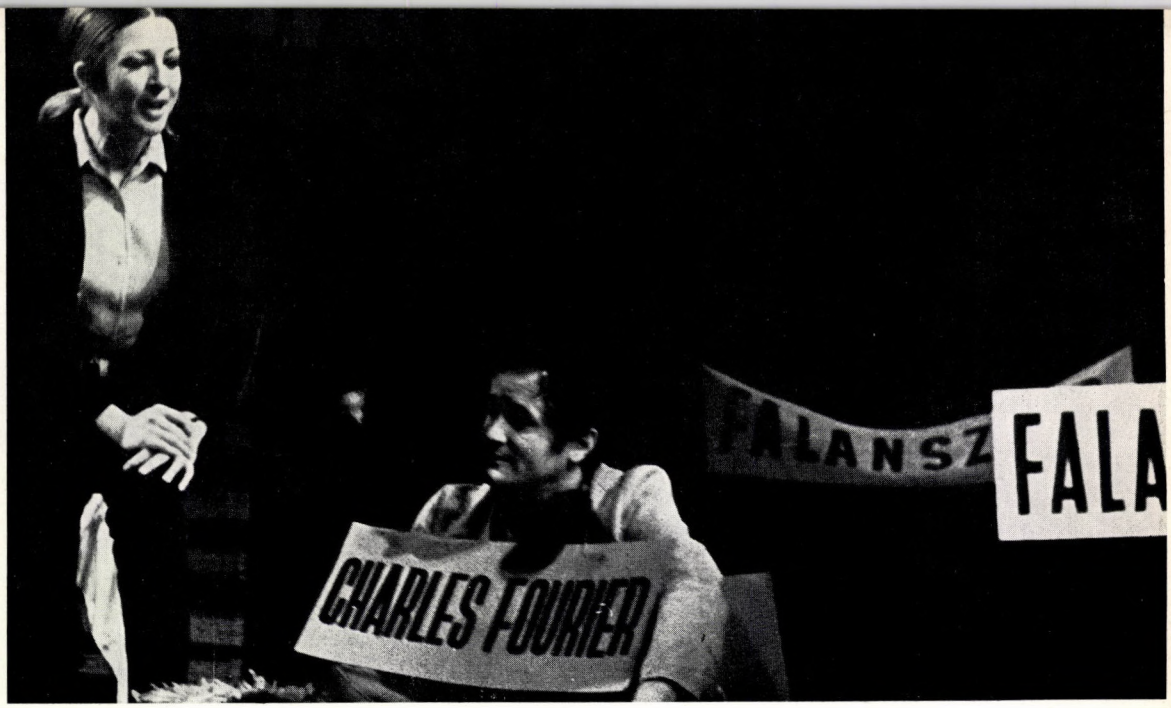
The text was translated by István Jánossy.

PÉTER G. MOLNÁR

"JÁNOS VITÉZ" SUPER STAR

Once upon a recent evening in Budapest, while most Hungarians were glued to their TV sets watching *A Streetcar Named Desire*, I entered a rococo theater on one of the main boulevards to see, from the center box of the balcony, a full-length animated film about a folk-hero, *János Vitéz* or "John the Brave." Though there is something about Stan Kowalski that is somehow more compelling, János has in excess all the commendable qualities of any folk-hero anywhere—fearlessness, high fidelity, and unforgettable form.

János as we first see him is simply a shepherd boy minding his sheep until his first encounter with a simple peasant girl doing her washing in a nearby stream. They of course fall in love but as he enfolds her in his shepherd's cloak, the sheep take off—in the direction of heaven. This brings upon János the ugly wrath of his master and as a result he is banished. Leaving his loved-



Gyula Hernádi: Fourierland

▲ *From the production by the Pécs National Theatre, 1972 (In the leading role Éva Timár)*

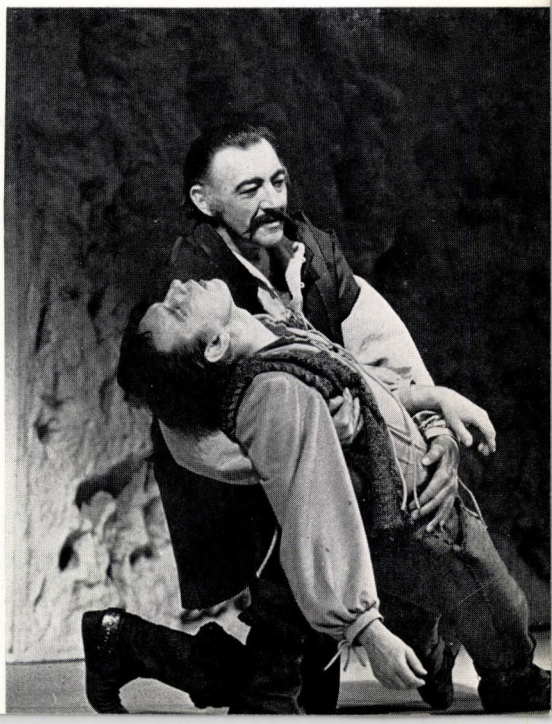
▼ *A scene from the production by the 25th Theatre, Budapest, 1973*
(In the leading roles István Iglódi, Kati Lázár, Gabi Jobba)

Photo: Péter Kornis

Ákos Kertész: Name-Day (József Attila Theatre, 1973) In the leading roles Mari Szemes, Sándor Horváth

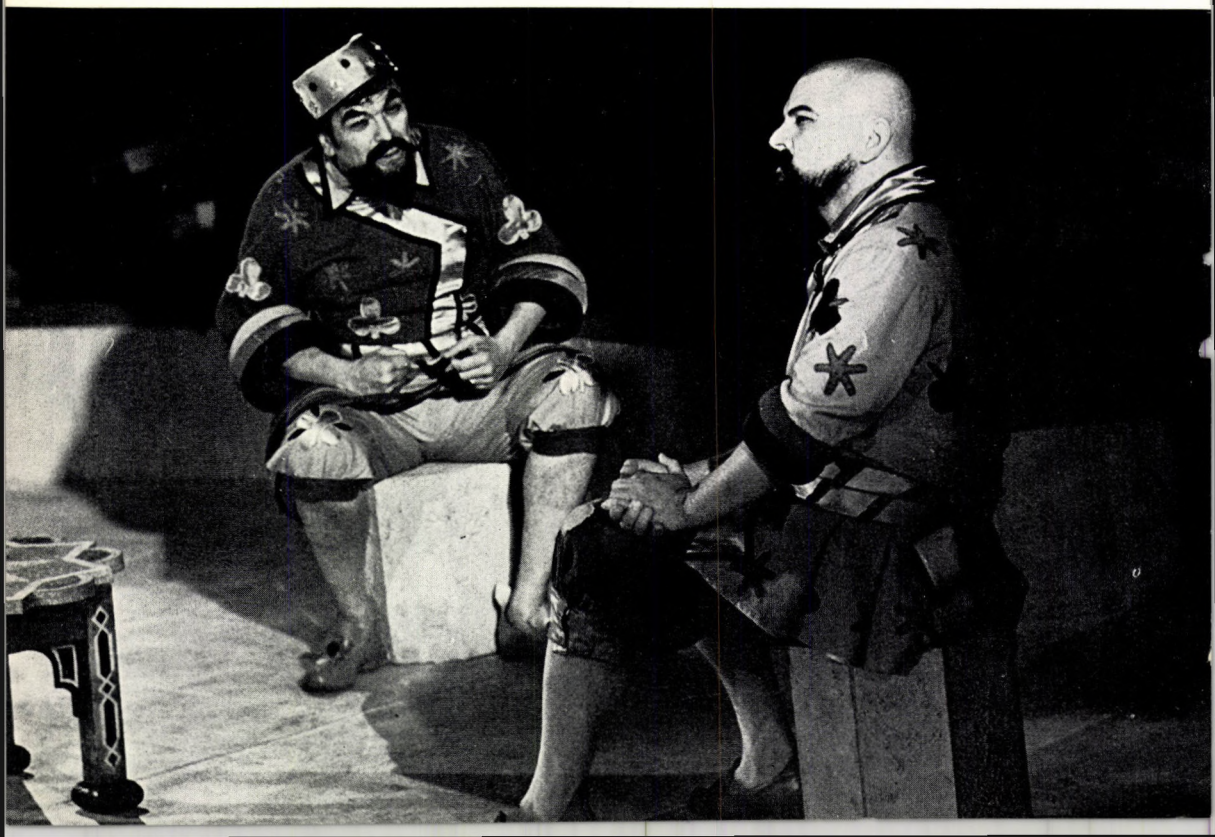
Gyula Illyés: Brothers (National Theatre, 1973) In the leading roles
György Kálmán, Imre Sinkovits

Photos: László Iklády



Scenes from Karagöz (Theatre in the Round, Budapest, 1973)
In the leading roles Róbert Ráthonyi and Gyula Szabó

Photos: László Iklády



one behind but swearing that he will be forever true to her, he wanders through a forest where he encounters a gang of robbers but outwits them, and then joins the Hussars going off to help the King of France against the Turks. Our dauntless hero fears nothing as he—while they pass through India and the land of the Tartars en route to France—subdues all manner of ghouls and giants, not ever by force but always by his fearless guile.

Having triumphed in ridding the French Kingdom of its enemies, the troops are received by the King. With the awkward grace of a shepherd-turned-hero, János—to the King's relief—refuses the King's offer of his daughter's hand since he is intent on returning to his village to claim his loved one. But alas! and alack! she has parted this earth, a victim of her wicked step-mother, by the time he returns. Undaunted even by death, János sets out to find her confronting the fiends of hell and the indomitable dragon, whom he cleverly does in by cutting his heart once he has been swallowed. Eventually he is joined with his beloved in never-never fairy-land where all is undiluted bliss, and the couple become king and queen of the fairies.

And so ends this tale, an epic poem written in 1844, first published in 1845, by Hungary's most beloved poet-patriot, Sándor Petőfi.

The poem is, and has been for a hundred years, part of every Hungarian's education. Many lines, I am told, have become colloquial phrases. What it is really about, my companion tells me, is the poet's plebeian dream of the righting of social wrongs—an unprecedented message in the rather haughty epic poetry written in Hungary before him. Both János and Iluska are poor orphans at the rock bottom of society—and poetic justice helps them to overcome all sorts of evils, including death itself, raising them to the throne of Fairyland at the end. Full of marvelous detail, coarse realism, rustic humour and irony, the poem nevertheless manages to sustain a light, touching poetic manner, that of the folk-tale with its charming naivity and shameless use of the obvious.

There are distinct shades of Superman to the tale and to its telling in animated film form, except that János does not win any earthly rewards, so we have a double layer of fantasy as he leaves his folk-tale life to be united with his loved one the island of the fairies.

This is the first full-length animated film to. be produced and shown in Hungary (though there are many wonderful Hungarian short cartoons) and I understand that it has met with a modest success. Technically, the animation and colours are superb, enhanced greatly by the fine flow of Hungarian imagery used in an ingeniously abstract way—perhaps leading to a triple fantasy as events are embroidered upon visually by these delightful patterns. The forms used are of course distorted but basically human; time and again I was reminded of Snow White. And as in Snow White, the faces beam or grimace to express Good and Bad, Glad and Sad, which seems by now a far cry from our straightfaced Charlie Brown or Gerald McBoing-Boing. What Marcel Jankovich, who wrote, designed and directed, really did to Petőfi's poem was putting it into quotes and making a gently ironic modern version of it which is both faithful to the spirit of the original and at the same time a feast for the eye full of fun, colour and lively imagination.

The musical score was by and large innocuous, though I found it startling to hear songs sung at random moments in the latter half of the film. Likewise, speaking, which was not continuous, but rather interspersed. Either way I could not have understood it, but with János the Brave, you don't have to know the language.

LISA TATE

ECONOMIC LIFE

GYÖRGY VARGA

A BUDAPEST ROUND TABLE OF SOCIALIST ECONOMISTS

A Conference on East–West Economic Relations

A number of timely questions concerning developments in East-West economic relations were discussed at a Round Table held in Budapest between June 19th and 23rd, 1973, by the representatives of research institutes concerned with international trade in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The first conference of this nature was arranged in October 1972 by the Socialist World Economy Institute in Moscow. The present Round Table was organized by the Scientific Council for World Economic Questions in Budapest.

The conference discussed questions relating to the elaboration of a draft covering long-term economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries, problems of industrial cooperation as well as those of international financing and currencies.

Those who attended took as their starting point that we are entering a period when the remnants of the Cold War are being liquidated and new types of contacts are being elaborated, when the political obstacles in the way of the peaceful coexistence of countries that are part of the capitalist and socialist systems are being removed. This is furthered by the failure of the embargo policy that had been directed against the socialist countries for many a long year, the shift in power relations that took place amongst the developed capitalist countries, the coming into being of new counterpoles that are in part of a regional character, the capitalist monetary crisis which has become chronic, the need to ensure the creation of new work-places, and last, but certainly not least, the active and enterprising peace policy of the socialist countries.

Mutual interests

In recent years signs that productive forces, and scientific research as one of them, are turning international are increasing, particularily since the number of research and development objectives is getting larger which can only be effectively dealt with by the coming into being of extensive international cooperation. Environmental protection is one of them, and so are the opportunities which a proper development on an international scale of power grids and road and rail etc. networks has to offer, as well as oceanography, research into the atmosphere, and many others. The old forms of economic contacts are less and less in accord with what the age demands.

Putting some order into the political relations between states belonging to the two systems can create new conditions and opportunities, it does create them in fact for both groups of countries. This will make

active cooperation based on mutual interests possible. Exploiting such opportunities demands, above all, action on the part of the socialist countries which is both harmonized and based on ideas of long-term validity.

The socialist countries have reached a stage where there is a demand for a growth in the intensive methods of development, when up to the minute technologies of production and organization have to be applied on a much larger scale, and where, at the same time, attention must be concentrated on the development of the infra-structure, both productive and non-productive. The investment requirements of the latter are particularly high.

What is pushed into the background, in a related process, is a practice of economic development which in part tends to be inward turning, and in part is based on the need to replace imports, and what comes to the fore are efforts designed to exploit the opportunities which the international division of labour offers in as many different ways as possible. These efforts are reflected in the first place by measures connected with the implementation of the complex CMEA session, which declared an increase of international specialization in a number of industries, and the extension of cooperation, to be immediate objectives.

The socialist countries can make use of reserve resources to accelerate progress, they can exploit the opportunities offered by a utilization of up-to-date technologies developed by capitalist countries, and they can extend the choice of goods offered on their own markets while widening their export activities. Scientific, technological and economic relations can give material import to the system of political contacts, while at the same time exploring new factors and resources making for growth in countries that are part of the socialist system. Economic relations with capitalist countries are more important than they have so far been in the economic development of the socialist countries, they will however still be proportionately small as regards the foreign trade of the socialist countries as a whole in the future as well.

Exploiting these opportunities and exploring the sources, utilizing them in an effective way, demands the working out of a strategy for twenty to twenty-five years that serves a line of joint and harmonized action. This is all the more justified since there is every sign that the capitalist countries are themselves interested in long-term contracts, what they are after is reducing risks in marketing and development, though it shows as well that they have every confidence in the stability of socio-economic conditions of the socialist countries.

When working out this strategy the long-term prospects of foreign trade contacts ought to be closely examined, including possible formal and structural changes, and the expected relationship between international foreign trade and financial institutions. The structure and rhythm of capitalist economic growth, the progress made by capitalist regional integrations and the alternative possibilities in which existing conflicts and counterpoles might move must not be left out of account when working out this strategy.

Variants and planning possibilities

It is clear that the strategy of the community of socialist countries involves a common line as regards basic objectives, which naturally must bear in mind the different scale and potential of the various countries, certain differences of degree in the level of development, special features in their economic structure and their established system of economic contacts. It is desirable that every country should have its own notions and programme of action within the framework of the general line.

It will presumably prove insufficient to work out a single strategy, reckoning with factors of uncertainty in politics and eco-

nomics there is every justification for variants and alternative strategies.

Those who attended the conference felt that, in the course of such work, the social and political aspects and effects of an extension of East-West contacts would have to be attended to, bearing in mind the need to give the widest possible effect to the interests of the countries of the socialist community in this respect, in full awareness that there is no conflict between social or political interests and economic rationality in the middle or long-run.

An extension of contacts naturally increases factors of risk and insecurity which derive from the nature of the market economy. It was said in the course of the discussion that the prediction of scientific, technological and economic contacts with capitalist countries was a novel task for socialist economic planning, a task which includes fitting them into the national economic plans.

A subject raised in the course of the discussion was the possibility that a widening of economic contacts between developed capitalist and socialist countries might have a deleterious effect on economic growth in developing countries. Participants felt that, when working out the above mentioned strategy, attention must be paid to a strengthening of contacts with the countries of the developing world, and assistance must be given to accelerate their growth. The fact that major resources which had so far been employed for armament purposes will become free, in itself increases the possibilities of aid that can be given to developing countries. The speeding up of technological progress in the socialist countries will also contribute to a faster rate of development of the productive forces of developing countries.

It was also said that one must reckon with a sharpening of economic competition in the future. The extension of East-West economic relations demands that the socialist countries improve their competitiveness. This can be done by relying on domestic sources of strength and on an acceleration in the rate of socialist internationali ntegration.

A number expressed the wish that, bearing all this in mind, it would be rational to further develop CMEA institutions, giving rise to forms and value systems which reacted to the impulses of the outside world in a more effective and more soundly based way and which would give a greater impetus to the process of integration. It was suggested that, bearing in mind the appropriate conditions, one ought to give some thought to the flow of factors of production between socialist countries.

Cooperation between enterprises

The Round Table also discussed cooperation between enterprises and the experiences of various countries in this field.

Cooperation is a category of economic activity that belongs to the enterprise level and is generally implemented by a long or middle term contract between two or more socialist, or socialist, and capitalist enterprises, which determines aspects of the joint enterprise, and which can refer to joint development—in the majority of cases product development—,joint production or marketing.

The interest of the capitalist enterprise in cooperation lies in:

—the possible extension of the market;

—overcoming shortages of productive capacity or labour in certain sectors or trades;

—lessening costs of development or production;

—saving the cost of extra investments which environmental protection in its own country might demand.

Socialist enterprises are interested in cooperation agreements in order to modernize their technology or product structure, im-

prove standards of organization and competitiveness, extend their markets and lessen the costs of marketing.

A number of those who spoke drew attention to the fact that cooperation agreements ought to be in harmony with the interests of socialist economic integration.

Practice so far shows that a careful selection of the area, and a well-chosen partner, can make the cooperation agreement fruitful for the socialist enterprise. State institutions, after properly evaluating the interests of the economy, support the enterprises. One must generally aim to secure technologies that ensure competitiveness. This does not mean however that technologies that lead in the field must always or necessarilly be taken over. A cooperation agreement with a capitalist enterprise does not generally create a dependent situation for the cooperating socialist enterprise since the joint activity generally constitutes only part of its operations.

A number suggested that the capacity for receptivity and adaptation of the socialist enterprises ought to be improved. The effectiveness of technologies used depends on the efficiency and quality of management as well. The more efficient an enterprise is, the better use it can make of modern technologies. Efforts must therefore be made to acquire techniques of enterprise management from the developed capitalist countries as well.

There is also need to improve the infrastructure of production, that is the handling of materials in the course of production, service and deliveries. Commercial methods would have to be improved, and the legal conditions of cooperation agreements will have to be regulated. More people must be trained in international banking, marketing and international commercial law. In as much as it will prove possible to shift the capitalist country directed exports structure towards finished goods, primarily engineering industry products, it will be all the more necessary to utilize modern methods of management and marketing. The basic line of the policy governing cooperation agreements must also be the development of a competitive export potential.

In this respect considerable attention was devoted to American corporations and multinational enterprises that govern capitalist markets and exercise a major influence over them. A number of economists felt that there was a need for socialist international enterprises which, basing themselves on a joint strategy, would be able to dispose over a large enough economic potential to be fitting competitors of major capitalist firms. This would be of advantage to socialist countries from the point of view of commercial and prices policy as well, and also the price level to be reached. Establishing such socialist international enterprises is naturally not simply a matter of organization. The appropriate economic structure is needed to provide a soil within which such enterprises could grow and operate efficiently.

Monetary developments

As regards international monetary problems participants agreed that a stabilization in this respect was one of the preconditions of long-term growth in East-West economic relations, one of the reasons for this being that the socialist countries cannot escape from the direct and indirect consequences of the acute foreign exchange crisis either.

It is true that financial relations between certain socialist countries and developed capitalist countries were extended in recent years, these relations lack institutional preconditions however, since two distinct monetary systems are involved.

Views expressed lead to the conclusion that a system of conditions which will perhaps allow socialist countries to participate in a new international monetary system still awaits formulation. It will therefore be necessary to further examine:

a) what operational principles and rules are considered desirable by the socialist countries in case an international monetary system is constructed;

b) what changes and developments are desirable in the CMEA payments system in order to allow inner forces of cohesion to grow effective in this field as well, and also so that, given the case, participation in a new international monetary system will prove advantageous to member state.

*

Questions raised at the Budapest conference and predictable international events justify joint efforts in the interests of a scientific display and elaboration of certain questions. It is therefore likely that they will work out a working programme to cover the following points:

—General strategic questions of East-West cooperation.

—The transfer of technological development, problems in the utilization of co-operation agreements and modern trade-developing methods.

—The socialist economies and the reform of the international monetary system.

—Interaction between East-West co-operation and CMEA integration.

—The European Security System and East-West economic relations.

—The effect East-West relations have on the developing countries.

The next similar conference will be held in Warsaw, in 1974.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

BALOGH, Thomas (created a life peer as Lord Balogh of Hampstead the first and only member of the House of Lords of Hungarian birth) was born in Budapest in 1905. The impoverishment of his parents forced him to enter the Hungarian General Creditbank while studying at the University of Budapest. His doctoral thesis on the German inflation secured him a Fellowship of the Hungarian College in Berlin. He worked there with Sombart and Bortkiewicz—the most distinguished representatives of the historical and mathematical school. He obtained a German Rockefeller Fellowship and continued his studies in the United States.

His American studies were mainly at Harvard and the Federal Reserve Board. His analysis of the New Deal boom and his warning of a probable collapse earned him a position as an economic adviser at the great German banking firm of Warburg. After Hitler's great electoral victory of 1930 Balogh was strongly advised to stay in England. Once more he had a great stroke of luck. He had worked at the Banque de France and thus was able to explain the continuing of the deflationary pressure exercised by France despite the immense increase in their gold reserves. Keynes was impressed and recommended him to his friend, and financier, Oswald Falk. Apart from being an Assistant Secretary of the Finance Committee of the League of Nations and adviser to the Finance Minister of the India Council for a year and so he was 10 years in the City.

During the war Balogh was working on war-economics with parlamentarians like Hore Belisha, Shinwell and Lloyd George.

He opposed the American post-war plans for international economic order, because of their insufficiency. They were accepted but broke down two years after the war, in 1947. His next campaign was against the premature abolition of the wartime controls. After the defeat of Labour in 1951 he worked closely with Wilson on the Left-wing of the Labour Party. After the 1964 election victory he joined the Government as Economic Adviser to the Cabinet. In 1968 his university colleagues insisted on his going back to teaching and his "elevation" followed. His writings on international monetary affairs have been collected in two volumes: "Unequal Partners an Essay in International Monetary Reform"; "Development in the Economics of Poverty". He was Chairman of the Fabian Society in 1970 and has been a member of the Labour Party Executive's Financial and Economic Subcommittee with an interruption (1964–8) since 1938.

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and edited a new collected edition of Shakespeare's works in Hungarian. See "Shakespeare in Washington, Lorenzo in Taos" in No. 23, and "The Complexity of Shakespeare's Comic Characters" in No. 33 of *The N.H.Q.*

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SZABADI, Judit. Art historian. A reader at Corvina Press, Budapest. See "Set Down in Black and White" in No. 29, "Secession in Graphic Art" in No. 45, and "The Iconography of Hungarian Art Nouveau" in No. 49 of *The N.H.Q.*

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